

government schools enjoy with public funds for education must be broken if the American educational system is to get out of its current, disgraceful rut. Choice is indispensable to reform. The power of the National Education Association in the Democratic Party notwithstanding, here is another issue where the very terms of the debate—"choice," "empowerment," *etc.*—create the possibility of coalition-building.

Export the democratic revolution. It is not Wilsonian moralism but rather a realistic idealism that dictates American support for democrats

seeking to complete or emulate the Revolution of 1989 in Europe. Absent a culturally persuasive answer to the question "Why engage?," neo-isolationism of the left will make common cause with old-fashioned isolationism on the right, the net result being a retreat from the world at precisely the time when our national experience of democratic pluralism is a badly needed model for the future. Prudent support for the world's democrats is morally right, strategically sound, and politically potent. Let the 1990s be the decade in which conservatives remain vigorously at the forefront of the initiatives launched by President Reagan in his epochal 1982 address to the British Parliament in Westminster Hall.

Reform our military strategy. Conservatives will rightly warn against premature euphoria in the matter of what someone once called the Evil Empire, but it does seem that some basic rethinking about the structure of our military, set within the framework of a post-Warsaw Pact peace-and-security strategy, is overdue. With the deadly combination of crazy states plus ICBMs plus chemical or biological weapons looming on the horizon, conservatives should press for continued development of strategic defense capabilities in concert with our allies and just perhaps a former adversary or two. But that hardly exhausts the agenda of reform, which should include more attention to our low-intensity conflict capabilities, the bureaucratic mindset of our officer corps, and the whole imbroglio of procurement.

Push for congressional reform. Something must be done, and soon, about the dismal state of the Congress. If Congress won't discipline itself—cut back its massive staff, reform incumbents' abuse of the frank, restructure the division of slots on committees and their staffs—then the executive should use the veto power on the annual congressional appropriation to send a clear signal that the days of endless congressional expansion are over.

Reform the federal judiciary. Robert Bork's *Tempting of America* has driven home the stakes involved in the



Illustration for a *Policy Review* symposium on Utopia, Summer 1987.

Drawing by Shelly Fischman

current struggle over the nature of judging. Conservatives must continue to press the executive to appoint judges committed to a non-legislative concept of their function. And, as the Bork debacle itself illustrated, conservatives had better figure out ways to meet, and beat, the inevitable challenge that such appointments will get in the Senate.

Build infrastructure. Am I the only one who thinks it a disgrace that the interstate highway system is beginning to look (and feel!) like something in the Third World? Surely conservatives have an interest in maintaining the roads and bridges that bind this vast and diverse country together, and give its people a mobility that was once the envy of the world. The same principle of prudent but generous expenditure from the common purse should apply to our air traffic control system, which is creating circumstances that are, again, reminiscent of a Banana Republic.

Protect the pastime. Would I be considered frivolous for suggesting a constitutional amendment that proscribes the designated-hitter rule, plastic grass, domed stadiums, and aluminum bats as inconsistent with the dignity of the national pastime? Well, if not an amendment, then something!

PAUL M. WEYRICH

President of the Free Congress Foundation.

The old conservatism based solely on anti-Communism and fear of government is dead. Some commentators think this means the demise of the conservative movement. Not so. The world has not suddenly become perfect. Rather, we now face a new series of dangers and necessary responses, out of which emerges a new conservative agenda. It is not an agenda for opposing, as the old agenda largely was; it is an agenda for governing.

The Declaration of Independence states that we have unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Listed first is the right to life. All issues pale in comparison to stopping the abortion holocaust.

—Pat Robertson



National Right to Life Committee

Forget about banning abortion. It ain't gonna happen. Concentrate on questions of parental consent, abortions beyond the first trimester, and policies that encourage adoption.

—Thomas J. Bray

Rally the West in defense of its culture. The West is losing its culture, which is to say its foundation, its content, the thing that makes it “the West.” The process is already far along; the hour is late. Much has been lost to totalitarian Communism in Central and Eastern Europe; to cultural radicalism in our universities; and to materialism and sheer ignorance in our society at large. Our survival depends on making Western culture explicit, defending it and restoring it. That must become our highest priority as a movement.

Reunite the West, from California to Kamchatka. The West is the Judeo-Christian culture, the culture that grew from Jerusalem and Athens, Rome, and Constantinople. It includes Russia. If it is to survive and renew itself, it needs to reunite—including a non-Communist Russia. Of course, for that to be possible, events must move in certain ways in the Soviet Union. For our part, we must encourage such movement every way we can and be ready to welcome a restored Russia back into the West as an equal and valued partner.

As part of this, we must work to export democratic capitalism to Central Europe and Russia. Nothing else is likely to provide those nations the basis they need for rejoining the West.

We must also be open to importing from Central Europe and Russia elements of Western culture that have survived better there than here. Through them, we may be able to rediscover a literary, rather than a television, culture. We may also be able to benefit from the strength of the church in some of these countries. The church has played a vital role in the survival of their culture under Communism. It may have an equally vital role to play here in the recovery of our culture. If we are lucky, we could see a major revival of religion coming out of the eastern half of the West to us. If that happens, we must be open to it.

Recognize that we are probably not moving into an era of general world peace, à la Fukuyama, but into a time of more dangerous conflict on a north-south axis. For the first time in 300 years the West is likely to face serious threats from non-Western cultures. We must lead America in preparing for such dangers.

As part of this, we must reemphasize SDI, less as a

defense against the Soviet Union than against non-Western threats. Ballistic missile technology is spreading rapidly in the Third World. So is genetic engineering technology, which can be used to develop biological warheads that would be effective weapons of mass destruction. Third World countries will probably not have many missiles that could hit us, but even a few would be deadly with biological warheads. We need SDI to defend against this.

Put our long-term economic house in order. While the economy is currently doing well, we face major long-term problems, of the sort Mr. Darman has recently warned of—unfunded obligations running into many billions of dollars. Most important is the slowing of our gains in productivity. Unless our economy becomes more productive, our living standards will certainly fall. Further, we will be tempted to try to inflate our way out of our long-term obligations such as the national debt. We risk eventually going down the Argentine road.

Finally, we need to build a new conservative movement around these issues. We need grass-roots strength to turn the nation's agenda around, especially to make defense and revival of our culture the top national priorities. The American people see our culture falling apart and will respond to a call to revive it. We must issue that call, cost what it may in good relations with the Washington establishment.

KARL ZINSMEISTER

Adjunct research associate with the American Enterprise Institute.

The most important problems the U.S. faces in the 1990s will largely be unamenable to political solutions. This is because they are, at root, moral disorders.

Policymakers can handle things like budget deficits. For all the professed outrage, the simple fact is that the deficit could literally be eliminated with the stroke of a pen. The only obstacle is a lack of nerve—a very old, not so frightening, human failing. But let policymakers try to solve the problem of tens of thousands of mothers