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A CONSERVATIVE STUDENT JOURNAL

insight and outlook

in this issue . . .

Those Who Can, Do

Robert Avrett

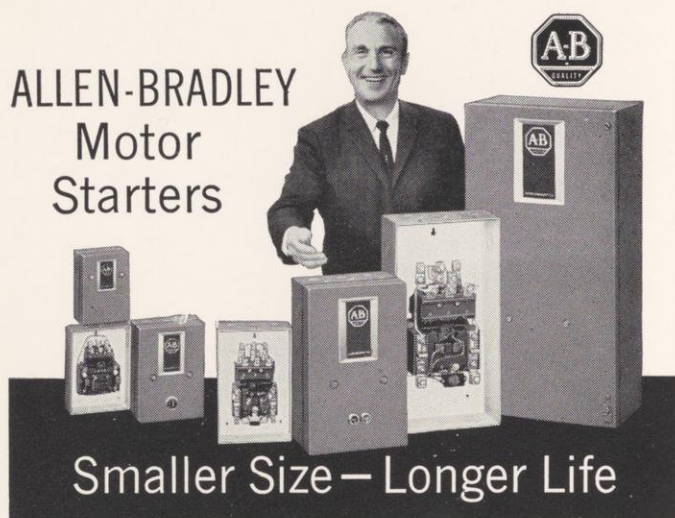
On the Demise of Law

Richard Wheeler

History in Black and White

Martin Gordon

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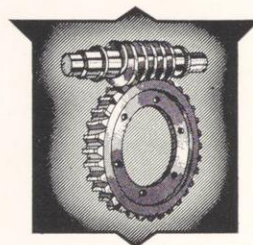
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Our Liberal adversaries and their children, the new leftists, find great pleasure in scoffing at us conservatives, who according to them, are either inept at, or disinterested in, solving the problems of the modern world. The old guard radicals, those found in and about the Americans for Democratic Action, had, at least, a well considered program. Although it was one we hotly contested, it was nevertheless a program and thus constituted some basis for laughing at opponents of their ideas. With the new leftists it is a different story. They have no program; they have only their overheated emotions and the always handy updated version of Marxist dogma. The new leftists are hardly in a position, therefore, to laugh at whatever difficulties we may experience at social problem solving.

This magazine has always sought to develop methods of handling the woes of the world, yet we proudly label its contents as conservative opinion. Ignoring the literal meanings of the labels, there is no anomaly in this. We haven't the same degree of concern for the physical, the mechanical or the material aspects of human relations as most liberals. We tend to stress the less tangible ideas. Yet most of us are deeply interested in finding proper means of attaining social goals. It is one long-range aim of this journal to develop on the traditional and libertarian thinking of past centuries — in order, of all things, to work out a comprehensive program for the future well being of the world. We think our efforts will know more success than has the program of the old left — and the new left hasn't yet entered this contest, except as a spoiler.

In this issue we continue on this theme.

... JARED LOBDELL, in *The Old Custom*, also looks east, and decides he likes the idea of David slaying Pharaoh.

... ROBERT AVRETT, new to the pages of *Insight and Outlook* but by no means an unpublished author in the general field of education, contributes some thoughts on basic problems in education and what can be done about them.

... RICHARD S. WHEELER is welcomed back as a contributor to our magazine. He laments the trend towards anarchy in America and suggests that the coming constitutional convention can arrest the trend.

... The Editor, in *The Second Wave*, has decided it is time we push our end of the guerrilla war in American cities. It's just like Vietnam.

... MARTIN K. GORDON, as interested as anyone in the struggle of the negroes in the United States, calls for a less than black nationalistic presentation of Negro history in our schools.

... DOUGLAS STANTON, a student and active conservative at North Carolina, notes the liberal tendency to infringe economic rights and lets you guess as to which one is next on their list.

WHO WON IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

WE MUST ADMIT to some confusion on our part as to what has happened in the Middle East blowup and as to what would be the proper handling of the affair at this point. Something must be said of our government's avoiding any sort of military participation in the conflict, especially when for our interests the right choices among the combatants — sentimental favorites aside — was not all that easy to determine. However, the Israeli military prowess would seem to deserve more of the credit for keeping us out than would our maneuvering. It is unfortunate that we find our nation at odds with the Jordanians in this conflict, just as it is not very easy to condone the brutal treatment of that nation's citizens by the Israeli army. The Jordanians did not instigate the war; rather, it seems that King Hussein was drawn into the conflict against his will. If the U.S. had been on its toes, it should have been able to use its influence to make peace on that border, sparing the lives of thousands of friendly soldiers and citizens on both sides, and perhaps as important, preserving the strength of an anti-Communist friend in King Hussein.

For some others of the Arab States, particularly Egypt and Syria, it could be viewed as in the interests of free peoples if Israeli had overrun them entirely, although we are sure that there exist better means of ridding the area of these Soviet pawn governments.

Unfortunately, the American government does not view things from such a one sided perspective. Leave it to the U.S. to take the fair minded, objective approach to the issues involved — in order, it must be supposed, to satisfy the intellectual requirements for the grand title, Advocate for World Peace and Order. It's a fine theory, but

while President Johnson and Dean Rusk talk of territorial integrity and respect for legitimate governments, others are openly aiming to expand their influence and subvert "non-revolutionary" governments. Of course, Premier Kosygin castigates Israel and the U.S. in terms of their "aggression and disturbance of the world's peace," but everyone knows that he has an ulterior motive, that he says and does things — in the U.N. or out — always with the aim of advancing Communist revolution.

IN OUR OPINION, the U.S. has an ulterior motive as well. And nothing is wrong with that. We ought to be interested in furthering freedom and human dignity. And instead of the bland advocacy of a world known only in the minds of the cloud-nine professor-types in America, we ought to be backing anti-Communist governments and pressuring the revolutionary-socialist regimes out of the Communist camp.

Perhaps if America were interested in expanding freedom it wouldn't find itself against the wall in the Middle East. Our government has obviously misread the Russian plan for that area. Certainly some miscalculation is involved in the strange theory that the Soviet Union could be our friend. Indeed, it is strange that any American who considers himself a humanist could befriend a regime which is capable of instigating a conflict resulting in harm to hundreds of thousands of innocents merely for some propaganda value or whatever interest the Soviet Union is aiming to further. They are responsible for the mess in the Middle East and they are not our friends. If we are interested in freedom and in humanity, it must be so.

— Aetius

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER, R.I.P.

The death of Philippa Schuyler at the age of 34, in the crash of a helicopter flying a rescue mission in Viet Nam, brought a brilliant career as pianist and writer to an untimely end. We, and all her friends, will miss her presence. But perhaps there is another sense in which her death was not untimely — courage, love of country, love of mankind, love of freedom — these things belong to all times, and it was these things which brought her to Viet Nam as a war correspondent, and so brought her to her death. Requiescat in pace.

REWRITING WEBSTER

In recent years, the word "racist" has contained a greater emotional depth charge than any other in modern usage. Its pejorative power was deep and virile: it was as likely to explode in the face of an unwary northern proponent of state sovereignty as it was in the face of a redneck Georgian. Because it connoted a singular meanness of spirit, its emotive force was as great as "Nazi" in the '40s, and "Communist" in the '50s. Its deadly aura spelled the doom of any poli-

tician outside the South.

Negro revolutionaries rode the word hard, applying it indiscriminately not only to actual racists, but to all who opposed collectivist forms of government, or civil disorder, or plain immorality. Even liberals, by and large sympathetic to the revolution, did not escape, as the authors of the distinguished Moynihan report on the urban Negro would gladly testify.

As might be expected, rights revolutionaries succumbed to the temptation to apply such an explosive word to an ever-widening circle of presumptive adversaries. Normally this would dilute the word, but in the case of "racist" the pejorative power seemed to expand with each new application. By the time the Black Power radicals acceded to leadership of the rights movement, the term was being applied to every white man in the nation, without any diminution of its potency.

It was not until the Adam Clayton Powell incident in the opening days of the 90th Congress that the word finally collapsed under the incredible burden it supported. It took the winter madness of nearby the entire Negro community, which rose up in defense of one of the 20th century's greatest scoundrels, to deflate the word. As things stand now, every man in the country who stands for integrity, decorum and virtue in public life is a racist. The accusation that the nation is applying one standard for Negroes and another for whites is probably true: the fact that Powell is a Negro probably *delayed* for years the investigation that would have promptly been made had Powell been white. Significantly, it came some months after the Senate had microscopically investigated the affairs of Thomas Dodd, even though the derogatory information about Powell had been publicized years before anything contrary was said about Dodd.

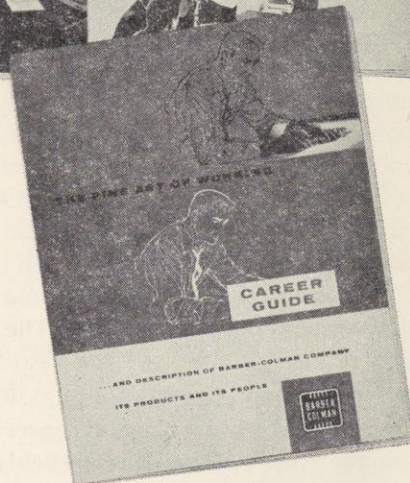
Nothing in the annals of modern public affairs parallels the misbehavior of Powell. Here is a minister of God who flouts the law, steals from the government, and takes tax-paid trips with beautiful women who are not his wife, and yet this is the man the rights revolutionaries have chosen to defend, with accusations of racism.

At this point the word "racist" becomes meaningless. If any routine defender of public decency must shoulder the word, so be it. We don't rejoice. This country still needs a strong, pejorative word connoting a hardness of heart toward men of other race. There is no word to replace it.



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BURNHAM, THE DRAFT, AND THE RIGHT

James Burnham, in a recent edition of *National Review*, has raised the most reasoned objections seen thus far to the conservative offensive against the draft. Burnham, recalling his Trotskyite days, observes that there are really two kinds of "united fronts;" one being principled and the other unprincipled.

In Burnham's words, a front is principled "when one political tendency joined with another tendency (or other tendencies) to its right against tendencies still further to the right, or with a tendency to its left against those still further to the left." An unprincipled front, on the other hand came into being when "two tendencies joined against a tendency located between them from the point of view of the left-right spectrum . . ." Burnham's point, and the point of his former associates, being that in an unprincipled front either the left or the right will suffer once the center has fallen; the common bond that brings them together is illusory at best and will disintegrate as one side or the other takes advantages of the victory. The logic of the argument is indisputable and the case he makes against the conservative opposition to the draft is convincing.

He says, of course, that the conservatives have sided with the New Left on this particular issue for philosophical reasons, while the leftists have taken a position against the draft because of particular war they dislike rather than from any congenial distaste for conscription. Their reasons are, in other words, political. They would destroy the draft because in so doing they would weaken the ability of this nation to defend itself and thus aid our Communist enemy. The conservatives, from Kirk to Friedman to Goldwater, on the other hand, are opposing the draft *in spite of their support of the United States commitment in Vietnam*; they are hoping that we will still be able to win even without a conscript army.

Burnham is perhaps correct in his prediction of what might happen if the draft is abolished. The conservatives have made a terrible mistake in siding with men such as Norman Thomas, James Farmer and others who are willing to join in the battle against a common enemy, but for dangerously different reasons. But the solution is not to support the draft as the center is doing; the draft is morally and philosophically reprehensible and demonstrably unneeded.

The right must stand condemned for its failure to seize upon the issue earlier. What could have been a battle against regimentation has, in part at least, become a fight against the American resolve in Vietnam because conservatives stood by while others exploited the injustices that plague this nation. The same thing happened in Civil Rights. Individual freedom was

championed by those who have no right to champion it and in reality hold no brief for it — merely because those who should have led the fight remained silent. It must not happen again.

The American right must stand firm in its opposition to conscription on both philosophical and practical grounds; and it must demonstrate to all that the motives of the Left in this area are reprehensible as well as suspect.

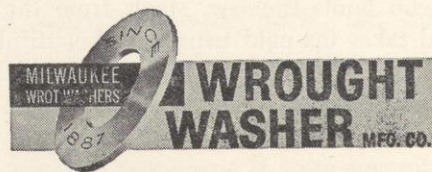
Young Americans for Freedom, under the prodding of *New Guard* editor David Franke, has moved into the lead with full support for the idea of a volunteer military establishment. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on April 18, Franke stated that there "is only one justification for conscription in a free society, and that is when it is absolutely necessary for the military defense of the nation in time of war." So be it. If Bob McNamara and the president of all the people need conscripts in Vietnam let them demonstrate that need. The need has not — and some experts say can not — be demonstrated. If they are to employ slave labor when they could use free men serving voluntarily, let them do it only with the bitter opposition of every freedom loving young person in this country.

— D.A.K.

"Still, if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival.

"There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

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SIGNS AND WONDERS UPON PHARAOH

And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead, that the stone sunk into his forehead; and he fell upon his face to the earth.

David slew Goliath, but it is not recorded that the deed brought peace to Israel. Indeed, so jealous was Saul of what David had done that he sought to slay him who had slain the Philistine. Nor did the slaying of Goliath do more than relieve, for a brief time, the pressure of the Philistines against Israel — though it is true that Israel won out in the end.

In those days, for better or worse, Israel was as little concerned with world opinion as she is now. The difference, if any, is that there was no world opinion then. Now, of course, we have the United Nations, and “a vile engine called the Press, whereby men are deceived,” and all the other comforts of modern internationalism. But the desert and the war of Israel against Pharaoh are, it seems, primeval and immemorial — and, whatever the eventual outcome, what has happened of late in Sinai and Jerusalem and the heights of Galilee should remind us of three things at least.

It should remind us first that there is such a thing as just war, so that the arguments about the justice of any particular war may be reduced to questions of fact — questions such as “Are we fighting in self-defense?” or “Are we fighting for an ideal that will perish if we do not fight for it, and is that ideal a righteous one?” Not all wars are evil, nor is peace the greatest good, however much we may agree that “war is not glory, boys, war is all hell.”

It should remind us also that no

workable method for keeping the peace, other than imperialism, has yet been devised — certainly not any League of Nations or United Nations. It is no accident that the Pax Romana and Pax Britannica were coexistent with something approaching world-wide hegemony over less-developed areas. Secretary-General Thant has been severely criticized for withdrawing the peace-keeping force at precisely the time Egypt wanted to go to war. The criticism is justified, of course, but it is also a bit short-sighted. He himself has provided the best answer to such criticism in words which amount to “If we hadn’t gone, they could have forced us out.” Precisely so. The U.N. can function only when none of its member nations are confident enough to defy it. In short, it can function only when everyone is afraid, only so long as no one forces the test. It is short-sighted in the extreme to expect anything else until the wolf dwells with the lamb, the leopard lies down with the kid, the calf and the young lion and the fatling together.

Finally, and this is the next step from what I just said, it should remind us that negotiation must be based upon strength. Israel, at the moment, has the strength of her recent victories — David has, for the time being, slain Goliath. The Arab world has the strength of 80 millions of people, Russian support, French support, British neutrality, and American belief in the United Nations. If Israel had not blitzed the Arab nations to gain her position of strength, just how much negotiation do you think would be going on? Whether a just peace can be established neither I nor any one

else knows, but without Israeli victories there would have been no chance whatever.

Perhaps this last point could be put in a little different way. Israel, who wanted peace, won the war. The Egyptians, who mongered the war, were beaten. Under these conditions peace is possible. It is when the warmonger is winning that the war goes on, until things change or until conquest is achieved. Warmongers, after all, do not normally operate from positions of admitted weakness.

Those who enjoy finding references to Viet Nam in everything can doubtless find them here. For their clarification I should point out that we probably do not have the facts on which to base a discussion of the justice of the war in Viet Nam, that the U.N. is irrelevant and powerless in that war, that we do not yet have the position of strength from which to negotiate, and that Hanoi, not the United States, desires the war — therefore, in order to have peace, the United States must win. But this is beside my present point.

My present point lies entirely in the political lessons of the Arab-Israeli conflict, not in the application of those lessons. I rejoice in the signs and wonders performed upon Pharaoh for other reasons beside the lesson they provide, it is true — not so much because I like Israel as because I detest Nasser — but the lessons are my concern here. Or almost all my concern. I cannot forbear pointing out as well, that just as the world was better off when David slew Goliath with the jawbone of an ass, so it is better off now that the latter-day David has slain the ass.

The author calls for a reasoned approach to school book treatment of Negroes in America.

A common minority demand is for more teaching and studying of Negro History, just as there are demands for better historical treatment of Roman Catholics. Recent studies demonstrate that American textbooks still tend to stress the English background of our revolution and history. Since the basic concern in survey level or high school textbooks is balanced presentation of the past, axiomatically a textbook has to be eclectic—that is, it usually leaves out as much as it includes in its historical field. This concern becomes a problem, however, when the excluded subjects are systematically ignored by all the textbooks in the field under discussion. The American Negro has probably felt this exclusion more than the Catholic because of the Catholic educational system of full and part-time schools which is intended to strengthen the young church-goer in his heritage. Let us therefore concentrate upon the problem of Negro History.

The fact of this wide-spread exclusion or unfair interpretation has been so amply demonstrated that there is no need to discuss it here. We should be able to take it for granted. Our concern is a proper solution to the problem, one which will best enable the colored youth to find his identity as an American (i.e., as a thoroughly Americanized person of African descent). We have already seen the tragic effects of the wide-spread lack of that identification. The caste system which, until quite recently, kept dark-skinned Negroes out of the college sororities reserved for the light-skinned Negroes, and the wide-spread use of processes to straighten the naturally curly Negro hair are but two mild examples of

this. Anyway, Negro identification can be seen to be lacking in several important aspects.

In working out a solution, the extremely minor role in western civilization of African south of the Sahara must be kept in mind. Our heritage is that of Israel, Greece, Rome, and Europe. Yet the Negro in America shares that heritage in its American form, because his African background is so many centuries remote from his present condition. Indeed, the Negro is one of the few groups in this country not to have a shared (e.g., Croation, French, Spanish, etc.) background culture, but to nevertheless be thoroughly enmeshed in the American system.¹ He can be called Afro-American because of his skin and hair which he shares with the Africans but not because of a common cultural background which he retains.

Still, all of us should know about the Negroes in our history who have done everything from lay out our nation's capital (Benjamin Banneker) to win the Medal of Honor (usually after a segregated training program). Certainly there would be a definite good in students' having to learn about prominent colored American leaders. Perhaps, better than a major revision of the mainstream curriculum which would go beyond any reasonable treatment, would be an extra-curricular program for teaching of Negro History. What would happen, for instance, if some of the talent of collegiate and graduate level which now goes into tutoring many colored youths went instead into the study and teaching of Negro History. This could take the form of after-school seminars for students and parents, a system being tried in Milwaukee,

or simply by brief paragraphs in church bulletins, scout merit badges in Negro history, the naming of local streets or schools after colored leaders past or present, and so on.

Where Negro history can be included in mainstream history it should be. But, it would be a step backwards in the education of our youth if they learned about Negroes, Germans, Catholics, Irish, etc., in little box chapters in their texts and never deeply studied the basic American stories which gave all these groups their present levels—as imperfect as they may be—of freedom and material well being. Where Negro histories are appropriate let them be included, but let the in depth study be voluntary and non-destructive so that our common history may be improved and still remain our common history. After all, this problem is only part of the larger problem which Lillian Smith noted in *Strange Fruit*:

She lifted her arm. Smelled to heaven! "Pure nigger smell," she whispered, whipping herself with her compulsion to see her race through white eyes. "Yes nigger," she whispered as she hurried along Back Street. "It's caught up with us." It was as if the Andersons had been running away from it, getting a little whiter and whiter with each generation, running hard. But it's caught us . . . You can run until you're panting, but it'll catch you. Going to college won't help you run any faster. . . . Be proud of your African heritage, they tell you! . . . When you're pushed around through back doors, starved for decent friendliness and respect, they tell you about Benin Bronzes When you're so hurt you feel as if you're bleeding inside, you're supposed to remember that some old archaeologist or somebody found that way back there in Africa your ancestors could make bronze

¹ C. Eric. Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, paperback edition, p. 44.

All she could see was that Negro servitude was still rampant as she crossed the street into the colored section of town. Our educational system ought to show the Negro that he is a part of — not apart from — the American society.

A comprehensive, easily obtainable bibliography which discusses works both for and against the cause and history of the Negro is Erwin K. Welsch's *The Negro in*

the United States: A Research Guide, Indiana University Press, 1965, \$1.85. More specialized is the bibliography by Louis R. Harlan, *The Negro in American History*, Publication No. 61, The American Historical Association, 400 A Street, Washington, D.C., .50. Of popular interest may be the *American Traveler's Guide to Negro History*, American Oil Co., 910 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60680, free.

Ingenious Americans, National Distillers, 99 Park Ave., New York, N.Y., 10016, free, is less inclusive than the company's ads in *Ebony* but does contain capsule biographies of Negroes who should be remembered by us all. For readers in the Milwaukee area the Milwaukee Public Library has published a free annotated bibliography of its relevant holdings titled *The Negro — USA*.

ON THE DEMISE OF LAW

Ideally, the good commonwealth is governed by the fewest possible laws, and those laws are rigorously and impartially enforced. The coercive force of government is thereby minimized, and citizens are assured swift, impartial justice.

Current jurisprudence is a Gordian knot of semi-demi-laws, compounded by legislatures, courts, bureaus, and regulatory agencies. This legal morass is laxly and capriciously enforced, riddled with conflict, ambiguity and dubious authority. Its very impotence spawns new edicts and loopholes. We are all subject to legal roulette, with political persecutors and prosecutors playing croupier.

One source of trouble is the persistent application of law to social situations that are not particularly susceptible to *legal* remedy. Law, by nature, is an instrument of restraint rather than a tool of benevolence; good law delineates and delegates authority rather than conferring carte blanche power to bureaucrats. To harness law — socially directed *force* — to the whole gamut of social ills is to apotheosize mere coercion.

But a deeper analysis of the trouble suggests that modern law is doing double, even triple, duty. In addition of its natural functions, it is increasingly the surrogate for religious moral authority and the social cohesion imposed by community. In an era when a clamorous minority — or is it a majority? — of religious leaders are rubberstamping any casual act of self-gratification, the church is an evanescent

source of social stability. The result? More law. And modern capitalism, with its impersonal, atomized, urban life all but demolished neighborhood community, which had its own gentle mechanisms of social control. Those novelists such as Lewis and Faulkner who descried the occasional nosiness and vindictive ness of small town life were uprooting an institution that was more good than evil. For all its petty interferences, neighborhood community gently and non-coercively pressured individuals to behave themselves. Surely it was a better method than the proposed federal dossier bank, which will keep a fish-eye on us all.

Thus the law — doing triple duty; overly complex; overly pervasive and contradictory — is losing its *puissance*. Congress, the bureaus, the courts, the regulatory agencies, all pepper the public with a barrage of edicts, which are either ignored or evaded. Union violence, Dr. King, law-making judges, Muhammad Ali, draft evaders, drug cultists, civil disobedience maniacs, Pentagon invaders — all these conscious lawbreakers compound the turbulence with their anarchy.

Lawbreaking is endemic. In the South, Negro civil rights have been trampled for decades. The bureaucracy itself is among the flagrant law violators. (If every civil servant who has illegally proselytized Congress were jailed, Chevy Chase would be depopulated.) The regulatory agencies routinely twist the will of Congress in the service of their clients.

Public contempt for law is exacerbated by the new breed of super-lawyers who — contrary to the canons of their profession — subsume justice to the egocentricity of their clients. Their high-pressure theatrics in court reinforce the public impression that the bold and audacious may spit upon the civil order. These lawyers feed on the ambiguity and chaos of public law; a radical rationalization of our codes would perforce cut them back to size.

Bad law is preponderantly the fault of bad politicians. Those "problem solving" "pragmatic" solons who enthusiastically enact "solutions" to complex problems without considering the ultimate effects, only create new, less tractable problems. The centripetal tendency of government, civil disobedience, inflation, and confiscatory taxation are just a few of the *new* tribulations imposed on us by the heedless legislators. The rule of law cannot survive mediocre legislators. It is a rare politician who understands what catastrophies may be avoided with a "nay" vote.

It does little good to rail at lawlessness without first accepting the culpability of our whole jurisprudence. Radical reforms are needed; the dead letters should be nullified; the remaining code should be rendered consistent and rational. The jungle growth should be hacked away; the Supreme Court disciplined; bureaucratic law avoided. All this is the proper preview of the (presumably) forthcoming constitutional convention. Let us work to bring it to fruition.

Richard Wheeler

Economic rights are as important as any. The author's opinion is unfortunately not prevalent.

Political Science students at the University of North Carolina learn in their textbook *The Politics of American Democracy*, by Marian Irish and James Prothro, that democracy is defined as majority rule with minority rights. The majority determines governmental policy within the framework of the United States Constitution and laws, but in so doing it cannot trespass on certain minority rights, among these being the right to become, perhaps, eventually the majority.

This seems to be an acceptable definition of democracy, and one which could allow a high level of individual freedom. But closer scrutiny reveals that these authors, and the left-wing ideology which their book espouses, excludes from consideration the economic rights of the minority. This is a major qualification on anyone's theory of minority rights. Certainly, the authors presently support the specific political minority rights as outlined in the Bill of Rights, especially freedom of speech. Indeed, one is permitted to say anything one wants about economic freedom, just as long as one does not try to act on his words. But in neglecting the economic rights, they have developed a frightful lever which will

one day be used to pry open the other freedoms.

One may or may not be too upset over this transgression on economic rights; however, should the American Liberal become aware of the contradictory positions he holds in this area, he probably will not ask more economic freedom, but less political freedom. As a majority can now deny minority economic rights "in the public interest," little further development of this utilitarian concept easily permits trespasses on minority political rights in the majority interest.

The rationalization for resolving the former dichotomy will be found in the "New Morality (or Immorality)." Using the concept of "situation ethics," the left will be able to deny certain minority political rights—including, one day, freedom of speech—when in a specific situation the majority interest will presumably be served. Certain proponents of situation ethics have already stated that murder is justifiable in a case where one person or more threatens the safety of a majority of other individuals. This development is no great surprise, however, for the concept has always been latent in the idea of cul-

tural relativism. Further, in the book *Modern Political Systems*, Samuel Finer casually refers to minority political rights in Britain as a "tradition" to which the British people still cling.

Those who cannot bring themselves to picture the realization of this thesis may find an example already in the current firearms controversy. Clearly, the right to bear arms could not be more specifically stated in the Constitution. And yet, because certain individuals have misused this right, many persons, including the President, now support the idea of denying the minority political right to bear arms. It will be done, and in the name of the interests of the majority. If one wishes to look beyond the United States, it is a fact of history that Hitler justified the murder of German Jews (a minority) because it was, in his opinion, in the interests of the majority of the German people.

Certainly many naive left-wingers, especially the New Left, would be shocked to discover the logical results of their present beliefs. But to deny these results is to fly in the face of reason and all human experience.



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PACIFICATION ON THE HOME FRONT

It would appear that a phase of the race struggle in America has fully ended. The battles in Washington over rights bills no longer occupy any important groups or persons. Particular laws may be pushed by particular persons, but the movement no longer rallies around these objectives. To the contrary, it now centers on non-governmental programs, on political organization, or on private means of establishing higher status for Negroes.

If this be the case, then conservatives should re-evaluate their stance on race problems. It was one thing to oppose civil rights bills, as I did; but because we found ourselves in disagreement with the Negro movement on those issues, must we continue to oppose their aims? Admittedly, many conservatives, myself included, react adversely to the concept of black power. However, is not this reaction, in part at least, due to the fact that persons whom we have grown to dislike during the prior struggle are the proponents of the present movement? We are political activists ourselves, and it is natural to react thusly to activists on the other end of the political spectrum; but it is nevertheless a mere reaction, and we must reason beyond such sentiments.

To assume a position unequivocally opposed to the present Negro movement would be to belie as a fraud our former opposition to the civil rights bill approach. For then we argued (and lost) that these enactments infringed upon the constitutional rights of property, etc. And, said we, the race problem would be solved only by private action, any way. So now, when the bills they passed have proven to be worth less than the expense of printing them, and the Negro movement turns to private action in realization of this, we should hail the new tact as a step in the right direction rather than continue to block their path. I think we were

first to point out that private means were the only solution; I don't think we ever said the Negro race should not enjoy a materially better life, albeit we have not been preoccupied with that goal as have our liberal adversaries. Yet, we have been slow to recognize that the Negro movement is adopting our view of things.

I am not saying that the organizers of disorder, the fruits of whose efforts we shall again witness this summer, are now our allies. Never! These people are dangerous to white and black alike, for they act more from hate than sympathy for the plight of Negroes. They, in varying degrees, are not merely seeking to uplift the downtrodden; rather they are using the black man to tear apart the very fabric of American society, just as Leon Trotsky foretold.

Because such revolutionaries are within reach of controlling the Negro movement, we have all the more reason to become active sympathizers with the Negro race.

It is not unlike the war in Vietnam (certainly, the Martin Luther Kings and the Maoists in the movement view it from that angle). Communists there organize locally and manipulate people to their ends, compelling the South Vietnamese anti-Communists to develop their own organizational and influencing techniques. American agitators are attempting the same revolutionary program at home. Here they haven't the same degree of political and social vacuums that South Vietnam suffers; yet, they have sufficient nerve — and the Negroes in our northern cities are sufficiently alienated from the established social systems, are sufficiently disjointed from any community, to give revolutionaries a working advantage. It is enough of an advantage, at least, to allow ardent leftists some success in organizing. They have never required

ideal conditions to foment revolution in any case.

Yet, we have not begun to counter their move. This is what we must do. Instead of reacting, rather over-reacting, to the challenge of "black power" and assuming a stance of total opposition to Negro aims, we should enter the struggle with support of our own. No, we can't buy them off; the Liberal Establishment tried and failed at that. What I mean is to get in there with meaningful organization on our own part, to work in the cities with Negroes, motivating them, educating them for whatever economic gains they can make, assisting them in building the communities they need, and thus, making them part of the northern society from which the revolutionaries are attempting to alienate them.

We must, at least, recognize that private action to better the Negro race is a legitimate method of struggle. Certainly, we should also oppose the violent twist the leftists in the movement are trying to organize. But if we are to oppose their riots only, without attempting positive work with the movement, we are destined to failure in our efforts there as well. Just as we must counter the Viet Cong organizational work in Viet Nam, we must carry forth the same type of activity against their American counterparts. We cannot allow our distaste for the leaders in the black power movement to isolate us from the Negro population. That is what they would want. We must apply our principles of freedom and private action on a local level and show the black people that they too, can benefit from proper methods of struggle.

I think we have a genuine compassion for the Negro race. But if that is not enough, we ought to be spurred to action by the ugly prospect of a Negro movement following those who hate the whole of American society.

Are colleges undermining our culture? They shouldn't, says the author.

As a layman, I presume neither to analyze the state of religion today nor to prescribe specific remedial measures. Correction of deficiencies should come from within, if at all possible. I have been associated intimately with education for more than a quarter century, however, and I shall point out some of what I consider the more serious cankers in our educational system today. Because my associations have been chiefly at the college and university levels, major emphasis will be placed on higher education.

Colleges and universities train teachers for all types of schools, both public and private, from kindergarten through college and post-graduate work. These higher-level institutions, therefore, must bear most of the blame for the increasingly unsatisfactory status of education today.

It is common practice to hold Colleges of Education responsible for everything that has contributed to the weakening of our educational structure. Did not Progressive Education demoralize long-accepted curricula, as well as practically destroy student discipline in or outside the classroom? Did not the "educationists" (sometimes confused with the genuine "educators") open wide the door to chaos by permitting students, rather than experienced teachers, to choose major, minor, and elective subjects more or less at random?

To a certain extent, such accusations are true; but the evil goes much deeper. Perhaps the educationists were prophets, although weak-willed ones. At any rate, they got a head start in yielding to the growing popular demand for greater scholastic elasticity. Other branches of learning, however, were quick to get on the bandwagon and join in the rat race for the cheapening of standards. All divi-

sions also desired to increase enrollment in their own specialties. So education surrendered control of its own house to non-specially-trained promoters. The result was inevitable. Colleges increasingly became degree factories instead of educational institutions, just as feeder high schools were converted into mass-production diploma mills.

Current political crises, making painfully apparent our dearth of adequately trained and competent leadership, have served at last one purpose. They have focused public attention on our sagging and ineffectual educational system. Educators had recognized this state of affairs for years. But competent schoolmen seldom dared to speak out openly; the few who did make honest efforts toward reform found themselves dealt with severely for their nonconformity. The truth was not popular, and denunciation of anything in our best of all possible educational systems was tantamount to professional suicide. Teachers with courage and ideas could easily be replaced by sycophants. Many were.

Only when the new god, Science, was affected did a hue and cry arise. Our foremost scientists began to complain of increasing difficulty in recruiting young scientists who could express themselves intelligibly, even in their native language. Such a state could prove catastrophic. More and better schools were an immediate necessity. In our country, of course, "more and better schools" meant simply "more and larger schools." New buildings demanded increased teaching personnel, and frequently quality was sacrificed to quantity.

The resulting stepped-up scholastic programs did little except to heighten the already prevalent confusion. Curricula were expanded still further, more and more elec-

tives were offered, and relatively fewer required courses remained. Such academic procedure aggravated the evil, cheapening even more instead of improving the quality of scholastic training available. Teacher improvement was thought to be merely a matter of money. The quality of teaching was expected to improve in direct ratio to the increases in salaries given to teachers.

Such reasoning is largely fallacy. True, to keep competent teachers, and to obtain adequate replacements for retiring or resigning teachers, more money was and is essential. Even teachers must adjust to steadily increasing costs of living. But consider the numerous cases of inadequate teachers with tenure, which prevents their dismissal, and the conclusion is disillusioning but obvious. A fundamentally poor teacher generally will remain a poor teacher, regardless of salary increases. Money alone cannot solve all our problems in education. Other objectives also demand attention.

Certainly, we must have more and better equipped buildings, and larger and more competent teaching staffs. But it is imperative also that curricula be revised from top to bottom. Many present-day elective courses must be discarded, or they must become purely "elective." That is, they must be taken merely for additional credits, never as substitute requirements for basically essential or "major" courses. In determining courses of study, students must be guided by competent faculty advice, never by their own personal whims, a too common practice today. Colleges must insist that their graduates be exposed to, and pass satisfactorily, sufficient courses in their special fields to warrant receipt of appropriate degrees. But equally important, enough more

broadly cultural courses must be taken to supply at least the bases of a more liberal education than normally is possible under our present system. Far too many current graduates can speak or write intelligently only of their major fields, and sometimes not even of those.

One of the most shameful and crippling evils besetting our educational system today must be corrected. I refer to the common lack of both intra-departmental and inter-departmental cooperation. Such a situation may be caused by personal and professional jealousy, or by fear of bettering the position of another teacher or department to the detriment of one's own private or departmental interest. Large departments frequently seek to sabotage other departments considered rivals in enrollment. Small departments snipe at larger departments, often through fear that these Gargantuan rivals may swallow them utterly.

Within departments, rivalry is keen for promotions and increases in salary. No teacher quite trusts his fellow, especially when the biennial time for budget adjustments is drawing near. Where scholarly standards are highest, the teacher who publishes a book or articles during the year is inviting attack by less productive colleagues. Teachers who emphasize their "teaching abilities" seek desperately for ways of offsetting their scholarly limitations in the eyes of administrative officials. A promotion is a promotion, such teachers often reason, whether obtained by merit or by sycophancy. Hence they resort to fawning upon superiors and defaming equals or inferiors in rank, a loathsome practice quite common throughout our educational system, from elementary school to large university.

Factors other than salaries and promotions may cause rivalries. Older members of a department rate certain advantages over younger associates, a status not always beneficial to the cause of education. A senior professor, for example, sometimes is unable to offer an ad-

vanced course because of insufficient enrollment. This may result in his taking over a lower-level class in order to fill out his program. The field covered by this course may be relatively unfamiliar to the professor, because lying outside his specialty. He can, nevertheless, take over the course from a teacher of lower rank, even though the displaced colleague may be an expert in the particular field involved. As a result, students receive inadequate training and departmental prestige suffers. It is difficult to hoodwink students for long, even the far from perspicacious freshmen of today. And they will talk, seldom with deference to the reputations of faculty members discussed.

The practice referred to brings into focus another cultural stumbling block in our educational system: the prevailing overemphasis on specialization. Formerly, the Ph.D. degree attested its holder's broadly humanistic grasp of knowledge far beyond the limits of his major study. Today, the recipient of such a degree frequently has been forced to specialize so narrowly that his intellectual and cultural horizons have shrunk rather than expanded. A teacher thus trained may be brilliant in one narrow phase of his subject, but embarrassed because unsure when forced outside this restricted area.

One of the most insidious menaces to culture commonly passes unrecognized, hence unchallenged, in our colleges. Students are trained in colleges for careers, or at least livelihood, in most of the professions and in many of the crafts as well. The general public consequently assumes that college teachers must be authoritative experts in their respective fields. Such an assumption often is far from justified. Teachers of literature who produce creative literature are relatively rare. Often they are not even competent critics of the literature which they teach. Our colleges have become veritable graveyards of frustrated and disillusioned artists, architects, and engineers; and the list could be extended indefinitely.

Such persons, having failed to meet successfully outside competition in their fields, now are teaching what they themselves have not mastered.

Much of the confusion and ineffectiveness in our colleges today can be attributed to a popular misconception of the role of democracy in education. In a democracy, it is reasoned, the sons and daughters of all citizens are entitled to equal educational privileges. And this theory commonly is misinterpreted to mean that all persons who have graduated from accredited high schools are equally eligible to receive college degrees. This fallacy is almost universal in state-supported colleges and universities, which constitute the most typical and the most influential policy-determining agencies in our educational system. As a consequence, thousands of totally unfit students are permitted to enroll in colleges yearly. Once admitted, the colleges feel it incumbent upon them to get such educational liabilities through their requirements for degrees, if at all possible. The shocking truth is that a large percentage of students entering our colleges are temperamentally or intellectually incapable of deriving much appreciable benefit from their courses of study.

Many such persons did not wish to enter college in the first place, but either their parents or the pressure of public expectation forced them into matriculation. High-school graduates sometimes go to college because they feel that it will be difficult to get a good job, let alone a white-collared position, without a college degree. As a result, many potentially capable skilled laborers or craftsmen refuse to become such; and upon graduation from college, they seek and obtain employment beyond their capabilities. Honest labor with one's hands is fast losing the dignity and appreciation in which it once was held.

The wholesale herding of students into colleges has other harmful by-products no less serious. Some students are failed, of course, but far too many are kept in the classrooms by means of lowered

scholastic standards. Incompetents thus graduate along with the more able individuals, and even the latter often are not objects of pride to their alma mater. It is so easy for students of superior ability to degenerate into misfits or sluggards, when they discover how little effort is required to keep comfortably ahead of the majority of their classmates. It is inevitable, in consequence, that we should be faced with an alarming increase of difficulty in finding leaders trained for the capable administration of our affairs, governmental or private. We no longer train for leadership but for mediocrity.

What can we do about this catastrophic state of education? First of all, we must face concrete realities, and change our entire concept of the relation of democracy to education. Democracy in education can be given only one practical and logical interpretation. It means simply that in a democracy every citizen should be privileged to expose himself to as much education as he

may desire and can receive profitably — no less, and certainly no more. Special training schools should be expected to increase the skills of non-college material. Capable students must be permitted to progress as fast as time and their abilities allow, not retarded and dulled by forced association with dullards and incompetents in the classroom. Our very survival, and perhaps the survival of civilization throughout the world, may depend upon our clear recognition of this basic educational principle.

Quite recently, there have been hopeful signs in education, signs which should be and perhaps are straws in the wind. There is more interest in education, as evidenced by increased publicity and discussion in many quarters. Colleges and lower-level schools are expanding their physical plants, and salaries of teachers are being adjusted upward. Retirement age of qualified and physically fit teachers are being raised, thus making available mature knowledge and skills which

formerly were cut off years earlier.

Such things are good, but they are not enough. The very core of the educational problem remains to be solved. We must revise and strengthen our curricula. We must place major emphasis on knowledge and teaching ability, rather than on mere degrees held by teaching staff members. Even publication, vital as it is to educational growth and prestige, must not be recognized as a substitute for effective classroom presentation of subject matter. We must expect and demand closer cooperation between departments, schools, and colleges, as well as between teaching personnel and administrative officials. Area studies involving various departments in one major field, including its peripheral ramifications, are capable of far greater expansion into increased usefulness for students and faculty. And our ideological approach to education must be revised to serve rather than to strangle our democratic tenets.

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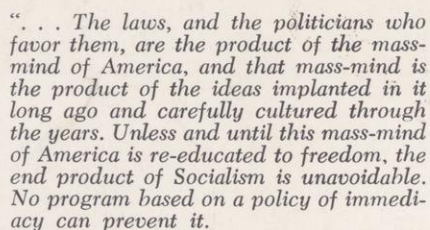
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