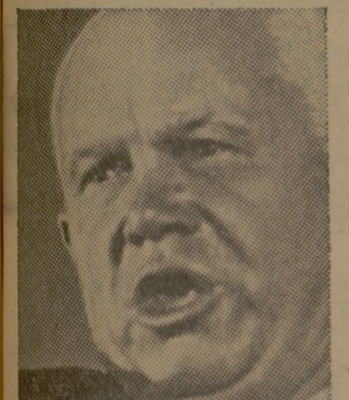


LIBERAL

(Continued From Page 1) attempts to revise old forms and attitudes will fail.

Reaction Cannot Win In a sense, the reactionary can never win because clocks go forward not backward. That simple America they dream of (it never existed, by the way) will not return. Life is complex. If we are to remain a great power, we will have to spend uncomfortable amounts on armaments and foreign aid. Taxes will remain great. Government will always be large, no matter who is at the White House, Kennedy or Goldwater.



K's hidden weakness Khrushchev is strong, says Stewart Alsop. But he has one great weakness. And he knows it. In this week's Saturday Evening Post, you'll read why the satellite nations are giving Khrushchev big shots the jitters.

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The tendency toward socialism is as strong in this country as and other — though we will have to think of a new way to describe it: Dynamic Constitutionalism perhaps. The limits which government has set on the power of individuals and groups to exploit others will remain. The people — who are the country — will probably want more services from the country which is themselves and they will get those services, again no matter who presides at the White House.

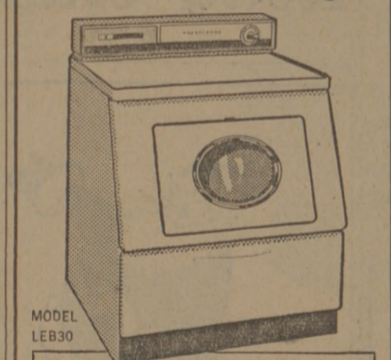
Limited Electorate Yet it is the dream of the reactionary to stop the majority cold. The reactionary detests our form of government. One of his favorite arguments is: the United States is a republic, not a democracy. This statement is inaccurate since we are both a republic and a democracy. What the Reactionary really means to say is that the will of the majority as expressed through elections should be circumvented. That there should be a limit to the franchise. The Right Wing has not yet had the courage to propose that some people be allowed to vote and some not to vote according, say, to the size of their income but that is what they are after. For they mistrust and dislike the majority. Yet our Constitution, which they profess to

GORE VIDAL learned liberal politics at the knee of his grandfather, Thomas P. Gore, the blind senator from Oklahoma. Author of several hit Broadway plays and a half dozen hit novels, Vidal, now 36, has written and lectured widely on politics and the liberal cause.

revered, is quite explicit about the value of the democratic process. In fact, the Constitution begins with the words "We the people," not "We, the special interests," or "We, the well-educated and well-to-do."

Fearful Society In free elections in reasonably serene times the reactionary has not got a chance at the polls. But these are not serene times. In the event of some economic or military disaster I suspect that the reactionary elements in America will come together and in one way or another try to take power. Nor would it, sad to relate, be very difficult for them to impose themselves on the very people they dislike for we have become a passive, ill-informed fearful society. A recent nationwide poll of high school students should give aid and comfort to those who dislike the democratic

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process. Among the findings: 60% of our young people favor police censorship of books, movies, etc.; 60% believe certain groups should not be allowed to hold public meetings even though they meet peaceably to make speeches (First Amendment); 58% believe the police and the FBI should be allowed to give prisoners the third degree (Eighth Amendment). 41% do not believe the press should publish what it wants (First Amendment); 57% believe the average person is justified in keeping out of local "dirty" politics (which is to say they do not want to make our form of government work); 76% feel the most serious danger to this country comes from the Communists within. Of course the most serious danger is the profoundly un-American attitude of these high school students which makes them perfectly vulnerable to any totalitarian-minded group, Left or Right. And those who like to point out that we are a republic not a democracy are totalitarian-minded. In their incontinent attacks on those they dislike, (any one favoring any sort of public welfare is a Communist or Comsymp) and by pretending that there is a vast Communist conspiracy inside the United States (it is not inside but outside) they do their best to divide and confuse.

Dictatorship of the Right Were the Communist pressure upon us less, I think it unlikely that those radical forces Goldwater is trying to unite will ever take power through the democratic process. The majority is too conservative for this "Conservative." But I can see in a time of national panic, the emergence of the first dictatorship in our history and it will come not from the Left but from the Right and a cynical, indifferent "un-American" electorate, already contemptuous of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, will take to it eagerly. When that happens, and I pray it does not, that great hope for the human race, the American Revolution, will be at an end, and lost.

Walker Speaks To Dallas Exes

Retired Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker will speak tonight to members of the Dallas A&M Club in a meeting in the Dallas Memorial Auditorium. Gen. Walker retired from the Army recently after being the center of controversy over allegedly "indoctrinating troops." He was relieved of his command of the 24th Infantry Division and given another post before retiring.

CONSERVATIVE

(Continued From Page 1)

600 million victims. Communist sophistication—plus-nerve, combined with Liberal innocence—plus fright equals Communist success. It is notoriously the Liberal who continues to be the easy target for Communist propaganda, on everything from disarmament to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Only the Heavenly Registrar knows how many people have actually been murdered by the totalitarian ideologists during this century. That number includes six million Jews, millions of Russians, Chinese by the dozen of millions. Those whose blueprints brought on this carnage are not Liberals (though at root their philosophies share important premises). The point is, that Liberalism with its unsureness about the enemy, or about itself, or even about the meaning of human existence, proved unsuccessful in containing the Totalists. In 1917, President Woodrow, the first complete Liberal to come to presidential power, set out to make the world safe for democracy. Forty-five years later there was less freedom, by far, than before he launched his great crusade. At this rate, a few more years of making the world safe for democracy, and we shall have lost our own.

Here, as I understand it, are the principal differences between the Liberal and the Conservative approach to the most pressing problems of our time.

Negotiators Lose Abroad, the Liberal seeks constantly to negotiate. And while

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. is one of 10 children of a Texas oil millionaire. Just turning 36, he has established himself as a leading intellectual spokesman for the conservative position in American politics. Buckley is author of several best sellers, campus lecturer and editor and founder of "National Review," a journal of conservative opinion.

he negotiates he loses ground. For he is, actually, negotiating with himself, deciding how much to give in this time; the Communist, meanwhile, moves forward. (The New Frontier in Laos—have you noticed?—is a couple of hundred miles closer to the United States than the Old Frontier.) The Conservative—for the profoundest reasons, including a faith in transcendence, a belief in absolute values, a redemptive historical creed, a profound comprehension of evil, a realistic appraisal of history—would not negotiate, at least not on the enemy's terms. He would revive the great Western

tradition of creative and confident statecraft and move forward boldly, taking risks, winning victories, to bring the cold war right to the hearths of Russia. Among other concrete things he would liberate Cuba (instantly), impose an economic embargo upon the Soviet bloc (instantly), withdraw support from the General Assembly of the United Nations (gradually), and encourage the consolidation of anti-Communist forces in Asia in order to turn the war around again in Vietnam and—yes, carry the liberation movement on to China.

Domestically, the Liberal is obsessed by the notion of "equality" and the notion of "democracy." But he does not understand what equality really is, or what is required to effect it. (Everybody is equal in East Germany, and everybody is miserable.) The Liberal is determined to make every Negro in the South as contented as every Negro in Harlem. And every White as discontented. All this to be accomplished by, and for, Democracy. Democracy's The Thing—only nobody knows any more what Democracy means. Absolutely nobody. Democracy is what you had in the Congo when Lumumba took over? What you will have in Algeria after the F.L.N. takes over? What you have in Egypt under Nasser? In Venezuela under Betancourt? In Ghana under Nkrumah?

Freedom Is Unusual The Conservative believes that the meaning of life, cannot be approached through abstract ideals like democracy, etc. "Equality" cannot be imposed by Liberalism's fuglemen. It can only be done under tyranny. Nor can the distribution of wealth, or the distribution of freedom, or the en-

couragement of individuality, or a sense of community, be accomplished by making the state the overriding social entrepreneur. Man should be free, but freedom is the unusual predicament in this vale of tears: It doesn't matter how many resolutions are passed by the General Assembly, or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—the typical African tribesman is not going to be free, not for many generations to come; and to impose upon him, in the name of democracy, an Nkrumah, a Nasser, a Kenyatta, is to repress freedom, and hinder its growth; and to introduce the kind of nationalistic absolutism that the Communists so successfully exploit.

In philosophy, the Liberal is afraid of truths; only those things are true which have to do with method. Thus the Liberal is concerned for the freedom of native Communists—because, so goes the theory of the open society—they ought to be free to convert us to their ways. The Conservative believes we have learned something in the past three thousand years, at least enough to know that Communism is wrong from every point of view, no matter how large a majority it might, at any given moment, attract; and that therefore only the society with a death-wish will permit the Communist to accumulate power. Go ahead and let the Communist be free; but if he begins to pick up strength, smash him. The Liberal is only happy (or is he, actually, ever happy? Isn't Edward R. Murrow's face the face of Liberalism? Will he ever realize that he is sad because he has to look at the world he built?) when he is searching for truths. The Conservative is happy finding them, and defending

them. The Liberal's idea of the complete political life is a never-ending campaign to raise the minimum wage, or 40 years of devoted service to the Department for the Location of Depressed Areas. The Conservative wants to worship his God, develop his talents, enjoy the fruit of them; and, in his political life, to work unsparingly to keep domesticated the principal agent of the suppression of individual freedom, the monopolistic, monolithic, police-backed State. Talk not to me, Jefferson told us conservatives, of government by good men. Let us hear no more, Jefferson told us conservatives, of trust in men, but bind them down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution.

Can We Outgrow Liberalism?

The big question, then, and one in which students will play a critical role, is whether America can outgrow Liberalism in time. If the future of the Liberal in America is bright, then the future of America is not bright. Any way you look at it, then, the future of Liberalism is not bright: because to commit its irrelevancies on any kind of scale, the Liberals need room. Yet so long as Liberals continue in power, there is less and less room. When the Communists take over the entire world, they're not likely to leave the Liberals a little country in which they can continue to practice their fatuities unmolested. One would think they might do at least this, as an act of gratitude; turn over Bermuda, say to Professors Schlesinger and Galbraith, Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson, and two shows a night by Gore Vidal. But the Communists, on top of everything else, are ungrateful wretches.

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