

petition for spoils, where efforts at income redistribution lose any possible moral justification.

Second, ideologies abhor a vacuum, and rival world views have impressed their mark on the Democratic party. Neo-Malthusians, taking political form in the population-control and environmentalist movements, truly fear the reproductive potential of the American people and have forced a strong anti-natalist bias on the party. Feminists, meanwhile, have sharply devalued "motherhood" to at least a secondary role, and their fingerprints are found all over the 1984 Democratic platform.

What, then, are the prospects for Democratic exploitation of the "family" theme? Actually, in the modern political house of mirrors, they're fairly good. In the battle of nostalgias, the Democrats have a potent hand: rhetorical and symbolic allusions to the pre-1965 past masking a radically different but adroitly concealed present agenda. Working to the Democrats' advantage are the current slippery nature of the "family" label and the apparent ignorance or indifference of many American Catholics about their own socio-political tradition. Even the majority of American bishops, one suspects, spend little time

these days re-reading Papal encyclicals.

The Republicans have been more honest in linking their electoral program to their nostalgia. Indeed, in its emphasis on tax equity for families and the "life" issues, its flat rejection of "comparable worth," and its nod toward an anti-Malthusian population policy, the 1984 Republican version is probably the most explicitly "pro-family" platform in American political history.

Yet more is needed to frustrate Democratic designs. The Reagan campaign needs to expose the hollowness of its rival's "family" rhetoric and

reveal the true ideologies now dominating the Democratic party. The campaign might usefully focus on the implicit racism and anti-child bias lurking behind the "reproductive freedom" and "national population program" labels. Or it might show how the Democratic party has sharply deviated from the social policy heritage of Roosevelt, Truman, Stevenson, and Johnson.

Admittedly, such tasks could be nasty, and they may best be left to others than the Great Communicator. Without such efforts, though, Mr. Mondale may just get away with his verbal and symbolic legerdemain. □

## THE CAMPUS

### YOUNG TURK TUNES

by Gregory A. Fossedal

Perhaps the most surprising—and least understood—news coming out of Harvard and Dartmouth, Berkeley and Kent State this fall is that students will most likely vote for Ronald Reagan. *Datum:* A 1984 *Los Angeles Times* poll finds that the greatest support for Ronald Reagan is among voters aged 18 to 39, particularly on the younger side. As of June, this group planned to vote for Reagan by a margin of 58 to 37 over Walter Mondale. Similarly, a 1981 *New York Times* poll showed the greatest support for Reaganomics coming from people age . . . 25 or younger. *Datum:* According to two recent surveys, the best read papers at Dartmouth College and the University of California, San Diego are not any of several left-of-center sheets published with administration subsidies, but the independent and infamous *Dartmouth Review* and *California Review*. Indeed, the *Berkeley Barb*, famed taunter of then-governor Ronald Reagan and citadel of anti-Vietnam sentiment, has folded. Its radical replacement is the *Berkeley Review*, which supports Reagan and tosses its barbs at "the establishment" from the opposite direction. *Datum:* Recent straw elections at several Ivy League, Big Ten, and Pac-8 schools show Mr. Reagan whipping the Democrats with majorities of 60 percent and more.

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That this longstanding shift in student opinion passed unnoticed until the recent GOP convention can be attributed in large part to a continuing superstition that youthful activism can exist only on the left. The *New York Times*'s Stephen Engleberg recently wrote a feature piece on "Young Activists and Capital's Allure." He mentioned not a single conservative group, concentrating instead on youngsters working for Ralph Nader, Common Cause, and the like. Engleberg was innocently unaware that there exist similar activists working for Terry Dolan, Howard Phillips, Irving Kristol, or Midge Decter. Similarly, ABC's "20-20" recently showed a series of television news clips to Americans of various ages and occupa-

tions and races, asking them if assorted stories—on the Korean Airlines massacre, invasions of Afghanistan and Grenada, Vietnam, and so on—made them feel patriotic. The most frequent positive response came from World War veterans and high-school students. Again, there was a kind of sweet innocence as an ABC reporter concluded that "the young people . . . thought of Vietnam as a place where America fought communism."

Straight election coverage manifests a more active bias. "The flow of young people into conservative activism today," estimates Morton Blackwell, president of the Leadership Institute, "is at least twice what it was four years ago. And four times what it was eight to ten years ago." Yet news coverage

throughout the year has focused on the nuclear freeze movement (remember the freeze?), candidates Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart, and now, Geraldine Ferraro, all alleged focal points for youthful enthusiasm and new ideas.

As the elephants herded into Dallas, some Republicans and network correspondents did begin to take note of the new shift in youth opinion. Even so, they refused to recognize this development for what it is. The GOP's Libby Dole pointed to the youth movement as a kind of defense against the Gender Gap, proof positive that Democrats may have blacks, women, hunchbacks, and Hispanics, but Republicans have their favored groups, too. For the networks, it was a curio, an interesting anomaly. ABC saw a good photo opportunity to haul a few strange Reagan delegates, age 18 to 21, before the camera. The news of Reaganite youths was presented, in other words, as a sort of freak show—and not as a deep-seated political and social shift.

As a result, many have missed the real developments and are ignorant of the substantial changes effected by these activists on the nation's campuses. These students have been successful not by presenting formal manifestos or lists of demands, but in pursuing a loose collection of principles and goals. *Human Events* outlined that basic agenda a few years ago:

A renewed emphasis on achievement in the classroom, on sports and productive activities, as against the '60s ethos of equality, self-expression, and guilt . . . A balanced offering of courses and teachers:



classes on economics taught by supply-siders as well as Marxists . . . And, a traditional curriculum emphasizing Western culture and values, basic math and science skills, and control of the language, as against courses on "alternative lifestyle networks" and "A Leninist view of Afro-American sculpture."

In recent years, this agenda has made remarkable progress. Harvard has been through one modest curricular reform and may go through another. Columbia University retains a mandatory but popular freshman course in the great works. Dartmouth College, under prodding from English Professor Jeffrey Hart, is expanding its great works program and may serve as a model for other schools—if the administration acts this fall on a proposed grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dartmouth also plans to bring back ROTC, a step Princeton took several years ago. Participation in sports, both for men and women, is up dramatically, according to the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Efforts to eliminate fraternities in recent years have failed at the University of Washington, Amherst, and dozens of other schools. Often, student-organized protest played a major role. One sit-in to defend the Amherst houses last spring involved a revealing feature: Students worked in shifts so as not to miss any classes.

Others have waged a successful battle over the use of college funds to subsidize the growing and bloated bureaucracies, channeled with a certain bias for left-wing causes. Public Interest Research Groups, or "PIRGs," an offshoot of Ralph Nader's efforts in Washington, have been successfully de-funded at a number of schools, and are under broad attack elsewhere, as Laura Ingraham reported in these pages last October. Princeton's *Prospect* magazine charts the school's choice of speakers every year to determine signs of ideological bias. The slant is always heavily leftward, but has moderated under *Prospect's* watchful eye in recent years. The *California Review*, denied the subsidies given several student papers, indeed not even allowed an office or cubbyhole, has successfully lobbied the student council to reconsider. That battle will pick up again this fall.

Perhaps the bitterest fight will take place at my alma mater, Dartmouth College. A sophomore, Teresa Polenz, faces possible expulsion for an exposé on the activities of the school's (subsidized) Gay Student Association. Of course, Dartmouth's history of witch trials has been well publicized. Five of the last six editors of the *Dartmouth Review* were involved in criminal or

civil cases by university officials, with several still pending. But the school's low tactics now appear to be reaching a new high. Several Dartmouth officials, including President David McLaughlin, have accused Polenz publicly of violating the state's wiretapping statute. Actually, what Miss Polenz did was to tape a public meeting, open to all students, that had been advertised in the student daily. The college's pressure on New Hampshire officials has produced a grand jury investigation, yet Dartmouth officials now deny any efforts to press the case. Meanwhile, college attorneys and Mr. McLaughlin have already publicized contradictory statements about when the college learned of the grand jury investigation. Anything may happen in the coming weeks, but as the strange controversy continues to unfold, it appears that it is the university itself that is on trial.

Elders often find it hard to understand such fights. Though they prefer the outrageous newspapers of the 1980s to the blown-up buildings of the 1960s, they find the tone of the new activists "strident," their tactics too unorthodox. Why so much effort to defund a few homosexuals? Why say things that can be portrayed as disrespectful?

One answer is that there really is much more at stake here. To the classical liberal, procedures and manners are not a mere technicality, but are in fact, as T.S. Eliot wrote, the incarnation of the whole culture: Or as Yeats put it, "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" In the case of Miss Polenz, students are fighting not against gays, but against a whole culture of "tolerance" (read: support) for the "rights" (read: asserted privileges) of members of the community (read: alleged victims) to live in a diverse (note: diverse racially or sexually, not necessarily intellectually) environment and select their own sexual preference (perversion) free of having morality imposed on them (mentioned to them). The unstated rule of liberal culture is that such claims, or institutions like the GSA advancing them, are beyond scrutiny. To expose and challenge this unstated, suppressive culture and replace it with one rooted in Western tradition is not only defensible, it is vital.

In this sense, the activists cannot be strictly evaluated on the left-wing, right-wing spectrum. In opposing a dominant culture on the campus, they are acting more precisely as populists opposing elitism. Like their predecessors in the Vietnam era, they trust people more than they do the "establishment." But their under-

standing of the term "establishment" has greatly broadened. Students have come to recognize that big government, big labor, and Common Cause are not enemies of the "establishment," they *are* the "establishment." Like big business and the military, they are all to be feared as centers of power that threaten individual freedom and tend to remove themselves from public accountability. As Richard Viguerie, a leading propounder of this populist model, explains, today's youth are not sudden converts of Exxon and General Motors. "Their models," he says, "are Apple Computer and Federal Express." Last year the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported on a huge surge in small business start-ups by college students. All this suggests a faith in free people and their traditional institutions of family and private enterprise—i.e., populism, rightly understood.

Reaganites and Mondalers ought to be aware of these changes. For the former, a golden opportunity exists to seize the future. If the GOP emerges from Dallas prepared to tap this feeling amongst our youth by running a bold campaign of ideas, a historic sea change in American politics could occur. Such a campaign, broadly, might include: a pledge not to raise taxes and indeed a promise to cut them further along the lines of the Kemp-Kasten flat tax; a blueprint for a return to the gold standard; actual construction of Star Wars defenses in space; a sweeping program to convert IMF and World Bank austerity schemes into a plan for world economic growth. These are all in the GOP platform, but will the GOP run on them?

It is still possible that Mr. Reagan might simply concentrate on negative attacks on the "Carter-Mondale years," in effect looking backward to 1980—or even 1972 or 1956, when the GOP won the White House but surrendered congressional seats, ideas, and enthusiasm to the Left. Mac Carey, Jack Kemp's 25-year-old press secretary, sees the alternatives for Reagan as clear: "He can cement the GOP as the party of ideas in a second term, or we can have four years of tax hikes, IMF bailouts, and appropriations vetoes. If so, young people will lose interest in his presidency. They may even be forced back into the Democratic party; blacks and minorities and women will look to government for hope, instead of to enterprise zones and tax cuts."

Certainly pressure on Reagan is strong from those within the GOP who are afraid of any daring campaign initiatives, and who continue to regard the new activism of campus conser-

vatives as a liability. Throughout the last several years, for example, the College Republicans, under the leadership of Jack Abramoff, have been engaged in a kind of guerrilla war for an aggressive fall campaign. Abramoff has led the push for inclusion of the Star Wars idea and the flat tax and gold standard in the Reagan campaign. The CR's have even published a series of posters that have some members of the Washington community afraid to go outdoors. One features a picture of the rotund Tip O'Neill, circumscribed by a dotted line with a suggestion to "cut the fat out of government." Another notes the strange convergence between what is said at nuclear freeze rallies and in Tass press releases. It calls for voters to "support the nuclear freeze—the Soviet Union needs you." All this activity has attracted thousands of young volunteers to Reagan's campaign. Yet when Abramoff requested money for a \$300,000 youth campaign, he was flatly turned down. Gag orders have come down from on high to "tone down" Abramoff and his merry gang.

Not surprisingly, then, many of these young turks are pessimistic that a Reagan second term will include them and their concerns. Perhaps it is worth remembering, though, that Reagan's second four years as governor were increasingly dominated by such youngsters as Jeff Bell and Martin Anderson, then in their twenties. A large pool of similar talent now exists for the tapping. Don't bet the house, but do cross your fingers. □

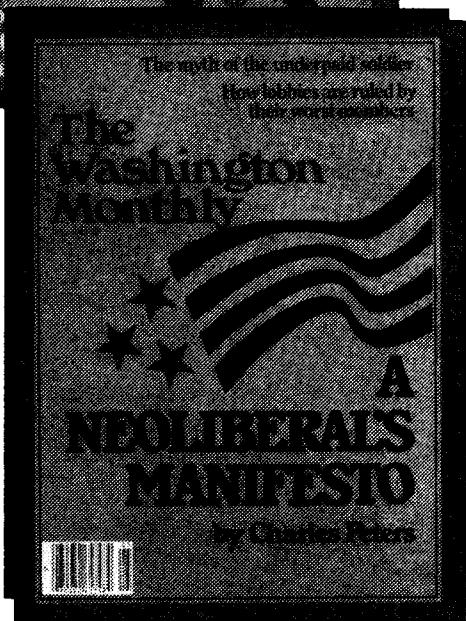
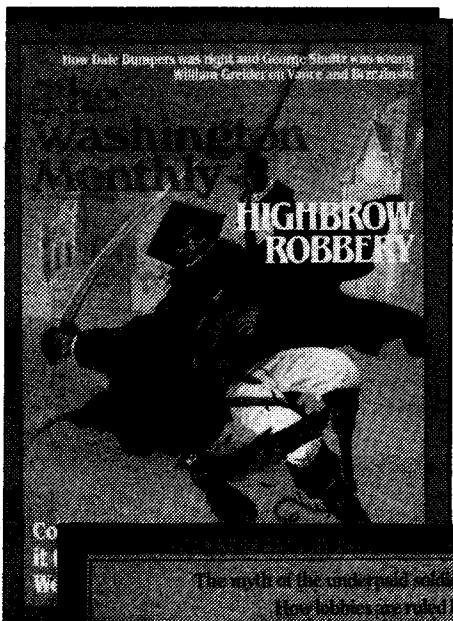
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# B O O K R E V I E W S

Back in April, when the Democrats of New York had the opportunity to register their preference for Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, or Jesse Jackson, Mondale and Hart pretty much ignored Jackson's antics and, instead, spent the better part of their time trying to outdo each other in demonstrating their zeal for the nuclear freeze and their antipathy to the faltering and sometimes clumsy attempts of the Reagan Administration to support American interests and the cause of liberal democracy in Central America. Senator Fritz Hollings, who had endorsed Hart after the collapse of his own abortive bid for the nomination, was reportedly appalled. "The next President should hire two historians and fire his pollsters," he contended.

On the face of it, this might appear to be sage advice. No friend of representative democracy and no one concerned with the long-term well-being of this country can welcome the increasing trend toward government by public opinion polls. But Hollings's alternative may be worse: The distinguished senator from South Carolina would, in fact, have a hard time finding historians in this country as saddened by the mad scramble toward isolationism as he seems to be. On the whole, American historians (and students of American history in particular) are like the rest of their compatriots—a parochial lot. Very few of them know much about the larger world, and those who study the history of American foreign relations rarely have a command of any language but English. The consequences are obvious: Those who do not limit themselves to writing dispatch history (summarizing the latest batch of internal documents released to the public by the State Department) tend to treat our floundering attempts to deal with the world outside our borders as an extension of domestic politics and American intellectual history or as a reflection of corporate plotting and right-wing machinations. The histories of the Cold War assigned to university students in this country are generally written by men who know nothing of Russian—much less Czech, Polish, German, Serbo-Croatian, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Greek, Turkish, Persian, or Arabic. It is no wonder that the authors of these books seem

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## THE CHANGE IN THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER, 1938-1939: THE PATH TO RUIN

Williamson Murray/Princeton University Press  
\$50.00; \$9.50 paper

Paul A. Rahe

to think that the United States is somehow responsible for everything that happens in the world for good or for ill—and particularly for ill. Even if they knew better, they would be unable to do the research required for serious work in their chosen field.

Accordingly, Fritz Hollings's President might well get better advice from his pollsters. No one combining good sense with an intimate knowledge of the American academy would be sanguine that Jimmy Carter would have received better counsel concerning the hostage crisis from a historian than he secured from Pat Caddell. In fact, the ordinary voter—on those rare occasions when dramatic events like the revolution in Iran or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan focus his attention on foreign affairs—has a keener appreciation that there are malevolent forces out there than many of the most

distinguished of our diplomatic historians.

Hollings's advice is nonetheless in principle sound. Expertise and a knowledge of past history are obviously an advantage. The problem is that historians possessed of such expertise and knowledge are few and far between—particularly if one is interested in assessing the consequences of going or of not going to war under particular circumstances. The study of armed conflict has not in the recent past recommended itself to our intellectual elite. Anyone familiar with the book trade knows that military history is a perennial favorite with the book-reading public. But it is not similarly favored among academic historians: After all, nice people are far too refined to pay attention to such things; and, anyway, if we ignore war and banish from polite company those with the bad taste to remind us of its



presence, it might just go away. In the last two decades, you would have been hard put to find a course at any of our most respected universities that focused on the planning, the preparation, and the actual fighting of any war more recent than the one which Thucydides described in such wonderful, seductive detail.

To find such a course, one would ordinarily have had to journey away from the East coast—to, say, Columbus, Ohio where not only do they know how to play football, but (miracle of miracles!) there is a department in which military history flourishes. To find a modern historian better able to counsel a President on foreign affairs than his pollsters, one would be well advised to go to the same place—at least if Ohio State professor Williamson Murray's splendid book on Munich and its consequences is any indication. Murray would clearly bring to the task the three qualities required: an inquisitive mind, an unbelievable capacity for research, and the sense to know what matters and what does not. The last of these qualities is the hardest to find. Many scholars have written about Munich; no one before this has managed to put the entire story together. The general outlines have long been known, but the most important pieces in the puzzle were missing or in large part ignored.

Now, that has all changed—and Murray has collected and analyzed the most important of the relevant material. His question is a simple one: How did the events which transpired at Munich in September 1938 affect the war-making capacity of the powers that came into conflict a year later? Did Chamberlain win crucial time for his country? Was he, in fact, largely responsible for Germany's loss in the Battle of Britain? Or did the British and the French exchange a position of considerable strength for one of comparative weakness? And did Hitler know what he was doing? Was he well informed regarding the state of the German economy, the condition of his own military forces, and the situation in Britain and France? What were his intentions? And did he and Germany gain or lose by the decisions made in the late thirties?

Murray's response to these questions in *The Change in the European Balance of Power, 1938-1939* is informed by an unsurpassed familiarity