

EDITORIALS

(continued from page 2)

Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun discoursing on the most profound matters of democratic process--nay, on the very foundations of civilization--now sees the Rt. Hon. J. Caleb Boggs address himself to the subject of jelly fish. This is the Congress which brought the curtain down on the bittersweet Sixties and opened the mighty Seventies. And its passage prompts ineluctable reflections.

The Windy Ninety-First excited criticism from every species of Americano, and in this way served as an unerring barometer of the volatile state of our Republic. Conservatives murmur that it labored too energetically and from delusions of exigency. Liberals whine that its speed approximated that of the Great Glacier, and the ground crept across was all wrong. Its final weeks featured unrelieved chaos, as every solon exhorted passage of his own cherished boondoggle and a swarm of Democratic Senators began competing with one another to represent their party in the National Tall Tale Championships two years hence. From their tabernacles the intellectuals shrieked for reform and from the Capitol the honeyfoglers wailed for more gravy. There were spit fights in the Senate cloak room and the pervasive fear seized the nation that the Windy Ninety-First had not passed enough bills, all it had done was interdict cigarettes from television (causing a slight recession in the profitability of producing electronic swill) and enfranchise teenagers (causing no effect whatsoever).

Alas, amid all the pother, I believe we have lost sight of the most ominous aspect of the whole disgusting display. My fear is not that Congress passed too few laws nor simply that it spent money extravagantly, but what has set off whistles and bells in my cranium is that throughout the last two years those scoundrels of the Ninety-First schemed together for 700 days--at taxpayers' expense. They threatened a nation of relatively free men for almost two straight years--pausing only for one month during the summer when the heat of their rhetoric combined with the season's mugginess to overwhelm the Capitol's air conditioners.

Bearing in mind the abundance of bounders and cretins composing the Ninety-First, I am sure historians will consider it the darkest period for the American Democracy since the Civil War. Libertarians across the land were panicky, and I am told that the wisest astrologers trembled and personally guarded the Congressional buildings day and night, fearful that the overhead flight of even the smallest sparrow might set the whole delicate balance of the universe against this Republic.

Now some will dismiss my fears as the vagaries of a kook libertarian, but would they purr so if the nation's most successful Mafia leaders had just spent two years conspiring together practically immune to prosecution? Well, that is exactly what has occurred. And considering that the Ninety-First adjourned without a national budget deficit of over 19 billion dollars, nor a

dollar erosion of over 5.5 percent nor a crime increase of more than 25 percent, I suppose there is reason to feel that the Great Republic got off easy. After all, habeas corpus is still alive, the Bill of Rights remains visible and national treasures such as the Washington Monument and Rose Kennedy are not yet deposited in Swiss Banks. But far from attributing this relative good fortune to the legislators' probity, I attribute it to their incompetence. At every opportunity our eminent Senators and Congressmen sank their muzzles ever deeper into the public trough. And it was all the handful of decent statesmen could do to restrain them from drowning themselves. Indubitably the country was imperiled, for it is an almost unassailable truism known round the world that while a legislature sits every citizen's wallet is in jeopardy, along with his wife, his children, and he had best keep an eye on the family cat. This is not to say that all legislatures put man's freedom and well-being on thin ice, but rather that all branches of government are at best an annoyance and given enough time--a bane.

Of course, politics, like cannibalism, is a tasteless subject. No person of quality gives it much attention and every brand of government is noxious. But the government least noxious is the one generally referred to disparagingly as conservative, for the conservative government never does very much and what it does do, it has been doing for so long that all intelligent fellows have learned to circumvent its impositions long ago.

The most intolerable government is generally the government referred to as Liberal, a word--when used by intellectuals and news commentators--possessing a meaning roughly equivalent to the Hebrew word, kosher (fitting, right and proper) though a word utterly devoid of meaning to all intelligent persons. Liberalism's only constant characteristic, so far as I have been able to perceive, is a sincere disposition to muddle. The

paradigmatic Liberal suspects that every individual achiever is superior to him and that every poor man is happier than he. He adores the good life and loathes the rich. He is a congenital busy-body and his favorite vehicle for snooping and pestering his betters is "social legislation."

It is "social legislation" which has made the Liberal government so dangerous, for not only is it the favorite device of the relatively innocent Liberal, it is also the favorite gimmick of thieves. The Liberal urges social legislation to free man of the burden of individual responsibility; the thief urges social legislation to free man of his purse. Additional benefits accrue to every proponent of social legislation, whether the man be a Liberal or a thief, because social legislation means more jobs for the politicians' footlings, more power for the politicians' ambitions, less money in the pocket of any private citizen who might get uppity, and more money in the politicians' greasy palm. Axiomatically, when the politicians' power increases, the decent man's power decreases. Every thinking man in the Republic realizes that the Federal Government is the most deficient instrument for relieving human misery available. One might more humanely relieve a social problem with a machine gun. Yet Liberals keep plugging for more snake root.

The politician's talent is for talking, and he should never undertake anything more ambitious than a public reading of the Manhattan telephone book. When he does attempt something grandiose, he generally fashions an abomination. No general could manage an army, nor could a businessman conduct a business, as a politician runs his government. If Grant had led his army as his political cronies had run his government or if Ford built automobiles in the way that his associates built candidates, we would all be sipping juleps today and driving buckboards.

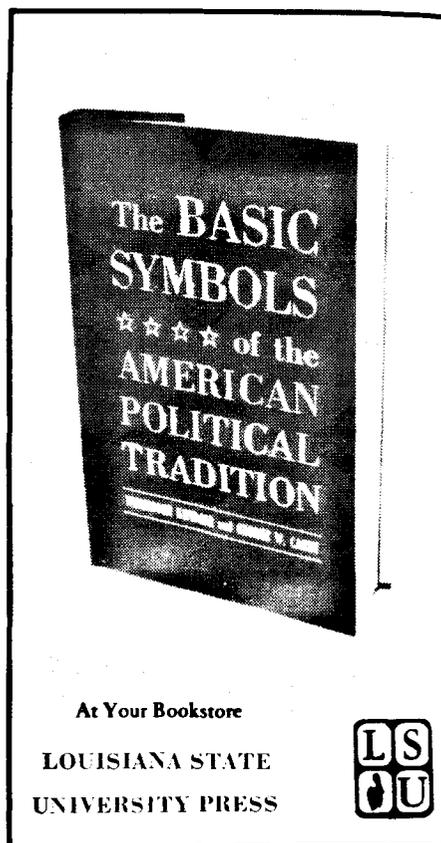
Indeed, when politicians meet to legislate, decent thinking men should meet to pray. Whether the legislators are advocating enlightened treatment of jellyfish or some other minority group, the result is always disaster. Now that the nation's savants are urging reform to expedite the politicians work, storm warnings are up. The only reform that will ever improve our condition would be legislation to limit the amount of time allowed politicians to work their mischief. In the case of the Windy Ninety-First, one hour and twenty-five minutes would be cutting it pretty close.

George Nathan

Editorial II

When Certitudes turn to Platitudes

Last month my distinguished colleague, Mr. Nathan, edified us with one of his typically dispassionate and measured editorials, this time on the Scranton Report issued by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. I admired George's editorial and published it gladly, but with a wince. For in his insistence to give all sides a fair shake, I fear my gentle



associate neglected one of the Report's most palpable deficiencies--its disregard for the aphorism that "ideas have consequences"--especially at the university.

With the universities throbbing from unrest, I should have thought the Scranton Report would have more meticulously investigated the ideas floating about universities and the devotion professors have for those ideas.

Now, we all know that the American university has, for many years, been the sanctified preserve of Liberalism. And if ideas do indeed have consequences, the Liberalism intoned by the professoriate must have held some consequences for the American university. What those consequences have been the campus commission never bothered with very much. I have neither the expertise nor the inclination to reflect on all the consequences that the Liberalism of university intellectuals has had on students, specifically enraged students. But, if my speculations suggest a connection between the state of ideas among professors and campus tumult, perhaps you will join me in finding the Scranton Report remiss for not devoting the same intensity of concern for the university's ideas as for the "emerging" student's pilosity.

Liberalism has weathered much unjustified execration from the radicals in recent years. Contrary to incontinent leftists, Liberalism is not the rhetorical armor of Imperial America. It is a humane system of thought which attempts to expand individual opportunity by way of governmental ministrations. Through the years it has picked up other "good causes," but in advancing this slender definition I have conveyed enough of Liberalism's meaning to demonstrate that the anti-institutional New Left is antagonistic to Liberalism. Those students who seasonally gather to "unrest" the university have, in fact, completely rejected Liberalism. They reject its ideas and they loathe its ideals. In the scholarly organizations, New Left scholarship deliberately takes issue with Liberal certitudes. Their New Politics will either take command of the Democratic Party or they will split from that party and destroy it. It is not Goldwater Republicanism they rail at so much as Liberalism, and when they bomb Harvard or Wisconsin, they bomb Liberalism's shrines. But why is Liberalism now being mugged by its ideological progeny? Why have Liberalism's ideas come upon such awful consequences? And why are Liberals so reluctant to defend their ideas?

Well, of course, one purely unexpected reason is that the Liberal professors have not really attended too closely to their own disciples. Those unencumbered by research have been busy altering the skyline of American society in an extraordinary post-war building boom which turns many a sleepy hollow into a cosmopolitan city-state almost overnight. But this has more to do with the distortion of ideas than with transmission of ideas.

The fundamental reason that the ideas of humane Liberalism have conduced to such illiberal unrest is that the Liberal professors simply do not have much confidence in what they are teaching. This

century has burned out a lot of ideologies; Liberalism too has felt the heat (often self-generated by its own eschatological indifference or confusion.) The nationalism of the past now portends cataclysms too horrible to behold. The Marxism which so comforted the intellectuals in the Thirties frayed a little during the Moscow Trials. By midcentury it was threadbare, and even such journals as *Dissent* have lost their luster today. As for religion, the last western religion possessed of a world vision--Roman Catholicism--has lost its drive and loosed its hold on the hearts of its followers. Today it lies broken on the anvil of its own skeptics. And what of Liberalism, the ideology that so often saw itself the vanquisher of these defunct visions? During the post-war period, as Edward Shils has written in *The Sewanee Review*:

The ideals of the European Enlightenment have quietly reasserted their validity without arousing intellectuals to passion on their behalf. It was from the ideals of bourgeois liberalism that they had turned away in the great long wave of political enthusiasm which the Russian Revolution of 1917 had raised to a flood. Now that they have come back to these ideals, they have come back soberly, circumspectly, and with moderation.

Now that Liberalism has come under the assault of its own children, the intellectuals do not possess the sinew to defend it. Liberalism, like most of the other traditions of western civilization, no longer enjoys the intellectuals' confidence. It is sort of agreed upon, but no longer vital. This easy-going infidelity--even more than Liberalism's inanities--has made massive student unrest inevitable. After this century's second great war, the certitudes of the past have lost their magic.

A consequence of this which only worsens the intellectuals' thewlessness is that their antagonists are preaching a salvatory religion, and as Max Weber has said, such religions attract social strata in decline. In Weber's day handicraftsmen and small enterprisers were in decline. Today it is the liberal arts professor. In this palmy era of technicians and engineers, who needs literature professors, especially literature professors who do not feel Chaucer calculably more relevant than LeRoi Jones?

The characteristic Liberal professor is a devotee of moral relativism, and if one is a

relativist, one does not affirmatively profess Beethoven grander than the Jefferson Airplane or Elio superior to Jerry Rubin. Every value is relative, and for some reason, nothing seems worth achieving--or defending.

This skepticism over values has enervated most of our Liberal intellectuals. It is a rare Liberal who can even discuss a society's values without seeing all sorts of flashing red lights and caution signs. Values? Why let us be cautious about forcing our values on another? What one man values another may disdain. This is not to imply that I favor the enforcement of one's values on others. But, I do doubt that a democratic society can endure with neither a consensus on its values nor an intellectual defense of those values. Recently, Irving Kristol wrote to this society of dissipating values that the skepticism over values has begun "to upset and challenge the most ordinary decencies and civilities. People do not know what they ought to think about relations between the sexes, about relations between parents and children, about relations between the citizen and his government."

At the university where people are supposed to know such things, professors reveal their knowledge only "soberly, circumspectly, and with moderation." Relativism is a potent influence. And there is a puckish charm about what is seen as an "emerging youth culture."

As Richard Weaver reminded us ideas have consequences as do the state of those ideas. It is to Liberal ideas and to the state of those ideas' adherents that the Scranton Report should have devoted more study. And, come to think of it, someone should have written a boring editorial on it.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

CONTINUING CRISIS (continued from page 2)

Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee followed him on 21 January. But the controversial SST lived, as advocates of the supersonic transport reincarnated it during the last hours of the Ninety-First Congress. It survives in a \$6.88 billion transportation bill good until March, 1971.

Television lost an estimated \$220 million as the FCC's ban on cigarette advertising went into effect, and Mrs. Audrey Lewis of London, England electrocuted herself on a "home-made slim machine" invented by her mechanic husband. Death also visited the home of Mrs. Gladis Hardman of Pacific Grove, California when the 580 pound woman laid down for a nap and crushed herself. Dr. John D. Lord explained that the woman customarily slept sitting up, but had recently taken to sleeping on her back. "This wasn't good for her and the fat around her chest crushed her to death," explained the doctor. Efforts of eight firemen to get her into a pickup truck and to a hospital proved futile.

Yet the struggle for an esepic environment continued, and its forces could take heart when it was announced by the Department of the Interior that grizzly

The McGill
Manufacturing Company
Supports
The Alternative Approach
to a Better America

Valparaiso, Indiana

bears are no longer threatened with extinction. An even rosier report arrived from the Geographic Society which revealed that the average honey bee gets about four million miles to a gallon of nectar. But the highlight of the month came when Dwight Koga and Myra Gross, who met in San Francisco while cleaning oil-soaked birds from that Standard Oil tanker spill, were married on 30 January.

As expected the six month trial of youth leader, Mr. Charles Manson, ended with the conviction of Mr. Manson and three female colleagues on twenty-seven counts of murder and conspiracy for the deaths of Sharon Tate and six of her party-going friends. When interviewed by the Los Angeles Times Mr. Manson's mother informed the nation that her son "...was real musical and had a real nice voice, so I gave him singing lessons. But then he got so conceited about his music that I made him stop the lessons, but he still sang special solos in church"

However not everyone's son sang in church and the son of a prairie preacher, George S. McGovern, said on 18 January that he would run for the presidency in a campaign resting on "... candor and reason." The fate of Cambodia and Laos remained in the balance as it was reported after a six day news blackout in the United States that allied troops were sweeping through northwest South Vietnam along the Laotian border. Senator Mansfield complained that his only source of news had been the Russian press which sur-

prised many observers and was adjudged most unfortunate.

Finally, tragedy struck the family of Stewart L. Udall, former Secretary of the Interior, when Mr. Udall was arrested by officer Harry E. Sparshott for stealing a ninety-five cent package of Cuenta Ray cigars from the Dart Drug Store of McLean, Virginia. Thus it is increasingly apparent that the crisis is very real. As

Mr. Udall said after being booked, fingerprinted, and mugged, "It's just incredible to me that this sort of thing can happen to an American (Mr. Udall resides in Virginia). I want the whole story told in court so people can see what can happen to an absent-minded person." Later it was reported that Mr. Udall convinced the plaintiff to settle the matter out of court. □



THE INTERCOLLEGIATE REVIEW

Contributors to recent issues:

- Raymond Aron
- William C. Bark
- General Andre Beaufre
- Louis I. Bredvold
- Yale Brozen
- Lev E. Dobriansky
- M. Stanton Evans
- Lawrence Henry Gipson
- Ernest van den Haag
- Will Herberg
- William R. Kintner
- Russell Kirk
- Wm. Oliver Martin
- Ludwig von Mises
- Gerhart Niemeyer
- Stefan T. Possony
- Leo Strauss
- Robert Strausz-Hupe
- Frank N. Trager
- Eric Voegelin
- Simon N. Whitney
- Francis G. Wilson

A journal of scholarship and opinion publishing articles in the fields of philosophy, political science, economics, literature and social criticism. THE INTERCOLLEGIATE REVIEW is made available free of charge to faculty and students four times during the academic year by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Subscriptions are invited from those outside the academic community: one year, five dollars; two years, eight dollars; three years, eleven dollars. Subscriptions and inquiries should be addressed to: ISI, 14 South Bryn Mawr Avenue, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010.

Join with YAF

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

In the forefront of the fight against those attempting to shut down our universities.

LEGAL ACTION PROGRAM to protect students' rights

FREE CAMPUS NEWS to bring responsible student opinion to the American campuses

CAMPUS ACTION PROGRAM to combat radical demands and tactics

YOUNG AMERICA'S FREEDOM OFFENSIVE to take the lead in involvement in the critical issues of the '70s

Application for Membership
Young Americans for Freedom
 1221 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
 Washington, D. C. 20005

I enclose my membership dues of: \$ _____

NAME _____
Please Print

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

AGE _____ SCHOOL OR OCCUPATION _____

*I understand that \$2.50 of my dues is for a subscription to the *New Guard* for one year.

Check One

- Student \$3.00*
- Student \$1.00 (Does not include the *New Guard*.)
- Non-Student \$3.00 (Under 40)*
- Non-Student \$1.00 (Does not include the *New Guard*.)
- Joint Membership for Married Couples \$4.00 (Under 40)*
- Associate Membership \$10.00 (Over 40)*
- I enclose a contribution in the amount of \$ _____
- I would like more information about YAF.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Brayings from the Left

"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." --Euripedes

HERBERT MARCUSE

You can't take this man (Spiro T. Agnew) seriously. He hasn't read my books. He knows nothing.

NEW REPUBLIC

The New Republic absolves itself of all guilt in this doleful line. Readers of The New Republic would never guess what philosophy has been monitoring the "thinking" for that last thirty years.

...we seem to be in one of those long periods when civilization, in decline, produces the kind of thinking appropriate to such decline.

Yet when is it that I have seen The New Republic celebrate itself as "the most influential journal in America"?

The New Republic sanely offers this bit of advice to bring us all together:

The campuses need dissent and their share of disruption. If there were no tensions on campus there should be a commission established to create one. (There has been. Ed.)

Ever observant, The New Republic dutifully reports the astounding gall of the Middle Americano, to wit that he seems to want the money he is taxed for education to be spent on education rather than politicalization:

...Agnew's attacks are beginning to have a disabling effect on the academy itself. The most current counsel the universities are being given is to avoid being "politicalized."

Penetrating note on the Presidential wardrobe and high diplomacy as reported in The New Republic, organ of enlightened Liberalism.

Then once upon a time and now Mr. Nixon clothes his views in a moralistic raincoat inherited from John Foster Dulles...No wonder Paris negotiations haven't got far.

CHICAGO TODAY

Report on progress in the British air force as appearing in the cosmopolitan Chicago Today:

Brian Haywood of Britain's royal air force set a world's record recently for walking backwards 12 miles in 2 hours 46 minutes--and imagine, he's only a corporal. In Washington, that man could be a policy consultant.

GEORGE MC GOVERN

(in a fund raising letter)

The next few weeks may decisively affect the most urgent alternatives our country has faced since I entered public office.

THE NATION

The Nation's Southeast Asian correspondent Prince Sihanouk reports that the American government is up to its old tricks of red baiting again. By the way his dateline was that stronghold of free enterprise, Peking.

For the readers of your esteemed magazine, I need not name the countries which the government of the United States has turned into satellites, on the grounds that Communism menaced democracy and liberty in those states...Yet when these peoples revolt, the propaganda apparatus of the United States treats them as Communists...The Cambodian people who remain loyal to their legal chief of state and who do not acknowledge the fascist and bloody dictatorship of the Lon Nol junta...are characterized as Communist by Washington propaganda.

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY

Flexing his forensic muscle, an editor at The Washington Monthly previews the glorious result of a guaranteed income:

If people don't have to work in order to survive, they won't accept demeaning treatment. (Golly, what will happen to masochists, liberal professors and administrators?—Ed.)

NEW YORK TIMES

Al Featherston, director of Center for Dialogue:

Black people are sick and tired of voting for crackers and participation in this jive political system.

Another magnificent blow for freedom is struck by the distinguished Congresswoman, Mrs. Rita (Fifi) Hauser. On marches the clown!

MARRIAGES ARE URGED

BETWEEN SAME SEXES - Special to The New York Times - St. Louis, Aug. 10--Mrs. Rita Hauser, the United States Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, said today that laws banning marriages between persons of the same sex were unconstitutional.

Speaking on "Women's Liberation and the Constitution" at a section meeting of the American Bar Association, Mrs. Hauser said that such laws were based on what she called an outdated notion that reproduction is the purpose of marriage. She argued that overpopulation had made this rationale outmoded.

Limiting reproduction has now become the social goal, she said, "and I know no better way of accomplishing this than marriage between the same sexes."

Items We Would Like to Read in the New York Times:

South Vietnam indicated tonight that it might not oppose international supervision of elections in North Vietnam if they were held under a coalition government--a government that the South Vietnamese are trying to promote in place of the present one in Hanoi,

rather than:

North Vietnam indicated tonight that it might not oppose international supervision of elections in South Vietnam if they were held under a coalition government--a government that the Communists are trying to promote in place of the present one in Saigon.

(NY Times 12-1-70)