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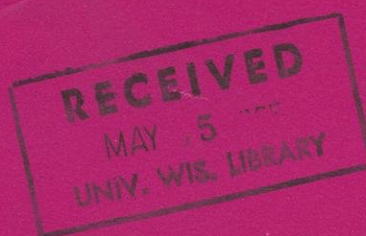
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insight and outlook

in this issue . . .



The 'Cardinal' Controversy: The Other Side

An Editorial

Longer Thoughts On The Farm Problem

Dale Sievert

How the Soviets Stomp on the Jews

Freda Vodovosoff

The Futitarian Society

James M. O'Connell



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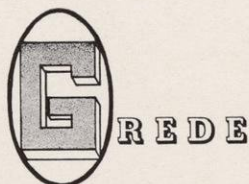
..PLUTARCH

Rare indeed is the man who can hold steadfastly to his basic beliefs in the face of unreasoning opposition. This is as true today as it was nearly 19 centuries ago when the venerable Greek philosopher first discussed the virtues of determination.



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insight and outlook

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Books, Books, Books

Spring is rapidly approaching and with this issue **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK** is giving that deserved credit to those authors who have added something new in the field of literature, shedding new light (or, it may be covering up old) on thoughts and applications especially relevant to the conservative in 1965. That is not to say that those reviewed are all conservative books—or, indeed, even about conservative “causes”—but, due to their interest in man, and mankind, we felt it proper to examine them critically and let our readers make the final judgment.

Freda Vodovosoff heads the book review section with a depth analysis of B. Z. Goldberg's *The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union*. She discusses the amassing of evidence Goldberg has done on the problem, criticizes objectively his treatment and the conclusions he has drawn, and deduces logically the reasons, both ideological and practical, for the poor state of the Jew in the Soviet Union today. Ayn Rand's latest book gets a careful scrutiny by Richard O. Wright. Wright finds elements of the book helpful, especially the calm method of analyzing personal human relations, but has strong doubts about the basics from which Miss Rand operates. The whole Objectivist school falls under Wright's conclusions; he finds little reason or hope for their triumph anywhere, and therein much to be desired. Jim O'Connell tackles the latest attempt by the Liberals to discover what conservatives are by distorting them beyond recognition. He finds the book to be quite sick and recommends you save your money. Ken Wright, in a first effort, considers Russel Kirk's *Academic Freedom* to be a refreshing look at the real problems of modern education.

Departing from the literature for this issue, Dale Sievert is still vexed by the failure of the Liberals to see the obvious causes for the farm problem. For treatment of symptoms is but a part time remedy and really does no more than delay the solution for the next generation. It is about time, he suggests, that some serious study be done into the root causes, and that we have fortitude enough face up to the required demands. Taking off on a parenthical quip in Whitaker Chambers' *Cold Friday* (to be reviewed in the next issue), Edmund Zawacki makes some positive suggestions for putting some direction in United States foreign policy, desperately needed in this nuclear age. There is hope, he concludes, but not apart from the divine.

As will soon become obvious, **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK**, in this issue, sets forth its two cents worth about the hulabaloo raised about the office of the *Daily Cardinal*. We take what may be termed the unorthodox stand.

The Right to Property

The assertion that "human rights are more important than property rights" is reiterated time and time by those who feel that human beings are more important than property. Of course they are right. Human beings are the children of God.

However, the concept of "property rights" deserves closer examination than it has been getting. The term is actually a misnomer. Property has no rights. But people do, and among them is the right to own and control property of all sorts, including investments, real estate, patents, businesses and copyrights.

Thus the right to own property is a human right and ought not to be segregated from other human rights. In fact, the right to own property is actually the keystone of virtually all human rights, because without it, other rights could scarcely exist.

For example, there could be no guaranteed freedom of speech, press or assembly without the existence of private property. Press freedom depends heavily on private ownership of presses and printing plants. Not only must printing facilities be in private hands, but also the distribution of newsprint and paper. In certain areas of Latin America a pro-government press is guaranteed by the existence of a state newsprint monopoly.

Freedom of speech and assembly rest squarely on the existence of privately-owned halls and gathering places. Freedom of religion is buttressed by the existence of privately-owned churches and grounds. Academic freedom would be imperiled if the state were to own or control all the schools and universities. Even the independence of political parties depends, to some extent, on privately-owned offices.

Further still, private ownership of property is indispensable to freedom from want and fear. Without the right to own income-bearing property we would be forced to depend on government for succor and protection. Our capacity to make ourselves independent and self-suffi-

cient would cease to exist, and we would become wards of the state.

Thus the right to own property undergirds our economic independence, our individuality and our freedom from arbitrary government domination. Widely dispersed private property is the great bulwark against totalitarian regimes. For this reason, property is usually regarded as the most sacred of human rights.

It has long been recognized as one of the cornerstones of western civilization. Pope Leo XIII, for example, said that "It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the very reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and to hold it as his own private possession . . .

"Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property."

Libertarians believe that the right to own property must be universal. But this abstract right to own property does not mean that anyone has a right to any particular piece of property, whether it be stocks, a business or real estate. A buyer acquires a right to a particular piece of property only if the owner is willing to sell him the title to it.

In general, social control of property has been confined to the regulation of the means of production—in other words, to property which affects the wellbeing of multitudes of people. Virtually exempt from social control, and sacrosanct through centuries of common law, is a man's own home. The reason, of course, is that when control of this most private of all private property is threatened, so is family life, which is the cornerstone of a moral social order.

The foremost problem that confronts us all is to guard against the deterioration of the right to own and dispose of property. But only slightly less important is the urgent necessity to ensure that property is freely available and widely dispersed among the populace.

—Aetius

The Cardinal Affair

1. Tilting Windmills

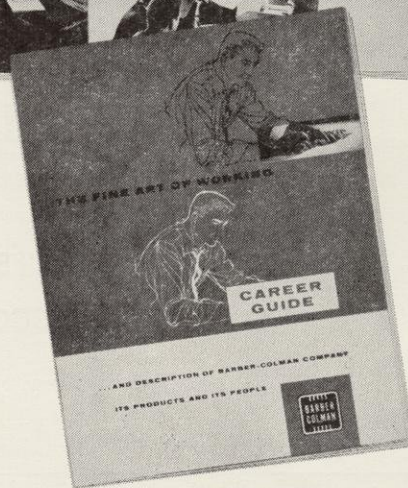
The start of a new semester finds the campus in a state of uproar in consideration of an issue raised in the Capital by State Senator Jerris Leonard. The controversy centered on the staffing and policies of the *Daily Cardinal*, the official newspaper of the University of Wisconsin. It appears that Leonard dug out some very interesting and enlightening information about the *Cardinal's* managing editor, a Mr. John Gruber. Mr. Gruber was long known to have no love affair with conservatives, or even "moderate" Liberals. But at the present time, reportedly, Gruber is living in a rooming house along with sons of the former state and national leadership of the Communist Party. And the reason for the *Daily Cardinal's* consistent friendliness with the campus Left, charged Leonard, is in all probability a direct result of these odd associations. Mr. Leonard went on to suggest that since the *Daily Cardinal* has a unique, privileged position on the Wisconsin campus, an investigation was in order.

You know what happened then. Everybody but everybody denounced Leonard as a dirty, black, fascist McCarthyite, and defended Gruber as lily white. Gruber's even a "serious and conscientious student," added Liberal journalism professor Scott Cutlip. And, oh yes, "open minded." Wisconsin's illustrious professor of history, George Mosse, felt that it was false and silly for Leonard to speak of the *Cardinal* as a left-slanted newspaper. "Besides," he added profoundly, "I have objected to the right-wing comment in the *Cardinal* rather than the left-wing."

No matter what anybody says, it is obvious to any serious student that the *Daily Cardinal* has consistently and unashamedly supported the Left-Liberal point of view over and against the conservative and moderate-center. Its columnists, with few exceptions, openly support the ideology of the Left, and often of the extreme Left. With regard to both subject matter and space given to supposedly objective news reporting, the *Cardinal* has consistently slighted on-campus events and programs favorable to the political Right. An objective review of an articulate conservative speaker — much less positive billing — can not be found in the *Daily Cardinal*. At the present time the political right wing does not have an effective articulate voice either in the opinion columns, editorials or news articles; the whole paper is heavily soaked with Liberalism. If Mr. Mosse objects to the right-wing comment therein it is because either a) he never reads the *Cardinal*, or b) he can't tell the difference between



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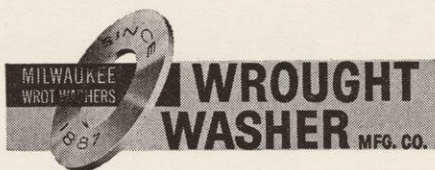
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Left and Right, or c) he is by nature more a man of the Left than a man of the Right.

As for the *Cardinal's* one-sided Liberalism, we deplore it. We don't think it's fair to an intellectual community to have its only newspaper consistently support one side of an issue, especially the side so dominantly preached in the classroom.

2. 'Freedom' of a Monopoly Press

"Freedom of the press!" screamed the Madison newspapers. "Freedom of the press!" echoed the University of Wisconsin Young Dems, as well as its auxiliary branch, the University Y-GOP. Students bumbled it, professors bleated it, the Regents balloted on it, and that was that.

And so the magic words were invoked. In context, they meant that the *Daily Cardinal* should not be investigated as to its printed political biases because such an investigation would violate its freedom of the press. More specifically, whatever biases the *Cardinal* may choose to follow, whatever news management policies it may elect to pursue should pass beyond the pale of any supervision. Why? Why of course—freedom of the press!

Obviously, we have no quarrel with the policy inherent in the idea of a free and untrammelled press. Freedom in the expression of even unpopular ideas is a cornerstone of modern conservative philosophy. What we do question is the applicability of this idea to the recent *Cardinal* controversy. It was a phony issue.

Simply stated, our case is this. The *Daily Cardinal* is the official student newspaper of the University of Wisconsin. It is not a private newspaper, competing with other newspapers, totally financed by private capital, free to indulge its owners' prejudices. It is, rather, in the non-analogous position of being the *only* organ of campus news reporting, occupying University property, and protected by University policy.

This, in itself, is not necessarily bad. A university campus is probably a poor place to establish competing newspapers. Generally, this would result in two mediocre papers, be a needless duplication of effort, and dilute whatever educative experience is gained by its respective staff members. A university decision to protect and promote only one student newspaper may, under certain circumstances, be a valid policy judgment.

But it is one thing to decide that only one paper should be tolerated, and quite another to give complete freedom of management to its editors. For if all the staff members happen to be of the same political faith, and if they are responsible to no one for the policies which they pursue, they will, quite naturally, indulge what-

ever biases they have, to the exclusion, either partial or total, of an opposing viewpoint. Freedom of the press is not an issue. Responsibility of a monopoly press is.

The *Cardinal's* claims that it is an organization independent of the University in all respects simply do not wash. Suffice it to note that when INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK was given permission to be printed as a student publication, one of the expressed limitations under which it was to operate was that it could not approach local firms for advertisements which already had commitments with the *Cardinal*. This restriction still exists.

The *Cardinal's* arguments that since its editorial board is appointed by the *Cardinal* Board, which, in turn, is elected by the student body and thus, in promoting its biases, is responding to a student mandate are equally unimpressive. In the first place, only a small minority of students cast ballots for *Cardinal* Board positions. Moreover, the candidates' campaigns are hardly calculated to acquaint voters with the candidates' political faiths. And even if a majority of students favored the policies pursued by the *Cardinal*, there are no safeguards inherent in the system to prevent this student preference from turning into a tyranny of the majority.

The *Daily Cardinal*, because of this unique position of trust, has an obligation to give equal space to competing viewpoints. This duty is just as great in the news management field as it is on the editorial page. If the formation of the left wing Du Bois Society is given front page, headline treatment for a number of days (as it was), the formation of a Young Americans for Freedom chapter on this campus should be given the same (which it wasn't).

If this responsibility is not met by *Cardinal* staff members, it is obvious that it must be effected in another quarter. This isn't censorship; this isn't a denial of freedom of the press. This is simply fair.

3. After the Tumult and the Shouting

It is, of course, egregious nonsense to hold that the editorial policy of the *Daily Cardinal*—or, for that matter, of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK—should be “investigated” by the Wisconsin Senate or even by the Regents of the University.

But it is not nonsensical at all when the *Cardinal* itself and the students on this campus are alerted to the various off-campus influences seeking access to the *Cardinal's* editorial room. It is perhaps clear now to all students except the few hyper-hysterical dolts who are always with us, that Senator Jerris Leonard, by taking public notice of managing editor John Gruber's domicile, performed a legitimate service not only for U.W. students but for the *Cardinal* and John Gruber himself. It is to Senator Leonard's credit that

quite sensational initial step he chose to practice the art of tolerant self-restraint.

It is now for John Gruber and his colleagues on the editorial staff of the *Cardinal* to practice it, too. The *Cardinal* is not perfect in its editorial policies, nor is John Gruber a martyr in the cause of “freedom of the press.” He has merely learned the hard way what he should have known before, namely, that editors of magazines and newspapers, including student newspapers, do live in goldfish bowls just as politicians do, and that they are legitimately subject to criticism when it is not transparent from all sides.

On the score of editorial policy—and quite apart from John Gruber's domicile—when was the last time the *Cardinal* reviewed an issue of INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK in an open-minded way? Putting the question more pointedly, when was the last time an issue of INSIGHT was reviewed in the *Cardinal* at all?

We think it is only reasonable to assert that this bi-monthly conservative student magazine, edited and published by students on this campus with every bit as much professional skill as the *Cardinal* itself, is not beneath the *Cardinal's* regular notice. INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK's editors do not charge that the *Cardinal's* systematic eschewal of thoughtful comment on our bi-monthly think-pieces is deliberate policy, but if it is not policy, the suspicion does arise that the *Cardinal's* editors have nothing truly thoughtful to say about things that matter on campus and off.

The Urge to Ban

This department occasionally tries to discourage the attitude that for every real or imagined ill “there oughta be a law.” As Prohibition proved, it is abusing the Law to make it the servant of crusades or petty complaints, and injustice is sure to follow. Yet the prohibitionist attitude is, if anything, more common than ever.

Observe its effect, for example, in these items culled from the morning's news:

—A New Jersey housewife, in a letter to her local newspaper, asks for a law against backyard barbecue because she is bothered by the smoke from her neighbor's barbecue pit.

—The New York Times reports, “By a vote of 4 to 1, the Appellate Division overturned a State Supreme



Court decision and reinstituted a city ban on tattooing by anyone except doctors. In a four-page decision that delved into psychology, art and medicine as well as law, the majority expressed a decidedly repugnant attitude over tattooing . . .”

—The leadership of the National Rifle Association, long a warm opponent of firearms controls, now reportedly favors Federal regulation of the sale of rifles to thwart Presidential assassins.

Today the prohibitionists, riding their obsession, tilt at backyard barbecues, tattooing and mail-order rifles. Tomorrow they may have the urge to ban smoking, nudism or your favorite pastime. Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr., speared the folly of it with his remark that we are still awaiting the successful completion of the duties of the Committee to Abolish Original Sin.

We pay for every superfluous law with our freedom. The urge to ban may suit frustrated reformers, but the freedom-loving man abhors it, knowing that the only true road to social improvement is self-improvement. Tomorrow let's be friendly to freedom: let's be more forgiving of our neighbor's weaknesses, and less forgiving of our own.

Up From Medicare

Alas, the new Democratic Congress is expected to establish some program of government medicine, or “Medicare.” We emphatically dispute the wisdom of federal interference with our traditionally private medical practice, which is the finest anywhere — in no small measure because it is private. But if there is to be Medicare, let it be a program that learns from experience and tolerates the genius of our traditional system.

As now planned, Medicare would offer limited medical services to the aged, financed by an increase (to an estimated 11%) in social security taxes. The program would be gradually expanded to provide general coverage. Many Western nations have similar programs, so their experience should be illustrative.

Belgium has one (her doctors recently went on strike). West Germany has one (some of her doctors have defected to East Germany to practice). Britain has one (and half her medical profession has left the country). France has one (it has bankrupted her social security system). Austria has one (her doctors struck too). In short, Medicare is no reckless, untried scheme, but a well proven disaster. Why?

First, because government medicine is intolerably expensive. To the normal cost of private medicine, government plans add: 1) the enormous cost of ad-

ministering the program; 2) the cost of medical care for the needy who had been unable to purchase it privately (assisting this particular group is the object of most healthplans); and 3) the cost of the waste endemic in government enterprises. One of the ironies of the Medicare proposed for this country is that one's same dollars could purchase much broader health insurance privately. Or, banked regularly, they would yield a small fortune at retirement age.

Second, because the programs' inherent bureaucratic clumsiness interferes with proper medical care. The State undertakes to pay the doctor for his services — precisely what services has he provided? To supervise its medical franchise, the State has to know every imaginable detail of every transaction between every patient and every doctor, with the result that the doctor uses hours of his valuable time filling out forms, in triplicate. More of the doctor's time and patience is exhausted complying with the State's inevitable petty regulations. Still more goes to treating the malingerers, hypochondriacs and play-it-safers brought in by the promise of “free” care. And etc.

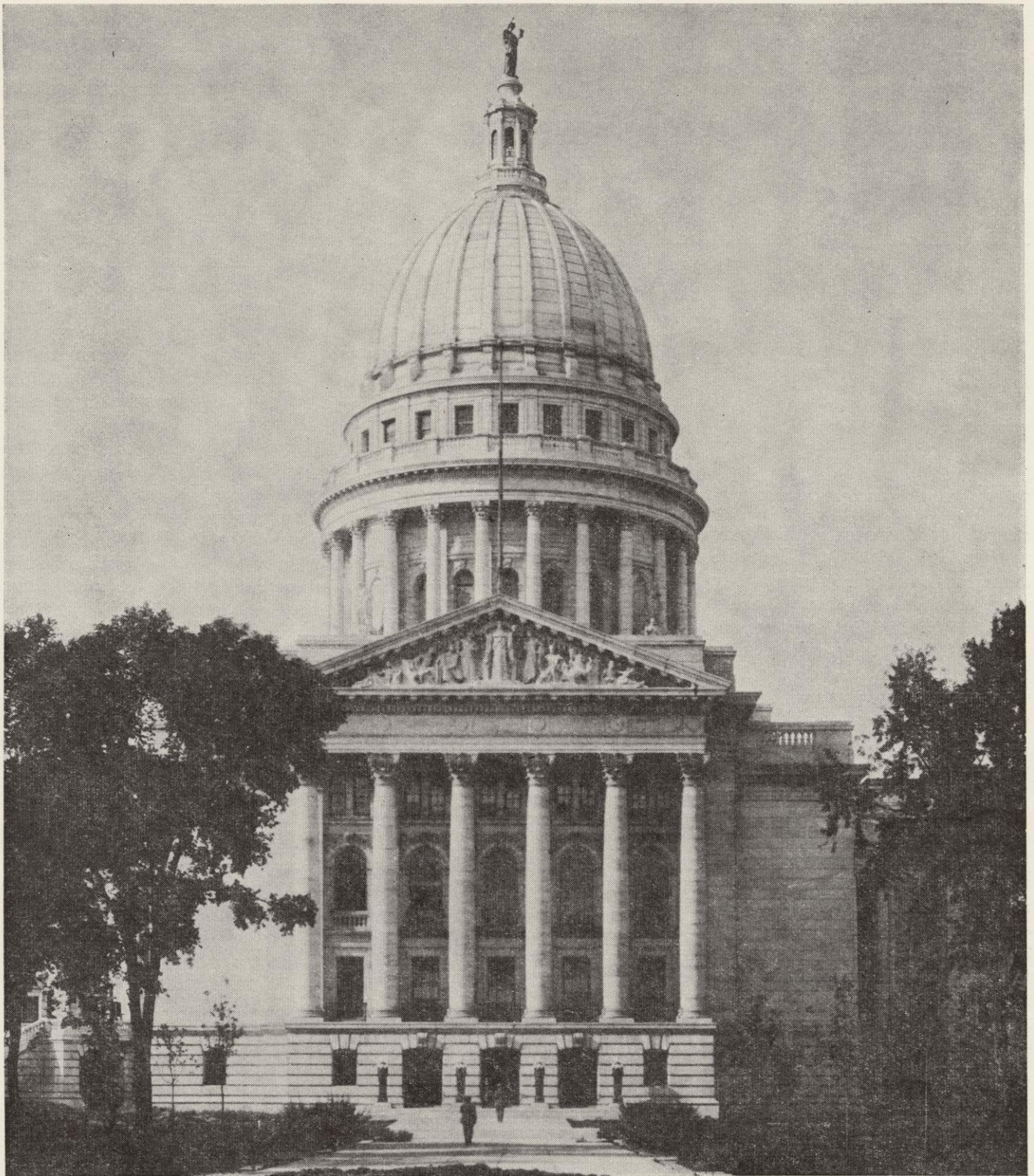
Thus, under socialized medicine, it happens that underpaid doctors are obliged to see far too many patients, in a day cut short by hours of paperwork; doctor-patient confidences are disrupted, care can be dangerously delayed, diagnoses are hasty and treatment is often haphazard. It has been shown that after the adoption of such programs *the rate of mortality from curable diseases rises sharply* — and no wonder!

The essence of its task, it seems to us, is to preserve our traditional private medical practice (which suffers none of the paralyzing bureaucratic effects discussed above) within a compatible system of federal financing.

It just won't do to charge the costs of Medicare to general tax revenues, or worse, to the already overburdened social security fund: this introduces the superfluous cost, and all the problems, of administration.

A system of tax credits, however, is simple and workable. By this method, a citizen would be allowed a credit (not a deduction) on his income tax for the full amount of his family's medical expenses. Should his medical bills exceed his tax, he would be entitled to a rebate. As proof of his medical expenditures, he need only attach the doctors' receipts to his form 1040. Tax credits should also be allowed for private health insurance premiums.

The advantages of the tax-credit method are obvious: comprehensive medical care for everyone at public expense, but no extra costs, no bureaucratization, and no infringement of the freedom of the medical profession. Short of no program at all, this is the best outline for Medicare.



WORDS FOR OUR LAND TO LIVE BY

From the Wisconsin State Constitution, Article 1, Section 22

"The blessings of a free government can only be maintained by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK 9

He Was Their Finest Man

Jared Lobdell

There is the pugnacious damn-you-all face, with the chin well out, the face of "blood and sweat and toil and tears." There is the rather bored face in the Smoking Room, which makes the young member think "What the Hell should I say? Or would it be better to say nothing?" Then — lest I should be thought to suggest bad manners, which I certainly do not intend — there is the sudden smile and twinkle, which make the young man glad to be alive, and doubly glad that he was elected; for here he is, a mortal, on intimate terms with a god, in good humour.

—A. P. HERBERT

It was the custom of the British government, in other days, to bestow upon its successful leader in war titles which included the names of the battles in which they were victorious. In a way I could wish the custom had been continued, for the great man who died in Hyde Park Gate on January 24th was, without any territorial sovereignty, rightful Baron and Viscount and Earl and Marquis and Duke of Britain. It is a curious trick of phrasing, I suppose, that while the "Battle of Britain" brings to mind, quite naturally, the R. A. F. and the dark days of 1940, the idea of a Duke of Britain suggests (to me at least) the dark days of the sixth century, the Count of the Saxon Shore, the struggles of King Arthur to preserve Christian Britain from the heathen invaders: I do not find the suggestion inappropriate.

For half a century or so, Arthur's victory at Mount Badon preserved the dwindling strength of Celtic Britain, until the darkness, and the Saxons, came again. I do not say it is likely that England will fall in fifty years time, though her Empire is already gone, but Churchill, like the shadowy Arthur, was the last of his kind, the last giant of the elder days, the last knight of Europe, the last crusader for Imperial Britain.

Already, before he died, his time had passed. It is long ages back, in another world, that he charged

with the cavalry at Omdurman, that he escaped from the Boers, that he first stood for Parliament, when Victoria was Queen of England (and Ireland) and Empress of India, and Waterloo was within the memory of living men. One feels as though a promontory, having withstood the waves for aeons, had suddenly been washed into the sea, as though a mountain had fallen, as though Atlantis had been swallowed up. And one understands, for a brief moment, why it was that the Romans deified their emperors, and the Middle Ages beatified and canonized their kings.

All of this has nothing to do with his policies or his politics. Doubtless Arthur made mistakes; doubtless Alfred did too. The Norsemen won out in the end over the Saxons at Hastings, as the Saxons won out over the Britons at Dyrham. But Mount Badon and Ethandune and the Battle of Britain were victories, no matter what comes after. Somehow, in the end, the West was saved: who can say



Arthur and Alfred did not save it. All Sir Winston's errors, all the cakes that burned at Athelney, are significant beside the man himself.

Very soon the anecdotes that are told about him will be told no more. No one will be left to tell of his declining a drink before he went to lunch with the royal family, on the grounds that it would not look well if he were to slither under the royal table — or to report how he ended his speech on Dunkirk ("... we shall fight in the fields and in the streets; we shall fight in the hills; and shall never surrender," with an aside to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and we'll hit the blighters over the head with beer bottles because we haven't got any bullets"). The anecdotes will fade, gradually the memory of the speeches will fade, but the man will live.

The Lesson

If we turn to his life for a lesson, we will find one, but it will not be anything that will help us explore the old separation of liberal and conservative: it will not be a set of policies: it will be nothing that we can organize and governmentalize and alphabetize — nothing, in short, that we can make political capital, or even political use, of. But we will find a lesson even so.

If we are to defeat those who desire the trampling down in other lands of liberties and comforts which they have never known in their own, if we are to triumph over whatever forces of tyranny encompass us, then, though death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey, hardship our garment, constancy and valor our only shield, they are companions we must welcome, a garment of glory, a shield we would not bargain for all the safety we can imagine. And it may happen again, that we will, in the midst of the struggle, pause, look up, and find ourselves on intimate terms with a god, in good humour, and we will know, whatever happens, that we are on the right side.

Longer Thoughts on the Farm Problem

Dale Sievert

The Disastrous Consequences of Treatment of Symptoms

Much the same problem of today, it lurked in Virginia in 1619, in all the United States in 1929, as it does today. Seemingly insolvable, it defied the Virginia Colonial Assembly and defies the United States today as well — the farm problem.

My contention is that major federal farm policy during this century treated symptoms of agricultural ill-health, not causes, and that the condition of the American farm today demands genuine remedy. To begin with, the structure of U. S. agriculture is so faulty that it leads to serious economic problems not only in agriculture but in the total economy as well. Much of the present structural problem stems from land policy during our early history. In order to maintain an agrarian society and economy, Thomas Jefferson advocated cheap land, at that time overabundant. In opposition, Alexander Hamilton unsuccessfully called for the sale of large acreages to fewer individuals. Land sold cheap and progressively cheaper until, in 1862, the Homestead Act granted 160 acres free to anyone who farmed and improved it for five years. The result was necessarily an atomistic structure of agriculture with millions of farmers. Pertinent here is the fact that agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises resembled each other structurally until the development of corporate capitalism with its constant amalgamations. Agricultural economic structure, however, changed far more slowly, resulting in the present differences between them.

Between 1910 and 1960 the number of farms in this country decreased from 6.4 million to 3.7 million, mostly occurring after 1940. There was, simultaneously, a steady in-

crease in average farm size from 138 to 302 acres. This was, of course, a major change, but not enough to be significant structurally. Today there is still too large a number of farms of insufficient size, due to policies that perhaps were requisite in *Jefferson's time*. Proof of this is the fact that farmers today are "price takers" at full production, that is, no farmer has the ability to affect the general price level and must take whatever price is offered.

The difference between the producers in agriculture and in non-agricultural industry is their disparate ability to respond to demand and the effect the individual types of responses have on the market. It is evident that in order to benefit from the free market in terms of desired prices and income, suppliers must regulate aggregate supply, and thus oversupply, a task that requires cooperation among suppliers.

Farmers generally cannot do this for two major reasons. The first is the large number of individualistically inclined farmers; a vendible — plan for all is a rarity. Secondly, there is a great number of marginal farmers who have no choice but to farm continually at full production. Moreover, production greatly expands with technological advances; coupling this with the fact that most farmers constantly produce at full capacity, we see that aggregate supply knows no control at all. The market becomes flooded, and prices plunge catastrophically. This forces those who withstood the price drop to greater production through

more efficient practices in order to maintain solvency. And prices drop again, and again, until enough farmers abandon that individual commodity to produce another, thereby reducing aggregate supply. But often this takes too long a period to prevent chronically low prices. Much of the cause lies here with the atomistic nature of production.

This brings us to the second pertinent structural feature of agriculture: the inelasticity of both supply and demand. This means that a change in the market price of a commodity effectuates a smaller *proportionate* change in the supply of it. When price fluctuations in an individual commodity cause *greater proportionate* fluctuations in supply, its supply is termed elastic. The same holds true for demand. The evil of inelasticities lies in the wide market place fluctuations they create. In agriculture, a price change brings little response from supply; but, looking through the other end of the telescope, a small supply change brings about greatly varied prices. Farmers frequently face this situation, due to bumper and lean years.

* * *

We should now examine the performance of agriculture to see the results of faulty structure. Three woeful features present themselves. Price instability is one, the most unpredictable and most feared. Due to the annual fluctuations in prices and to the great number of farmers who depend on price stability, changes in prices often wipe out many farmers. (Paradoxically, many farmers cherish this capricious market as a challenge.) Price instability itself really has three main causes. First there is the relatively unplanned and uncontrolled volume of crops due to weather and other natural factors that substantially vary supply and, in turn, price. Second is the predic-



ament of the farmer as a "price taker," at whose expense the processors of his products maintain their legitimate margins of profit when retail prices fall or their own business costs rise. Third is the fact that greater proportional changes in price are caused by any given change in supply. We see this hitting the farmer as a "price taker" both in drought and bumper years. But all this, as if not enough, is only the first woe of farmers.

The second woe are the chronically low prices received by the farmer from the non-agricultural sector of the economy. The inelasticity of agricultural supply is what begets over-supply, and prices are simply driven down. This gives grounds for the so-called "parity ratio," which is the ratio of prices received by farmers for what they sell compared with those paid by them for the things they buy. This ratio is no longer 1:1, as it used to be. The truth has long been and still remains that farmers are not receiving prices comparable to the ones they pay.

The third woe is that low farm prices often cause low income for a great percentage of individual farmers and for the farm sector as a whole. In agriculture, a baffling paradox occurs, but it is explainable. Total income equals price times the quantity of product sold; because given increases in supply result in greater proportional decreases in price, total farm revenue actually suffers a *decrease* with supply increases. Consequently, then, to increase national farm income (with government programs absent and with demand relatively constant, as it usually is) marketed supply must decrease.

A fourth source of trouble is the lack of farm bargaining power. Because there are so many farmers and because they find it difficult to organize, they cannot respond collectively to market conditions. Thus, the farmer remains hopelessly a price taker at the buyer's mercy. Striking is ludicrous even to contemplate. Co-operatives have been moderately successful, but

their limitations still prevent them from making major advances in bargaining power. This topic, however, commands top priority among national farm groups, and this is definitely a step in the right direction.

* * *

From this brief look at the many factors at work in agricultural economics, it is partly clear that if agriculture is once again to support itself and integrate itself dynamically into the American economy as a whole, policies and programs are necessary which address themselves to causes, not symptoms. Again then, my contention is that nearly every federal "farm program" since the 1920's failed because symptoms, not causes, were the target.

Farm legislation on which these programs were launched include: the *McNary-Haugen Bill* of 1924; the *Agricultural Marketing Act* of 1929; the *Agricultural Adjustment Act* of 1933; the *Marketing Agreement Act* of 1937; the *Agricultural Adjustment Acts* of 1938, 1948 and 1949; the *Brannan Plan*; the *Soil Bank* of 1954; the *Feed-Grain Bills* of the 1960's; the *Wheat Programs* of 1960's. Of these acts, some remain with us still, and few if any achieve much of their purpose.

The first program we shall inspect for bugs is the attempt in the *McNary-Haugen Bill* to raise domestic farm prices above world prices by subsidizing exports. In order to increase demand, this program tried to meet a domestic overproduction problem by raising domestic farm prices! It is hardly addressed to the fundamental cause and merely leads to international tariff complications.

Another favorite program is production control, either mandatory or voluntary. The *Wheat Programs*, the *Feed-Grain Programs*, and many of the earlier programs use this measure. The mandatory form is, of course, more frightening to farmers and shocking proof of the matter's urgency. In order to insure the farmer reasonable prices, the national government decides

the aggregate supply of raw farm produce needed to meet demand. Each producer of a particular commodity is assigned a limit of what he may produce, on an acreage allotment basis. Failure to comply warrants legal sanctions. To increase his allotment, a farmer must "buy" another farmer's allotment.

One can already perceive the repugnancies involved here. When farming becomes an institution where fines and jail sentences result from exercising a natural right over one's property, then in one gigantic fellswoop the entire social and economic foundation of American agriculture has actually been supplanted by a suppressive superstructure of economic tyranny, initiated through a supposedly omiscient and benevolent national government. This is neither benevolence nor omniscience — it is ignorance and absurdity.

Let us spare the voluntary program this criticism, but be mindful that voluntary plus one becomes mandatory by any bureaucratic standard. Unfeasibility and impracticability defeat this plan. With wheat, for example, there are 2.25 million producers. This huge number harbors failure on three counts: 1) that a part of these farmers, enough to create an oversupply, will champion their integrity and independence rather than accept an allotment; 2) that the cost of administering this program outweighs its benefits; 3) that the program will not stand alone without some form of price support, which defeats its original purpose, as we shall see next.

Price support programs have no doubt caused the most controversy; there are two major types. In the first, embodied in the *Wheat Programs*, the *Feed Grain Programs*, and the AAA acts, the national government sets a "fair price" for a particular commodity. If, when the farmer markets his commodity, this price is not reached, he receives a check for the amount he "lost" due to the lower market. The second, called the *Brannan Plan*, is the type used for perishable products, but

it could have wider applications; here, there remains no surplus following a production season. The government purchases all crops directly from the farmers at the "fair price" (support price) and dumps it on the market, accepting whatever price it may bring, the federal "loss" being absorbed by the federal treasury. The program is intended, of course, to correct chronically low farm prices; but what is the program's effect? Without the program, if a farmer's crop brings so low a price as to discourage him from producing that item again, he will often substitute a different crop for it, reducing the supply of the initial commodity and thus helping to make it profitable once more. But offer him a higher support price for the same product, and he will naturally produce more of it, as will many new market entries seeking a profitable commodity; the market price naturally drops lower still. In so deep, the national government cannot withdraw without precipitating a farm catastrophe.

In connection with the price support controversy, some experts contend that low prices in agriculture will never be overcome, because farmers will always oversupply (due to the excess of non-transferable capital and resources in agriculture). This is a half-truth at best, but what is wholly true is that the price support program perpetuates the marginal farmer and supports an artificial and unhealthy condition in agriculture. Until this is realized and admitted, the problem will never be solved.

Finally, there is the *Soil Bank* of 1954. This, at least was addressed to a basic cause of farm woes — too many farmers and overabundant land. But it, too, failed and was recently phased out. The fault, however, was not with the idea itself, but with indiscriminate implementation and consequent misuse on the farmer's part. The national government rented submarginal land from farmers for a period of one to ten years. Sharp-witted farmers immediately bought poor

farms and semi-wasteland to profit from the plan. Because "banking" of the most productive land was not stressed, supply could not be decreased enough to raise prices by avoiding glut. But the *Soil Bank* or some form of it could still be successfully implemented in United States agriculture as a whole or in specific sectors of it.

The farm problem is, of course, a big and widely ramified one, and it is perhaps destined to plague the American over-all economy for many more administrations. But

let us not forget that the American farm is also a socio-economic institution with its own unique prerequisites for healthy development; some of the more important of these have been pointed out. Unless federal farm policies are designed, not as palliatives for the symptoms of agricultural ill-health, but as remedies for the actual causes, the great socio-economic institution that the American farm has always been will foreseeable fall victim to bureaucratic quackery. It need not.

The Great Society: Charity Without the Crucifixion

Edmund Zawacki

Perhaps the most startling insight in Whittaker Chambers' post-humous book, *Cold Friday*, is the remark made parenthetically that he was forty years old and the father of children before he knew that charity without the Crucifixion is liberalism. But what is startling here is not the heavy charge against liberalism — actually, communism would have been a more just target for Whittaker Chambers; it is the depth of moral confusion poignantly and objectively conveyed in the expression "charity without the Crucifixion."

The charity referred to is obviously the divine *caritas* celebrated in St. Paul's *First Corinthians*: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." To St. Paul, compassion with the passion of Christ on the cross was charity, a communion of the human with the divine through the humane. The point is that Christian charity is impossible to conceive, much less to have, without indissoluble reference to the Crucifixion except, of course, in a hopeless slough of moral confusion.

Personally, I doubt that liberals in America have a monopoly on moral confusion. But if it is true, as Whittaker Chambers came to believe, that the Crucifixion is receding out of sight in *any* American concept of charity, then such a recession is indeed an extreme departure from the Judeo-Christian moral tradition in which our American political institutions are rooted.

On the score of what constitutes progress — that is, what we mean when we speak non-polemically of the "great society" — I think there need be no partisan quarrel be-



tween American conservatives and liberals. Both can, after all, quite justly and amicably define progress as the active pursuit of a humane ideal, which involves the transformation of man from what he is into what he ought to be.

The point I am trying to make here is that American conservatism properly understood is neither a static set of politico-economic beliefs, nor a naive cult of the past nor a fear of the future, but a deeply searching point of view. The true conservative cultivates a sense of historical and moral continuity. Ideally, he strives for a perspective big enough to unite the past and the future in a continuing present.

As the conservative well knows, however, only at our individual and collective peril, and at the peril of progress itself, may we entertain too many illusions about what man actually is. That is why the Crucifixion may not be omitted from our understanding of charity, why charity may not be diminished into specious political almsgiving, and why politics remains, indeed, the most difficult and at the same time the noblest art of man.

* * *

Since it is obvious that the American great society of the future will have to be fashioned in the context of world society as it actually develops, it becomes true that at least one of the pivots on which the whole effort will succeed or fail lies outside our own national society, i.e. in foreign relations. A peaceful world is necessary; a nuclear war would put an end to far more than the American effort at home.

The prospect of nuclear war in our time is, of course, real even if "unthinkable," which gives rise to an urgently thinkable question: What is the foreseeable nature and magnitude of a self-enforcing nuclear peace on this planet?

Man being what he is, it is unlikely that he can or will turn back the clock in atomic physics and abjure deeper sophistication in nuclear science. Nor is it desirable that he do so. Consequently, inter-

national test-ban treaties and similar prohibitive accords among governments are foreseeably only the most tentative of restraints on the development of atomic weapons. More importantly, such accords are too negative in emotional cogency to be reliable safeguards from now to eternity against genocidal atomic war. The great society can hardly be achieved in an international context so permeated with negation. It would be like tidying up the staterooms on an ocean liner in real and imminent danger of collision with a torpedo.

Politically, the liberated atom, in that first man-made glare of cosmic power, left a void in the regulation of civilized man's international conduct. Dimly perceived as it may be in our pedestrian habits of political thought, the most stupefying truth of the twentieth century is that the transformation of a noumenon (the atom) into a measurable phenomenon did indeed totally nullify the whole future of brute (military) force as the ultimate arbiter in international relations, an arbiter the human race had turned to by instinct since its origins. The qualitative change wrought by $E = mc^2$ in the political environment of the whole human race is so profound and revolutionary that genocide is perhaps inevitable unless the void be quickly filled by a new ultimate arbiter, to which the human race has also turned instinctively since its very origins. Unless this tremendously simple thing is successfully done on a massive international scale, our labors, conservative and liberal, toward an American great society here at home will hardly succeed in doing more than clean up the staterooms on a torpedoed and sinking ship.

This is by no means a cry of despair. There is such a thing as power politics with moral force, commensurable with and, therefore, quite capable of filling the void left by the atomic nullification of traditional *machtpolitik*. We need but the wit to see it. The prospect of nuclear peace can become real only if its nature and magnitude is con-

ceived as the active *opposite* of nuclear war, not its mere absence. The "unthinkability" of nuclear war is the treacherous void in international relations; it is not peace. In such a void the great society is also "unthinkable."

* * *

In order to understand these unaccustomed but fundamentally simple concepts better, we must deeply cultivate an awareness of historical and moral continuity and start from two simple self-evident truths, or axioms, which I trust liberals, too, would acknowledge. 1) When the first caveman invited his neighbor accepted and reciprocation was the *beginning of civilized life* on this planet. 2) When his neighbor accepted and reciprocated the invitation, his *action* was the *beginning of peace* between them. As definitions of terms these axioms are not trivial. In nuclear times it is necessary to reach bedrock in human relations and define terms in their primordial meanings.

Extrapolating to international relations today, I trust it is not hard for thoughtful people to agree that narrowing the field down to the relations between the U. S. and the USSR would quite legitimately localize and isolate the nub of the world problem, which is: swiftly to re-establish among nuclear-armed nations the *primordial law* of civilization and peace — which turns out to be reciprocal hospitality, not at all a platitude but an axiom. Peace is the opposite of war just as hospitality is the opposite of hostility.

What, then, is "peaceful coexistence," which in the current Liberal vocabulary of international politics seems to be the accepted touchstone of wisdom, moderation and hope? Barry Goldwater called it a stand-off and came to political grief. Khrushchev called it "the only alternative to nuclear war" and came to grief.

Actually, the idea of coexistence as practiced by the present Soviet government is a Communist tactical doctrine considerably worse than a stand-off. Embellished with

the adjective "peaceful," it serves as a pseudo-moral camouflage for the Iron Curtain principle, which — being the principle of restriction in the intercourse of people and ideas at home and abroad — is the sufficient conditions for continuing the frictions and emotions of the Cold War. Obviously, it is thinking as wishful as it is fatuous to believe that the Cold War can be either won or ended by upholding the sufficient condition of its continuation. To a conservative this looks like drift toward nuclear violence.

No President of the United States needs reminding that diplomacy in nuclear times has been pushed by nuclear physics into a permanent confrontation with the real prospect of nuclear war from now to eternity. It does not follow, however, that no President need be reminded that from now on, only at the total peril of the nuclear powers confronting each other in the Cold War (the U.S. and the USSR primarily), may the grass-root people in our respective cities and villages be excluded from any definition of peace or from active participation in it. Iron-Curtained coexistence, "peaceful," "hostile," "hopeful," "wishful" etc. is not peace. Nor is nuclear deterrence peace. The real nature of peace in nuclear times is dynamic, cumulative and powerful — like the atom.

Total international hospitality is, of course, an ultimate definition of peace just as nuclear war is the ultimate in international hostility, but, being an extrapolation of the primordial law of civilized life, it does not in the least suggest an unattainable ideal. On the contrary, what peace turns out to be is an instinctive and, indeed, primordial drive in individual and collective human behavior as familiar and common as it is universal, capable of being revved up by resolute political initiatives into tremendous momentum in a direction opposed to war, and capable, too, of overwhelming governments that oppose it.

It stands to reason that if the

moral force of hospitality in human relations (from caveman society on) were not in actual fact cumulatively more powerful than the brute force of violent hostility, mankind would never have developed civilized institutions at all.

* * *

Passing from abstract thinking to practical implementation, it is clear that diplomatic instruments commensurable with the nature and magnitude of nuclear peace (between the U.S. and the USSR initially) can and must be devised. Power politics with moral force requires massive instruments for its practice. One such is the "open cities" idea.

In and of itself the open cities idea is not complicated. In the United States there are some 20,000 cities and villages, with which 20,000 Soviet cities and villages can be paired up roughly according to their approximate size and regional distribution. A specific proposal by the U.S. government to the present Soviet government for an annual swap of a 10-day plain social visit by representative grassroot delegations from all 20,000 pairs of our cities and villages — all expenses, travel and per diem outside the native country, to be paid by the *host governments* — could, if resolutely pursued as a major U.S. policy, reverse the whole direction of the Cold War. A morally big policy of this kind, pursued over all the means of diplomatic and mass communication at our disposal for however long it takes to the observable result that the massive *practice* of reciprocal American-Russian grassroot hospitality on a city-to-city and village-to-village basis has superseded the Iron Curtain principle and Communist ideological hostility toward the United States, is the open cities idea.

If this tremendously simple proposal were launched seriously as a major and sustained U.S. policy move, it would before long foreseeably establish in the minds of men everywhere the identity of victory in the Cold War with peace

between the American and Russian *peoples* by making us prospective co-victors in the primordial and, therefore, definitive struggle of man for civilization and peace, instead of prospective co-victims of drift into nuclear violence. In nuclear times man will, of course, continue to struggle. His future, if he is to have any, demands that he make the struggle the right kind. That way lies the great society.

Seemingly naive as the open cities idea may look at first sight to conservatives and liberals alike, it is hardly naive. It is revolutionary — and conservative in the true sense, for the principle massively activated by it is as old as civilized man. The scale of its activation is massive, of course, but given the nature and size of the objective to be achieved, it is a minimum. Nor should it escape notice that refusal by the present Soviet government to reciprocate would not end the open cities proposal; it would only signal the beginning of the actual U.S. application of power politics with moral force.

Senator Fulbright was not wrong in his polemic with Barry Goldwater in the Senate back in 1961 when he described the proper U.S. objective in the Cold War as "total victory for a process of civilizing international relations," any more than Barry Goldwater was wrong in calling coexistence a delusion and a drift toward nuclear war. Surely, they both can now be recognized as having converged, each in his own way, on the centermost and most purposeful activity of the civilizing process.

Grotesque caricatures of American conservatism notwithstanding, the true conservative in America neither challenges the future with arrogance nor does he flee from it in fear. Only those people are in flight who in the name of progress would omit the Crucifixion from the meaning of charity and the dimension of eternity from nuclear peace. The great society will hardly be achieved by such, for they are in very Truth the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

How the Soviets Stomp on the Jews

Freda Vodovosoff

Exposing the Reds' Humanitarian Lie

Students of the Soviet system regardless of their particular interest—be it economics, political ideology and practice, foreign affairs, the arts, or whatever—sooner or later get around to the basic consideration of the individual versus the state. The popular image of George Orwell's 1984, that of a police state ruled by "Big Brother," is still as horrifying as when it was written, and has since been reinforced by a myriad of books both fiction and non-fiction, popular and scholastic.

B. Z. Goldberg's *The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union* is not just another look at the individual in the Soviet state. The value of this book lies in the fact that by graphically illustrating the plight of the Jews under the Communists, the author is able not only to shatter the myth

THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE SOVIET UNION

B. Z. Goldberg
Crown Pub., \$4.95

of socialist equality (if there still be any doubt), but by using this dramatic example he makes a very effective statement about the fate of all individuals in the totalitarian regime which is the Soviet system.

Historically, the Jews have always been a barometer indicating the general welfare of the individual in a given society. To the extent that they have fared well, i.e., have enjoyed the sanctity of person and the rights thereto, the freedom to

assimilate into the national life, to worship and to maintain their own cultural life—to that extent the individual, Gentile as well as Jew, thrived. Conversely, in those societies where the Jew was subject to pogroms, restricted to ghettos, and forbidden to practice his religion or maintain his culture the totalitarian regime which soon appeared stamped out the rights of all individuals.

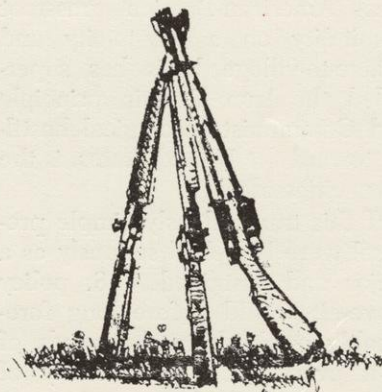
The book is divided into two parts, the first being an account of the author's three visits to the Soviet Union in 1934, 1946 and 1959; and the second a discussion of the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, its causes and solutions. Despite a sketchy beginning and a naive conclusion (in which the author suggests that there is no inherent reason why the Soviet Union can't let those Jews emigrate who wish to do so), Mr. Goldberg is able to produce a very good portrait of the "Kafka-eske" nightmare that the Jews have been living in since the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917.

The Bolshevik Revolution was the great hope of the Jewish people.

Under the Czars they had been restricted to a huge geographical ghetto known as the Pale, they had suffered numerous pogroms and anti-Semitism in all areas of life. Therefore, with the advent of the great proletarian revolution the Jews were in the forefront of the movement and held many key positions. After all, socialist equality must surely mean Jews too. That was the dream, but it wasn't destined to be the reality. As it turned out, socialist equality really meant that everyone is equal except for those who are a little less equal than others, the Jews being in this category.

In all fairness, Mr. Goldberg points out that the situation of the Jews did greatly improve with the coming of the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin abolished anti-Semitism by decree making it a crime punishable by law and this law was enforced, at least initially. The restrictive and discriminatory measures of the Czarist era were abolished and the Jews were assimilated into the national life of the country. If the Jewish religion was suppressed, well that in itself wasn't alarming. After all, Lenin had called religion the opiate of the people, and at least in this instance they weren't being singled out for special treatment—all religions were being suppressed.

If the Jews wanted to believe in socialist equality and the Soviet leaders wanted to believe that they had solved the Jewish problem, both were soon disappointed. When the Bolsheviks in one sweep wiped out the bourgeois or middle class, the shopkeepers, traders, etc., they again created a Jewish problem.



Since most of the Jews were in this class, the effect was that as a group they were deprived of their livelihood and were not provided with a substitute. The few state enterprises that existed in this early period either could not or would not absorb the Jews; hence economic hardships ensued and the question remained: What to do with the Jews?

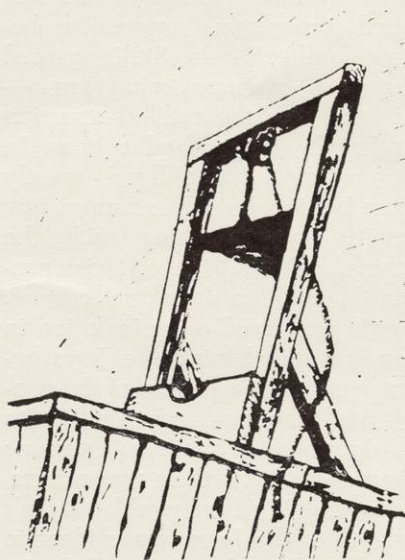
This brings us to what is perhaps the most frightful but also the most important part of the book, namely, Mr. Goldberg's recounting of the Birobidjan project. With the bourgeois class destroyed, the principal source of livelihood was agriculture, and so it seemed to the Soviet authorities that herein lay the solution to the Jewish problem—make farmers out of them. But, the Jews, having been urban dwellers, had no land. At first the government tried to assign Jews to land in their immediate neighborhoods, but this didn't work out.

The non-Jewish peasants resented giving land to the Jews when they themselves had so little. What was needed was a distant, unsettled land area where there would be no problem with the local population. Hence it was that Birobidjan was conceived of in 1926 as the perfect solution.

The Birobidjan Solution

Birobidjan was a large tract of unsettled land in the far eastern part of the Soviet Union along the Amur River, which forms the Soviet-Chinese border. By making this area into a Jewish Autonomous Region, like the others which compose the Soviet Union, the authorities felt that they could kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand, they would be implementing the portion of the Five Year Plan calling for the reclamation and settlement of the land in this distant corner of the country, and secondly, the Jewish problem would be solved. The plan called for government subsidies to settlers for free transport, a gift of land, and a loan for equipment. The Jews were expected to provide only the human material—the settlers, the pioneers

to be the formation of a Jewish Republic, socialist of course, but with national status equal to other republics in the Soviet Union, e. g., the Armenian, Georgian, Ukrainian, etc. President Kalinin is quoted in the Yiddish press on May 5, 1934 as saying: "The principles of Soviet national policy are such that each nationality is granted an autonomous political organization on its own territory. Hitherto the Jews lacked such a political organization, and this placed them in a peculiar position in comparison with other peoples. The Jews are



now receiving what other nationalities possess—namely, the possibility of developing their own culture, national in form, socialist in content."

Disastrous Consequences

That was the plan, but it failed for two reasons. First of all, the Birobidjan project called for genuine idealism and a pioneering spirit on the part of the settlers. Some Jews, among them Party members, did go to Birobidjan in this self-sacrificing idealistic spirit, but as for the Jewish masses they remained largely indifferent to the project. Jewish intellectuals did not go, and the Jews who went to get away from a life that was hard and unpleasant for them in their native places found that they had literally jumped from the fry pan

into the fire. Conditions in Birobidjan were worse than they had ever imagined—there was no food, no shelter, no transportation, no prospects. Over half of the Jews who went to Birobidjan did not stay.

The second reason for the failure of the project was much more serious, if imperceptible—just a hint really of things to come. Stalin himself never recognized the Jews as a nation, so there was an ambivalent attitude on the part of the Soviet leadership. While Kalinin was telling the Jews to go to Birobidjan with Jewish nationalism as the motivating force, other voices were heard telling them to go for the good of the Socialist fatherland. Since the promise of a Jewish national and spiritual home was by far the greatest motivating force in getting Jews to go to Birobidjan, these latter voices were disturbing to those who paid any attention.

In the 1930's two things happened to de-emphasize the importance of the Birobidjan project. The plan had by now been changed. With the expansion of state enterprises there arose a labor shortage and a demand for people with administrative experience. With the Russian bourgeois class having either emigrated or remaining sulking in passive resistance, many Jews stepped in to fill the gaps. And then, of course, there were the purges of the '30's which hit Birobidjan very hard. All the Jewish leaders in the region were liquidated and the administration of immigration to Birobidjan was transferred to the NKVD, or secret police. Understandably, what little immigration there was petered out completely by 1939.

Nazi Collaboration

World War II changed the complexion of the Birobidjan project completely. The Nazi occupation of parts of European Russia had resulted in an upsurge of anti-Semitism among the Russian population. The insidious Nazi propaganda was countered by the Russian government with a conspicu-



ous silence. Although during the war Jewish soldiers distinguished themselves in fighting the Nazis and received 32,000 military decorations from the Russian government, nevertheless Russian police, after the war, looked the other way in cases of anti-Semitic outbreaks. Jewish war veterans came home from the front to discover that their families had been slaughtered by the Nazis, often with the help of the Russian population, their homes and jobs were occupied by others, and it was then that the Birobidjan project was revived and life was breathed into it by the genuine enthusiasm of the Jewish people. The Kremlin gave it the green light and soon the Jewish Autonomous Region was flourishing with a hospital, music school, Yiddish theater, books, newspapers, schools, etc.

These happy events were short-lived, however, lasting only from 1946 until 1948. Then between 1948 and 1952 the axe fell abruptly. The disturbing voices of the 1920's and 30's which were merely a whisper then, now emerged full force to deal a death blow to Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. Stalin had permitted the Jews to indulge in the fantasy of a Jewish nation in Birobidjan when it suited him. In 1948 it no longer suited him. The Stalin fist came down hard on the Jews. All Jewish cultural institutions in the Soviet Union were closed down. Yiddish writers and leading Jewish intellectuals were arrested, tortured, and since they would not confess

to treason in open court, they were secretly executed. Jews were charged, not as individuals, but as members of a group with the most despicable crimes ranging from betrayal of the fatherland to the poisoning of its leaders, (this latter better known as the Doctors' Plot, Jan. 1953, in which nine doctors, six of them Jews, were charged with poisoning Soviet leaders). Prior to his death in 1953, Stalin was planning to ship all Jews en masse to Siberia.

Cultural Destruction

Under Stalin the Jews had suffered progressive repression because, unlike Lenin, Stalin wanted the Jews to cease being Jews — his aim was the total destruction of Jewish religion and culture. In this respect he differed greatly from Lenin who, while suppressing Jewish religion along with the others, still granted the Jewish people the right to their dual culture. Lenin conceived of assimilation in the sense of having the Jews become an integrated part of the people and the land contributing to its development while at the same time maintaining their own culture, as in the Western world. Stalin's cruelty to the Jews was evident in the fact that whereas in all Soviet purges it was the cultural leaders who were purged while the culture itself continued to thrive under new leadership, only in the case of the Jews was the culture liquidated as well.

The Soviet Lesson

The expected liberalism towards the Jews following Stalin's death never materialized. His death did bring about a reprieve from total expulsion to Siberia, but as for any signs of reopening synagogues, Yiddish schools, theater, newspapers, etc. — there weren't any. Things were as before and Jews found that they were being removed from good jobs, that getting into universities was practically impossible, and that the stark reality of 1959 was that "as in other parts of the world, a Gentile could afford to be average but a Jew must be exceptional. But in such fields as diplomacy or the military — these are said to be *Juden-rein* — even being exceptional is of no use."

The tragedy of the individual in the Soviet system is that he is no more nor no less than a pawn to be manipulated to suit State ends. He can be educated or not, moved around, channeled into a specific job, purged — all according to plan. When the plan changes so does the individual's life. Nowhere in Soviet history since the revolution is this made more painfully clear than in the case of the Jews. Their treatment is characterized by a merciless arbitrariness, and consequently no one knows for sure whether next year it will be considered more utopian to have the Jews homogenized into Soviet society, or to have them shipped off to a separate-but-equal homeland in Siberia.

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A Futilitarian Effort

James M. O'Connell

It has long been my belief that what radicalism that remained in American politics contented itself with the usual dark mutterings about the John Birch Society, the anti-fluoride people and others on the fringes of conservatism, and expressed itself in obscure and illiterate journals about the meance of the Right. No attempts were being made to examine the central conservative positions; no critiques of Kirk of Hayek, Meyer or Kendall, or of any other conservative writer appeared in the catchpenny journals of the Far Left. However, a young radical acquaintance had touted one such book: William Newman's *The Futilitarian Society*, as the definitive radical answer to conservatism—not only to the conservatives mentioned above, but to

THE FUTILITARIAN SOCIETY William Newman

the pseudo-conservatism of Clinton Rossiter, Walter Lippman, and Peter Viereck, and even to those disillusioned Liberals who, like Boorstin, Hartz and Bell, float in the conservative wake, seeking a return to principle as a cure for the problems of America.

Needless to say, I spent some time searching for this volume; a philosophic confrontation between conservatism and radicalism might well be worth the trouble of tracking it down and reading it. Unfortunately, I was disappointed. Not only did the book fail to achieve a confrontation, but it surpassed in snide comments and misrepresentation that older anti-conservative tome, Herman Finer's *Road to Reaction*. Indeed, after paging through the Newman treatment of Walter Lippman, Clinton Rossiter and Peter Viereck, I felt a pang of sympathy—a rare enough feeling when it concerns these three—for their ideas,

which had been distorted, in fact raped beyond recognition.

Newman splits conservatives into Old Conservatives, the epigones of nineteenth-century liberalism, and the New Conservatives, who are followers of Burke, and who argue more for order and community than for freedom. He dismisses William F. Buckley in a carping footnote, damns William Henry Chamberlin for his "sour prejudice" toward collectivism—without ever showing why the prejudice, if that is what it is, should not be held—derides Felix Morley's views on continued centralization—again, without offering a cogent argument against them, beyond the tired slogans of the Old Radical—James Burnham's on Congress, and ends up with a gratuitous swing at Barry Goldwater. No mention of F. A. Hayek or Frank Meyer here—perhaps we should be thankful that these gentlemen escaped the distortion that plagued their colleagues.

If the Old Conservatives are damned for their attitudes toward the innovations of the last thirty-two years, the New Conservatives suffer because they believe man is sinful—again, a generalization, and a poor one, of the conservative attitude toward man. The twisting of the ideas of Kirk—who comes out of Newman's demonology as a conservative "with an instinct for the jugular"—or Viereck—who is pictured clucking his tongue at the decline of values while he sips his camomile tea—are hardly worth cataloging.

But what thesis does Newman put forward? Surely, after his tilt against the Right, he comes to some conclusion. So he does. In his final chapter, he states his case:

Conservatism and the futilitarian society aim to strip men of their possibilities, and society of the alternatives which lie before it. The conservative is the philosopher of the futilitarian society precisely be-

cause he wants to destroy possibilities, because he cannot face the costs of freedom. . . . But the desire and the attempt to avoid the fact of freedom will both harm America and make each of us less of a human being, for if a man cannot lose his freedom, he can choose to shrink or extend the area and amount of his freedom.

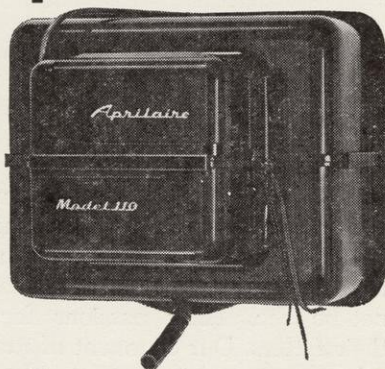
It is necessary, therefore, to proclaim once again that man is not conservative but radical, not fixed, but free.

To which conservatism replies, as it has replied to every would-be successor to Tom Paine: it is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters. Our exponent of radicalism ignores this; man must have freedom (read "power") to experiment. With whom? His fellow men in some new social plan. He must be free to create an economics which flies in the face of the laws of human action; a political system which ignores the real rights of the individual in the name of some ephemeral common goal; an ability to construct away from the fetters of reality. It is an old dream, this radical credo; at its most innocuous, it spawned a few experimental communities which later fell apart because they failed to apprehend both the nature of man and the order of things; at its worst, under the direction of bloody-minded men, it has offered man as a sacrifice to a cause—Race, Nation, Proletariat.

The society Newman desires is the real futilitarian society, and not his distorted "conservatism." Man extends his freedom by cooperating with his fellows in a social situation, not by coercing them so he may achieve this end. Man changes society within a framework of fixed law, not to inhibit change, to preserve form in a state of flux. It is Newman's society, which throws away all principles in the name of "freedom" which ends up enslaving man.

This, then, is the "answer" of the Left to the ideas of philosophic conservatism. Under the circumstances, once again, for the Left, we enter a plea: *nolo contendere*.

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The Default of the Rand Intellectual

I have observed that the philosophers in order to insinuate their polluted atheism into young minds systematically flatter all their passions natural and unnatural. They explode or render odious or contemptible that class of virtues which restrain the appetite. These are at least nine out of ten virtues. In place of all this, they substitute a virtue they call humanity or benevolence. By this means their morality has no idea in it of restraint, or indeed of a distinct settled principle of any kind. When their disciples are thus left free and guided only by present feeling they are no longer to be depended upon for good or evil. The men who today snatch the worst criminals from justice will murder the most innocent persons tomorrow.

—EDMUND BURKE

An intellectual movement, no longer of negligible size, labeling itself "objectivist," yet claiming the right to march under the conservative banner has paralleled the evolution of the new generation of conservatives. They, as we, champion the individual; hence, they also cheer for freedom and capitalism. They herald the reason of man as the savior of the world; the rational man is its hero. And they deny the existence of God.

Their ideological leader is an extremely arrogant, emotionally malevolent woman, Ayn Rand. In her latest work, *The Virtue of Selfishness*, she departs in style from the massive novels *Atlas Shrugged* and *Fountainhead* from which her fame sprouted. It is a collection of

THE VIRTUE OF SELFISHNESS

Ayn Rand

articles relating the rudiments of the objectivial philosophy and its applications. No sex and violence to distract the readers attention in this book, unlike the others—and, unlike the others, no amount of intellectual or romantic curiosity is enough to nurture any desire to forge through the highly repetitious and dull prose which becomes characteristic early in its pages. But that can be no basis of a critique of the ideas represented therein.

It is refreshing to read an intellectual study which attempts to explain social issues, not in terms of mass concepts and vague generalizations, but by peering at the basic relationships which, in sum, govern the mass phenomena. Ayn Rand and the objectivists quite consciously adhere to this method of attack. It seems from their realization that the relationship between man and man is a high derivative of all social problems.

Ayn Rand, as she explores issues, invariably reduces each to its basics—as she recognizes them. Her manner of doing so precipitates little objection from other conservative corners. The essays in the book are, thus, instructive in their direct, logical definition of problems in terms of individual rights.

The base of the objectivist ideology is ill explained

in this book. Perhaps it was not her purpose to dwell on the subject. I suspect a greater significance. Ethics, she contends, are required for man to survive; the rights of man are the result of his existential needs; government, if it is proper, seeks only to protect man's right to survival. Survival of man, she repeats and repeats, is the underlying notion of all proper relationships between men.

The intellectual breach in such a closed ended approach would be apparent to the objectivists should they apply their own intense interest, already noted, in a scientific reduction of phenomena to their basics. The situation with the objectivist metaphysics is illuminated by an analogy with the physical world. Newton's logically complete classical physics, which had been based on certain constants, had the universe well explained until Einstein destroyed his constants. Newton's genius, nevertheless, had developed ideas which remain acceptable today once physics reaches the point, macroscopic enough, so that Einstein's and Newton's ideas become identical. It is the same with the conservative and Rand intellects, the importance of the individual being here the point of convergence. The objectivist scheme is based on a premise which in the conservative philosophy is yet too macroscopic.

Objectivism is consistent right to its base; yet it is suspended in mid air. Rand contends that nothing matters above the survival of man. If consistency is to be maintained, she must then deny that anything higher than man exists. That is to deny the existence of a Supreme Being. But that denial, again being philosophically consistent, is a denial of the existence of an ultimate reality, an absolute truth.

A denial of absolute reality—that is the actual basic premise of objectivism. Any philosophy must be derived, ultimately, from its basic notion of reality. Conservatism, not always consciously, is based on a concept of an ultimate reality, a Supreme Being, God. Intellectual Liberalism will belittle this concept and preach what they call a relativistic reality. Objectivists never consider the question—they don't have to; Rand starts on the next step up.

Ayn Rand hates intuition. It is faith, not reason. But this gives her no license to skip the basic issue, all the while claiming a superior philosophy. Now, sympathize with her problem (of which, I am sure, she is unaware). If she had started from her actual base, she would have been compelled to argue a negative concept, her disbelief in a Supreme Being. But this is illogical. She could have done as the Liberals did; develop a term (relativism) to describe her disbelief. But relativism is a nonentity by its own admission. It does not fill the void left by the disclaimer of reality. Rand devised a slicker tactic; she invented a super

human, the rational man, giving herself a positive, concrete starting point.

Many followers of Ayn Rand have become so because, as is typical of large numbers of students today, they rebuke their parents' belief in a Supreme Being, yet, having attained a natural conservative background, are unable to shake these tendencies. Theirs is the plight of the quasi-scientific. God, they think, cannot be an idea coexistent with present scientific knowledge. They would do well to study the realm of scientific knowledge. In fact, no intellectual activity could more convince one of the existence of an Ultimate Reality, God.

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Academician on the Academy

One of the outstanding statements of educational policy is engraved upon Bascom Hall on the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison. It reads in part:

Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the Truth can be found.

But quietly the "sifting and winnowing" phrase has come to mean shifting and wallowing by which alone society may be improved. The backbone of this slow and soft shift can be found not only in Wisconsin, but across the nation in the form of Liberal minded university administrations.

These egalitarian educational ideals were recently voiced by University of Wisconsin President, Fred Harrington. He advocated the purpose of education to be for the benefit of society and the republic. Socrates would have disagreed (unfortunately this great educator *could* not for he had sipped from a poisoned cup a few years back when a society had demanded that he teach what they felt was good for society).

Plato's Academy (disciples of Socrates) has given most societies an ideal for education and educational systems. It must be noted that Plato did not teach in a government owned institution (and for this reason did not have elected-administrators to contend with). Russel Kirk points out in his discussion, *Academic Freedom*, that Plato was able to pursue the Truth without being a servant to an evanescent community. This is in direct contrast to the trend of education for society which we find today.

It is not hard to understand why educational goals of private institutions (such as Plato's) should differ from

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Russel Kirk

those supported by government; the private institutions have no "obligation" to "elevate" society as the administrators tell us government institutions do. Never in history has a private institution endorsed a policy of education for society's benefit. The well documented and tightly knit philosophical essay by Russel Kirk points this fact to be true. Mr. Kirk again has thoroughly researched every aspect of the problem and included them all in his latest contribution, *Academic Freedom*. Based on his broad, yet finely defined, conservative philosophy, he concludes that the objections of private institutions to education for society are persuasive.

Education for society's benefit is not only placing the emphasis of education on man's self interest instead

of a search for the Truth, but by doing so is also allowing the masses to decide what shall be the path of the Academy's endeavors. The Truth will not be merely the decisions of the masses—but who knows better what is good for society than society itself? Although the Truth will eventually benefit a society through the individuals in it, education for Truth's sake and education for society's sake will never mix; education for society, and thus by society, would soon stifle the Truth. Man would search, question, and research for man's sake alone. In time, satisfaction with the state of mankind would develop and the searching would be discontinued. The search for God's Truth is necessary for education.

A paradox seems unavoidable at this point: private institutions are many times church affiliated and one



would think such academies to be biased and non-appreciative of Platonic ideals. In truth, the opposite prevails. Kirk, in his normal lucid style, develops the history of the academy's philosophy and through it proves that church supported institutions' administrators are continually encouraging the search for God's Truth in whatever path the instructor may pursue. It is a common belief—education for Truth—that brings close harmony between instructor and administrator and proves no paradox to exist. Academic Freedom is near its peak in our church affiliated schools of today as was true in the past.

There can be little other explanation for today's trend of education for society than an infiltration of ideas of egalitarian democracy. It can be seen in Robert Hutchins', *The University of Utopia*, in which he gives the following creed for academicians:

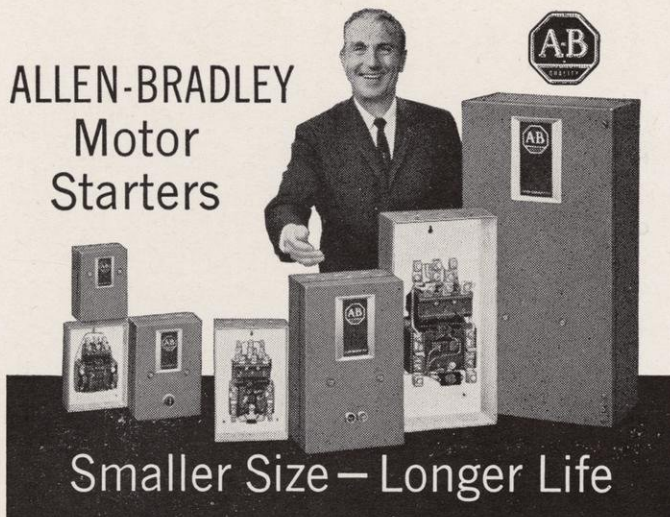
The leading articles of the American truth are... universal education, independence of thought... as the principal means by which society is to be advanced.

Education with this goal is meant to make equal, or at least to improve the situations and the people responsible for them in our society. Amidst this rush to equalize individuals is lost the Platonian and Athenian (Socratic) academies' search for Truth by which most improvement of mankind has indirectly evolved.

Educators, prepare thou poison cup.

KENNETH WRIGHT

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hindsights



"... The laws, and the politicians who favor them, are the product of the mass-mind of America, and that mass-mind is the product of the ideas implanted in it long ago and carefully cultured through the years. Unless and until this mass-mind of America is re-educated to freedom, the end product of Socialism is unavoidable. No program based on a policy of immediacy can prevent it.

The Task of those who would stop our descent should not be the changing of laws but the inculcation of values which will make such laws impossible. That is a difficult chore, to be sure, but it is the only one capable of producing the desired result."

From the essay, "For Our Children's Children"

Written in 1949 by Frank Chodorov, Founder and President of the Inter-collegiate Society of Individualists

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The U. S. forces finally reacted to the challenge in Viet Nam. The world took note. The outraged masses in Russia, China *et al* poured into the streets in front of the U. S. embassies to protest. The people's collective anger was so great, their distaste for our aggressiveness so intense, that they "spontaneously" remained absent from work to march and shout—three days after the bombings.

It has become apparent that some of the graduates of the peace demonstrations have entered Congress. Against otherwise unanimous Congressional support, Senator Wayne Morse (Dem. Ore.) and Representative Robert Kastenmeier (Dem. Wis.) were so deeply moved by the anti-American demonstration here in Madison, Wis. that they sent congratulatory telegrams. In these quarters sanity would be refreshing.

Martin Luther King ought to pick up some political pointers during his many trips to the President's lap. We thought everybody knew. Voter registration is supposed to take place *before* the election.

Regarding the future of the world, four time Presidential candidate Norman Thomas, speaking at a Symposium at the University of Wisconsin, said, with a rumble in his voice: "We're too irrational to trust ourselves with [nuclear] weapons." After which he went on to suggest strict and cumbersome international controls. After a quick glance at the transcript we are compelled to ask: "Are we already *that* irrational to trust ourselves with the Soviet record of honoring treaties and controls?"

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