

## LETTERS

Bob Dole, J. Peter Grace, William S. Lind,  
Roy A. Rosenberg, Richard C. Hertz, Tim Crater, Bernard Schechter,  
Nancy R. Pearcey, Roberta Snow, Susan Alexander, Phyllis Schlafly,  
John McClaughry, Rita Ricardo-Campbell, Anthony Harrigan,  
Samuel T. Francis, Antony T. Sullivan

### Bob Dole's Favorite President

*Policy Review asked each of what were then the 12 presidential candidates to write a paragraph or two on his favorite and least favorite president. Responses from George Bush, Pete du Pont, Dick Gephardt, and Pat Robertson were published in the Winter 1988 issue. Here is Bob Dole's answer.*

While there are many presidents I admire—starting with George Washington, who made the job of U.S. president possible, all the way to Ronald Reagan—my favorite has to be Dwight David Eisenhower.

Although he was born in Texas, like me, President Eisenhower grew up in a small Kansas town. In describing Abilene, Eisenhower said: "... It provided both a healthy outdoor existence and a need to work. The same conditions were responsible for... a society which, more nearly than any other I have encountered, eliminated prejudices based on wealth, race, or creed... any youngster who has the opportunity to spend his early youth in an enlightened rural area has been favored by fortune."

The lessons learned in small towns like Abilene and Russell, Kansas—about traditional values, taking care of your neighbors, tackling problems head-on with responsible, common-sense solutions—served Eisenhower well throughout his life, on the battlefield and in the Oval Office.

I also have great admiration for another fellow Midwesterner—Harry Truman, who was willing to

make tough choices and take them to the American people.

### Armey's Battle

Dear Sir:

Representative Dick Armey's "Base Maneuvers" (Winter 1988) was right on target. Representative Armey is a leader in the fight against government waste and a member of the congressional Grace Caucus. His article not only describes the incredible lengths to which congressmen and senators will go to protect their military turf, but also demonstrates that their fears of adverse effects on local communities are unfounded.

We who worked on the president's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, better known as the Grace Commission, could not have said it any better ourselves.

J. Peter Grace  
New York, NY

### Clancy's Fiction

Dear Sir:

In "America's Favorite Whipping Boys," (Winter 1988) Tom Clancy once again shows that he is a master of fiction. In labeling the military reform movement "leftist," he purveys an outright falsehood. Conservative supporters of military reform include Congressman Newt Gingrich, Senator Charles Grassley, former Senator Robert Taft, Jr., and conservative activist Paul Weyrich. The Congressional Military Reform Caucus is made up of Republicans and Democrats in almost equal numbers.

The goal of military reform—forces that can win in combat—is fully consistent with general conservative views on defense.

Mr. Clancy also distorts both American and Soviet military capabilities. For example, he goes on at length about how the Soviet cruiser *Kirov* is merely another target for submarines. That is true. However, the fact that makes it true—the superiority of the submarine over anti-submarine forces—does not apply only to ships flying the Soviet naval ensign. It is equally true for our surface warships, including our big aircraft carriers—which Mr. Clancy vigorously defends. Our Navy's continued faith in the big carrier is in fact a major American military weakness, one compounded by the fact that the real price of the carriers is paid in submarine numbers. The Soviets now outnumber us by about 3:1 in submarines, a fact Mr. Clancy mysteriously does not stress.

Mr. Clancy is right that people are usually more important than weapons for winning in combat (a point military reformers stress, by the way). But when he asserts that our submariners are far more competent than the Soviets', he mirrors our submarine community's own overconfidence. We measure our submarine officers' ability technically—as nuclear engineers—more than tactically. But in combat, tactical ability is more important. Peacetime games of "tag" are not the same as real war, and we cannot know how well our submariners will stack up against theirs in tactics in actual combat.

Mr. Clancy's defense of our mili-

tary performance in Beirut and in Grenada will flatter the Pentagon, but like most flattery, it is not justified by facts. In Beirut, either the Marine commander did not understand why he should not put his men in a single, vulnerable building, in which case he was incompetent, or he knew and refused to make an issue of it, in which case he was morally unfit to be an officer. In Grenada, while the Marines performed well, the "elite" 82nd Airborne took three days to advance five kilometers against Cuban militia, despite overwhelming numerical and firepower

tual reason, is one that Mr. Lind represents. There is ample room in our military services for reform, but not the kind Mr. Lind advocates, which in this writer's opinion (as expressed in my piece) amounts to unilateral disarmament.

Mr. Lind's commentary on Beirut and Grenada proves my point more eloquently than I ever could. It takes more than the title "military reform leader," used for Mr. Lind on a television show, or the presidency of the "Military Reform Institute" to confer credentials on someone—that is, credentials sufficient to justify such

There are, however, different ways in which the biblical tradition has been interpreted. Rabbi Haberman neglects to mention that quite a few Klansmen have been involved, over the years, in murderous attacks on blacks, Jews, Catholics, and others. Many of these incidents took place in the "Bible Belt," and many of the perpetrators were convinced that they were doing God's will. In ancient days, some Israelites were convinced that it was "God's will" that they exterminate the Canaanites. Holocaust and persecution is possible in any society in which a majority is convinced that it alone is in possession of truth. The only protection against such occurrences is the conviction, thankfully part of the American way of life for two centuries, that each minority has rights that are every bit as sacred as those of the majority. This has been America's greatest strength and, with God's help, it will continue to sustain us as a people.

Rabbi Roy A. Rosenberg

The Temple of Universal Judaism  
New York, NY

## In labeling the military reform movement "leftist," Tom Clancy purveys an outright falsehood.

—William S. Lind

superiority. Had a serious enemy force been present, we would have been in trouble.

Another of Mr. Clancy's errors shows his shallow understanding of the Soviet military. He notes a number of Soviet weaknesses at the tactical level while failing to mention that the Soviet military is focused at the operational level—one level up from tactics. That is where they put their best people, and that is where they expect success to be decisive. By the last two years of World War II, the Soviets were very good at the operational art, at least in land warfare. We did not even recognize the operational level of war until 1982, and we have barely begun to train officers in it.

Overall, Mr. Clancy's article is entertaining but simply not serious. It is regrettable that some readers may take such fiction for fact.

William S. Lind  
President, Military Reform Institute  
Washington, DC

*Tom Clancy replies:*

The "military reform movement" to which I referred, with quotation marks added for the obvious contex-

vitriol as "morally unfit to be an officer." It is all too easy to criticize people from a safe distance, and Lind's language betrays his point of view.

My first two books, *The Hunt for Red October* and *Red Storm Rising*, are used as textbooks at war colleges and professional institutions all over the world. I have an odd prejudice that makes me believe that an "expert" is someone who actually does something. The people who really do the work and risk their lives for this country (and others) tell me that I get things pretty right. Given the choice between their opinion and Mr. Lind's, what would any reasonable man pick?

### Klansmen and the Bible Belt

Dear Sir:

Rabbi Joshua Haberman's "The Bible Belt Is America's Safety Belt" (Fall 1987) includes an excellent selection of biblical materials that support democratic ideals. One cannot gainsay the truth that the Judeo-Christian tradition, rooted in the Bible, is the bedrock on which America is founded.

Dear Sir:

I loved every word of Joshua Haberman's paean of praise of the Bible. His recital of the place of the Bible in American history is without fault. From colonial times on, when the Pilgrim Fathers turned to their thumb-worn Bibles for solace and guidance, the inspiration of Scriptures has never failed to leave its mark on the development of American democracy.

Today, with anti-Semitism still rife even though less than under the Nazis, fundamentalist Christians in America are still waiting for the second coming not of Jesus the Jew but of Christ the Christian . . . waiting to convert the lost sheep of Israel . . . waiting to hail the Second Coming with the conversion of Jews to the New Covenant made not at Sinai but with Christ.

But which Bible is Rabbi Haberman talking about? Whose Bible? The Bible that Rabbi Haberman is talking about is the Hebrew Scriptures, popularly known as the Old Testament. What fundamentalist Christians call the Bible is the Old

Testament and the New Testament.

I worry about the vehemence, the fanatical zeal of holier-than-thou TV evangelists who are worried about my soul and whether I can get to Heaven without Christ. On the other hand, I welcome the passionate support of fundamentalist Christians who support Israel, its security, welfare, and place in freedom's bastion of democracy. But is there a tradeoff? Is there a hidden agenda in the support of Israel by the fundamentalists? Some say "No! Their support of Israel is unconditional."

Yet many Jews are suspicious, even fearful. Two thousand years of being labeled as "Christ-killers" have not made it easy for Jews to welcome fundamentalist support of Israel without strings.

My own experience of the past 18 years of being a professor of Jewish Studies at a Jesuit university has led me to feel the sincerity and respect the scholarly Catholic community has for Judaism and for the Bible they call the Old Testament. My Catholic students and colleagues appreciate how the Old Testament sheds important light on the Jewish origins of their Christian faith. They do appreciate my conviction that Jesus the Jew loved the Bible. But the Bible he loved was the *Tanach*—the Hebrew Scriptures. He never wrote a word of the New Testament. Would that all followers of Jesus love the Jewish people as much as they love what Jews created—the Bible itself!

The U.S. Constitution is truly America's safety belt. The Holocaust did not happen here in America. It won't happen here either . . . as long as our nation is true to its Constitution based on the Ten Commandments of the Bible.

Rabbi Richard C. Hertz  
Distinguished Professor of  
Jewish Studies  
University of Detroit  
Detroit, MI

Dear Sir:

Rabbi Haberman's article was welcome testimony to America's heritage of religious belief and biblical values. He necessarily had to touch but lightly on the vast reservoir of religious expression by our

Founding Fathers, but it was especially heartening to have such a reaffirmation come from a distinguished Jewish leader.

As an evangelical pastor for 16 years, I was encouraged by Rabbi

acts as a barrier against excessive governmental power. The Bible gives a higher law that rules not only the people but the rulers. An absolute moral standard is the only sure defense against absolute power.

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**The notion of "inalienable" rights is meaningless unless grounded in divine creation—endowed not by government but (in the Founders' words) by the Creator.**

**—Nancy R. Pearcey**

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Haberman's appreciation for the contribution conservative Christians make to the preservation of important societal values. His irenic tone was greatly appreciated and a fine model of respect for those with whom we differ.

Tim Crater  
Washington, DC

Dear Sir:

Rabbi Haberman's article is a good sermon in favor of the Bible, and the principles the Bible stands for, but he did nothing to convince me, show me, or prove to me that the way the "Bible Belt" reads its Bible could add to the quality of life for the poor, the blacks, the liberals, the foreigner, or the Jew. Even the devil can quote Scripture.

Bible believers must put the message of the Bible into practice.

Rabbi Bernard Schechter  
Pompton Lakes, NJ

Dear Sir:

I passed out Rabbi Haberman's article to several left-leaning friends who seem to hold to a policy of "Blame Christianity First": although themselves Christians, they think that Christianity has had primarily deleterious social effects, and that the rights and freedoms we enjoy in the West are products of the Enlightenment. Not so, as Haberman shows, our freedoms are in fact the result of a biblically based belief in a transcendent moral standard that

It seems ironic that this article appeared in the same issue as Paul Gottfried's on conflicts within the conservative movement. For what Haberman says is a fitting response to conservatives who build their case on a purely utilitarian basis—who reject universal truths and defend liberty, or the family, or limited government, simply on the grounds that "it works." No one yet has given his allegiance to something because it "works." When we stake our lives on a set of ideas, we do so because we believe them to have transcendent validity. If all conservatives have to offer our nation—or the world—is a superior methodology, they will always lose to rivals who offer a comprehensive ideology.

The conservative agenda must be grounded in a metaphysical vision that validates it and places it within an overarching framework of purpose, meaning, values. The Judeo-Christian tradition is the source of much of what conservatives wish to conserve, and continues to undergird it. Those who stress the contribution of the Enlightenment forget that it was itself largely a *secularization* of certain strands in the Christian worldview. The very notion of "inalienable" rights is meaningless unless grounded in divine creation—endowed not by government but (in the Founders' words) by the Creator.

Those who fail to recognize the source of our political heritage are in

danger of losing it. As a child, Solzhenitsyn used to hear the old people say the reason Communism has darkened Russia is because, "Men have forgotten God."

Nancy R. Pearcey  
Washington, DC

*Rabbi Haberman replies:*

Neither in America nor in Israel nor in any part of the world could the Bible, or for that matter, any institution, legal code, or agency, prevent the occasional appearance of the so-called lunatic fringe, including waves of bigotry and cases of atrocity. Only a fool would claim that reading or knowing the Bible bestows absolute immunity against social corruption and moral aberration. All I am saying is that the ideological roots of our democracy are largely biblical. Although a dictatorship, even a holocaust, is not unthinkable nor impossible anywhere on earth, neither is likely to happen here in America as long as we have a moral consensus based on biblical values. Our most powerful antidote against totalitarianism is a national consensus, clearly derived from the Bible, that our fundamental rights are not the gift of government but God-given. In other words, we believe with the Bible, that the nation and its government are accountable to a higher law than man's. As for the so-called sacred minority right invoked by Rabbi Rosenberg, it should be obvious that these rights are secure only as long as the majority recognizes them. Thank God, we have that kind of majority in this country, largely because of the reason I stated.

Rabbi Hertz has reservations about the New Testament and Christian missionary work among Jews. So do I. But, long years of dialogue with Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical, and fundamentalist Christians have taught me to avoid generalizations. Christian attitudes toward Jews range from truly fraternal to downright bigoted as do Jewish attitudes toward Christians. If Christianity is to be blamed for spreading hostility against the Jews in its misplaced and frustrated missionary zeal, it should also be credited for spreading the Bi-

ble throughout the world. The New Testament in my view does not deviate from the Old Testament in regard to those beliefs and moral values that undergird the political system of America. Regrettably, the New Testament includes passages that will instill anti-Jewish feelings, if interpreted with venom. However, far more numerous are the New Testament texts that express reverence for the Old Testament, for our common heritage of faith and morals, and kinship with the Jewish people. Depending on the intentions of the Christian teacher, the New Testament can be a bridge uniting Jews and Christians or a barrier dividing them.

Ms. Pearcey has admirably summed up my thesis in just these few sentences: "Our freedoms are in fact the result of a biblically based belief in a transcendent moral standard that acts as a barrier against excessive government power. The Bible gives a higher law that rules not only the people but the rulers. An absolute moral standard is the only sure defense against absolute power. . . . The very notion of 'inalienable' rights is meaningless unless grounded in divine creation—endowed not by government but (in the Founders' words) by the Creator."

### Stalin and Self-Criticism

Dear Sir:

"Nuclear Age Education" (Fall 1987) by Keith Payne and Jill Coleman creates a misleading impression about our organization as well as our materials. By taking examples out of context, Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman drew completely inaccurate conclusions about the purpose of the lessons. As a polemic their article may work; as responsible journalism it is woefully inadequate.

Educators For Social Responsibility (ESR) is a national organization of 15,000 teachers and administrators formed 5 years ago precisely to address the kinds of concerns raised by Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman. ESR believes that seriously examining all sides of important past and present controversial issues helps students to

make sense of a complex and perplexing world and to learn that their participation in civic processes can make a difference. ESR is not a "freeze movement" organization and does not take stands on political proposals or candidates.

ESR tries to instill in young people pride in and a sense of responsibility about being an American. We believe that being a citizen of the United States is a rare privilege, and that developing alert, committed, and capable citizens is a central purpose of formal education. In a democracy how else could it be?

We take issue with Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman accusing us of "blaming America first." We strive to balance healthy social criticism with an appreciation for our great country. The point is not to flagellate the nation but rather to find ways in which young people can achieve our democratic ideals. If Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman know how to do this without undergoing self-criticism when it is warranted, they have made a remarkable discovery.

Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman base their criticism on facts taken out of context, misquoted, and misinterpreted. Obviously unfamiliar with teaching, Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman did not understand the ways the materials are to be used. In several lessons, for example, original source material is examined by classes and teachers with the purpose of understanding the perspectives of the author and the possible implications of his or her statements. Mr. Payne and Ms. Coleman mistakenly thought that the positions in the source materials were what we were inculcating. For example, one could *teach* Stalin's rationale for the postwar takeover of Eastern Europe, without taking it as truth or endorsing it. Perhaps if Ms. Coleman and Mr. Payne had spoken with teachers who have used our materials and were familiar with ESR methods, they would not have misunderstood the materials.

There is little point in going through each of the 22 inaccuracies quoted in the article since it would rely on describing context and covering whole lessons instead of the pieces the authors highlight. However, we would be glad to have con-



versations with educators, pundits, and policy analysts, such as Ms. Coleman and Mr. Payne, who are interested in how to use our materials.

At ESR we are concerned with the profound disillusionment so many of our young people feel toward public affairs. We in no way add to this but rather try to give them hope and an inclination to participate in our democracy—in whatever legal manner and/or party they might choose. It is our wish that we will be recognized for these efforts and that authors such as Mr. Coleman and Ms. Payne will strive for more accuracy and understanding than they displayed in *Policy Review*.

Roberta Snow,  
Founding President  
Susan Alexander,  
Executive Director  
Educators for Social Responsibility  
Cambridge, MA

Dear Sir:

Keith Payne and Jill Coleman's article correctly identifies current curricula on this subject as promoting freezenik activism, cuts in U.S. defense, and a sympathetic image of the Soviet Union. However, nuclear curricula in the schools are much worse than a dose of left-wing propaganda because they are not merely dishing out biased information. Nuclear curricula are also behavior modification exercises; they are psychological treatments practiced on captive audiences of minor children.

An examination of the textbooks and materials used in nuclear curricula confirms that their purpose is not to impart knowledge but to change the student's attitudes and behavior, and in particular to instill fear, guilt, and despair in the minds and hearts of the students. You don't have to take my word for it; just take the words of students who took the courses.

Most nuclear courses require each student to keep a "journal" in which he records his thoughts and attitudes about the course, plus conversations with his parents, friends, and neighbors about controversial issues. The authors of the nuclear courses are often so proud of the students' reactions that they publish excerpts from

these journals. For example, students who studied from the nuclear course called *Crossroads*, wrote: "I am very scared, very, very scared. Because with a nuclear war you don't have a chance to survive." "These days, I just try not to think about my future, because I have a hard time

that normal 13-year-olds do not think about nuclear weapons unless some adult has deliberately fomented their fears. That's what the nuclear war courses are designed to do.

Maybe we shouldn't be surprised at today's shocking rates of teen-age

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**Nuclear curricula do not merely dish out biased information. They are also behavior modification treatments practiced on captive audiences of minor children.**

**—Phyllis Schlafly**

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seeing one . . . I want to do something with my life, but who cares about me? Besides, we're all going to get blown up anyway."

Here are some comments from journals written by students who took the nuclear curriculum called *Decision Making in a Nuclear Age*: "Some of the discussions we had got 'pretty heavy,' and it was hard to handle! It's hard to spend 45 minutes a day talking about dying, and it's depressing!" "Several students began to cry. 'No, no,' they yelled, covering their ears. 'We'll all be dead. It's no use. We're doomed.'" "I went into this class planning not to allow it to change my thinking toward the arms race and military spending. However, to my disappointment, at the end of the class, I have to admit to a degree it has been effective. My point of view of staunch need for arms has changed to a wishy-washy feeling."

Here are some letters from 10 to 12-year-old children in Chicago whose teachers required them to read and discuss a nuclear horror tale "Warday," written by Whitley Strieber and James Kunetka. "Do you think there is any way a Warday won't happen? I don't want it to because I haven't gotten past 14 yet." "It is going to be the end of the world. Do you really think anyone will make it? If they do, will they want to? I pray I'm lucky and die."

People who have children know

suicide, depression, loneliness, premarital sex, and drug abuse. The nuclear war courses have taught teenagers to abandon hope because they have no future.

Phyllis Schlafly  
Alton, IL

*Keith Payne and Jill Coleman reply:*

Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander's response illustrates well the very problem with the ESR materials we examined. Snow and Alexander claim, undoubtedly sincerely, that an ESR objective is the unbiased examination of all sides of controversial issues. Yet, ESR materials do no such thing. The most benign and probably correct explanation for this inconsistency between ESR materials and the goals endorsed by Snow and Alexander is that the two are not sufficiently familiar with the subject matter to recognize factual errors and political bias.

Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander claim that we presented our critique based "on facts taken out of context, misquoted, and misunderstood." In fact, our report of bias, politicization, and factual error in the ESR material we reviewed was, if anything, understated. We did not need to contrive bias and error—the absence of balance is pervasive, and significant errors in fact also exist. The blatant factual errors we cited would be equally fallacious whatever their context. Snow and Al-

exander assert that we made “over 22 inaccuracies” but do not cite a single one. Providing at least a few samples of our alleged error would seem necessary given the charge.

Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander attempt to sidestep our own substantive critique of ESR material by claiming that we are “obviously unfamiliar with teaching.” (The same dubious charge was used by ESR against André Ryerson in response to his critique appearing in *Commentary*.) One obviously does not need to be a teacher to recognize factual errors and bias in a subject area. One does, however, need to have more than a superficial familiarity with the subject. With regard to our credentials, Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander should have done better homework. Keith Payne has not only taught international relations and nuclear policy to high school and college students for over a decade, but also has discussed the subject with scores of high school and college teachers.

Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander suggest that we misunderstood an exercise involving Stalin, and note that by using original source material “one could *teach* Stalin’s rationale for the postwar takeover of Eastern Europe, without taking it as truth or endorsing it.” While analysis of original sources can be an effective heuristic tool, the exercise in question does *not* use original material; it presents Stalin in the most sympathetic light possible, stating that he actually believed his subjugation of Eastern Europe was for the benefit of Eastern Europeans. The problem is that this absurd rendition of Stalin’s rationale is the *only one presented*. There is not the slightest suggestion of alternative, historically more accurate interpretations. Where is the dedication to “seriously examining all sides of important past and present controversial issues” that Snow and Alexander claim as the ESR intention?

We share the goals that Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander claim for ESR. Yet, there is a chasm between those goals and the ESR material. For example, we do not know what they consider to be “healthy social criticism.” It certainly is not what is pre-

sented in ESR’s *Decision Making in a Nuclear Age* with regard to the United States—an almost ideological dedication of left-wing historical revisionism. Interestingly, in the same pages the Soviet Union virtually escapes any “healthy social criticism.” Why is it that the United States is singled out for this “healthy” treatment? Accepting the claim by Snow and Alexander that they seek to develop in students “an appreciation for our great country,” we are at a loss as to how ESR could facilitate that goal with this type of unbalanced material. In addition, it is impossible—given the not too subtle advocacy of a particular political agenda—to see in ESR material the impartial encouragement to democratic participation claimed by Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander.

Why this dichotomy between the goals claimed by Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander and ESR’s written material? If one has not delved adequately into the subjects in question, such bias and error are unlikely to be apparent. This is a problem when considering the use of ESR material in the classroom. Most students know little or nothing about these issues. They cannot be expected to separate the wheat from the chaff and are vulnerable to such texts that include a great deal of political chaff.

Because Ms. Snow and Ms. Alexander are dedicated to helping students “make sense of a complex and perplexing world,” they should have ESR material revised with an eye toward a genuinely balanced and factual presentation of postwar events and deterrence concepts. We and other professional analysts of international relations who see the need for new educational efforts, would be pleased to discuss the issue with them further and cooperate with them in the pursuit of this important objective.

## White House Failures

Dear Sir:

The reminiscences of 14 Reagan officials in “Where We Succeeded, Where We Failed” (Winter 1988) include some tantalizing hints at the real reasons why the Reagan admin-

istration, for all its modest successes, fell short of its original bright promise. Chief among them were Linda Chavez’s realization of “how little policy emanates from the White House,” Don Devine’s grumblings about the “bloated inefficiency of the White House staff,” and Jack Svahn’s critique of the caliber of White House topsiders and the limited access to the president.

The central problem, as I saw it (as early as March 1981), was the structural principles of the Reagan White House. Ronald Reagan is, at heart, an actor not a producer. He will balk at a bad script, but ordinarily does not like to get too involved in the process of producing the script or the show. It is particularly distasteful for him to have to downgrade or remove loyal lieutenants who are not following his agenda or not doing the job expected of them.

That being the case, the administrative structure of the White House became extremely important. It is widely agreed that Ed Meese, who generally shared the president’s philosophy, was not an efficient manager of policy or personnel. Thus, James Baker was brought in as chief of staff. An excellent administrator, Baker never quite got over the idea that one pinprick would permanently explode the Reagan bubble. Aided by hard-driving David Stockman, treacherous Mike Deaver, and crafty Dick Darman, Baker took charge of policy early, frequently “de-Reaganizing” it and leaving Meese to use his personal access to the president to fight rearguard actions.

The one fatal mistake was the creation of the five Cabinet Councils in March, 1981. By this action—fully consonant with Reagan’s preferences and Meese’s interpersonal skills—policy leadership on most matters passed out of the White House to the Cabinet Secretaries, none of whom but James Watt could really qualify as Reaganauts. On many issues the Cabinet Councils became logrolling little legislatures, where Cabinet officers (or more often, their assistants) bargained their way to awkward compromises for the president’s blessing.

Had the president directed a

Reaganaut chief of staff to deliver policy products to him for approval, making the White House policy staff responsible instead of the diffuse and misorganized Cabinet Councils (reduced in 1985 from seven to two), the Reagan administration would have exhibited far greater policy leadership in the directions long and eloquently advocated by Ronald Reagan. This was in fact occasionally done later, as when Svahn and Charles Hobbs got a mandate to promote welfare reform in 1986. Unfortunately, another course was taken during the year of Reagan's greatest window of opportunity, a course more congenial to the hands-off president and a White House counselor who performed far better at mediating disputes than in directing a policymaking process.

John McClaughry  
Senior Policy Advisor  
White House Office of  
Policy Development, 1981-82

### The Family Wage

Dear Sir:

In "A Subsidy for Motherhood" (Fall 1987) John Mueller supports the Social Security system because "Social Security stands almost alone in accepting the traditional family (in which the father works to support the family and the mother raises the children) as normal... Thus upholds intact marriage."

This conclusion is based on factual errors. Mueller states: "To qualify, in general, the couple must remain married, the husband must be steadily employed." However, only 10 years of marriage are required for a divorced spouse—wife or husband—to be entitled to old-age, derivative benefits such as widow's or widower's and spousal benefits at age 62. And, the worker on whose earnings the spousal benefit is based need not even have retired.

Mueller believes that "if abortion were ended in the United States with no other changes in behavior, the birth rate could boom from 1.8 to about 3.0 births per woman." Ignored is the fact that women could go to Canada, Mexico, and elsewhere to have abortions.

Despite our differences in assump-

tions, Mueller and I agree on the desirability of freezing the scheduled 1988-1990 payroll tax rate increases and of permitting more immigration. But my reasons for freezing the payroll tax rate differ from his. Social

reason for giving the credit.

There are no reasonably priced, effective pro-natalist government policies. Given a choice of tinkering, I prefer giving two years of earnings credit toward a Social Security bene-

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## Ronald Reagan is, at heart, an actor not a producer.

—John McClaughry

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Security taxes are on first dollars of earnings. When tax rates on first dollar of earnings increase, more young people perceive that the income of a one-worker family is inadequate to raise a family. As a result, more wives enter the labor force, fewer children are born, and in the future there are fewer workers to tax. Further, matching increases in payroll taxes can hurt business and employment.

The Social Security tax base is indexed to the rise of the average wage rate and thus Social Security tax revenues will increase without any increase in the rate. If the number of workers increases, as with greater immigration, then the total of Social Security taxes, more precisely labeled FICA (Federal Insurance Contributions Act), would also increase. Is it not time that all such "contributions" be called "taxes," their correct name?

Allan Carlson in his response to Mueller, "Is Social Security Pro-Family?," also finds the Social Security system to be anti-natalist and suggests a "universal, refundable dependent child income tax credit of say, \$600 for each minor currently claimed as an exemption, up to the total value of the taxpayers' payroll tax." But an income tax credit helps only those who have adjusted, gross incomes high enough to pay income taxes. A tax rate freeze would help those who are low earners and thus be perceived as more fair. Carlson's proposal is a backdoor method of using forgone tax revenues. Moreover, it is doubtful if such a tax credit alone would increase the fertility rate, which is the purported

fit for each child born. It is not enough for the United States to acknowledge that the downward trend in the birth rate has been induced, in part, by heavy transfer payments. Some positive reinforcement that bearing and raising children have value in our society is needed.

Rita Ricardo-Campbell  
The Hoover Institution  
Stanford, CA

*John Mueller replies:*

I believe a careful rereading will show that I did not overlook the details raised by Ms. Ricardo-Campbell, despite the editors' ruthless demand for brevity.

"In general, the couple must remain married" included "in general" to allow for the case of women divorced after more than 10 years. Though weakened from 20 years in 1977, exception remains just that—an exception. About two-thirds of divorces occur within 10 years, and less than a quarter of women ever married have been divorced. "In general," Social Security "thus upholds intact marriage."

Likewise, "with no other changes in behavior" anticipated objections like Ms. Ricardo-Campbell's point about international travel thwarting a legal right to life. As the context made clear, the object was not to make a demographic forecast, but to illustrate that noneconomic factors are potentially more decisive for the birth rate than economic incentives, important as they are.

Even so, is it plausible to suggest that making abortion illegal would merely transfer almost 1.5 million



abortions a year abroad? Surely, a far more likely change of behavior that might counteract a rise in the birth rate would be a return to fewer pregnancies outside marriage. But I think this, and ending official approval of abortion, would be accompanied by attitudes more favorable to getting married and having

types of American conservatives. He assumes, however, that they belong to groups. I suspect that there are many conservative writers and thinkers who do not regard themselves as part of any one group.

I suppose this is especially true of Southern conservatives. Our intellectual development was very differ-

traditional conservatives can make common cause with libertarians who reject the authority of history, tradition, and the national interest.

Anthony Harrigan  
President  
U.S. Business and Industrial  
Council  
Washington, DC

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**Southern conservatives find it impossible to accept the neoconservative notion that the American system can be exported to scores of countries around the world.**

**—Anthony Harrigan**

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children—by far the most powerful determinant of the birth rate.

Therefore I disagree that “there are no reasonably priced, effective pro-natalist policies,” but I’m glad Mrs. Ricardo-Campbell agrees we must relieve economic burdens on traditional families. How does this square with her earlier proposal to phase out Social Security spousal benefits over 30 years?

As for what to call the payroll levy: If a contribution is what results in a future benefit, then Social Security is still funded mostly by contributions, not taxes.

Finally, I’m a bit surprised that no one has challenged my conclusion that the most pro-family and pro-growth choice available today is to maintain Social Security on a pay-as-you-go, family-based outline. Allan Carlson argued that in theory old-age pensions are anti-family. But he agreed that every proposal to phase out Social Security would leave families worse off. It seems that, like democracy, Social Security is the worst system except for all the others.

### **Gottfried’s Fusion**

Dear Sir:

Paul Gottfried’s “Toward a New Fusionism?” (Fall 1987) is full of fascinating insights into the different

ent from that of today’s New Right or the neoconservatives. Many Southern conservatives had conservatism bred in the bone, so to speak. And we always regarded America as an inheritance, not an idea. That’s why conservatives in the South—and perhaps New England—find it impossible to accept the neoconservative notion that the American system can be exported to scores of countries around the world. Conservatives from the South have a historical base for their view and often a highly personal base as well. In my case, I think in terms of my family’s America—the life experiences of my forebears—their suffering, victories, and travail. It would not occur to a conservative from the South that conservatism came out of books or that it emerged from any little group of postwar thinkers. Instead, the crucible of American history is the source of conservative views of our nation’s destiny.

The neoconservatives, the social issues New Right, and the libertarians do not understand these intellectual origins, which means they are deficient in the understanding of bedrock conservatism in the United States. Certainly, Dr. Gottfried is right in saying that the older conservatism is “an indispensable source of conservative thinking,” though I strongly dissent from the view that

Dear Sir:

With some qualifications, I agree with Mr. Gottfried’s description of the “second generation” of the Old Right. There are, however, two characteristics of this grouping that I would add. One is the pessimism expressed by many of the younger adherents of the Old Right; the other is their tendency to adjure practical politics and policy conflicts in preference for what they see as a struggle for cultural and social power.

Irving Kristol has recently remarked that “in so far as we neoconservatives . . . have a creed, [it is that] you should never be pessimistic about the American future.” Of course, conservatives of all kinds hope that optimism is justified, but many in the second generation of the Old Right are skeptical. Looking at the continuing cultural, bureaucratic, and political dominance of the Left, at the continuing erosion of the national fabric, at deep-seated cultural and social challenges that both the Left and the mainstream Right either ignore or welcome, at the evident failures of the Reagan administration, at the unattractiveness of most conservative presidential candidates in the aftermath of the Reagan era, at the shallowness and evanescence of many conservative successes, and at the confusion, fragmentation, and frivolity of much of the Right itself, it is difficult for second generation Old Rightists to share Mr. Kristol’s faith, much less the bubbleliness of many in the Third Generation.

This pessimism has led some Old Rightists to the conclusion that recent conservative “activism” and emphasis on politics and policy-making were tactically wrong. It may not be possible for a serious Right to gain political power and implement policies successfully in a political culture and social environment in



which the Left remains dominant. It may be that conservative participants in political and policy-making forums dominated by the Left cannot avoid being crushed by their ideological and political adversary, sucked into its vortex and assimilated, or reduced to ineffectual piecemeal victories without long-term significance. It may be that any successful movement of the Right must undertake a long counter-march through the institutions permeating the cultural extensions of the liberal-left apparatus of power, before it can hope to rule through more narrow political efforts at the electoral and administrative levels.

In this sense Antonio Gramsci's idea of "ideological hegemony" and the tactic of "struggle" that follows from it are apposite to the contemporary Right. If the Reagan experience teaches us anything, it should be that there is a large difference between winning elections and governing, and that governing is hardly possible when intermediary institutions are controlled by a hostile bureaucratic and cultural elite that exploits and manipulates liberalism for its own ideological dominance.

For these reasons, the Old Right will probably not be a significant participant in conservative political and policy-making efforts in the near future (assuming there will be any such efforts), but it may become an increasingly powerful force at the level of cultural and intellectual conflict.

Samuel T. Francis  
Alexandria, VA

Dear Sir:

What is especially noteworthy in Mr. Gottfried's commentary is not his demonstration that wars have been fought within the conservative family since the 1950s, but his reminder that in earlier times combat was conducted within parameters of mutual respect and toleration of honest differences of opinion. Presently, excommunications and proclamations of anathema seem increasingly to issue from segments of the "conservative" community, as a once tenuously cohesive movement fragments into compelling and

exclusivist sectarianisms. Journals of opinion—principally neoconservative in orientation—have become especially susceptible to the infection of intolerance. One case in point is the intimidation from neoconservative quarters that Joseph Sobran and I have encountered when we have spoken publicly on issues related to Jews, American political culture, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. All this augurs ill

with premodern-modern roots and those who would treat it as a mere proposition or as the jumping-off point for a global democratic revolution. Sullivan has performed a valuable service in reminding us of the commitment to intellectual debate that characterized the Old Right and that the current Right would do well to imitate. On the inappropriateness of conservative optimism, Francis has expressed my own views—even

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**Like democracy, Social Security is the worst system except for all the others.**

**—John Mueller**

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both for the intellectual vitality of conservatism and the enduring influence of the conservative movement.

If conservatism is to survive its political success in the Reagan era, attention must be redirected from the mechanics of political and economic arrangements to the first principles of who, what, and why we are. It is unfortunate that the Intercollegiate Studies Institute has long been starved for funds, and even has received hints that it should change or dilute its mission. Today, we perhaps need fewer "policy" journals and more publications that focus on the ancient, permanent things. If "conservatism" becomes nothing more than a melange of neoconservative policy analysis, public choice theory, and national security studies (however important each of these may be), it will require no assault from a renascent liberalism to effect its demise.


Antony T. Sullivan  
Ann Arbor, MI

*Paul Gottfried replies:*

All the letters printed in this and the winter issue concerning "Toward a New Fusionism" make telling points about American conservatism. The letters by Sullivan, Francis, Harrigan, and Congdon [see Winter 1988] correctly indicate the distance between those who view America as a historically specific inheritance

better than I could.

Unlike Dr. Hawkins [Winter 1988] and other conservatives who favor a national economic policy, I have no faith in our welfare state as a force for counterrevolutionary change. I see no evidence that our federal and state bureaucracies are waiting to become the vanguard of a conservative national movement. Unfortunately, Max Weber and Friedrich Hayek are right on this score. Bureaucratized government necessarily levels traditional social and cultural distinctions. I would also note that being against free trade is no more of an unequivocally conservative position than being for it. The AFL-CIO, for example, favors both tariffs and "global democratic" economic reforms.

On the other hand, Francis and Hawkins may be on to something in their published scholarship about the irreversibility of the welfare state economy. If they are, true conservatism will not survive except as a form of counterrevolutionary opportunism. An alliance of the Old Right with moderate libertarians (Dr. Kauffman [Winter 1988] will have to accept the military as the price of this alliance) may then be justified as the kind of opportunism to which I refer. Paleoconservatives and libertarians would unite in throwing up road blocks before the advancing welfare state. 

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# WE DON'T JUST REPORT THE NEWS. WE MAKE NEWS.

## On the Conservative Movement:

POLICY REVIEW . . . is the organ of the Heritage Foundation—the brain center of the most rabid reaction. *Pravda*

## On SDI:

Bob, you've talked about support for SDI, but you wrote in POLICY REVIEW that you would use it as a negotiating chip. *Representative Jack Kemp to Senator Bob Dole, NBC Presidential Debate*

## On Marcos:

The Director of Central Intelligence, William J. Casey, originally proposed to Ferdinand E. Marcos that he call the early presidential election that ultimately led to Mr. Marcos' exile, according to an article by Senator Laxalt in POLICY REVIEW. *New York Times*

## On Afghanistan:

The allegations made against the Afghan government in Michael Johns' [POLICY REVIEW] article . . . have been repeatedly made against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and her historic and trusted friend, the Soviet Union. *M. Sharif Yaquobi, Embassy of Afghanistan, Washington Times*

## On Angola:

Savimbi's strategy, as he outlines in POLICY REVIEW, is "...to raise the costs of the foreign occupation of Angola until the Cubans and the Soviets can no longer bear the burden." *Norman Podhoretz, Washington Post*

## On Israel:

Israel gains "convert" in Christian rightist—Helms. Jesse's alternative, spelled out in POLICY REVIEW, was for the United States to "face up to the fact that aid to Israel is essentially a defense cost." *Wolf Blitzer, New York Jewish Week*

## On Our Judeo-Christian Heritage:

In POLICY REVIEW Rabbi Joshua Haberman said that the bulwark we have against tyranny in this country is our firm belief in God and our firm belief in some standard of authority above government. *Pat Robertson, "Candidates '88 with Marvin Kalb"*

## On Balancing the Budget:

[Compared with George Bush] Jack Kemp has been getting off a bit easy. Now he's surfaced with an article in POLICY REVIEW entitled "My Plan to Balance the Budget." *Michael Kinsley, Wall Street Journal*

## On Crime and Punishment:

[In POLICY REVIEW, Charles] Colson, former special counsel to President Nixon, makes a pretty good case for alternative sentencing, including restitution to victims of nonviolent crime. *William Raspberry, Washington Post*

## On Rock Politics:

Charlton Heston told POLICY REVIEW magazine: "This may sound snobbish, but the intellectual level of rock musicians is not to be envied." *People Magazine*

## On Media Bias:

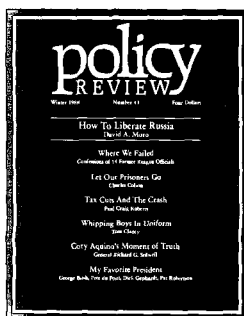
ABC-TV reporter Rebecca Chase admitted that network producers, hell-bent on locating dire hunger, asked her "to scour the small towns of Mississippi to find hungry people... but I couldn't find any," she said in POLICY REVIEW. *Fred Barnes, Reader's Digest*

## On Liberal Schizophrenia:

POLICY REVIEW... managing editor Dinesh D'Souza... scorches THE NEW REPUBLIC for "a squid-like cloud of rhetoric" on difficult social issues. "It's no use accusing TNR of schizophrenia—the editors take it as a compliment," he writes. *Washington Post*

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