

choose the "scandal" approach, which after all does maximize its distinctive journalistic goals and values better than the "controversy" formula.

As a result, nearly everything printed and said about Watergate these past months has been more or less beside the point. The discourse of the Nixon campaign has clearly failed to zero in on the important questions. It should go without saying that Watergate is something more than a mere crime, a mysterious aberration from the normal routines of the Nixon campaign; it is a true scandal, and as such cannot be left to the courts alone. Presumably there are people who are legally innocent, but who bear some moral or symbolic responsibility for the deliberate commission of a crime as a part of a presidential campaign. The Nixon Administration will have to confront this fact, for if there is not a symbolic "house cleaning" in the near future, then its legitimacy and respectability over the coming four years will suffer serious and permanent damage.

On the other hand, there is no reason to believe at this time that Watergate is, as the news exposes suggest and as Senator McGovern insists, only an incidental symbol of some systematic pattern of immorality, corruption, and malfeasance in office. The other "scandals" to which Watergate has been linked — ITT, milk, wheat, department of dirty tricks, etc. — involve no established

malfeasance, and it isn't even clear that anything more than politics-at-its-more-disreputable-as-usual was involved, the sort of politics that practically every candidate and office-holder practices routinely. We can deplore such shady dealings, and we can hold the sort of men who practice them in contempt. But these things do not even come close to adding up to evidence of a systematically corrupt and immoral administration. Indeed, the Watergate affair, though a scandal, is not even the sort of scandal for which we have traditionally thrown rascals out of office. That sort of scandal always involves malfeasance in office, usually in exchange for money. So the news media and McGovern have not truly illuminated this question either.

Then what is the meaning of Watergate? We do not really know. It clearly is serious enough to demand decisive action by the Second Nixon Administration to clear its name and reputation. But beyond that, I submit, there is nothing else we can say for sure. Except, perhaps, that the entire episode dramatically illustrates the American system of public discussion at its best (in raising the Watergate question and in keeping it before the public) and at something like its worst (in failing abysmally to illuminate this matter from the citizen's point of view) — and in doing so shows how readily functional specialization is capable of distorting the public discourse. ♣

been in control only 116 days at Lund and one year at Uppsala. Otherwise these organizations representing 90,000 students have been led by conservative dominated bourgeois-party coalitions. Today the largest student organization is the conservative one. What would appear an even clearer sign of future direction was revealed during the "mock-elections" in 1970 during which 384,500 students indicated their political preferences. The socialists won only 36.5 percent of the youth vote, whereas in the general elections they gained 45.3 percent. Had the youth vote been the decisive one the socialists-communists would have lost with 44.9 percent against the three non-socialist parties, whereas they won the 1970 elections by a combined 50.5 percent of the votes. And representatives of the conservative trend among the young are already to be found in the Parliament the youngest MP in Sweden's history, at twenty-six, is an eloquent defender of conservative ideals and ideas.

#### Democratic Alliance

A relatively new, political activist organization is Democratic Alliance whose activities resemble very much the international aspects of Young Americans for Freedom. It was organized in 1967 by fifteen people in order to engage in the battle against "communism, nazism, fascism, and racism." Today one evidence of its success is that the group has about 3,000 members, and chapters in all of Sweden's major cities. It has even an international influence and Democratic Alliance groups are to be found in Sweden's neighbors, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and even in England, where they have forty MPs as sponsors.

The activities of the Alliance are manifold, and are evidences of the devotion of its young members, often drawn from high-school and university students, and coming not infrequently from wealthy homes. They sponsor study circles, invite speakers, arrange public meetings, and hold massive demonstrations against communism with between 500 and 1,500 participants. They sell a semi-official newspaper called *Argument for Freedom and Justice*, they have sold more than 100,000 lapel-pins, a fourth of which picture the American and Swedish flags crossed with a clasped hand in friendship shown underneath. (At a recent demonstration the author was photographed, close up, no less than ten times by Communists simply for wearing that pin.)

Struggling against acts of violence by Maoist thugs, individual Alliance members have been beaten up, their offices ransacked, their meetings interfered with, and at a recent anti-totalitarian demonstration in Goteborg it took 200 police to protect them from the Communist "counter-demonstrators." The Democratic Alliance is carrying on an excellent job of political education and activism against formidable odds — often with little help from their elders in the form of moral or financial support. They represent a new and hopeful generation in Sweden today.

#### Forum for Conservative Ideas

If Democratic Alliance resembles the political activities of Young Americans for Freedom, the Forum for Conservative

## Eric Brodin:

# Hope for Sweden?

Although anti-Americanism still appears to be one of the main ingredients of Sweden's political life, there are encouraging trends which would indicate a reaction to the four decade-long regime of the Social Democrats, which has taken a definite leftward direction since Olof Palme became Premier in 1969. This trend has brought about a counter-reaction toward the Right by many young Swedes, especially the young students who are suffering through the new, rigid, politically motivated, educational reform, as well as by those Swedes with independence, initiative, and a desire to see some concrete results from a hard day's work.

One reaction to the forty-year socialist hegemony, to be sure, has been simply to leave Sweden, and the "brain-drain" by the educated and skilled has been considerable, whether it be businessmen, doctors, dentists, teachers, or engineers. During the past five years 32,876 persons have permanently emigrated and since 1967 the number has increased 1,000 a year. Increasingly, Swedish students study abroad — and after completing their studies they often elect to stay away from Sweden.

But for the young people left behind one of the most important tasks is the advocacy of a non-socialist alternative, and the attempts, through political action, to displace the institutionalized socialists to whom it could be said "ye've sat too

long for the good ye've done." During a recently concluded lecture-tour of Sweden, the author had the opportunity to make a personal assessment of three youth organizations that might well contribute to a welcome change in Sweden's political climate in the near future.

#### Young Conservatives

Although the Conservative party of Sweden (now called Moderate Coalition party) may not be so characterized in the United States, given Sweden's political frame, it is the only party with a clearly defined non-socialist alternative. Although the party has continually lost votes and in the last election, 1970, drew only 10 percent of the voters. It is the best organized party, and has a larger percentage of its voters as dues-paying members than any other party. What is more significant in our context, however, is the fact that its youth and student organizations are strong, and sponsor an impressive array of educational and political activities. It is also the only youth organization which stands (it would appear) to the right of its parent organization.

What may be even more significant is that — in spite of the fact that the radical Left gets the newspaper headlines — most active political group at the universities are the Conservative party's student groups. At the four main universities the communists and socialists have

Ideas (Konservativt Ideforum) could be said to reflect the aims and form of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (until 1966 known as Intercollegiate Society of Individualists). As its American prototype, the Forum is neither a partisan, nor a directly political group, but is educative in character. Political and philosophical ideas are studied and discussed from Burke to Kirk. When news of and literature about the American conservative movement of the 1950s finally reached Sweden in the 1960s, a nucleus of university students began to entertain ideas of organizing a non-partisan study group along ISI lines.

Although the group is numerically small (it has about 200 members in five university towns), its impact has been far beyond its numbers. Good publicity has attended the lectures, seminars, and debates which they have sponsored. A distinguished roster of sponsors lend weight to the organizations intellectual image. Their activities have resulted in a series of articles in one of Sweden's best daily newspapers under the title "Is Conservatism Possible?" which has later been published in book form (*Kampanje Konservatism*). Even more significant was the publication by the group's two co-founders of *Amerikansk Nykonservatism* (American Neo-Conservatism) which is an excellently written book about the rebirth in the 1950s of conservative ideas and debate in the United States. The book has received much — and mostly favorable — attention and has presented a picture of the United States and of American students seldom seen in Sweden. As the Forum for Conservative Ideas slowly grows, and its impact becomes more widespread there is no doubt but that it will add its intellectual strength to the party-political work of the Young Conservatives and the political activism of Democratic Alliance, for the good of Sweden and a healthier political climate there.

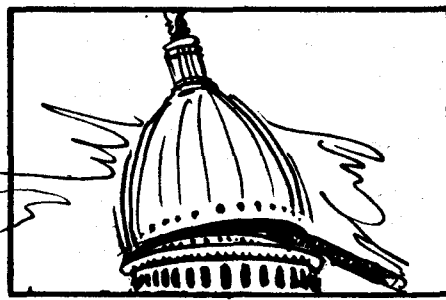
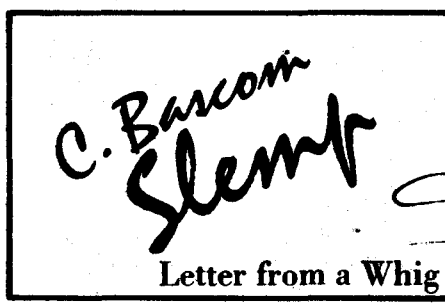
To be sure, many obstacles remain before the leftward direction of Sweden's political life can be arrested and changed to a right trend. For one thing the relationship between the three groups mentioned is not good. They will not feel comfortable having been mentioned together in this article. They have not as yet the spirit of cooperation which, in the main, exists between YR, ISI, and YAF in the United States, and the Alliance and the Forum often lack funds.

But for the first time this author has some hope that Sweden might be turning in the right direction. The change in Sweden's politics is not going to come from the large number of pensioners who are still operating with the "depression-years syndrome." Nor is a political change going to come from the middle-aged parents who have been imbued with the postwar materialism, who are afraid of ideas and ideals, and cynical about their application in Sweden's political life today.

The change can only come from the young Swedes as represented by the hard-working, often idealistic youth in the groups mentioned. Out of adversity has grown hope, from repression of political variability has grown a new resilience.

It is inspiring to be with and to talk with these young people who are performing an admirable task against such odds. This author has written many sad accounts about Sweden — even in this pages of this jolly journal — but for the first time there appear glimpses of hope for Sweden. After having grown up entirely under an

increasingly powerful and imperious socialist regime, it is good to know that many young people in Sweden today have the belief that their actions can bring about a change in the political direction of their nation. And it is only through them that such a change will ever be accomplished in Sweden.



## A New Batch of Boodlers!

(WASHINGTON) — As you read this you should realize that you know something that I didn't know when I wrote it. You know what happened on November 7th while I can only guess.

Now as you can no doubt imagine, this puts a political writer at a bit of a disadvantage. Indeed as I sat down to write this column, I was forced to begin by cursing the inconsistent, shortsighted publishing types who, for reasons of their own, set pre-election deadlines for a post election issue, which must of necessity include commentary on the election.

But such are the handicaps under which we were forced to labor. I should make no further mention of them save to warn our readers of their existence; suffice it to say that as I write this, I don't really know how many votes separated Richard Nixon and George McGovern on November 7, or even if the President got the "sweeping mandate" he has dreamed of so long. Nor do I know how many Republican senators were elected either on their own or by hanging on to the President's coattails and I have not the faintest idea whether the Republican party came close to taking over the House of Representatives. I do know that the Republicans should have won several Senate seats, and if they didn't I think we can conclude either that the President's coattails were even shorter than some observers predicted them to be or that someone, somewhere, messed up things pretty badly.

If all went well, Richard Nixon should have received at least 57 percent of the popular vote and two-thirds of the electoral vote. In addition, Republicans should have won Senate seats in Rhode Island, New Mexico, North Carolina, Kentucky, Texas, Idaho, and New Hampshire. They should either be in control of the Senate or angling for Senator Harry Byrd's support so that they can take control in January. They should have at least picked up twenty-five House seats, not enough to give them control of the House, but certainly enough to brag about. If these things all happen on November 7, the President and his people accomplished the possible. If the President

got more than 57 percent of the vote or if the Republicans did substantially better than expected in other races, White House strategists can take credit for a major victory. If he did worse than this, however, and had no coattails, they will have to thank the stars that this year they had George McGovern to kick around.

Actually, regardless of the outcome, you can assume that with the election over everyone in Washington is wondering just what Richard Nixon intends to do with the presidency for four more years. Some seem to feel he will be "looking for a place in history," while others see him as a free man at last able to act on the basis of what he believes is right rather than on the suspicion of what might be most expedient. There are those who feel that the second Nixon Administration will be even more liberal than the first. They see a push for FAP like solutions to our domestic ills and more government involvement in the lives of individual Americans. Others don't think the President will follow this course at all. They see him as basically conservative and suspect that he will take a great personal interest in domestic affairs in the next four years, and they insist if he does we will witness a significant rightward shift in U.S. domestic policy. Most observers, however, suspect the next four years will be remarkably like those that we have weathered. They suspect that we will see many more decisions made on an ad hoc basis by White House staffers and anonymous bureaucratic operatives. This doesn't necessarily mean that the policies adopted during the next four years will be those of the first four, but it does seem to me that they will be developed in similar ways. Those who hold this opinion believe either that the President is not ideologically motivated or that his ideological proclivities don't always directly affect the day to day decisions that result in the development of public policy.

One thing, however, is certain. The political landscape has been altered and altered significantly as a result of the November 7 election and the campaign

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# Correspondence



To the Editor:

I write to offer serious objection to the tone and content of your lead editorial, "Hard Times for Endangered Species," in the May issue. Its principle fault, amply illustrated by the most curious convulsions of reasoning, is the positing of a flamboyantly false dilemma: the contention that a desire to preserve from extinction our endangered coinhabitants of the planet requires the rejection of valid human claims and interests. This strange thesis is supported by such gems of logic as the following: "... these curious persons who adore the orangutan often end up abominating their own country and civilization." Quite aside from the fact that this premise is a reckless *post hoc* assertion, it is empirically unsupportable. I would assume, not without some justification, that those, like Mr. Tyrrell, who flippantly state that "I shall be no more disconsolate when the last monkey-eating eagle assumes room temperature than when the last Austrian Archduke croaks" display an omnibus insensitivity to natural phenomena that most certainly includes a lack of a delicate regard for the human condition. One suspects that individuals such as Mr. Tyrrell, beyond an obvious fascination for somewhat crude provocative rhetoric, are simply aesthetically and possibly ethically obtuse.

Certainly we have been treated, from time to time, with colorful examples of anthropocentric hubris, of promethean bravado, but few compare in terms of utter brashness with Mr. Tyrrell's exuberant essay. Mr. Tyrrell has seen fit, in an almost sophomoric pique, to denounce what D.H. Lawrence once called "cosmic piety." Piety, you may recall, originally meant reverence for one's origins. Perhaps Mr. Tyrrell is an unreconstructed devotee of Bishop Wilberforce, unwilling to accept his naturalistic genesis, but if this be the case, his problem does not consist alone in his scientific naivete, but what can only be described as a rather typical, alas, case of alienation from the tap-roots of human nature. No reasonable observer can deny that man, along with other mammals, is a predator, but the honest predation of the natural order involves both a survival requirement and what I would judge to be a melancholy acceptance of the necessity of predation. Mr. Tyrrell, on the other hand, liberated from his mammalian ancestry, glories in the predacious capabilities of his species, its presumed imperturbability to the face of its devastations. What underlies Mr. Tyrrell's volatile invocation of hominoid independence is *revenge*, the not too covert urge to inflict punishment on the realm of nature as a target for anxiety, frustration, and to erase the offensive imperiousness of man's fellow creatures.

That these motivations, in the public eye, can be connected to some even exotic variety of conservatism is much to be lamented. Mr. Tyrrell is a not untypical illustration of a tendency in contemporary conservatism to view conservation as the preservation of those facets of immediate life thought to be subjectively gratifying. Of course I am distressed that Mr. Tyrrell does not react as others do to the beauty and tragedy of nature, but I can no more compel him to so react than I can coerce others to enjoy Brahms or the vocal art of Birgit Nilsson, but, too, such lack of responsiveness is, *per se*, no justification for the closing of concert halls and opera houses or, for that matter, the continued destruction of endangered species. To place art or nature or ethical values upon some scale of subjective appetite is to reduce society to the level of the stock exchange.

Sincerely,  
Donald Atwell Zoll  
Professor  
Arizona State University

Tyrrell Replies:

All those homely strictures about not driving automobiles while under the influence can also be applied to the use of a typewriter.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

To the Editor:

Your superb editorial on McGovern could hardly have been improved upon by the great H.L. Mencken whose absence from the scene I keep lamenting more all the time. Not since Mencken on Wilson's academic flatulence, on Harding's "Gamalielism," on more appropriately here the inane populism of William Jennings Bryan have I read anything more splendidly in the Mencken tradition than your assessment of the Clod Populist, McGovern. Right on! I also liked the pieces by Paul Weaver, Roger Rosenblatt, and, not least, your invaluable Bascom C. Slemp. I do urge the study of Mencken on all of you. There are occasional signs that *The Alternative* may yet fill the gap. I hope so.

Robert Nisbet  
University of Arizona

To the Editor:

I take no back seat to anyone, Mr. Tyrrell, in exploring George McGovern's candidacy, and I feel that articles such as Alan Reynolds' dispassionate, measured and specific appraisal of "McGovern's Muddled Economics" (page five of your October issue) are most valuable in promoting our common cause.

On the contrary, however, I feel that your editorial entitled "Clod Populism's Man of Change" (page three of your October issue) seriously damages that cause. In my opinion it is so pompous and verbose and passionately and sneeringly belittling as to approach demagoguery in its worst form. It's an insult to intelligent readers who like to read or hear the facts, and then render their own pertinent judgments.

Your publication obviously purports to attract such readers, so there would seem to be no excuse for the kind of diatribe that makes up this editorial.

Your fine and worthwhile publication usually makes good use of light whimsy and humor to make its points. But this particular editorial, I feel, descends to the depths of murky thinking and unnecessary mud-slinging.

It does a disservice to the cause we both espouse.

Sincerely,  
Howard A. Gardner  
Chicago, Illinois

Establishmentarians:

Gads! Conservatives with a touch of grace and wit!

Keep it up. You are needed. Bill Buckley can't go on intimidating Gore Vidal forever.

Cordially,  
Ron K. Javers  
Editorial Page Editor  
Philadelphia Daily News

To the Editor:

As a regular reader of your magazine I was greatly dismayed to learn that you do not publish during the summer months. But let me assure you the wait was well worthwhile (no alliteration intended). Each month the entire office rollicks to the "Continuing Crisis," "Current Wisdom" and other features. Your serious articles often spark

lengthy debate. Keep up the good work.

Please forgive me for not signing my name, but I am a staff member in the office of a United States senator and do not wish to see the boss' name in your "Letters to Plunkitt" column.

Name Withheld  
Washington

To the Editor:

Jacqueline R. Kasun's "A Rhineland Fantasy" (October) is, of course, not at all about what might have happened if the U.S. had responded with force in the Rhineland in the 1930s; it was about what might have happened if the U.S. had *not* intervened with force in Vietnam in the 1960s. The clear implication is that if we hadn't decided to fight the Communists in the jungles of Vietnam in 1965, we'd be fighting them in the jungles of Central Park in 1972; or, even worse, our inaction would have caused World War III, so that no one would be fighting anybody. This argument rests on at least one of two faulty premises: one, that Ho Chi Minh was really Adolph Hitler, or a reasonable facsimile thereof; or two, that there exists a monolithic entity called *Communism*, that, like Hitler's Nazism, has a definite and well-coordinated plan to dominate the world by military means. Both these premises are false. Ho Chi Minh's main interest was Vietnam's independence; to that end, he allied himself with Communists. And I had thought that the events of the past few years, most notably the Sino-Soviet conflict, had laid to rest any lingering notions of a "worldwide Communist conspiracy." (I guess I was wrong.)

I think that the people who got us into Vietnam had been so scarred (sic) understandably by World War II that they were determined not to repeat the mistakes that led to it. Thus, our involvement in Vietnam was based on the belief that we were "keeping the world safe for democracy" (a thoroughly commendable objective, obviously).

The record of our involvement in Vietnam is sad enough, but the tragedy is compounded if we continue, as Ms. Kasun does, to cling to the false notions that got us there in the first place.

Sincerely,  
David Finkelman  
Santa Clara, Ca.

Kasun Replies:

Mr. Finkelman has refuted a number of arguments which were not in my article, which had as one of its main points the observation that to the extent a limited war achieves its objectives it must itself appear to have been unnecessary. It does not appear that Mr. Finkelman has weakened this thesis.

The view expressed by Mr. Finkelman that the United States' action in Vietnam is merely frustrating the legitimate desires of a small country for independence is not widely shared outside of the American anti-war movement. For example, at my campus this spring a leading Marxist, Herbert Marcuse, stated "The domino theory is correct" and continued by saying that as soon as the United States and its allies have been defeated in Vietnam the world "liberation" movement can redouble its momentum. The North Vietnamese effort to subdue the rest of Indochina is, of course, generously supported by the Soviet Union and PR China, in spite of their split, as well as other countries in the communist world which Mr. Finkelman implies does not really exist.

Jacqueline Kasun  
U.C. San Diego