

thought in a non-applied fashion. The students represent a much larger variety of interests and orientation... Yet they are segregated from much of the adult world, so that in a period of life when they are particularly open to change, they are secluded from potentially significant adults."

The above suggests why some students say, "Well, yes, I want to earn my own way, but by doing something worthwhile in human terms." What is business doing to make this a better world? This attitude is the luxury of those born into a world already incalculably better than men dared hope. Dr. K. Ross Toole, professor of history, University of Montana, sums up: "Every generation makes mistakes, always has and always will. We have made our share. But my generation has made America the most affluent country on earth; it has tackled, head-on, a racial problem which no nation on earth in the history of mankind had dared to do. It has publicly declared war on poverty and it has gone to the moon; it has desegregated schools and abolished polio; it has presided over the beginning of what is probably the greatest social and economic revolution in man's history. It has begun these things not finished them. It has declared itself, and committed itself, and taxed itself, and damn near run itself into the ground in the cause of social justice and reform."

In the forefront of this struggle has been the American businessman--including the entrepreneur, the executive, and the worker. ("Workers" are businessmen just as businessmen are workers. I have never accepted the fallacious Marxist dichotomy of "business" and "labor.") He has provided the tools, technology, and transport. Most important, he has provided the imagination, inspiration, and drive which has led the average American from scarcity to abundance--material, cultural, and spiritual. In fact, it is in the ethical and spiritual realm that the American voluntary business system has made its greatest contribution.

Only moderately appreciated in the outside world, and but dimly understood in many areas of the campus, is the trust, integrity, dedication, and high ethical plane which distinguishes the bulk of the American willing enterprise system. I shall never forget the incredible human pride I felt when I ordered nearly a half million dollars worth of advertising by phone from men I had met but a few months earlier. True, my order was backed up by the reputation of one of the nation's leading companies. But it was also reinforced by confidence founded on the integrity of millions of American businessmen.

A career of service in America's system of free, voluntary, willing enterprise is not easy. Hours are long, the pressure great, and the demand for excellence causes great anxiety. Even the finest education often seems woefully inadequate to those facing the challenge of twentieth-century commerce. Yet, there are satisfactions, not the least of which is the knowledge that one is self-sustaining while adding to the fulfillment and opportunities of others.

Time said recently, "It takes a lot of gumption these days to make a film that

does not pander to youthful passion, express the abysmal views of a gloomy philosopher-director or explore assorted perversions in nude, sweaty detail." Time was speaking of the fearful demoralization and negativism characterizing a small but vocal minority in Western society. Life, it is true, is frequently an underpaid occupation. But the amazing Leo Burnett probably said it as well as any man. "When you reach for the stars you may not quite get one, but you won't come up with a handful of mud either." □

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Visions Across The Pond

"Our Generation" After Cambodia

Paul Bernstein

Paris - Campus protesters are usually denounced for the violence and lawlessness of their acts, and few public figures have gone to the trouble of attacking their ideas. Indeed, the form of their dissent has been so striking as to obscure the content, or in this case, the extreme lack thereof.

To some observers, of course, the students are simply wrong in opposing our present Southeast Asian policy. I must make it clear at the outset that I too find it difficult to accept the attempted justifications for our involvement there, and I even doubt the ultimate success of Vietnamization. But at least as disconcerting to me, is the kind of criticism that the war has produced from my contemporaries, the question of violence or non-violence completely aside. Their criticism is misdirected, superficial, and, at bottom, ignorant.

Consider, for example, the outrage that greeted President Nixon's Cambodian

decision. His now famous speech brought activity to hundreds of campuses which had been politically dead all year. It was all very moving, but one might well ask what the logical reason for this sudden indignation was. Had everyone forgotten Mr. Nixon's oft-repeated warning, that in spite of present troop withdrawals we would not hesitate to meet a new North Vietnamese offensive with retaliatory action? In light of this, there was no lying or betrayal on his part to warrant such a response. Nor was there anything in the nature of the escalation to make it more objectionable than any of the previous ones which had gone unchallenged -- that is, unless one is bothered mostly by the expansion of the war into another country, being so naive as to separate Vietnam from the rest of Southeast Asia. In one sense, this escalation was an improvement in that Mr. Nixon set a deadline on the military operation and abided by it. In any case, the situation in which Mr. Nixon was acting was not one of his creation. Certainly it would have been more worthwhile (although more intellectually strenuous) had they chosen to reflect on the whole genre of thought that had produced the Vietnam mess rather than take to the streets.

Actually the more radical factions of the student movement have developed a theory on why we are in Vietnam, though they are either oblivious or indifferent to the fact that there is no evidence to support it. According to their scenario, the Vietnam struggle is a war of economic imperialism being fought to protect American business interests. These interests only exist in a capitalist system, and--so they conclude--it is only by destroying capitalism that we can forever end imperialist wars. As many of history's greatest imperialists lived long before the advent of capitalism their theory seems incorrect at the outset. And its application here becomes almost farcical when one takes into account our present recession, the stock market slump, the decline in corporate profits, etc. Politics and economics are not quite as simple as these conspiracy theories would have us believe. And yet they are the closest thing to intellectual analysis that the student movement has produced, the rest being nothing but moral frenzy.

Then there are those who tell us that it now matters little why we are in Vietnam--we who oppose the war must immediately join in working to end it.

Such alliances have a few unpleasant features. It means among other things having to accept the incredible analogies between the Nixon regime and Nazi Germany, having to hear sainthood attributed to Bobby Seale and Company, and being called on to support every insurrection imaginable. (I am convinced that it is absolutely impossible to sit through an anti-war rally without hearing from every self-proclaimed revolutionary group, including those as relevant to American foreign policy as the Gay Liberation Front.) Politics makes strange bedfellows only up to a certain point.

More importantly, all of this ignores the real culprit--the system that produced the Vietnam situation and that will ultimately produce another. I am referring to nothing

so sweeping as capitalism or so romantic as fascism, but to what Theodore Lowi has called "interest-group liberalism." The name is a good one, for the adherents to this ideology believe that public policy should be the product of bargaining between interest groups, and that government's role should be supervisory. This approach has repeatedly led to failure both in foreign and domestic policy. Vietnam is but one example.

The pluralist model was applied to the area of foreign policy after World War II. In spite of the responsibilities the United States had accepted in world affairs, no cohesive foreign policy establishment was set up to make decisions. Instead numerous agencies independent from each other were created. Important participation was granted to private interests, including business and the military. (Thus the "military-industrial complex" to the extent that it really exists is ironically enough a product of liberal ideology.)

Foreign policy, however, is not at all conducive to bargaining and compromise. Domestic programs, because of their low visibility, can and often have had obscure or even contradictory goals. Because government was not equipped with a single institution responsible for developing these goals, decisions were based instead on catch-phrases and cure-alls such as "Communist aggression" and "containment." Every insurrection was presumed to be inspired by a monolithic Communist bloc, and every response to it was the same, when the facts in each situation should have been examined more carefully. Thus it was that the nature of a civil war in Vietnam was misinterpreted; and thus it was that president Nixon spoke of communist sanctuaries in Cambodia without mentioning the all-important overthrow of Prince Sihanouk.

Once the mistake had been made, the system could not institute change. Change involves a re-examination of objectives, and in this model that job belongs to no one. Instead there were only escalations based on original assumptions. The President could always turn to the public for support of his actions, for as Lowi and others have shown it will always rally behind the office on important issues of foreign policy. Eventually Congress had second thoughts about the whole venture, but it was powerless to do anything about it. Much has been said about President Nixon's ignoring congressional prerogatives in making his Cambodia decision, but Congress has always played the part of a rubber stamp in the liberal system.

The same kind of pluralist thinking has failed in domestic programs, with the War on Poverty being one of the best examples. Of course it is far easier for those concerned and committed students to demand that billions be spent on these problems than to think about the sad fact that similar expenditures failed in the past and are failing today.

With the word "crisis" being thrown around so wantonly today, I almost hate to say that we have a crisis in government. Yet that is what it is: elected officials are having to make decisions that have not been planned by a responsible policy-

making body, and the embarrassing consequences are now being felt. The beginning of the solution is for government to stop delegating or abdicating responsibility. Government needs fresh ideas on how to make its bureaucracies responsive, yet centralized, and on how to open its policy agencies to private interests without sacrificing cohesiveness.

Government will not be improved by the fashionable cries of "war machine" and "police state"; such rhetoric is far off the mark and confusing. There is no big bad government, rather a government plagued with serious internal problems.

I doubt that the student movement will ever consider these problems, because it has chosen to discuss politics in black and white and to ignore the framework and rationale for existing American institutions.

Unfortunately despite all the talk about

establishing a new "system," government is not an entity that can be instantly molded to fit any set of values. Change involves tinkering with its elaborate machinery, and the most eloquent reformers have a difficult time knowing where to start. Thus one of the first things that any political movement of any persuasion should have is a rough knowledge of the workings of government and the consequences of current public ideologies. The students are wrong if they think that their holy crusade is above all this. Self-righteousness and sense of commitment may very well satisfy some inner emotional need, but they are not a substitute for rational analysis. □

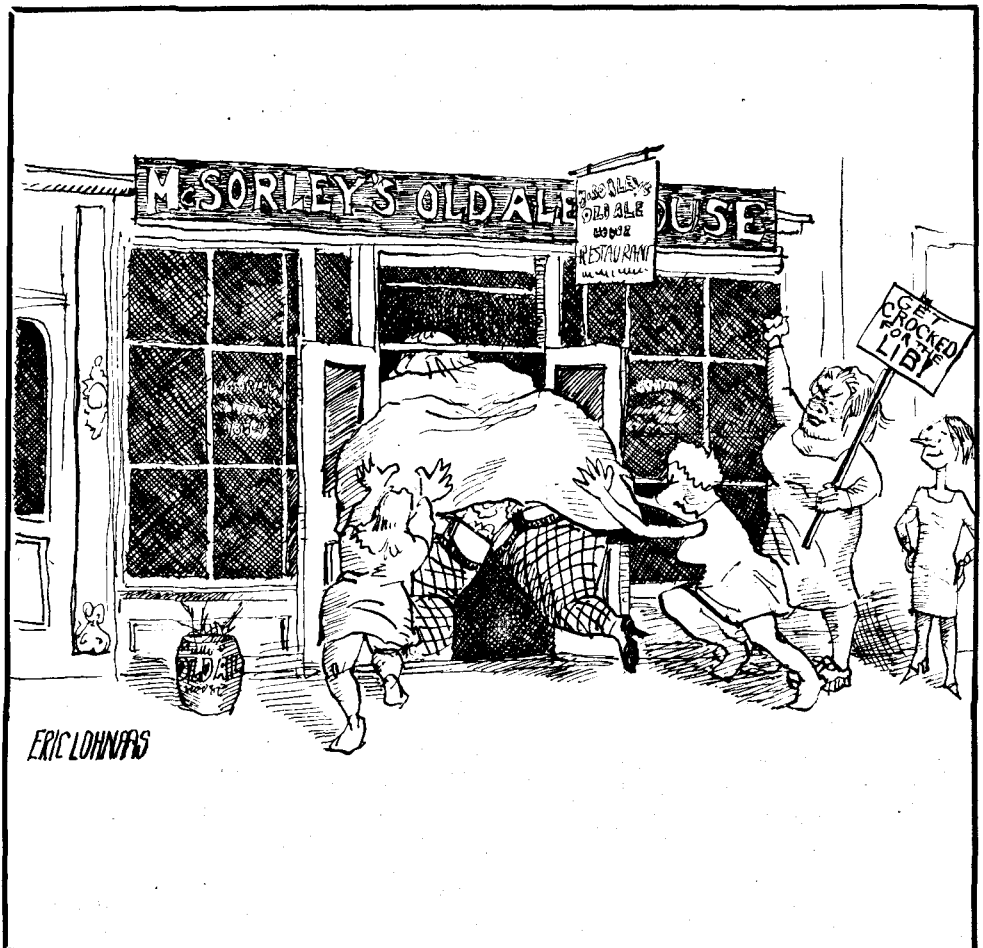
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Ale, Cheese, Onions, Women

And the Night Lord John

Cleaned Out McSorley's

John R. Coyne, Jr.



"John Coyne, at his usual post guarding the door, spotted the women heading for the place and quickly locked the door... Coyne refused the soprano-voiced demands for entry, and the girls took up positions preventing either exit or entry for about a half-hour."

Thus reads one newspaper account of the last sharp skirmish in the siege of McSorley's, just before the fall. I know. That's what she said too. But it's all a case

of mistaken identity. John Coyne writes for *The Alternative*. But the best waiter in Manhattan is also called John Coyne, a Galway-born Irishman who serves up ale and porter-fifty cents for two mugs--at McSorley's Old Ale House, birthplace of this great journal of opinion. And before the final battle John also served as lookout, watching for ladies from Betty Friedan's National Organization for Women (NOW), a