



Liberals Go to War

We deliver a moral bombing from on high.

The quintessential liberal Eleanor Clift complained the other day about “all this whining about civilians being hurt.” You thought there was something about this war you didn’t like? Think of it this way. The B-2 is in combat at last—and Eleanor Clift and Hillary Clinton are in the cockpit. Nina Totenberg: “We’re going to have to use... a lot more violence, and that means B-52s and ground troops.” Jack Germond: “This defiance, of nationalism, the only way you can break it down is to be awfully harsh. Shut off the electricity. You’ve got to wreck Belgrade, basically.”

One of the first to defend the U.S. war on Serbia was the television commentator Andy Rooney. “We have the weapons, we have the money, we have the moral authority,” he said on “60 Minutes” on March 28. “We even have some help from other countries this time. There’s nothing in it for us. No big oil companies going to make money, no bankers. All we’ll get out of it is the good feeling of knowing we’re helping a lot of poor bastards who don’t have the power to help themselves.... I trust President Clinton in this matter. I trust my country. I’m proud.”

That is an almost perfect statement of the liberal rationale for war. There’s nothing in it for us—except that it makes us feel good. We deliver unto those who deserve it a purely disinterested bombing, a moral bombing from on high. Rooney only failed to add that the groundwork—the real groundwork, having nothing to

do with ground troops—had already been laid. Milosevic had been demonized by the media worldwide. So we had our Hitler, and now good was bombing evil. Not for America’s national interest, mind. Not for oil. But for the pure moral improvement of mankind. Notice that Rooney’s cynicism about earlier wars (“warbucks” were their unstated cause) was exceeded only by his self-righteousness about our starting a new one.

By the end of May, our claim to moral superiority remained a key justification for bombing. “It is the alliance that obviously has the high moral values, has the democracy and the open, questioning system,” a senior administration official told a *Washington Post* reporter. Why does this fail to reassure? Madeleine Albright, our deracinated secretary of state, said NATO will be in the business of imposing “values.” Among them she included “democracy, stability and basic human decency.” Bombing for democracy? Absurd. And forget about stability. We already had that, and may have now lost it. As for basic human decency, Steven Mosher of the Population Research Institute reported that by May, “morning-after” birth-control pills were being distributed to Kosovar women in Albanian refugee camps as “a routine form of family planning.” Not just as an emergency response to allegations of rape.

That was admittedly the U.N. Population Fund’s doing, but it wouldn’t have happened without our tacit approval. Our basic message to the world seems to have been propounded by the Rockefeller Foundation, and now delegated to the U.S. Air Force: “Too many people out there!” What does Western civilization

now have to offer the world? Polling booths, condoms, and, oh yes, something else—diversity. Clinton wrote in his *New York Times* article that the “cleansing of people from their land” was a threat to diversity. “Had they experienced nothing but that, their nations would be homogeneous today, not endlessly diverse.” “Homogeneous” nations are self-evidently wicked, apparently. Have we really come to that?

One “value” that Albright & Co. do take seriously is “Might makes right.” It is disquieting to contemplate the enemies that the United States is making around the world as we bomb for democracy and diversity. We will not be able to sustain our predominant might for long. Sometimes I think that our desperate attempts to confine high-tech information within U.S. borders is not so much a concern about “theft” or “spying” as it is the well-founded fear that once we lose our monopoly of might, others might adopt our philosophy of right against us. Since, in bombing Belgrade, we ignored the U.N. Charter provision that requires Security Council approval for attacks on sovereign nations, we may now expect others to follow our example. “The trouble with flying in the face of the Charter,” Jonathan Power wrote, “is that when the West bends it out of shape, it does not simply spring back to where it was, ready for use the next time. It is damaged, perhaps unusable. Why should China not use force to win back Taiwan?”

Many said that the bombing was an error, but most agreed that there was no going back. That would undermine our “credibility.” War has no reverse gear, apparently. Buy a bad stock, and you must invest your whole portfolio in it. The “prevailing argument,” Arianna Huffington said, is that “the best way to get out of a strategic error is to compound it.” Of course, nothing

TOM BETHELL is TAS’s *Washington correspondent*. His latest book, *The Noblest Triumph*, was recently published by St. Martin’s Press.

undermined NATO's credibility so much as its overnight transformation from a defensive to an aggressive force. We have not begun to see the consequences of this reversal—the worst foreign policy blunder since I came to the U.S. in 1962.

It is hard to disagree with the former Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who said: “Even the smallest of independent states will seek nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles to defend themselves, after they see NATO's military machine in action.” Liberals who had been pushing earnestly for the non-proliferation of weapons might want to consider the consequences of their applied demonization skills. “It will no longer be possible to thwart the proliferation of missiles and nuclear arms.” Russia's earlier concern, that NATO might turn from a defensive to an aggressive force, which a few months ago had seemed paranoid, now seems farsighted. That is a measure of the upheaval that this action has wrought.

The war-hungry Albright had complained bitterly to the Joint Chiefs that military hardware is pointless if we don't use it. But as Owen Harries of the *National Interest* more sensibly said, “some strategic assets are better possessed than used.” By remaining inactive, NATO had succeeded better than any alliance in history, acquiring “an aura of irresistible power without firing a shot.” Then the alliance “called its own bluff and insisted on putting itself to the test against a minor state and on a peripheral issue.”

There were those of us who argued after the Cold War that NATO should be disbanded. Instead it was expanded. Bureaucratic will to survive and domestic politics trumped everything else. Polish, Czech, and Hungarian ethnics in this country lobbied Capitol Hill effectively: “Defend us from the Russians,” they said. Countervailing American voices were dismissed as “isolationist.” Those who have most sought increases in Western military budgets have done their best to prevent them. Insisting that the Europeans stay on American welfare, NATO supporters have ensured that European budgets remain dedicated to dentures and insurance. If we will pay for hardware, they won't. Like adolescents everywhere, they won't act responsibly until the credit card is removed. In a recent edi-

torial, nonetheless, *National Review* viewed “European efforts to create new security institutions free of American influence” as a threat rather than a promise.

Our only sensible course, to stay out of the Balkans altogether, had already been disparaged as isolationism long before the war began. When Patrick J. Buchanan was featured as a soundbite on ABC's “This Week,” saying “this is not our war, and American troops ought not to be involved in it,” Cokie Roberts quickly let us know what we were supposed to think about that. Buchanan's position “is at the extreme,” she said, “basically the isolationist position.” With an establishment eager to marginalize common sense, we may expect insanity to prevail. One would hardly have known that, until the war began, Buchanan's position was also Henry Kissinger's.

Public figures identified as conservative jumped on board once the bombing started. Unlike Andy Rooney, they don't believe “there is nothing in it for us,” but they have been hard put to say what is. Mostly, I think, they don't want to be thought beyond the pale of respectability. Perhaps someone will call them isolationist? Some disguised their underlying support for warmaking by stressing tactical differences with the president. George Will paraded his opposition to Clinton as commander-in-chief; but went along with the liberals on the bombing of Belgrade. When American bombs are falling, who dares to be the naysayer? One's patriotism might be called into question.

John McCain, senator from Arizona, has been by far the most opportunistic member of the war party. He strikes me as being a sly demagogue. He regularly adopts positions that please Democrats in general and the Washington press corps in particular. He led the war on tobacco, and in favor of the campaign finance reform bill that tops the news media agenda. He will impose no abortion “litmus test” on judicial candidates, should he ever be in a position to nominate them. Nothing makes the media happier than a candidate who both adopts their positions and allows them to seem bipartisan. All indications are that McCain has quietly joined the party of David Broder (he of the *Washington Post*).

McCain was widely saluted for run-

ning for president, but not “announcing” his candidacy. He thereby gained the very publicity he pretended to eschew, and his moral colors flew even higher; far above the tawdry pennants of his vote-grubbing rivals. Softball Media followed.

Tim Russert: “You have not announced your candidacy? Are you running?”

Sen. McCain: “I am running. I am a candidate. I just didn't think it was appropriate to have brass bands while American men and women are in harm's way.”

“Churchillian,” wrote Broder in the *Post*. He followed up with a page-one puff piece on McCain.

Another who has sided with (and egged on) the liberal warmakers is Bill Kristol, editor of the *Weekly Standard*. When I met him at a conservative function recently he said his only regret about the war was that John McCain wasn't running it. He admitted that few of the conservatives present agreed with him. In his speech, he sensibly avoided the whole subject. Kristol seems to see government as a “vast reservoir of power,” to use Michael Oakeshott's phrase. Society should be end-governed, not rule-governed. Our lives are presumably so aimless that we should be furnished with some external purpose (which Kristol will help to define). He thinks we should have intervened in Rwanda, and I guess he believes that we can bend the whole world to our will.

My sense is that Kristol lies well outside the conservative mainstream on foreign policy. Despite dozens of editorials and commentaries, mostly written with his sidekick Robert Kagan, he has not been able to explain, at least to my satisfaction, why he thinks America should try to run the world. His role models would seem to be Truman, Dean Acheson, Paul Nitze, Scoop Jackson—Democrats all. He derides the philosophy of “America First,” but doesn't have any other country in mind. Kristol (and David Brooks) have called for “American greatness” conservatism, and one can only wonder what that might look like. Perhaps all three—Kristol, Kagan, and Brooks—could put their heads together and take another stab at explaining what they have in mind for us, for America, and for the world. More than elections, condoms, and diversity, I'm sure, but what, exactly? I think we should be told. ❁

Haverhills' Best Sellers*

*But read this ad for an even better deal!

Increase your hearing range by a factor of 10x, and get top-notch FM stereo reception besides, with...

PowerVox VII™ (Hearing Mate) only \$49.95*

The instructions of *PowerVox VII™* (Hearing Mate) caution you to have the control on "very low" when you first try it, because this instrument is truly amazing in its sound amplification—up to 10 times the actual level. You will be able to hear a pin drop 10 feet away, television, the movies, and the theater without any trouble, and every little sound in your surroundings. A walk through the woods will let you listen to birds, deer, squirrels, and even little crawly things. Tired of listening to the world or to people? Simply push the blue button and you will scan your choices of the FM stations in your area, in truly marvelous stereo fidelity. *PowerVox VII™* (Hearing Mate) comes with belt/pocket clip and two AAA batteries. *PowerVox VII™* (Hearing Mate) #1076E764a



• *PowerVox VII™* (Hearing Mate) does for hearing what binoculars do for seeing. It brings everything 10-times closer. *PowerVox VII™* is not a medical hearing device. It is a way for you to experience the world of sound around you—and to enjoy outstanding FM stereo reception.

A spyglass in the great naval tradition... **Adm Nelson's Telescope™** (with table tripod) just \$59.95*

When Horatio Nelson fought the battle of Trafalgar, he used a telescope just like this to monitor the movements of the French-Spanish fleet. Our manufacturer has created a faithful replica of this famous scope. *Admiral Nelson's Telescope™* measures about five inches in its "collapsed" position. When you extend the four sections to full length, the scope will be thirteen inches long and focused to infinity with needle sharpness. Everything will appear twenty-five times larger than it would to the naked eye. Compare that to standard binoculars which give you only 6x or 8x magnification. If you have ever wanted to own a fine telescope, but found prices a little steep, *Admiral Nelson's Telescope™* should be your choice. You'll get many years of good use and enjoyment from it. *Admiral Nelson's Telescope™* #1069E764g



• *The optics of Admiral Nelson's Telescope™* are "25x30" which means 25x magnification and the great light gathering capacity of a 30-mm objective lens. *Admiral Nelson's telescope* was made of brass. This replica is heavily chrome-plated for extra beauty and protection. The scope comes with a belt-looped vinyl carrying case. For permanent mounting the scope comes with an extendable table tripod.

Get rid of moles, gophers and other burrowing pests, with...

Mole-Ex VI™ only \$59.95*

It's annoying to see your beautiful lawn being ruined by burrowing pests. You may have tried pouring poison down their holes or getting rid of them with other nostrums. Nothing really works. Now comes *Mole-Ex VI™*, the revolutionary electronic solution to this age-old problem. *Spike Mole-Ex VI™* into your lawn. It emits short, high-pitched shrieks (at the threshold of ultrasound) in 30 sec. intervals. They are barely audible to humans, but they are calibrated to be totally distressing to moles, gophers, and other burrowing pests. They can barely see, but their hearing is fine-tuned. Once they get a blast of *Mole-Ex VI™*, they'll scamper away and will never return. *Mole-Ex VI™* is the state of the art in the control of burrowing rodents. It's made of virtually indestructible anodized aluminum and tough ABS plastic for years of rugged use. Get *Mole-Ex VI™*: It will get rid of that annoying pest problem once and for all! *Mole-Ex VI™* #1056E764b



• *Mole-Ex VI™* protects about 1,000 sq. yds. against moles, gophers, and other pests. Do not confuse this advanced device with similar looking, but much less sophisticated and less powerful units! Runs on 4 D-Cells (not included).

Rid your home of varmints and pests once and for all...

Rodelsonix IX™ only \$69.95*

Mice, rats, roaches, bats, fleas, spiders and other pests make life miserable at home or at the plant. Old-fashioned poisons get rid of them—but only temporarily, and they are a hazard to you and to your pets. *Rodelsonix IX™* works on a different principle: It gets it's a humane and effective system delivers a tremendous blast of ultrasound—in audible to you and your pets—that disrupts the nervous systems of those pests. They'll leave your home within a few weeks—never to return. No poison and no mess.



Rodelsonix IX™ is an industrial-type unit designed and engineered to be effective in restaurants, factories, and food-processing plants. It protects up to 10,000 sq. ft. (70,000 cu. ft.). It has six variable pitch and "loudness" settings. You can even adjust it to keep larger pests, such as raccoons or rabbits, at bay. *Rodelsonix IX™* #1007E764h

• *Rodelsonix IX™* is an industrial-type unit, the most powerful you can get. It's a humane and effective system to get rid of pests—once and for all.

A breakthrough in audio technology...

MR-318T AM/FM/TV Stereo Personal Digital Radio™ only \$69.95*

There is absolutely nothing like it. This outstanding personal receiver fits in your shirt pocket or fits inconspicuously on your desk or night table. It's packed with features that give you crisp reception over the entire AM and FM bands and the audio portions of all VHF TV channels—2 to 13. Here are some of the other great features of this breakthrough personal digital radio:



• *The MR-318T works on two AA-batteries (included). It measures only 5 x 2.5 inches and weighs less than six ounces. Fidelity is astonishing! The maker of the MR-318T receiver is one of the world's leaders in the production of advanced radio equipment.*

- PLL Synthesized Tuning
- Built-In Speaker
- Nice-Styled Aluminum Case
- State-of-the-Art Design
- Automatic Scanning
- Headphones Included
- 25 Memory Presets: 10 AM, 10 FM, 5 TV
- FM Directional Antenna
- Batteries Included

Get "shirt-pocket" AM/FM reception as you never had before. Catch the audio portion of your favorite TV show, wherever you are; watch the late TV show without disturbing your partner; listen to the commentator when you watch the ball game or any sporting event—and much more. Order it today! *MR-318T AM/FM/TV Stereo Personal Digital Radio™* #1074E764c

Get TV reception you never had before, with...

Scanner 2000™ only \$39.95*

You can now get TV reception that you never thought possible. With *Scanner 2000™* and through the miracle of microelectronics, you are able to "activate" the electrical wiring of your home and use it as a giant antenna. *Scanner 2000™* will stabilize your TV picture, it will eliminate "ghosts" and static, and it will bring in stations that were visible only as flickers and annoying shadows. Even if you are now on cable or have a digital satellite system, you will be able to clearly receive "fringe" stations. For even more powerful performance, *Scanner 2000™* contains a 20dB amplifier gain booster. As a "bonus" *Scanner 2000™* will greatly enhance your FM and short-wave radio reception. Now, finally, enjoy TV as it should be enjoyed and get your *Scanner 2000™* today! *Scanner 2000™* #1068E764i



• *Scanner 2000™* plugs into your house wiring and needs no batteries. The unit has two ports allowing you to operate two TVs or radios at the same time.

*Our "special deal": **BUY ANY 2 ITEMS AND GET ANOTHER ONE FREE!**

For instance: Buy a \$59.95 item and a \$49.95 item and get another \$49.95 or lesser-priced item FREE!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER BY TOLL-FREE PHONE OR BY FAX. SEE NUMBERS BELOW.

For customer service, please call (415) 643-2810. For wholesale orders, call Chris Simpson at that same number.

© Order by toll-free phone: (800) 797-7367 or by fax: (415) 643-2818 ©

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Haverhills' Best Sellers*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

Almost as bright as the sun...

Night Piercer™

1 Million CandlePower Halogen Spotlight
only \$69.95*

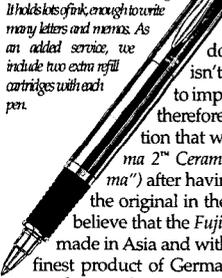


The Night Piercer™ casts a focused beam that can be seen for many miles. It is 20-times brighter than automobile headlights, more luminous than aircraft landing lights. This powerful light is indispensable for tracking and exploring unknown territory and for any contingencies at night, in plane, boat, truck, or car. With its red gel, the Night Piercer™ can be a lifesaver in any emergency. The unit contains two sealed heavy-duty lead-acid batteries and can be recharged either through your household current or through the cigarette lighter socket of your car, RV or boat. Both adapters are included, of course. The Night Piercer™ should be your companion on all your travels. Don't leave home without it—order it today! Night Piercer™ #1072E764d

•Night Piercer™ is constructed of heavy-duty high-impact polypropylene. It comes with a super-bright 100-watt halogen bulb and red gel for use as warning light. 110-volt and 12-volt rechargers are also included.

Does this Japanese model outperform famous European luxury pens?
Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen
still only \$39.95*

•The brand-new Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen is an object of beauty. Many have called it the "ultimate writing machine." It contains a large German-made ceramic-ball cartridge. It holds lots of ink, enough to write many letters and memos. As an added service, we include two extra refill cartridges with each pen.



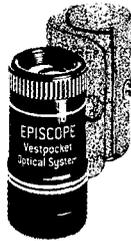
Folk wisdom has it that it's seldom wise to fix what isn't broken and to attempt to improve on perfection. It is therefore with some trepidation that we introduce the Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen, ("son of Fujiyama") after having sold over 150,000 of the original in the last few years. Many believe that the Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen—made in Asia and with a cartridge that is the finest product of German stationery technology—is the most handsome and best-writing pen in the world. Fujiyama 2™ has stunning hi-lacquer gunmetal finish, fine gold-plated accents and snappy clip. It has perfect heft and feel and, of course, just like its predecessor, it writes like a dream. And with its new cushioned Turbogrip™, which lets you write for hours without tiring, this pen has now been brought to the edge of the 21st century. Fujiyama 2™ Ceramic Pen. #1049E764j

More than just a telescope...more than just a microscope...

Episcope™

(the complete vest-pocket optical system)

still only \$59.95*



Remove the Episcope™ from its fitted leather case and it's a 30-power microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 3x telescope, or a unique 3x telescope-loupe. Another twist, and you have a choice of magnifiers and loupes: 5x, 10x, and 15x powers. The Episcope™, only 2" long, was developed in Wetzlar (Germany), the home of world-famous Leica cameras; it's now being made by one of Asia's finest lens makers. The optics are superb: brilliant luminosity, needle-sharp focus, absolute planarity, total chromatic correction, and fully anastigmatic. The Episcope™ is the first choice of geologists, biologists, numismatists, philatelists, engineers, and just anybody who likes to see the infinite detail in his/her surroundings. It comes with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x or 30x magnifications. Episcope™ #1062E764e

•Even at its highest magnification of 30x, the Episcope™ resolves as distinctly as any laboratory microscope, yet it is only 2" long. An optical miracle!

Never drive a dirty car again, with...

Super Turbo MiniVac™

only \$19.95*



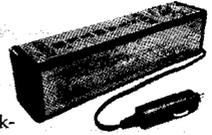
Plug the Super Turbo MiniVac™ into your car's cigarette lighter and this little giant will go to work for you with a vengeance. Its powerful motor revs at the astonishing speed of 18,000 rpm and has suction equal to or greater than that of larger and more impressive looking models. It picks up the deepest dirt, crumbs, pollen, dog and cat hairs, and any other debris. The Super Turbo MiniVac™ comes with a coiled cord that extends to eight feet and lets you reach every nook and cranny of your car. Why should your car, your truck or your boat be any less tidy than your home? Keep it dust free and clean. Get your Super Turbo MiniVac(s)™ today! Super Turbo MiniVac™ #1073E764k

•The tapered nozzle of the Super Turbo MiniVac™ lets you reach into and clean all corners of your car, including those hard-to-get-to folds in your front and back seats.

Never let a dead car battery stall you again—go with...

Car Starter™

only \$49.95*



The sickening "click-click" of a dead car battery is the most discouraging sound a motorist can hear. You are stranded—sometimes for hours or in dangerous neighborhoods—or are dependent on the kindness of strangers, who might not even have jumper cables. And you know how dangerous jumper cables (and strangers!) can be. This can never happen to you with Car Starter™, a portable power source that will charge your car battery in 15 minutes or less—just by plugging it into your cigarette lighter! After use, you can recharge the unit again right through that same cigarette lighter. And that isn't all: You can also use Car Starter™ to operate any and all 12-volt appliances, such as small TV sets (up to 16 hours), portable fridges, cellular phones (up to 100 hours), laptop computers, and much more.

•Car Starter™ will keep its charge for years and will work in the most extreme hot/cold temperature conditions. Its output is an astonishing 7.5 amp-hrs., incomparably higher than any competing unit. Car Starter™ measures 8.5" x 2" x 2" and weighs only 27 oz. You should always keep it in your glove compartment!

Don't ever again worry about a dead battery and a stalled car—give convenience and safety to yourself and your loved ones and order your Car Starter(s)™ today! Car Starter™ #1071E764f

Bring the whole world twice as close, with...

Hands-Free Binoculars™

only \$24.95*



There are countless occasions in which you wish to look at things more carefully and more closely: the stage in the theater, ballet, or opera; the ships passing by in the harbor; the birds, deer, and other creatures frolicking in the sky and field; men working 25 stories up at a construction site; your children playing 100 feet away; and so much more. But binoculars, even today's streamlined ones, are cumbersome, heavy—and expensive. Hands-Free Binoculars™ wear just like regular eyeglasses and hardly weigh any more. You can wear them for hours at a time and never get tired. You can focus them from 6 feet to infinity. And, of course, they are hands-free. Forget about clumsy and expensive binoculars. Get your Hands-Free Binoculars™ today! Hands-Free Binoculars™ #1067E764l

•Hands-Free Binoculars™ bring the whole world twice as close. They weigh less than 2 ounces—hardly any more than your regular eyeglasses. They will not wear you out. One size fits all. And your hands stay free!

*Our "special deal": **BUY ANY 2 ITEMS AND GET ANOTHER ONE FREE!**

For instance: Buy a \$59.95 item and a \$49.95 item and get another \$49.95 or lesser-priced item FREE!



You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or Visa/MasterCard. Please give order number shown after the item. Add \$4.95 shipping/insurance for your order (except three Mole-Ex VI, Car Starter, Adm. Nelson's Telescope or three Rodelsonix IX for \$9.90, or one Night Piercer for \$9.95 or three Night Piercers for \$19.90), plus sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

since 1967
haverhills®

2360 Third St., San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 597-7367 or by fax: (415) 643-2818

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RUSSO-AMERICAN NUCLEAR CITIES

KENNETH R. TIMMERMAN

