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# **INSIGHT** **and OUTLOOK**

*a conservative student journal*

Vol. III Number IV

February, 1961

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# INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK MAGAZINE

A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

Vol. III Number IV

February, 1961

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## IN THIS ISSUE

All but one of the articles in this issue of Insight and Outlook bear directly or indirectly upon the South. It is exceedingly difficult for conservatives to write about the situation south of the Mason Dixon line because the liberal press has so successfully brainwashed Northerners, and in particular the citizens of the academic community, that they tend to see all criticism of integration or "civil rights" as a sort of devilish plot against the Negro people. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In fact, on these pages are numerous suggestions to help the Negroes, and numerous criticisms of liberal activities *which do not help* the Negroes.

Heretofore the South has relied on its legal case as its strongest argument in the Segregation controversy. It is indeed a compelling viewpoint, but fully as compelling is the Southern social and philosophic view of its institutions, which has never been properly expressed to Northern audiences. The articles of both Millard Johnson and Richard Wheeler shed considerable light on it.



... WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED

## WORLD OUTLOOK

It is the hour, the time, the place in history for integrationists to tell us all whether they intend to preserve freedom while fostering their ends or whether they intend to forfeit it. Certainly they must know that the essence of freedom is choice, limited only by the condition that force and violence must not be used to control the choices of others. If a man is to be free he must have the right to discriminate, to choose his associates as he pleases. Mutual association, whether to transact business or merely to join in conversation, must be entered into voluntarily by *all* parties concerned. If one party wishes to abstain from association, no one can force him to do otherwise without destroying his freedom.

This principle of voluntarism underlies all the institutions of a free society, whether they be religious, commercial, or social, and it makes them all workable. Take capitalism, for example. The investor is free to place his capital in the enterprise of his choice; the businessman is free to deal with whomever he feels will offer him the best bargain. Thus, capitalism is the only economic organization consistent with a free society. But when voluntarism is impaired or destroyed in any field, freedom is diminished in like amount.

In order to prevent chaos, governments are vested with a monopoly on force and violence: only governments can legally establish police forces and armies. Hence, governments are the sole agencies which can

“

*... 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.*



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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hamper voluntarism or demolish liberty. If governments fail to apply their laws absolutely equally and without discrimination they become more evil than the private lawbreakers that governments are instituted to keep in check.

No one who believes in a free society can possibly question the right of a white Southerner to choose to associate only with whites, if that is what he desires. Likewise, no one can question the right of a Negro to associate only with Negroes, if he so desires. And no one can question the right of whites and Negroes to associate with each other if they *both* desire. Nor can any one who professes a belief in a free society question the right of a businessman to sell only to those whom he chooses, or, as an owner of private property, to exclude from his premises whomever he wishes. Such freedom is guaranteed to Negro property owners just as much as white.

A voluntary association requires the consent of *both* parties. To the extent that segregation is the result of voluntary withdrawal on the part of Southern whites, Negroes have no legal grounds for complaint. But Southern segregation is more than voluntarism: law itself is used to buttress and enforce the separation of the races. Negroes have very legitimate grounds to seek the abolition of any laws which enforce segregation, because they are not within the spirit of a free society built upon the principle of voluntarism.

To throw out laws which enforce segregation does not mean, however, that Southerners should be compelled to integrate. It only means that segregation can have no legal basis, no recognition in law. Private citizens, exercising the rights of private property can refuse entrance or service to whomever they wish, and any privately owned business, school, restaurant, or transportation facility can exercise that option. The *right* of private Southerners to segregate cannot be questioned by men who believe in free institutions.

The only real question then, about which there is legitimate debate, is the social *advisability* of segregation. This is a matter for the public forum; it is not a matter for courts of law. If integrationists believe that voluntary segregation is unsociable, they can undertake any number of remedial and persuasive programs that would not circumscribe the liberty of free citizens. But they have not chosen such an enlightened course: on the contrary, by means of dubious and fraudulent re-interpretations of law, they have applied the brute force of federal government against segregation. They have laid the cornerstones of tyranny. They have erected the foundations of dictatorship. They have established precedents for federal government to regulate, arbitrarily, the social intercourse of private citizens everywhere in the Republic.

Liberal integrationists have used force capriciously and willy-nilly, sometimes to destroy the legal underpinnings of segregation, and other times to destroy the social tradition of segregation itself. In the name

of freeing Negroes, they are enslaving whites. They have blurred important distinctions. In their view, discrimination itself is an anathema, "undemocratic" and "wicked." This blind hatred of discrimination is quite inconsistent with liberals' own penchant for discriminatory law, such as the graduated income tax which surely imposes more heavily upon some selected citizens than upon others, and could scarcely be called "democratic."

From this confusion emanate the real and potential threats to freedom. Without a sound conception of the difference between voluntarism and compulsion clearly before them, the liberals gallop onward, half-cocked, with only one notion to guide them: those who resist are wicked, and must be overpowered.

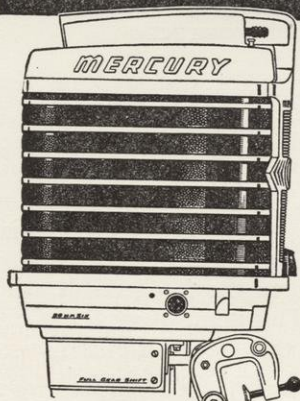
It would be simple to integrate completely, and equalize individuals in their private affairs as the liberals are trying to do — but only by means of storm troopers and bayonets. Now, it may be that freedom is no longer good or desirable, or that tyranny is in vogue as the means to solve the dilemmas of mankind. If so, then the liberals, who are after all, the progressive element in society, should come right out in favor of it, and clearly say what they believe: that freedom is too chaotic, that freedom hurts too many people, that freedom permits too much financial and social inequality, and that the only salvation of mankind is the rigorous control of all men.

*BEST FOR '61*

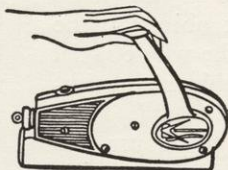
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# A Valiant Virginian

ROGER CLAUS

The Wisconsin Campus is very aware of the civil rights struggle in the South today. Wisconsin students, in their quest for knowledge and truth, have been among the most active in the nation in informing themselves and taking part in this issue. The manifestations of this active interest are many: special groups have been formed; local outlets of national chain stores have been picketed; students have marched on the State Capitol; collections have been taken to help boycotted Negroes in Tennessee; many pronouncements have been uttered in the classroom and out.

These pronouncements indicate that Wisconsin has not lost the intellectual vigor that makes it a great center of learning. They also stimulate idealistically conceived bandwagon movements that politically activist students are wont to jump on. This is all very healthy—as long as the students have heard and judged all the pertinent points of view before they jump.

One point of view, perhaps the most perplexing and difficult to understand, has been neglected. It is that of the principled and intellectual White Southerner. I, and I am certainly not alone, have often wondered what motivates the White Southerner. The speculations of most of the faculty and student spokesmen on this subject range from wishful thinking to downright know-nothingism. For example, I find it difficult to believe that the White thought-leaders of the South are banded together in a massive conspiracy to repress the Declaration of Independence. I find equally unpalatable the supposition that all White Southerners are “evil” and subversive. Therefore, I take this opportunity to present the viewpoint of a man whom I believe to be representative of prin-

cipled, intellectual Whites in the South. These are the views of one man, James Jackson Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News Leader*. Whether or not the reader adjudges them valid, they are formidable and must be reckoned with.

First, the cause of the issue. On May 17 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States, under the heady sociological spell of Gunnar Myrdal's *The American Dilemma*, handed down *Brown vs. Board of Education*. The South was stunned. Its initial bewilderment, however, soon gave way to resentment and vows of resistance. Why? As Kilpatrick puts it, “The case for the South cannot be set down, complete, in any book or essay: It has to be lived and sensed and felt; it is an amalgam of the smiles, hopes, fears of the Southerners' life. The South, it has been wisely said, is a state of mind; but this is to say no more than that the essential South is a metaphysical abstraction, beyond the pathologists of the *New York Times*, certainly beyond the Gunnar Myrdals of distant Sweden.” Or in other words, the Northerner cannot really comprehend the problem that exists, because he has never experienced the environmental factors that bring it all about. Therefore, we of the North are not in a position to demand a pat answer from the indicted South, and if we were, we would be unable to comprehend the reasoning behind it. Let it be said that the biggest objection the South holds against the whole racial issue is the highly dubious constitutionality of *Brown vs. Board*. They charge that the high Court has gravely erred; that it took an action it was not qualified to take. To wit: “The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, never having been *validly* ratified, cannot provide a

valid basis for the mandate the Supreme Court proposes to inflict upon the Southern States.” The ratification question relates back to the confused passage of the Reconstruction Act, in which the carpet-bag legislatures (unrecognized by their constituents) ratified the amendment. Or it can be stated another way. The conquered Southern States were compelled to ratify the amendment against their wishes as the price of readmission to the Congress. Thus, Kilpatrick continues, “It was only by virtue of a palpably unconstitutional series of actions that the Fourteenth Amendment ever was ratified at all . . . and if the amendment were void at the outset, it remains void to this day.”

In conclusion, “The objection that the South relies on most firmly is this: (1) Under the Tenth Amendment, all powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by the Constitution to the States, are reserved to the States; (2) The power to operate racially separate schools never was prohibited to the States, but on the contrary was clearly understood to be reserved to them; (3) Therefore, that power remains vested in the States *respectively* to this day, and can be prohibited to them only by the Constitution itself, and not by any judicial construction.”

A cogent presentation of this point of view would require a book. That book, Kilpatrick's *The Sovereign States* exists for all open-minded ideologues to agree with or reject. I would caution potential critics to confine this intellectual argument to the intellectuals who hold it. This point of view *did not* motivate the New Orleans housewives or Mack Parker's lynch mob. I have put it forth to suggest that the South is not generically blighted with racism and bigotry. What is more, the Liberals of the North do not have to agree with this opinion, but perhaps they should temper their name calling and begin fighting to the death for the South's right honorably to hold it.

# THE BLACK TREADMILL

## It May be Good Exercise, but it isn't Progress

RICHARD S. WHEELER

For well over a century the abolitionists have desultorily struggled against the South. Foremost among their goals is the enfranchisement of the Southern Negro, of whom at present only 25 percent can vote, due to various devices used by whites to maintain their political monopoly. Second in importance is the integration of the Negro, currently being advanced by force in schools, and by infiltration in churches, latrines and lunch counters. Thirdly, the integrationists are committed to eradicate the prejudice aimed against the Negro, on the assumption that its elimination will provide Negroes with "equal social and economic opportunity." Fourthly, the integrationists have undertaken to boost the racial pride of the Negro and to demolish any lingering notions about "biological inferiority of Negroes." And lastly, though not so widely publicized, the integrationists aim to lure newly enfranchised Negroes into the orbit of liberalism, tip the conservative balance in the South, and so dominate politics in the Republic.

*What means have abolitionists utilized to achieve their goals, and have these means been effective?*

Ever since its inception, abolitionism has been a radical movement. Its early leaders and adherents such as William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown were radical by nature. This early radical tradition was to affect dramatically the nature of the movement, and it still does, to its great detriment. The modern day integrationist operates in nearly the same radical manner that his predecessors did, and is less effectual than they were.

Radicalism attempts to shortcut revolution by utilizing forceful and, sometimes, violent revolutionary means to overthrow the status quo. Right from its inception, for example, abolitionism plunked for a violent overthrow of Southern slavery and, in amazingly brief time, it achieved the splendid success of plunging the Republic into civil war. It also brought with it the enduring hatreds which have plagued the Negroes for a long, gloomy century after the struggle was over.

Radicalism has no fear of making enemies; it does so willingly on the assumption that it can whip them anyway, and suppress their resistance to its innovations. Radicalism attempts to demolish forcibly the interests and prerogatives of some segment of the populace, and thus it provokes reaction and breeds enemies who sometimes grow far stronger than the radicals themselves. Radicalism became the permanent methodology of abolition after the civil war had shown how successful sheer military coercion is at altering the face of society. Since then, the abolitionist has never hesitated to make a mortal enemy of the white Southerner.

### THE FASTER WAY

The weapons of the integrationists, such as court orders and injunctions, re-interpretation of the constitution, new "civil rights" commissions and laws, propaganda condemning the white Southerner, and use of federal bayonets, are all means of applying force against a resisting people. If these weapons are used slowly or moderately, that is slow and moderate revolution, and it is met with the usual stubborn resistance. It is not evolu-

tion. True evolution breeds virtually no reaction because it uses no naked force and it tyrannizes no one. For that reason evolution is often faster than revolution.

The guiding spirit of integration is the radical mind. It is necessary to examine the workings of this sort of mentality to show, later on, its effects upon the government. Because the radical is struggling against the existing order he avoids contributing material wealth to it (although he may sometimes enrich its literature). In terms of labor contributed and real wages won, the radical is barren. His energies are primarily devoted to political agitation. This is vital to remember because it will explain to some extent the low economic status of the Negro, who has been steeped in radical tradition.

Another facet of the radical that should be noted is that he regards himself as a disinterested citizen working solely for the public weal. He claims he obtains no personal advantage or gain in helping the Southern Negro, and that his efforts are simply for the general good. He is so disinterested, in fact, that the integration movement increases in zeal as it moves farther and farther north.

The radical mind does not limit itself to integration alone, but usually engages itself in numerous radical causes all at once, such as the abolition of colonialism, or the abolition of capitalism — with typical intransigence in all instances. This indicates that the radical or liberal mind is of a type congenitally unable to cope with existing society, and that such projects as integration do not result from a genuine public spirit, but rather from a need to vent frustrations. True public spirit is not

*chronically* opposed to the existing order.

Bearing in mind that radicals are more tearers-down than builders-up, it is easy to understand that abolitionism is more truculently anti-white than pro-Negro. In other words, radicals expend much less energy and money in direct assistance to Negroes than they expend in attacking Southern whites. The enormous federal machinery of compulsory integration is directed *against* whites; the courts are directing their dictums *against* whites; the lumbering presses of the North daily belabor the whites; as if the white people of the South had spirited away the Genius of the Negro people, locked it in a great stronghold, and now are perversely refusing to surrender it back to the Negroes.

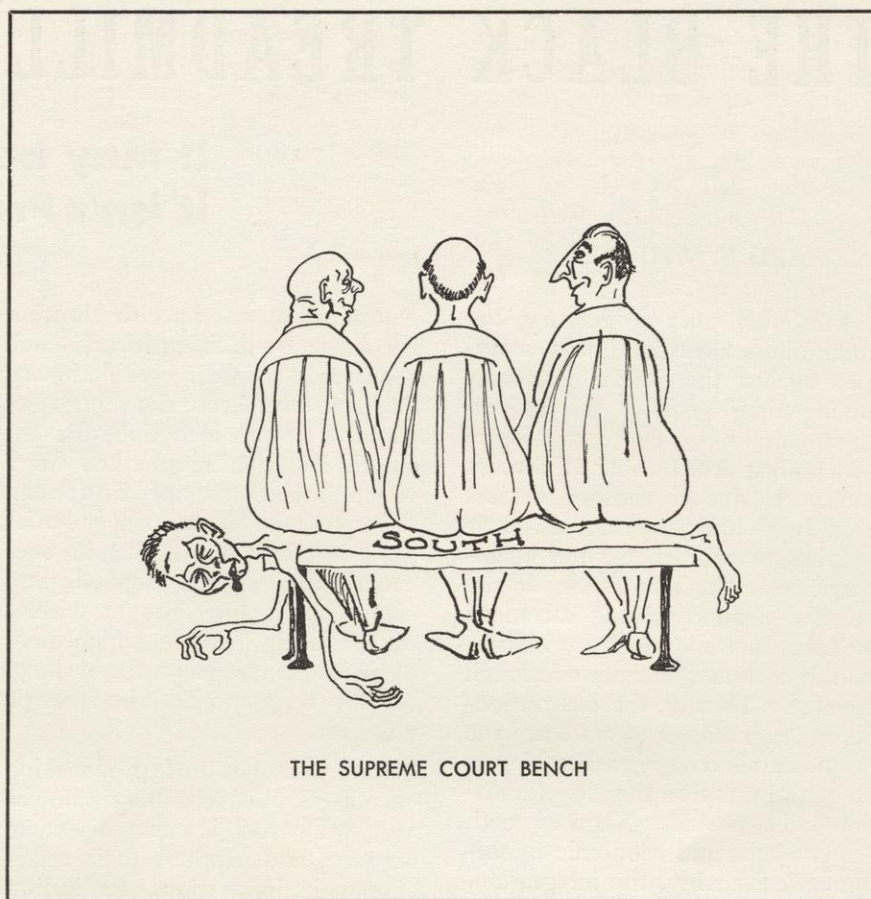
Northern mixmongers have convinced the Negro that he has no future unless he somehow wrests it bodily from his selfish white neighbors. Rarely is the Negro led to believe that his future lies in his own hands, to be won through his own volition, his own courage. Instead, he is told that (1) he must battle the whites to get ahead, and (2) that if he won't fight his battle, the integrationists from Mr. Warren on down will do it for him. Thus the Negro is enmeshed in radicalism and scarcely offered the alternative of evolutionary self-development.

To the integrationist, (or mixmonger, properly so-called,) the Southerner has become the scapegoat; a stereotyped jack-of-all-evils who is to blame for everything depressing, even including America's diplomatic failures with non-white nations.

### SOUTHERN SCAPEGOAT

All radical movements have scapegoats, and all scapegoating is similar in nature. The Southerner is usually portrayed as an uneducated, wily, suspender-snapping boor who bullies Negroes. The image of the Southerner lurking in the skull of the Northern liberal is similar to the grotesque image

### 8 INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK



of the Jew which burdened the mind of the Nazi. Many a liberal who is appalled at the Nazi treatment of the Jews entertains vague notions of doing similar courtesies to Southern whites.

For a century the Negroes have been permeated with radical solutions to their problems. A pitifully small percentage of them have decided that their futures lay within themselves instead of in some whites somewhere. These few became the Booker Washingtons and George Carvers—the ones whom modern Negroes talk proudly about, but the ones whose conservative ideals of hard work and struggle modern Negroes victimized by the radicals carefully ignore.

The sit-ins have been highly praised in mixmongering circles because they are apparently the first upwelling to be instigated by the Negroes themselves. None the less, the sit-ins fall into the usual anti-

white tradition. Their energy is exhausted upon tearing down white barriers rather than building up Negro institutions. They are being met with the customary resistance inherent in all radicalism. No sit-in has ever enriched the Negroes; no sit-in has ever educated a Negro; no sit-in has ever won Negroes the friendship of Southern whites.

### FORCE BREEDS FORCE

There are numerous objections to radicalism, the prime one of which is that it provokes reaction the way a red cape provokes a bull. When hostile force is directed against a political body, it is bound to feel itself besieged, and bound to mobilize its members in an effort to preserve its institutions and prerogatives. That is what happened in the South in response to mixmonger pressure. After it lost the War Between the States—the first application of brute Northern force against

it—the South turned toward civil resistance to preserve itself. When the North inflicted carpetbaggers, constitutional amendments, military rule, and a radical congress upon it, the South was hurt to the quick, and responded in kind with the Klan, and similar organizations, disfranchising schemes such as poll taxes, educational requirements and grandfather clauses, a one-party political monopoly, some ornery voting registrars, segregation, and finally, prejudice to insure the survival of the old traditions. It all spelled trouble for the Negro, who might be freer, richer, and happier now if a less hasty and radical approach than war had been utilized.

When zealous abolitionists placed ignorant, irresponsible, freed slaves into legislatures and enfranchised them, it was inevitable that the South should react, and that the most honorable men of the South should come to hate Yankees and seek to undo the devastation to their lives.

## OTHER ALTERNATIVES

If making enemies of Southerners were the only feasible way to press toward their goals, the abolitionists might be justified. But it is not the only way: it is the radical way. In a solid century of effort, radicalism has made *little practical change* in the position of the Southern Negro even with the advantage of massive federal power applied in its behalf. It has, however, incited endless race hate; it has, in order to prosecute its campaign, demolished the constitutional guarantees to the states; it *has* curtailed civil liberty; it *has* made the federal government a frightful threat to freedom. . .

And now it appears that mixmongers are actually *retarding* the Negro with their hostile actions. Said a recent *Progressive Magazine*, discussing the Southern reaction: "Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944."

"The proportion of eligible Negro voters who were registered was 25 percent in 1958, unchanged from 1956. In the eight states from which accurate figures could be obtained, the number of registered Negro voters had *actually declined* from 1956 to 1958 by almost 5 percent."

"In some localities Negro voters have been removed wholesale from the voting lists."

Undoubtedly the learned editor of *Progressive* would blame the South for the current status of the Negro, and never, *never* suspect his own radical tradition as the root cause.

Said one Southerner, a liberal: "In my city (Atlanta) ever since they started school integration, Negroes have been removed from urban planning boards and all community enterprises where they were making real progress before."



Apparently the concept of re-action, of retaliation seems to have escaped the mixmongers—or has it? The reality of a century of failure weighs more significantly as a clue to abolitionists' true desires than all their giddy gabble about the Negro cause. 25 percent enfranchisement isn't much of a record for a century's toil. The mixmonger tries to evade it by claiming that the future will be "better" yet he offers no new approach which might be less sterile than the old approach.

In order to ascertain the true motive of the mixmonger, it is necessary to probe his radical mind, and find out what it really desires.

Note first of all that the northern radical claims to have a deep and extraordinary sympathy for a people hundreds of miles distant, whom he has never met, never heard, never seen. *What is it that moves him to vehement hatred of white strangers and vehement affection for Negro strangers?*

## LUKE WARM SUPPORT

Secondly, note that the hotbeds of integration are in the north, contrary to all logic. The Negroes who presumably would benefit from it have offered it only half-hearted support. In fact the new Civil Rights Commission, expecting a deluge of complaints to flood it, has been amazed to process only several hundred, and these for the most part instigated by Northern NAACP agitators in the South. It is a most peculiar movement in which the "sympathizers" spearhead the action, and push reluctant Negroes into new clashes. *When a powerful political body forces its aids and benefactions upon a people who only half desire it, what are its motives?*

Thirdly, the mixmongers have persistently agitated in the South, thus provoking equally persistent Southern retaliation against hapless Negroes, and in turn these Negroes are forced to rely more and more on Northern muscle to *protect* themselves against irate whites. *What motive guides a forceful political group deliberately to provoke violence, and then offer protection and comfort to the weaker of the parties in the violence?*

Now add to these questions a clear record of a century of failure, yet no inclination to alter the method of attack, and what does it all add up to?

It adds up to a lust for power, which is the only real goal of any radical, and always has been. The liberal who groans at the paternalism of Southerners itches to establish his own paternalism over the Negro. In the labyrinthine chambers of the mixmonger's mind are dreams of using the newly enfran-

chised Negroes whom he has "aided" and who owe him gratitude, as yet another building block of "liberalism." So long as Negroes can be kept a "persecuted minority group," this kind of paternalism can exploit them; it feeds on the "underprivileged" and has a vested interest in keeping the Negro where he is. The real and underlying goal of abolitionism all along has—strange as it may seem—been failure itself.

\* \* \* \*

In the preceding paragraphs objections have been raised about the methodology and motives of abolition. There remains to be considered the various objections to the announced abolitionist goals, and in particular, integration itself.

The cardinal assumption among mixmongers is that integration of the races is a virtue, yet, when they are forced to give reasons why integration is a virtue, they can cite very few which are rational. Moreover, they simply ignore a whole set of concrete reasons why integration might in fact be no virtue at all, but a liability to both races and a source of perpetual trouble. They advance several reasons for integration which are scarcely based on reality. The chief of these is that integration would somehow end the abuses which are visited upon the Negroes. The irrational assumption here is that increased intimacy and full sharing of the same facilities will magically end abuse and soften the white's hostility. Reality and experience indicate the opposite; that integration increases abuses in many instances. *Time Magazine* recently reported a poll of Southerners in which 59 percent of them felt that integration had increased tension between the races. To this, mixmongers reply that "things will get better." How? By stepping up the integration? When? In five hundred years? Why? Because Southerners are going to See The Light? Nor do the mixmongers tell *what the Negro has obtained in exchange for all this trouble*. A chance to be brave? The notion that free intermingling will bring racial har-

mony and equality at this time in history is the most tragic sort of delusion, fostered by the Ivory Tower idealism of the distant North.

On the one hand, the mixmongers, by raw force, jam the two races into closer quarters than they are accustomed to; on the other hand,



mixmongers do nothing to alleviate the hostility of whites to the idea. It is a great tribute to the patience of Southern whites that such a situation hasn't exploded into sheer mayhem.

Another shoddy reason advanced in support of integration is that it will bring the Negro "social and economic opportunity." How? By antagonizing more whites? Where? In buildings and businesses owned by newly angered whites? When? Now? A hundred years from now?

And yet another "reason" is that integration will "broaden" Southerners, and expand their horizons. To those people who don't wish to be broadened, but prefer instead to be deepened, this is no argument at all. But even if "broadening" were a virtue, it would scarcely have meaning to the people of the South, who are already quite "broadened" as to each other's racial attributes.

These then, are the integrationist argument. On the other hand there are some solid reasons advanced by Southerners in opposition to mixing. In fact, they regard segregation as a boon to both races. The rationale supporting any segregation, whether in the South between

Negro and white, or in a prep school between lower classmen and upper, is that mingling would harm the upper, or segregating group. Two things are necessary to justify segregation: (1) a difference in quality between segregators and segregated, and (2) evidence that free mingling of the groups would debase the superior one in some way. Both conditions existed in abundance in the decades following the War For Southern Independence, and segregation was the result.

At that time, the freed Negro lived in a state of utmost primitiveness and rusticity, with the exception of former house servants. It seemed necessary to separate the races in order to maintain an ordered, civilized society. Civilization is far more easily debased than built up. The free circulation of primitive peoples among more sophisticated ones, especially their children, would have sorely undermined Southern life. Nowadays the Southern Negro has outgrown his early rusticity to some degree. But Southerners insist that the problem remains basically the same. Southerners of conscience regret the segregation of those Negroes who have advanced far beyond the level of any Georgia cracker, but they see no feasible means to eliminate segregation—and they intend to defend their own behavior until their every resource is exhausted.

### BETTER THAN GHETTOES

The Southerners also argue, with validity, that segregation is a boon to the Negro as well. It prevents premature, traumatic assumptions of "equality" when background is still lacking; it now offers separate and equal facilities with which to obtain the missing background; and it permits the Negro much more intermingling and friendship than the hypocritical Northern-style segregation of Negroes into urban ghettos.

So long as men have varying capacities, segregation will continue to exist, and sometimes along racial lines. The segregation of Negroes is not a *de facto* assumption that they are racially, biologically in-

ferior, but rather a recognition that Negroes are newly arrived in a civilization 2000 years and more in the making. Segregation is simply the recognition that Negroes are newcomers. If the myth of racial inferiority still persists in the South, it is up to Southern Negroes to wipe it out with constant examples of industry, fruitfulness and genius. Racists can't argue very well against facts.

## SCHIZOPHRENIA

Objections must be raised against two other goals of abolitionism which are contradictory and, therefore, illogical. On the one hand, work is being done by the mix-mongers to increase the racial pride of the Negro. Great Negro stars, ballplayers, musicians, etc. are bally-hoed as examples of the genius of the Negro people. On the other hand, mixmongers try to bury racial realities. They ask that the Negro's race be ignored — as if such make-believe were actually a compliment to the man! These two goals careen into each other like football players, often tragically. The University of Wisconsin Housing Bureau, for example, which is stuffed with abolitionists, enforces two regulations governing private women's residence halls serving the campus. One regulation forbids residence hall owners to ask upon their application forms the race or creed of a prospective student tenant, or to ask for her picture. This is obviously an expression of the sentiment that race doesn't matter, and should be ignored. The second regulation, however, demands that each private residence hall be "integrated" and balanced with a specified percentage of Gentiles, Jews and Negroes. This is obviously within the other abolitionist sentiment of advancing the position of the whole minority group. Thus, the wretched house owners, in compliance with one rule, are not permitted to ascertain the background of their applicants in order to comply with the other one! Actually both rules are preposterous and

**For the laborious task of developing the constitution, we have substituted the methods of hasty legislation and a liberal Supreme Court. In competitive sports, the umpires have no license to interpret the rules liberally, they must interpret them literally. If this process works injustice, then the rules are carefully amended. The intellectual arrogance of our time, however, has created the tradition of liberalism in the Supreme Court. That is to say, Justices assume the right to interpret the Constitution, not according to what it says, but liberally, in accordance with the times. Consequently, the interpretations have changed with individual Justices while the laws have remained largely static.**

— Henry C. Link

should be abandoned.

It is plain that some of the long-standing goals of mixmongering are not feasible, others are contradictory, while others are undesirable. Whenever Negroes pursued these ends, they got nowhere. But whenever they turned toward self-development; when they founded universities on stumps in swamps; when they endured hardships to buy a few books; when they sacrificed to put a son through college; when they worked extra hours to build their own library; when they trained midwives to assist Negro mothers; when they made their own opportunities — then they made progress of lasting value for their race and for their nation. Moreover, when they did so, they found whites sympathetic rather than hostile. That was evolutionary progress. *That is the conservative alternative.*

Conversely, when Negroes have attempted to impose themselves upon whites by force, the results have been sterile. With every petty sit-in "victory," every petty integration "victory," the Negro loses his war for another weary year, and slips further and further from the salvation of self-development. That has been the revolutionary

approach. *That is the radical, or liberal alternative.*

It is part of the wisdom of conservatism that in the last analysis every man is responsible for himself. By that token, no man can help the Southern Negro more than himself. Certainly the meddling of the mix-mongers this last century has helped neither the Negro nor the South. It has only helped the mixmongers. Conservatives make no pretense of being special friends of the Negro any more than special enemies. But they are interested in him.

Conservatives, in fact, have very definite, open motives for preferring evolution to revolution. In it, they see the preservation of the Southern way of life as a refreshing sectional buttress against mass man. They see in it the calling off of the terrible federal juggernaut which has spread hatreds, violence, mayhem and terror through the South. They see a restoration of the constitutional rights of the states, a checking of the erosions made upon the constitution, and a halt to tyranny. Moreover, they see increases in Negro prosperity as Negroes break from radicalism and start getting down to work. They see better facilities for Negroes, and freer, more cheerful intermingling as a natural course of evolution.

## MIGHT HAVE DIED

Segregation would wither if the need for it were gone, just as traditions wither when there is no longer a need for them. Perhaps segregation would have withered long ago if radicalism hadn't provoked it to continued life.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that Negroes will live up to the conservative maxims of Booker Washington. In fact, they claim to be tired of being lectured to about Booker Washington, but that is because they don't want to listen to the quiet, urgent voice of reality and reason. Let them continue their integration schemes then. In the long run, no people get more or less than they deserve.

# REX AMERICANUS

JOHN CARAVAN

Now the power of the Senate is nearly eroded away. The first and most mortal blow struck against that noble body occurred in the year nineteen hundred and thirteen. That was a time when the Republic was just discovering with delight that it was a world power; a time when the virtues of democracy were being trumpeted across the globe and a time when reformers were particularly busy attempting to change the social structure of the nation. One of the reforms, which was hailed as a bright step toward government of the people, by the people, and for the people at that time was the 17th amendment. Now, half a century later it is all but forgotten by liberals and conservatives alike, and yet it stands out as the most terrible blow against liberty ever to be struck, and the reason why the thunderclouds of tyranny can now be seen gathering upon the horizons of the Republic.

The 17th amendment deals with the election of senators, a subject which scarcely arouses interest in the bosoms of modern political philosophers. By striking out only five key words in the constitution — “chosen by the legislatures thereof” — and substituting five more — “elected by the people thereof” — it placed the selection of senators into the hands of the public and removed that privilege from the legislatures of the several states. It was that five word change, as will be shown, that has led us to the decline of our liberties, and now, to the ominous possibility of oppression.

To understand the damage wrought by the 17th amendment, it is necessary to understand why

the framers of the constitution placed the election of senators into the hands of the state legislatures in the first place. Alexander Hamilton speaks for his age very succinctly:

“There are few positions more demonstrable [he says] than that there should be in every republic some permanent body to correct the prejudices, check the intemperate passions and regulate the fluctuations of the popular assembly. It is evident that a body instituted for these purposes must be so formed as to exclude as much as possible from its own character those infirmities and that mutability which it is designed to remedy. It is, therefore, necessary that it should be small, that it should hold its authority during a considerable period, and that it should have such independence in the exercise of its powers, as will divest it as much as possible of local prejudices.”

## NOT DEMOCRATIC

The sort of body described by Hamilton is not a democratic one by any means. On the contrary, everything was done to make it as undemocratic as possible while still remaining a representative body. Not only were senators given a long tenure of office so that they might be free of crowd pressures, but they were to be elected by the state legislatures as well, and thus be completely removed from popular control. Moreover, the senate was to remain small and aristocratic. All this was done to guarantee that at least one body of the federal government would represent the views of superior, established men, and the finest elements of society.

Pure democracy, or majority rule, was thoroughly distrusted by the framers. Said James Madison in *The Federalist*: “. . . democracies have ever been spectacles of such turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property, and have, in general, been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths.”

Thus the framers most emphatically did not believe in majority rule. Quite rightly, they regarded majority rule as the breeding ground of tyrants. The purest expression of majority rule, in fact, is the single demagogue — the Caesar, the Hitler — who rests his authority on the will of “the people” — i.e., the majority, and who declares himself the enemy of “special interests,” — i.e., the minority.

On the other hand everything possible was done to keep the House of Representatives sensitive to the wishes of the public. Brief terms of two years, plus direct election of the representatives, plus election on the basis of population, plus a large membership, all assured that the lower chamber would accurately reflect the current feelings of the public. Thus the two bodies of congress were to be placed at odds with each other, one reflecting the responsible and established members of society, and the other one reflecting the people at large. The Senate would check the quicksilver desires of the House; the House would impress the people's desires upon the Senate.

The advantages of such a congress were numerous. The fact that

each chamber was responsible to a different element of the people assured a fine quality of debate and discussion in *both* houses, because each house would have to understand, and accomodate for, the other's objections. No bill could be passed until all its sides were examined, and it was found to be eminently reasonable and sane. Such



an arrangement guaranteed the protection of minorities, which could find refuge in one house or the other, depending on circumstances. It also assured a decentralized federal government, with a portion of the federal organization directly accountable to the *legislatures* of the states rather than to the *people* of the states, who are more apt to be nationally-oriented than state-oriented. With such guaranteed decentralization it would have been nearly impossible for an ambitious American demagogue-emperor to arise, basing his powers on a coalition of minority groups, the poor, and the "discontent," as happened three decades ago. It assured protection of private property through the Senate on the one hand, and it assured through the House that property would not be used irresponsibly and oppressively, on the other hand. A Senate not directly responsible to the people assured that at no time would the federal government in all its branches and divisions be aligned into a single faction, or unified into a single majority. Moreover, selection by state legislatures assured the Senate of maintaining its quality, for states would find it necessary as a matter of competition to place their most skilled citizens into office. Thus, the Senate was to be the stronghold of conservatism always, and the House the focal point of innovation.

In the year nineteen hundred and thirteen, in one terrible blow, this whole system of checks and balances was knocked akilter, and vital assurances of liberty were demolished. From that moment on, the Republic has been beset by internal decay which will not be checked until the Senate is freed from the crushing control of mass man. Now, the Senate is little different from the House. Only when it had great immunity to the popular will, as in its greatest days in the mid-nineteenth century, was it able to debate the issues before it in perfect freedom, and make unfettered decisions.

Very probably, had the 17th amendment failed of ratification, we would not be seeing the tyrannies which have descended upon our times, such as an income and inheritance tax structure of discriminatory and punishing design, or a compulsory social security system, or a massive federal bureaucracy which has centralized power in Washington, and destroyed that

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**A Democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of Government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury. From that moment on the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits from the public treasury with the result that Democracy always collapses over loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a Dictatorship and then a Monarchy.**

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— Prof. Alexander Frazer Tytler  
(written nearly 2 centuries ago)

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of the once-sovereign people, or a federal government which both competes with, and harrasses private industry. Moreover, we would not see the membership of the Senate sunk so low as it is now, when its members are all too often knavish agents of the unions.

If a single political group representing a single political philosophy, captures all the branches of govern-

ment, then the system of checks and balances is rendered impotent. Checks and balances are predicated upon the existence of conflicting elements competing within the government. And if this group holds its power for several decades, then gradually the opposition's ideas will not be mere opposition — they will be treason. The dissenters will, after all, be opposing the government itself, because the government will be the exclusive property of the majority. And if dissent becomes treason, then the legislature becomes a rubber stamp, and representative government will cease to exist.

## SAFEGUARDS GONE

Now, with the power of the Senate virtually destroyed, and the Supreme Court the whore of public opinion rather than the upholder of law, there is no longer a roadblock between demagogues and masses, between expanding bureaucracies and the expanding "needs" of the people.

The remaining power of the Senate hangs upon the single thread of filibuster. This extra-constitutional device is now the sole shelter behind which a beleaguered minority can barricade itself. No other branch of the federal government still offers a haven against the storms of majority rule. Yet the liberals would overthrow even this last, small bit of liberty, and impose pure, sleek majority rule upon the Republic. Daily they belabor the Filibuster Rule in the Senate, and the Rules Committee of the House—knowing only too well that if these go, then neither the House nor the Senate can retain its power, and the Congress will wither away into a mere debating society.

If the filibuster is relegated to the past, then the Republic is relegated to the past also, because the loyal opposition will cease to exist. If the filibuster goes, then nothing stands in the way of complete executive control, and Mr. Kennedy will be free to don the purple of Augustus Caesar.

# CON GAME!

## The Peddlers of Free Medicine Offer a Phony Bill of Goods

REBECCA COLWELL

It is getting harder and harder to tell a collectivist from a confidence man. After disarming his victim with pious references to such ennobled catch-alls as "brotherly love" and Christian charity, the collectivist proceeds to entice him with visions of a bland, benign world where such inconveniences as Want, Worry, Unrequited Love and Hospital Bills have been glibly done away with. "Give me your freedom to excel, my friend," he prods, "and I will give you something better—freedom from failure! Give me your freedom to generate, and I will subsidize your degeneracy. Give me your freedom to allocate your income as *you* see fit, and I shall be delighted to allocate it for you 'in your best interests'."

This is the collectivist bargain; for only a small price, merely your right of self-determination, you will be awarded state-protection against all the possible contingencies for self-destruction. Give up your living spirit, and you shall be guaranteed your existence. *This is novacaine intellectual and spiritual, injected to numb the nerve endings of human pride.*

The most current form of collectivist chicanery is "compulsory health insurance." The liberal argument, when stripped of its plumage of impassioned bromides and fire alarm tactics is reduced to three faulty assumptions: (1) that the percentage of people over 65 who have definite need of insurance

against the expenses of infirmity would justify a blanket program, (2) that the majority of the citizenry are insufficiently competent to decide whether or not to subscribe to a voluntary plan, and (3) that the only alternative to universal paternalism is universal neglect.

This simply is not true. A study, conducted by Professors James W. Wiggins and Helmut Schoeck of Emory University and based on a careful interview-survey of a large cross-section of elder citizens outside of hospitals or institutions, reports that 90 per cent of the respondents were either in good or fair health and that 92 per cent had no medical needs that were not being taken care of. Most of the remaining 8 per cent reported that their unfulfilled needs were the result of their own negligence and consisted chiefly of glasses, dentures and hearing aids. When asked how they would pay for a large (\$1,000-\$5,000) medical bill, over two thirds of the respondents said that they would be able to manage payment by conventional and personal means. It is interesting to note that many of those interviewed volunteered their concern over the ravages of inflation which has reduced the value of social security along with everything else.

### AGED NOT INFIRM

Although the liberals attempt to caricature the aged as inept, impoverished and debilitated, the overwhelming majority are active, use-



ful and financially able. Many have several sources of income. Today, nine and one-half million aged receive Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance (OASDI) benefits; over one million receive veteran's pensions; and over one million receive other government pensions such as civil service. Four million are employed, or are the wives of employed persons (In propagandizing statistics compiled for the use of liberal legislators, wives were computed as having an income of zero regardless of the husband's income). One and one-half million receive private pensions, and about one million receive individually purchased annuities. Approximately half of the aged have some income from assets in the form of interest, dividends, or rent, and three-quarters own liquid assets in one form or another—the highest percentage of any age group.

Those who back the compulsory plan glibly dismiss voluntary health insurance as inadequate. A Health Insurance Institute survey, however, reports that 65 per cent of the U.S. population over 65 are presently insured and that, considering current rates of increase, we can reasonably expect 90 per cent to be covered by 1970. A Government study showed that between March, 1952, and September, 1956, the number of Americans over 65 increased 13 per cent while private health insurance coverage increased 56 per cent. A compulsory, government-administered

health insurance program would cause the demise of these private, voluntary plans. "Compulsory health insurance" is a collectivist remedy for a limited problem—a way of giving a political pittance to all instead of appreciable help to the truly needy.

Under the archetypical Forand bill, the government would purchase health services for social security beneficiaries, like a parent buys candy for children. This provision departs from the original intent of social security under which benefits have been paid directly to the recipient to allot as he saw fit. Payment in commodity instead of cash would obligate the patient to select a hospital, nursing home or physician under contract to the federal government.

The program would be financed by increased social security payments—already scheduled to reach 9 per cent of an income of \$4800. Liberals make the claim that automatically extracting these payments from a man's pay envelope would enhance his self-respect and make the ultimate benefits seem less like a government dole. But, paradoxically, the program assumes that the average American hasn't enough prudence to insure himself against the possibilities of future expense with savings, investment or a voluntary insurance plan. Can such coercive paternalism enhance anyone's self respect?

## JUST THE BEGINNING

The adoption of Forand-type legislation would mean "socialized medicine" for everyone over 65. True, the bill is limited, but leftist legislators and AFL-CIO spokesmen have already expressed their dissatisfaction with these limitations. The next step would be to lower the ages of eligibility and to broaden the field of coverage until every American has been insured against every possible contingency under a compulsory government-controlled system.

As Mike Bernstein, minority staff director of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Relations, so aptly said, "You can't unscramble eggs." It is indeed difficult to de-socialize, for socialization destroys private enterprise and creates a malignant bureaucracy. British Conservatives have campaigned on a platform of refraining from further nationalization rather than outright de-nationalization. A Conservative Government cannot easily undo the mistakes of its predecessors. This sort of rigidity is incompatible with a democratic government.

Britain's National Health Service was launched in 1948 with the hope that it would prove an elixir for post-war sluggishness in the medical profession. Instead, the program has resulted in inferior doctoring, higher taxes and general inefficiency.

## SLIPSHOD MEDICINE

Under NHS, physicians are not reimbursed on a fee-for-service basis, but are paid a fixed capitation fee per patient which averages out to about \$2.73 per patient a year. This means that the doctor must see over 100 patients a day to net an income of \$4,000 per year.

Hard on the doctor? Yes, but even harder on the patient. Suppose you have been suffering from an unexplainable, recurring pain that may or may not signalize a serious illness. You decide to contact a physician immediately for a thorough physical examination. When you reach the doctor's office, you "queue" up with the rest of the people waiting to see the doctor (Appointments are unheard of under NHS). Since "free" medical care was initiated, doctors have been besieged by hordes of people with minor and imaginary illnesses—who run to him for free prescriptions, free glasses, free hearing aids, free wigs and certificates to justify absenteeism from work. No matter how urgent your illness or valuable your time, you will have to wait.

When you finally reach the consultation room, you will find that

your share of the doctor's day amounts to approximately three minutes. During that time, he must diagnose your ailment, prescribe a treatment and fill out up to 16 different certificates and forms. If your doctor is conscientious, he will probably hesitate to make a snap diagnosis on such a superficial examination and send you to a hospital for consultation with a specialist. At the hospital you will be assigned a specialist, and again you must patiently wait your turn. When medicine is dispensed on an assembly line basis, privacy and individual attention are impossible.

Government-administered medicine is expensive medicine. In Britain, NHS cost 440 million pounds (\$1,230,000,000) during its first full year of operation—nearly triple the original estimate. The patients paid only 5 million pounds of this total. Another 28 million pounds came from social security deductions, and the taxpayers paid the rest. By 1958, the NHS bill was 705 million pounds, and this "free" service was costing the average British family 50 pounds (\$140) per year. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Derick Heathcoat Amory, dryly told the House of Commons in 1958 that the "free health service, whatever it may be doing for the health of Britons, is leaving the Treasury gasping."

A great part of this staggering cost is consumed by NHS's vast bureaucracy. One out of every 100 Britishers is employed by the Ministry of Health which hires two and one-half clerks for every doctor. On this basis, a similar system in the United States would mean the employment of 1,740,000 clerks and the construction of a Washington Office Building that would make the Pentagon look like an ant hill.

## LONE DISSENTER

Can this be the sort of program that led The Honorable Mr. Young of Ohio to protest on the Senate floor, "Mr. President, the United

(Continued on page 17)

# People in Glass Houses

MILLARD W. JOHNSON

## Few in the North Want Integration —Except in the South

Liberal integrationists have a profuse arsenal of weapons available to use on the South, among them being court rulings and armed troops. Yet even with these armaments, they rarely engage the South without asserting their moral authority to do so. Convinced that only they are in the Right, integrationists assume the role of missionaries out to proselyte the white South and to convince it of its inhumanity to man.

The court rulings and armed troops *are* working in the South, but the integrationist plea of moral authority is not, and this is why the South has resisted so stubbornly.

Southerners have resisted because they are equally convinced of the morality of their own position. It is best for all concerned, they say, that the races be separated. The thought of integrated schools, with the possibility of lowered standards, is anathema to them. Their system has worked for generations, and they feel dutybound to preserve it.

With each side of the racial issue so adamantly convinced of its own morality, there is little chance left for peaceful compromise. For each, there is no other side. As the integrationists become more vocal in their demands, the Southern defense becomes more extreme and more resolute, driving moderates and reason from the debate. In such an atmosphere, an amicable solution is unlikely to emerge.

Integrationists are astonished at the temerity of white Southerners to resist integration. Indeed, any criticism of their program, from North or South, constitutes gross effrontery and moral levity. When they chastise the South for its al-

leged sins, they automatically expect to hear an admission of guilt and a promise of atonement, and are confounded when such are not forthcoming. The integrationists fail to see that the South is equally convinced that it is right and therefore, feels no guilt.

A number of things irk the Southerner and discredit the integrationist philosophy in his mind. With both amusement and bitterness, he notes the disparity between Northern preachments and Northern behavior. He listens to pious talk of "equality" and "brotherhood," but sees wholesale residential segregation in the Northern cities on a scale unknown in his own Southland. He reasons, with some logic, that this is a tacit admission of what the South has been saying all along: that the races are best separated, for the present anyway.

The Southerner contends that the North cannot comprehend the problem because a disproportionately large percentage of Negroes still live in the South. He maintains that the problem is mainly a sectional one and he distrusts outside interference. His cry of states' rights denies that the Northerners have any competence in the matter. He dismisses as absurd the North's boast that it has all the answers to the South's problems.

### TACIT SEGREGATION

Dedicated integrationists, it then seems, are a vocal minority. The South might well ask if these zealots abide by the same doctrine they would impose upon the South. Northern school systems are not segregated by law, but there is evi-

dence to show a gradual retreat of white children from integrated schools. One instance of integrationist hypocrisy is particularly noteworthy:

Columbia University has long been in the vanguard in the struggle for equality of the races. It was here that the new anthropology of environmentalism originated. The teachers produced by its famed School of Education have gone out into the field proclaiming that the differences between the two races are merely differences in cultural training.

### EXODUS

Columbia was, therefore, profoundly embarrassed when in 1957 *American Mercury* reported that faculty members who could afford to were taking their children out of nearby Morningside Heights public school, a school which had been getting a steady influx of Negro and Puerto Rican children. The faculty was "put to route almost to a man" read the report. Some parents put their children into private schools (quite a burden on a teacher's meager salary), some moved out to the suburbs, and some found employment at other schools.

Northern sanctimony carries little weight, then, among Southerners. If integrationists are to make their appeal to a Southern sense of morality, they had better come with clean hands. Such thinly veiled cant will not sway a Southerner who sees in his own system a more consistent and candid philosophy.

Integrationists, however, are not waiting for any degree of voluntary acceptance on the part of the South.

The program is being pushed by every means possible. "Integration full steam ahead and damn the consequences," might be an apt description of the current integrationist policy.

The campaign is mainly against the outward manifestations of intolerance and discrimination, and only rarely are root causes faced. Schools and lunch counters are being integrated, but there has been no corresponding improvement in race relations. The races are in fact being driven farther apart; understanding and amity have deteriorated in recent years.

## RULE XII

**The Senate has always prided itself on its justified reputation as the most deliberate legislative body in the world. The power of a minority to prevent the majority from engaging in hasty and ill-considered legislative action is consistent with the scheme of checks and balances . . . written into the Constitution.**

— Barry Goldwater

"The tragic fact today in the South is that hardly any liaison remains between white leadership and Negro leadership, said a Southern editor in 1957, speaking before a national conference of school teachers. "Not only so, but, until a few years ago, Negroes were being elected regularly to city councils and school boards in several Southern states, and it was the most natural thing in the world for white and colored leaders to sit down together for discussion of their mutual problems. These things are no longer true. The two races have been driven apart by the rancorous arguments over segregation, with the result that hardly any of the avenues of communication exist in most areas."

The white Southerner, frustrated at his inability to deal with the forces which assail him from the North, turns to the Negro as an

object for vengeance. The Negro becomes identified with all the excesses of the integrationist program and is made to suffer for it.

Ku Klux Klan terrorism all but died out several years ago as the cultural differences between the races narrowed. The Klan has had a marked resurgence in recent years, thanks to the goading of the militant integrationists. The pity is that responsible Southern spokesmen must answer for such hot-head Klan behavior. Each fresh outbreak of violence is blazoned across the front pages of Northern newspapers, bringing new demands for reprisals, and so the vicious circle continues.

Non-Southern integrationists tend to see themselves as crusaders—their moral mission being to integrate the South. They will tolerate no compromise as they try to push their philosophy down the throats of unwilling Southerners. Integrationists propose to revolutionize overnight a way of life that has served the South for generations. For them, any reconciliation with the South must be done upon the cadaver of the present system.

Liberal integrationists have wrought a deep breach between the races in the South. No longer is there a broad field of agreement between them. A common ground of interests and concord, essential to all congenial private and group relationships, no longer exists. If the South is given respite from outside antagonisms, the chasm between the races may be gulfed. If no respite is given, continued racial strife seems likely to prevail.

## MEDICINE . . .

(Continued)

States is the only important nation in the entire world in which there is not some form of universal state insurance for sick, aged people." Or perhaps the Senator was referring to Italy where social security taxes, including health insurance, take about 35 per cent of the pay-

roll. In Sweden, a 4 per cent national consumers' tax was put on nearly every commodity in 1960 to meet an estimated \$580 million deficit caused by socialized medicine and similar welfare projects.

When confronted with the fiscal infeasibility of a compulsory plan, liberals quickly retort that their opponents have not presented a positive alternative. This is a blunt falsehood. The Mills bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, proposes a federal grant-in-aid program for medical care of the needy and near-needy that is to be administered locally for locally-determined beneficiaries. By providing aid only to those who need aid, it preserves the right of the non-needy to take care of themselves. Need can best be determined and most economically met on a local basis, and local control minimizes the dangers of centralization.

But the liberal is not content to confine his efforts to the needy. His "beneficence" must be all-embracing even if it means all-embracing poverty and control. He cannot face up to the fact that some people, because of real need, must depend upon charity, whether government or private, and he glibly suggests that this dependence be equalized. His contention is, then, that if one must lean, we all must—like Eliot's "Hollow Men".

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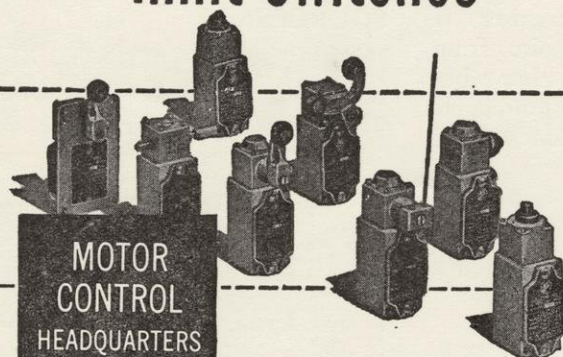
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## TELEVISION

### THE BEHEADING

On the eve of January nineteenth, the Columbia Broadcasting System attempted to behead the House Rules Committee—and failed. Mr. Howard K. Smith, who is a suave newscaster and impresario had the honor of being the chief executioner at the televised event. He did not properly sharpen his axe, however, and as a result the best he could manage was to bounce it off of his victim's walrus-hide neck. The owner of that Homeric neck was the Honorable Howard W. Smith, (no relation to the executioner) who is chairman of the House Rules Committee. Chairman Smith is a Virginian, a Conservative, and a Democrat, in that order, and thus, in the eyes of the Liberal Establishment, highly SUSPECT.

In the empty chamber of the Rules Committee, facing each other across the corner of a vast conference table, sat the two Mr. Smiths. The one was a bland, modern, well rounded news commentator; the other an elderly, genial Southerner with a face deeply furrowed by a hard and vigorous life. Newscaster Smith was prepared to ask numerous cunningly worded questions which he hoped would bare the conservative philosophies of Chairman Smith to the great, national television audience. Chairman Smith, on the other hand, seemed well prepared to discuss his rules committee and why he believed wholeheartedly in its value to the nation and to society.

It soon became evident that Newscaster Smith had no intention of discussing the functions and limitations of the Rules Committee except in the most perfunctory manner. He barely touched upon the controversy which has whirled around the committee and Chairman Smith in recent months, and he said very little about the bitterness and rancor which the liberals feel toward the Committee, or about their furtive schemes to "pack" it with men of their own persuasion in order to expedite liberal legislation. He seemed far more eager to discuss Chairman Smith's personal convictions hoping, perhaps, that the American public would be repelled by them and thus more inclined to support the liberals in their packing enterprise.

None-the-less, the Chairman was not a man to be hurried. He had not spent decades in Congress for nothing, and he knew to what good usage a national forum could be put. For the most part he was a mild man, a genial man, almost a disarming sort of man. But at times he bared a cantankerous and crochety spirit which served admirably to compel respect and caution from his interviewer. He wielded the largest cigar this side of Winston Churchill, and in the process of emphasizing his points, he menaced the newsman

with it as if it were the barrel of a double-loaded blunderbuss. He looked and acted amazingly like Seab Cooley, the wily old senator of *Advise and Consent*.

Punctuating his discourse with great explosions of cigar smoke, The Honorable Mr. Smith vigorously defended his Rules Committee against those who wished to pull out the last of its teeth. He allowed that it was scarcely the legislative bottleneck that liberals made it out to be. He emphasized that it takes nothing more than a simple, plain majority of the members of the House to force a bill out of the committee, and thus it could hardly be painted as a sinister barrier against the will of the majority. Moreover, he explained yet another means by which any congressman can circumvent the Rules Committee — the Calendar Wednesday rule, under which any bill can be presented to the House on any Wednesday, and enacted into law by a two-thirds vote. By demonstrating how little power the Rules Committee actually has, he gave his viewers the distinct impression that liberals are either utter incompetents at the legislative technique, or they are ruthless politicians who would gladly wipe out established rules just to gain their ends. On the one hand they call themselves a majority and claim that the committee is blocking majority rule; on the other hand they call themselves a minority and claim that the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition is the real majority.

The congressman went on to explain in detail the salutary effect the committee has upon the congress. Because it delays the presentation of bills, it checks hasty and foolish legislation. It nips dozens of pork barrel bills which would saddle the Republic with more debt and inflation. Sometimes it saves the political lives of talented congressmen who, because of the delay, have a chance to cool off before they orate foolishly. By creating a conservative climate of deliberate, orderly debate it adds immeasurably to the quality of the House, and of its legislation.

The actual discussion of the Rules Committee took scarcely ten minutes: during the rest of the hour, Newsman Smith got the chance he was hankering for to probe the congressman's philosophies. Chairman Smith, he explained, is an "ultra-Conservative." (This is a strange appellation: only eight years ago the supporters of Robert Taft were simply and honorably "Conservatives." Now they are "ultra-Conservatives," even though they haven't moved an inch to the right. Perhaps they should, in all fairness, start calling Mr. Hubert Humphrey an "ultra-Liberal," or Mrs. Roosevelt an "ultrasonic Liberal.")

But the old congressman was waiting for the Newsman. Before answering a question he usually sucked hard on his cheroot, and then slowly, serenely, expelled a stream of noxious gases in the general direction of his inquisitor. After this solemn ritual he

deftly avoided every trap into which he might have stumbled. He discussed segregation, Mr. Kennedy, liberalism and socialized medicine without ever embarrassing himself. At one point Newsman Smith asked him what he thought of Mr. Kennedy's programs which would increase governmental intervention into private affairs.

"Well," drawled the old gentleman, after ejecting a plume of smoke, "Ah take a dim view of it."

And *that* was *that*!

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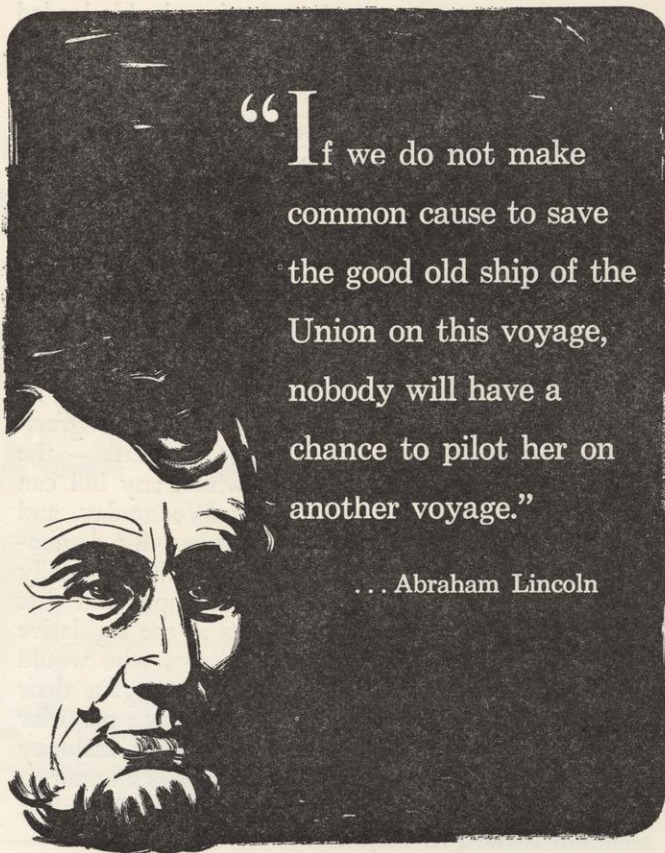
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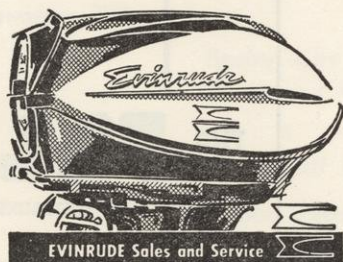


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