

EDITORIAL

(continued from page 5)

course not, but he had packed his government with the champions of every New Age cause. There were the famous like Dr. Peter Bourne, Andy Young, and Midge Costanza. Then there were the deeply committed like Sam Brown, Joan Claybrook, and in foreign policy every McGovernite not then employable by a rock band.

Today ingrates like Jack Newfield earnestly declare, "We must understand that the main reason Carter was defeated was because he was an incompetent *conservative* president." But the facts put the donkey's tail on Newfield once again. As an Associated Press story in January demonstrated, "Jimmy hired outside agitators and made them inside agitators." In the words of Sam Brown, once the organizer of the Vietnam Moratorium and Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign, Jimmy "trained a whole generation, which will be back." More than 50 public interest pests from the Nader camorra were given powerful government positions under the Wonderboy. The regulations, the lawsuits, the general asininity brought to government by them should be a matter of pride with New Age liberals.

Yet the oily Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

is emphatic: "What the voters repudiated in 1980 was not liberalism but the miserable result of the conservative economic policies of the last half-dozen years." Arthur has apparently forgotten the huge growth in regulations, in transfer payments, in infringements upon personal liberty. This was progress! He has also forgotten the glorious birth of the Department of Education and the Department of Energy, the violent struggles to create a Consumer Protection Nanny, and a Department of Natural Resources. There were the threats against the corporations. There were CETA grants, food stamps; onward, ever onward. Arthur gives Jimmy a bum rap.

Perhaps Arthur is angered that Jimmy did not go far enough. After all he never tried wage and price controls. Then too, there is the discomfort of being associated with such an obvious mountebank. Yet he can relax; most New Age liberals are mountebanks. Surely Arthur does not believe in the egalitarian hallucination and all the ancillary fantasies that go with it. Finally, Arthur may be distraught over the great historic fact of the Carter Administration. Under the Wonderboy practically every New Age prescription—certainly every foreign policy prescription—simply blew up.

In foreign policy the New Age liberals' insistence on accomodation,

legalism, negotiations, "openness," disarmament, and so forth was greeted by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iranian barbarism, the proxy wars in Africa, growing turbulence in Central America, and the fissures in NATO. In the end Cy Vance was heard sniffing over SALT's demise, despite the clear evidence that SALT had not sweetened the Soviet paranoiacs nor halted their vast arms buildup, the most massive peacetime buildup in history. The Iranian barbarism put the lie to all the New Age liberals' guff about restraint, understanding, and Third-World innocence. The ghastly holocaust in Southeast Asia showed what hollow and perverse guff it had always been.

In domestic policy the gigantic costs of the New Age's programs for perfect justice, perfect safety, perfect dreaminess, grew and impoverished the citizenry. The tax burden rose. So did unemployment. So did inflation. Hockey fans might call this the presidential hat trick. No other president had accomplished it in this century. Not even Herbert Hoover.

Here was the age of the little scamp and the great denial. The scamp clawed his way to the White House mouthing bromides he never understood. His New Age coconspirators first denied that anything was

amiss and then denied any responsibility for the crash. It has been one of the greatest acts of denial in the twentieth century. Southeast Asia is not their fault. Our economy is not their fault. Iran is not their fault. Our diminished place in a dangerous world is not their fault. It is all of a piece with the whole thrust of their thought, which in its maundering about a sexless society, a sunny egalitarian utopia, is a colossal and affecting denial of reality.

The Wonderboy, of course, did not believe in reality either. With pluck and bathos he talked his way into Lincoln's House. He talked his way into Christian saintliness. He talked his way into greatness. In time he was a patron of the arts, fluent in Spanish, a jogger and skier. One wonders. When he collapsed during that foot race or when he fell from his skis, did he learn anything about the difficulty of things? I doubt it. During his whole bizarre regime, as the dollar sank and the Russians marched, there emanated from him the sense that nothing really mattered. Nothing beyond himself was real. There was no Iran, no Southeast Asia, no Russian military buildup. As the Wonderboy's now shrunken and anile figure departs 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, it is my judgment that he will remain the same insufferable ass. Creatures like Jimmy never learn. □

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

America on War and Diplomacy

I congratulate Stephen Rosen and Bob Tyrrell on a remarkable—and remarkably important—symposium in the November *American Spectator*. I fully agree that a ruthless reexamination of our foreign-cum-defense policy has been our highest priority for years; that it has been avoided like the plague by people terrorized or traumatized by the word "Vietnam"; and that we must undertake the task now, on a crash basis, or (quite literally) die.

May I raise two points—one small but important, the other large—and also important, I think.

The small point: the use of the words "liberal" and "conservative" in relation to foreign policy. In my view, they have no place in the vocabulary of the subject. "Liberal" and "conservative" have significant denotations in political and social theory (freedom versus order; tradi-

tion versus change, etc.). Those denotations have nothing to do with the use of force or coercion in international affairs. Foreign and defense policy can be prudent or reckless; wise or foolish; realistic or illusionist; aggressive or defensive. But it cannot be liberal or conservative. By every meaningful index, Henry Jackson is a "liberal," as Paul Douglas and Dean Acheson were.

My second point is more fundamental. What I miss in the symposium is any consideration of what seems to me the central issue: Is there any criterion short of the rule of the Charter of the United Nations which could tell us when we and our Allies have to oppose the international use of force?

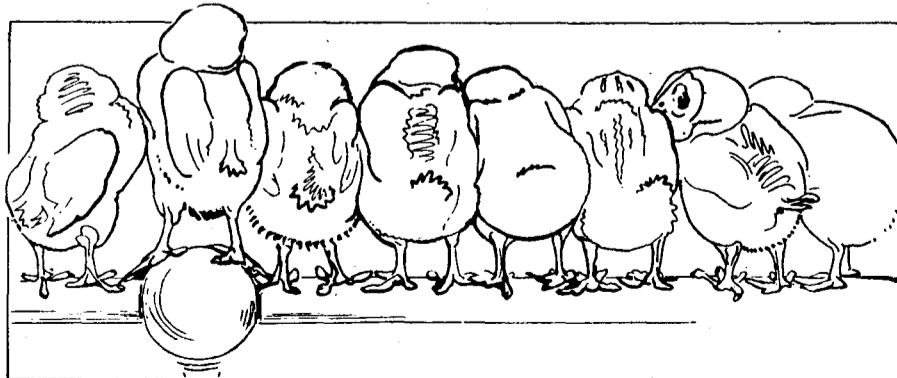
—Eugene V. Rostow
Yale University Law School

Stephen Rosen replies:

I have no substantive quarrel with Professor Rostow's rejection of the

words "liberal" and "conservative" in relation to foreign policy. Intellectually, he is right. In practice, however, men like Jesse Helms and Barry Goldwater are tolerably distinguishable from men like George Ball and George McGovern. Both groups represent positions that are flawed. The purpose of the symposium was to go beyond both and develop the ideas of Acheson, Jackson, and others to create operational foreign and defense policies for the 1980s.

Developing a general criterion for the use of American force is much harder. We all have thought a great deal about this but have failed to come up with anything more profound than the conclusion that American intervention should be decided on a case by case basis, with due regard given to the military, ideological, diplomatic, and domestic political costs that will be borne.



Systems Reanalysis

I should like to react to Eliot Cohen's attack on systems analysis in your November issue. I should admit that I make my living as a systems analyst and am not impartial. But I think that even an unbiased observer might admit that rational approaches are not bad in themselves. I consider systems analysis to be at about the same stage today that medicine was in 1850; it has been said that when you went to a doctor then it was even money whether he would help or hurt you. Agreed, systems analysis cannot quantify important aspects of war, like morale and generalship. Agreed, the choice of measures of effectiveness is often poor; the models are not realistic and the input values are chosen to fit the convenience or bias of the user. But, just as the Victorians went to the doctor anyway, the generals come to the systems analyst because there is no other way to look at things rationally. I cherish the hope that the state of the art will improve. In fact, though still inadequate, quality control is a leading concern of all reputable practitioners.

The essence of systems analysis is the mathematical model, an attempt to represent events by equations. If the representation is realistic, and if the input numbers are right, it follows logically that the output is right. Cohen rightly says that no model encompasses all of reality, and he could have added that the two conditions I have stated are rarely fulfilled. What then is the use of modeling? Seldom should the results be taken as gospel. (We need better users as well as better practitioners.) But if you use the results as aids to your thinking, which may be classical military thinking, and allow for their inaccuracy, they may well be useful to you (the planner). In the meantime, the analysis profession has an obligation to strive for validity—often involving experimental validation of results—and improved techniques.

Cohen is wrong in supposing that most systems analysts are social scientists. Practically all the ones I know are engineers, physical scientists, or mathematicians by training. (Younger ones may have a degree in the field itself which usually means they have been trained as mathematicians.) I myself have a degree in chemistry. All share a preference for numbers over words which is good as far as it goes. I wish more would have a preference for experimental facts over numbers.

—Aryeh H. Samuel
Wheaton, Maryland

Eliot Cohen replies:

It seems to me that Mr. Samuel's

first paragraph confirms one of my observations: "Systems analysts are willing—nay, eager—to condemn defective analysis, but not to re-examine the premises of the whole approach" (p. 27). His second paragraph asserts that "systems analysis is . . . an attempt to represent events by equations." Quite so. That is why it must fail, because no human activity, particularly war, is quantifi-

able and mathematically predictable. Intractable elements—courage, intelligence, sheer luck—control the outcome of battles. In regard to his final paragraph let me point out that the founders of systems analysis and the authors of its sacred texts were and are economists. I observed, however, that systems analysis is not the technique of a few adepts but a mode of thought adopted by many non-

economists. It is not surprising that mathematicians, engineers, and natural scientists find systems analysis congenial. Those who have been trained in the humanist fields—history, politics, or English literature for that matter—should resist much more the blandishments of those who would substitute formulas for prudence and mathematical models for reflection.

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"I don't want to date guys. It's you I'm in love with."

Jenny could see that she was really upset. She felt herself harden against the pleading look in Sandy's eyes.

"But what will people think?" Surely Sandy must realize that people would talk if they didn't date. It would be obvious.

"I don't know." Sandy misunderstood Jenny's fear. "We'll just tell them we're in love."

Jenny's voice was shrill. "Sandy, no. Never. You must promise me you will never tell anyone. If you do I'll never talk to you again. Promise me."

Barbara interrupted her: "Margo, in most cases homosexuality is still a crime." The group was silent.

Sandy broke the silence. "Shelly and I have talked about it. I think we've basically come to the decision that we'll leave the country if things get too bad. Go to Canada, I guess."

"You're really taking this seriously?" Margo was now shocked.

"Prohibiting homosexual teachers from working was one of the first repressive steps the Nazis took," Julie said. "Who's to say it couldn't happen here?"

"Women are freaked out," Sandy continued. "I see it in my practice. Women come in and they're scared. Even the non-political ones. But it's the Jewish lesbians who are really panicked. They talk about concentration camps for gays. It's very real for them." Sandy shook her head. "Them. It's very real for us."

Choices

by Nancy Toder

[Persephone Press Book News]

The Nation

Professor Alan Wolfe, sociologist and author of *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Threat*, ventilates another of the mysteries of the left-liberal murrain for the *Nation's* sweating and swaying audience:

Jimmy Carter will soon no longer be President, but the world that he faced has not changed very much at all. Carter, it may be recalled, pursued a foreign policy based on thoroughly conservative assumptions, except in a few areas such as Latin America. It will be difficult for the incoming Reagan Administration—on matters as diverse as nuclear strategy, new weapons systems, chemical warfare, nuclear proliferation, attitudes toward the Soviet Union, or relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries—to be more conservative than Carter was.

[December 6, 1980]

The New York Times

Sublime and beautiful excogitations of a historical and metaphysical nature from Mr. Frank Rich, sage and thumbsucker:

Is there anyone who grew up with the Beatles in the 1960's who can imagine life without them? The murder of John Lennon this week was the most personal kind of loss. When the news broke Monday night, ex-Beatlemaniaics, now poised on the brink of middle-age, raced to their phones to console each other, to sob, to remember. And the more we talked about those memories, the more we realized that our childhoods would have been empty without the Beatles. . . .

In a sense, the world the Beatles made was born a few years before they actually arrived. The '60's had begun with the inauguration of John F. Kennedy, a President whose youthful, iconoclastic style had started to change the whole tenor of American life. He was assassinated months before the release of "Meet the Beatles" and the group's legendary appearance on "The Ed Sullivan Show." By sheer fate, it was the Beatles who picked up Kennedy's torch, and once they did, they ran with it.

[December 14, 1980]

The Wall Street Journal

Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. displays the journalistic feats to be accomplished once one has successfully strangled and cremated his conscience:

It is hard to see how liberalism was an issue at all in 1980. Liberal policies haven't prevailed in Washington since 1966, when Lyndon Johnson decided to sacrifice the Great Society to the Vietnam war. That was 14 years ago. . . . What the voters repudiated in 1980 was not liberalism but the miserable result of the conservative economic policies of the last half dozen years.

[November 20, 1980]

The Toronto Star

An undesirable alien takes up her position on the correspondence page of the Toronto Star:

I recently returned from spending a week in Toronto at the First Global Conference on the Future where I participated in the symposium, Alternative Futures for Women.

After the conference I spent one day at the Ontario Science Centre, which I found most interesting. Although the Science

Centre did have many positive features, I was extremely dismayed and concerned about the excessive degree of sexism in virtually all of the films and displays. That is, almost all of the characters portrayed in the films were male, all of the narrators were male, all of the language used referred to hypothetical males, used male pronouns, and generic male terminology (e.g., mankind, early man, etc.).

I have been working to eradicate such sex bias in the U.S. educational system for about eight years and am therefore very sensitive to this tendency to disproportionately represent males in science, math and technology.

I wanted to call your readers' attention to this problem, particularly because research has shown that it does have deleterious effects on the personality development, aspirations and achievement of young females as they interact with such sex-biased environments and materials.

Jeana Wirtenberg
Department of Health
Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

[August 9, 1980]

The Nation

The estimable *Nation* offers high laudation to the next president of the United States while prophesying exciting times ahead:

In the nuclear era, however, based on the record from which we must make educated guesses before we can vote, he is the most dangerous person ever to come this close to the Presidency, and if elected he would be the most dangerous leader so far in history. . . . At Reagan's age, with his ideas and his advisers, in this era, he is a menace to the human race.

[November 1, 1980]

The New Republic

The bizarre sound of Nicholas von Hoffman's brains rattling sometime after the sad expiry of John Lennon: The reaction of the powerful and well-placed to John Lennon's murder tells more about Americans than all the pop psychology filling the feature pages since the killing. The Kissingers, the Muskies, the Allens, the Jacksons, the whoevers from the Committee on the Present Danger, all of whom have dilated on how

low American prestige has sunk, have nothing to say about this assassination. Twelve years ago, our most important religious figure, Christian prophet if you will, was gunned down. Now the madmen are going after the poets, and there's not a word from the people who claim the name "leader" about what events such as this do to our reputation in the world. American strength is seen as American power. How we conduct ourselves, what kind of a society we make and run, what kinds of values are upheld in our daily life—none of that is germane to our reputation in the world.

[December 27, 1980]

Patriotic Correspondence

Two stirring letters received by a philanthropist in the offices of *The American Spectator* after the above patriot had answered history's call and made an especially generous donation to freedom's arsenal:

October 20, 1980

Mr. Paul H. Vivian
Apartment 63
3200 Longview
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Mr. Vivian:

This past weekend I met with Governor Reagan and other leaders of our national and state campaigns.

We had a lot to discuss, as you can imagine. But the Governor made a special point of asking me to thank you, on his behalf, for your generous support of our national Republican campaign to make America great again.

New supporters like you, Mr. Vivian, are the lifeblood of our party.

And without generous \$1.00 contributions like yours, there simply would be no way the National Committee could provide our national, state and local candidates with the field organization and direct cash support they must have to overcome Big Labor's massive backing of the liberal Democrats.

In the days left before the election I will be traveling around the country, talking to the voters about our Republican programs to lower taxes and put America back to work.

But I did want to take the time today to write you personally and tell you just how much I appreciate your support of the RNC at this critical time.

Very truly yours,
BILL BROCK

November 17, 1980

Dear Mr. Vivian:

I wanted to write you now, at this very special time of Thanksgiving, to tell you how grateful I am for everything you have done for our Committee.

No Party has ever had a more loyal or more dedicated friend than you, Mr. Vivian.

In the four years I've served as Chairman, I've watched our Party regain its strength, its confidence and its purpose. And I know you share my great joy that Governor Reagan and our Republican candidates have just won a decisive and historic victory for our country.

I deeply believe that you are the one who deserves a good share of the credit.

I know I have written to you many times asking for your help. And whenever you could, you gave and gave generously. For that and more, every one of our candidates owes you a special debt of gratitude.

As you celebrate Thanksgiving with your family and friends, as I will with mine, I'm sure each of us has many things for which we are grateful.

But I hold your support of our Party and your friendship as a very special blessing.

Our country is about to walk a freer, more secure road, and you have helped put us on this new path. May God grant you the blessings you so richly deserve.

Very truly yours,
BILL BROCK