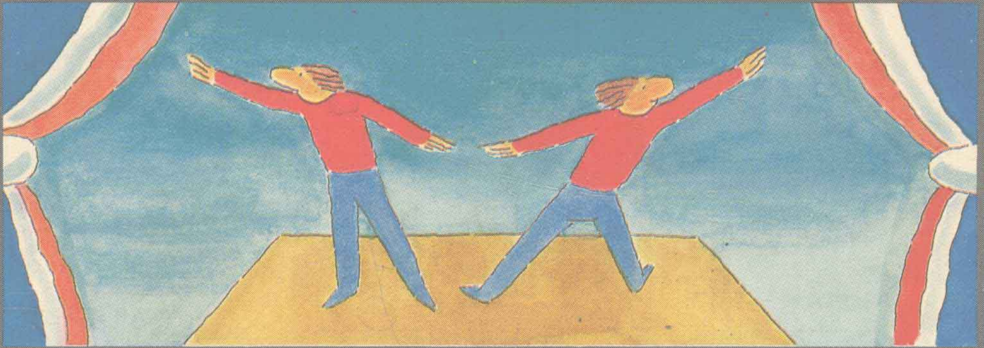
TAKING SIDES



Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues

Fifth Edition

George McKenna · Stanley Feingold

TAKING SIDES

Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues

Fifth Edition

We are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it.

—Thomas Jefferson

In memory of Hillman M. Bishop and Samuel Hendel, masters of an art often neglected by college teachers: teaching.

STAFF

Jeremy Brenner	Program Manager
Brenda Filley	Production Manager
Jean Bailey	Designer
Libra Ann Cusack	Typesetting Coordinator
Diane Barker	Editorial Assistant
Lynn Shannon	Graphics Coordinator

Copyright ©1987 by The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Guilford, Connecticut. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored, or otherwise transmitted by any means—mechanical, electronic, or otherwise—without written permission from the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 86-71774

Manufactured in the United States of America

Fifth Edition, First Printing

TAKING SIDES

Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues

Fifth Edition

Edited, Selected and with Introductions by

GEORGE MCKENNA, City College, City University of New York
and
STANLEY FEINGOLD, Westchester Community College

The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.
Guilford, Connecticut 06437

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

In the first edition of *Taking Sides* we said:

> The purpose of this book is to make a modest contribution toward the revival of political dialogue in America. What we propose to do is to examine some leading issues in American politics from the perspective of sharply opposed points of view. We have tried to select authors who argue their points vigorously but in such a way as to enhance our understanding of the issue.
>
> For each issue we have selected a pair of essays, one pro and one con. We hope the reader will examine each position carefully and then take sides.

The success of our first four editions has encouraged us to bring out this fifth, revised and expanded, version of *Taking Sides.* We have revised many issues, including the issues on Congress (Issue 4), war powers (Issue 5), the Supreme Court (Issue 7), the media (Issue 8), affirmative action (Issue 11), welfare (Issue 13), pornography (Issue 14), church and state (Issue 16), and Central America (Issue 17). We have added three new issues, "comparable worth" (Issue 12), terrorism (Issue 18), and the "Star Wars" debate (Issue 19). We have revised and brought up to date a number of our introductions and postscripts. We have also revised our introductory essay.

Despite these revisions, our basic thesis remains unchanged. We believe in public dialogue. We are convinced that the best way to guard against narrow-mindedness and fanaticism is to bring opposing views together and let them clash.

This does not mean that we consider all points of view to be equal. On the contrary, we encourage our readers to become partisans, as long as they support their positions with logic and facts, are able to make reasonable replies to opposing arguments, and are willing to revise their views if they are proven wrong.

The reader who has thoughtfully examined two antithetical views, each of which is expressed with all the evidence and eloquence that an informed advocate can bring to bear upon the argument, will also perceive that there are positions between and beyond the sharply differentiated essays that he or she has read.

In one sense, our approach resembles a series of formal debates of the kind conducted by debating teams and moot law courts. In another and more important sense, however, the conflicting arguments of this book represent something quite different. A debate is an intellectual game, in which opposition is explicit but artificial. By contrast, the es-

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

says included here were rarely written in direct response to one another. More important, they are public statements about real issues; both the political participants and the commentators are seeking the widest support for their positions. In every instance we have chosen what we believe to be an appropriate and well-reasoned statement by a committed advocate. If the argument contains an element of passion as well as reason, it is an element the student of American politics cannot afford to ignore. However, passion with substance is very different from empty rhetoric.

Although we have attempted in the Introduction to indicate the major alignments in American politics, a reflective reader of these essays will certainly realize that merely ascribing a label to a position will not dispose of it. Every analysis presented here has merit, insofar as it reflects some sense of political reality and represents a viewpoint shared by some Americans, and each analysis therefore demands to be dealt with on its own merits.

We hope that the reader who confronts lively and thoughtful statements on vital issues will be stimulated to ask critical questions about American politics. What are the highest-priority issues with which the government must deal today? What positions should be taken on these issues? What should be the attitude of Americans toward their government? To what extent, if any, does government need to be changed? How should it be organized in order to achieve the goals we set for it? What are these goals? We are convinced that a healthy, stable democracy requires a citizenry that considers these questions and participates—however indirectly—in answering them. The alternative is apathy, passivity, and, sooner or later, the rule of tyrants.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to acknowledge the encouragement and support given to this project by Rick Connelly, President of the Dushkin Publishing Group. We are grateful as well to Jeremy Brenner for his very able editorial supervision. We also wish to thank Dina Tritsch for calling to our attention one of the pieces on terrorism which we used in this edition. Needless to add, the responsibility for any errors of fact or judgment rests with us.

George McKenna
Stanley Feingold
New York City
October, 1986

CONTENTS

Preface to Fifth Edition ix
INTRODUCTION: LABELS AND ALIGNMENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS ... 1

PART I: HOW DEMOCRATIC IS THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS?

ISSUE 1. IS AMERICA RULED BY AN ELITE? 14

YES: G. William Domhoff, from *Who Rules America Now? A View for the 80's* 16

NO: Andrew M. Greeley, from *Building Coalitions: American Politics in the 1970's* 24

Social scientist G. William Domhoff sees American political life in terms of elite domination. Sociologist Andrew M. Greeley believes that there is no single, established center of power and points to the behavior of the system as evidence.

ISSUE 2. HAS PARTY REFORM SUCCEEDED? 30

YES: William J. Crotty, from *Decision for the Democrats: Reforming the Party Structure* 32

NO: Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., from *Where Have All the Voters Gone?* 41

Political scientist William Crotty contends that reform has opened up the political process and has given unprecedented influence to the rank-and-file party members. Professor Everett Carll Ladd believes that since the era of reform began, the political parties have become less able to perform their primary task of providing acceptable candidates for elective office.

ISSUE 3. DO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES UNDERMINE DEMOCRACY? 48

YES: Elizabeth Drew, from "Politics and Money," *The New Yorker* 50

NO: Robert Samuelson, from "The Campaign Reform Failure," *The New Republic* 61

Political journalist Elizabeth Drew believes that through lavish expenditures to candidates and members of Congress, political action committees corrupt the democratic political process. She contends their undesirable influence could be curbed by public financing of congressional election campaigns. Economist-journalist Robert Samuelson maintains that it would be as futile to attempt to reduce the influence of money as it would be undesirable to restrict free speech and political organization. To suppress PACs would curtail the democratic process, he claims.

PART II: DOES AMERICAN GOVERNMENT GOVERN WELL?

ISSUE 4. IS CONGRESS TOO WEAK? 72

YES: Gregg Easterbrook, from "What's Wrong With Congress," *The Atlantic Monthly* 74

NO: Gary Orfield, from *Congressional Power: Congress and Social Change* 86

Journalist Gregg Easterbrook believes that, before Congress can lead the nation, it must be able to lead itself, and it has notably failed to do so. Brookings Institution member Gary Orfield argues that Congress does a good job of reflecting the attitudes and trends of the electorate as a whole. If Congress seems unresponsive, he says, it is not the fault of the institution but a comment on the priorities of the country at the moment.

ISSUE 5. HAS CONGRESS RESTRICTED PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS TOO MUCH? **96**

YES: Barry Goldwater, from "A Sound Legislative Power?" US Senate Debate **98**

NO: Jacob Javits, from "War Powers Reconsidered," *Foreign Affairs* **103**

Senator Goldwater argues that, while Congress can "declare" war, only the president can "make" war. Only the president can act with adequate force and speed to protect national security. The late Senator Javits maintains that the War Powers Act reaffirms the intention of the Framers to ensure that the effective power to make war originates in the will of Congress.

ISSUE 6. DOES THE GOVERNMENT REGULATE TOO MUCH? **110**

YES: Barry Crickmer, from "Regulation: How Much is Enough?" *Nation's Business* **112**

NO: Susan and Martin Tolchin, from Dismantling America **118**

Editor Barry Crickmer argues that the interests of citizens and consumers could be better served by the forces of the profit motive than by government intervention. Journalists Martin and Susan Tolchin contend that without vigorous regulation businesses will destroy the environment and endanger lives in their single-minded pursuit of profit.

ISSUE 7. DOES THE SUPREME COURT ABUSE ITS POWER? **126**

YES: Joseph Sobran, from "Minority Rule," *The National Review* **128**

NO: Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., from "The Constitution of the United States: Contemporary Ratification," Symposium, Georgetown University, Washington, DC **133**

Journalist Joseph Sobran believes that the Supreme Court has inverted its original role and now wields the arbitrary power it was intended to check. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., holds that judges have a duty to interpret the Constitution and to protect the democratic process.

ISSUE 8. REGULATING MEDIA: IS THE "FAIRNESS DOCTRINE" UNFAIR? **140**

YES: Dan Rather, from *Address to US Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation* **142**

NO: Elaine Donnelly, from *Address to US Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation* **148**

CBS Anchor Dan Rather, argues that the "fairness doctrine" tends to chill dissent and discourage the full and robust coverage of controversial issues. Conservative activist, Elaine Donnelly, argues that the "fairness doctrine" is the only means of forcing the networks to provide some semblance of balanced news coverage.

PART III: SOCIAL CHANGE IN AMERICA: HOW MUCH AND WHAT KIND?

ISSUE 9. WILL TOUGHER SENTENCING REDUCE CRIME? **156**

YES: James Q. Wilson, from *Thinking About Crime* **158**

NO: David L. Bazelon, from "Solving the Nightmare of Street Crime," *USA Today* **171**

Political scientist James Q. Wilson says that the prospect of swift and certain punishment is more likely to reduce violent crime than are social programs aimed at relieving poverty. Federal judge David Bazelon defends his position that meaningful crime control must focus on the social conditions that breed it in the first place.

ISSUE 10. IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT JUSTIFIED? **180**

YES: Walter Berns, from *For Capital Punishment: Crime and the Morality of the Death Penalty* **182**

NO: Donal E. J. MacNamara, from "The Case Against Capital Punishment" **189**

Professor Walter Berns is convinced that the death penalty has a place in modern society and that it serves a need now, as it did when the Constitution was framed. Criminologist Donal MacNamara presents a ten-point argument against capital punishment, raising ethical and practical questions concerning the death penalty.

ISSUE 11. IS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REVERSE DISCRIMINATION? **198**

YES: Glenn C. Loury, from "Beyond Civil Rights," *The New Republic* **200**

NO: Herman Schwartz, from "In Defense of Affirmative Action," *Dissent* **207**

Harvard professor Glenn Loury contends that insistence on "ill-suited" civil rights strategies makes it impossible for blacks to achieve full equality in American society. Author Herman Schwartz argues that we must somehow undo the cruel consequences of racism that still plague our society and its victims.

ISSUE 12. SHOULD WORKERS BE PAID ACCORDING TO "COMPARABLE WORTH"? **214**

YES: Ronnie Steinberg and Lois Haignere, from "Now is the Time for Pay Equity," *Consumer Research* **216**

NO: Geoffrey Cowley, from "Comparable Worth: Another Terrible Idea," *The Washington Monthly* **221**

Feminist writers, Ronnie Steinberg and Lois Haignere argue that, since certain tasks traditionally assigned to females are low-paying, we must redesign pay scales in general, according to their "comparable worth." Geoffrey Cowley, a newspaper columnist, claims that it is impossible to calculate "comparable worth," and that the effort to do so will create a confusing bureaucratic tangle and even worse inequities.

ISSUE 13. DOES OUR WELFARE SYSTEM HURT THE POOR? **228**

YES: Charles Murray, from *Losing Ground* **230**

NO: Sar A. Levitan, from "The Evolving Welfare System," *Society* **237**

Economics professor Sar A. Levitan believes that the welfare system has been a rational, necessary and workable instrument for dealing with poverty. Political scientist Charles Murray maintains that the best welfare policy, at least for able-bodied working-age people, is no welfare support by the government.

ISSUE 14. SHOULD PORNOGRAPHY BE PROTECTED AS FREE SPEECH? **244**

YES: Hendrick Hertzberg, from "Big Boobs," *The New Republic* **246**

NO: James C. Dobson, from *Final Report of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography*, Washington, DC **253**

Editor of the *The New Republic*, Hendrik Hertzberg, is concerned that the 1986 report of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography may lead to the suppression of free speech. Dr. James Dobson, one of the members of the commission supports the commissions's conclusion that violent and degrading pornography is harmful and should be prosecuted under existing law.

ISSUE 15. SHOULD ABORTION BE OUTLAWED? **260**

YES: Ronald Reagan, from "Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation," *The Human Life Review* **262**

NO: Beverly Wildung Harrison, from *Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion* **268**

President Ronald Reagan argues that abortion involves the killing of innocent human beings and is not essentially different from infanticide. Ethics professor Beverly Wildung Harrison contends that the right to abort must be included among the rights essential to women's freedom.

ISSUE 16. SHOULD WE HAVE A "WALL OF SEPARATION" BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE? **274**

YES: James E. Wood, Jr., from "Religious Pluralism and American Society," *Journal of Church and State* **276**

NO: George Goldberg, from *Reconsecrating America* **282**

Professor James E. Wood, Jr., maintains that religious pluralism is the historical source of, and the best argument for, church-state separation. Lawyer George Goldberg holds that government may not prefer one religion over another but should accommodate the needs of different faiths.

PART IV: AMERICA AND THE WORLD: WHAT POLICIES ARE BEST?

ISSUE 17. CENTRAL AMERICA: SHOULD THE U.S. AID THE "CONTRAS"? **292**

YES: John P. East, from US Senate Debate **294**

NO: Christopher Dodd, from US Senate Debate **298**

The late Senator John East says that without Contra aid the Soviets will be able to impose a military solution in Central America. Senator Christopher Dodd contends that more American military force is not the way to deal with the underlying problems of the region.

ISSUE 18. CAN AMERICAN MILITARY ACTION CURB INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM? **302**

YES: Benjamin Netanyahu, from "Terrorism: How the West Can Win," *Time* **304**

NO: Conor Cruise O'Brien, from "Thinking About Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly* **311**

Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, believes that the United States can sharply reduce terrorism by applying political, economic and military pressure. Conor Cruise O'Brien, former Deputy Chief of the Irish Delegation to the U.N., believes that only American moral consistency will achieve the coordinated international action that can curb terrorism.

ISSUE 19. SHOULD WE CONTINUE "STAR WARS" RESEARCH? **318**

YES: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert Jastrow, and Max M. Kampelman, from "Defense in Space is Not 'Star Wars,' " *The New York Times Magazine* **320**

NO: McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert McNamara, and Gerald Smith, from "The President's Choice: Star Wars or Arms Control," *Foreign Affairs* **329**

Brzezinski, Jastrow and Kampelman believe the Strategic Defense Initiative can deflect a nuclear attack and thereby enhance the deterrent effect of our security system and reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. Bundy, Kennan, McNamara and Smith maintain that "Star Wars", holding out a false hope that a defense can be created against nuclear attack, will lead to the development of new weapons rather than arms control.

ISSUE 20. HUMAN RIGHTS: SHOULD WE PREFER AUTHORITARIANISM TO COMMUNISM? **336**

YES: Jeane Kirkpatrick, from "Human Rights and American Foreign Policy: A Symposium," *Commentary* **338**

NO: Alan Tonelson, from "Human Rights: The Bias We Need," *Foreign Policy* **344**

Jeane Kirkpatrick, former ambassador to the United Nations, suggests that by failing to distinguish between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" forms of government, by concentrating on human rights violations by "friendly" regimes, we are injuring our own interests and failing to protect human rights. Alan Tonelson, associate editor of the *Wilson Quarterly*, says that we should reverse Kirkpatrick's priorities: we should put public pressure on "friendly" authoritarian regimes and work behind the scenes to stop human rights violations by Communist regimes.

Contributors **352**
Index **356**

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

INTRODUCTION: LABELS AND ALIGNMENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Stanley Feingold
George McKenna

According to the pollsters, Americans are becoming increasingly reluctant to call themselves "liberals." More and more prefer the term "moderate," and a considerable number call themselves "conservatives." Yet this apparent shift away from "liberalism" may be misleading. Liberal commentators point out that Americans may not *call* themselves "liberal" but they *are* liberal on many key issues. Conservative commentators dispute that claim. They point out that the American people have twice elected Ronald Reagan to the presidency—the second time by a massive landslide—and have given him the highest approval ratings given to any president since Franklin Roosevelt. Reagan has been calling himself a "conservative" for a generation, and his behavior in office generally fits the "conservative" mold, so the American people have made more than a purely semantic shift away from liberalism. To this argument the liberals have a rejoinder: Americans may like Ronald Reagan, but they don't like his philosophy; indeed, liberals say, Reagan played down his "conservatism" in order to get reelected. His technique, which is the hallmark of all successful American politicians, is to paint his opponents into the corner, make them look like far-out "radicals," while characterizing himself as a "moderate" and a supporter of a "pluralistic" America.

Liberal, conservative, moderate, radical, pluralist—do these terms have any meaning? They may be useful to politicians and pollsters, but do they help us to understand opposing views on the major issues that face America today? We believe that they do, but that they must be used thoughtfully. Otherwise, the terms may end up obscuring or oversimplifying positions. Our purpose in this Introduction is to explore the basic, core meanings of the terms in order to make them useful to us as citizens.

LIBERALS VERSUS CONSERVATIVES: AN OVERVIEW

The underlying distinction between liberals and conservatives grows out of their respective views of human nature. Liberals tend toward optimism, conservatives toward pessimism (conservatives would say realism). In the eighteenth century, Jonathan Swift, author of *Gulliver's Travels*, expressed a conservative attitude when he said: "I hate and detest that animal called man, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth." Shakespeare, on the other hand, anticipated the liberal view in an exclamation by one of his characters: "What a piece of work

is man! How noble in reason, how infinite in faculties!" (Hamlet, Act, II scene ii). Liberals have sometimes even believed in the perfectibility of humankind and have thus emphasized the need for education, a free press, political participation, and other stimuli to the mind and spirit. Although these liberal hopes have usually proven to be excessive, they have produced important social and political changes: universal public education, the extension of suffrage, primary elections, the secret ballot, and special programs to extend cultural opportunities to the poor. Liberals contend that there are virtually no limits to what people can understand and do, given a decent environment. In the Middle Ages, limitless intelligence was thought to be the property of angels; today's liberals seek to extend it to all human beings.

Conservatives scorn what they consider to be the illusions of liberals. They believe that people have limited capacities for elevating their minds and spirits, and that, limited as these capacities are, they are even more limited in some people than in others. Conservatives contend that there is a kind of natural hierarchy among people. Even American conservatives will somtimes voice some skepticism about the chief premise of the Declaration of Independence: that "all men are created equal." In terms of individual talent, conservatives believe, people are not created equal; some are naturally more intelligent than others. Conservatives tend to assume that it is the few, rather than the many, who have the mental capacity for higher education and political participation. American conservatism does not imply a yearning for the return of feudalism or government by kings or clergy, but it does inveigh against "mobocracy" and expresses concern about what happens to the political process when "the masses" get involved in it. "The time is not distant," said Gouverneur Morris at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, "when this country will abound with mechanics and manufacturers who will receive their bread from their employers. Will such men be secure and faithful guardians of liberty?" He doubted it. In more recent times, political scientist Robert Dahl has remarked that when the masses get into politics, "emotion rises and reasoned discussion declines." Though Dahl is better characterized as a "pluralist" (a term to be explained presently) than as a conservative, his view of the masses is compatible with the conservative outlook.

Let us examine, very briefly, the historical evolution of the terms "liberalism" and "conservatism." By examining the roots of these terms, we can see how these philosophies have adapted themselves to changing times. In that way, we can avoid using the terms rigidly, without reference to the particular contexts in which liberalism and conservatism have operated over the past two centuries.

Classical Liberalism

The classical root of the term "liberalism" is the Latin word *libertas*, meaning "liberty" or "freedom." In the early nineteenth century, liberals dedicated themselves to freeing individuals from all unnecessary and oppressive obligations to authority—whether the authority came from the

church or the state. They opposed the licensing and censorship of the press, the punishment of heresy, the "establishment" of religion and any attempt to dictate "orthodoxy" in matters of opinion. In economics, liberals opposed state monopolies and other constraints upon competition between private businesses. At this point in its development, liberalism defined "freedom" primarily in terms of freedom *from*. It appropriated the French term *laissez-faire*, which literally means "leave to be." Leave people alone! That was the spirit of liberalism in its early days. It wanted government to stay out of people's lives and to play a modest role in general. Thomas Jefferson summed up this concept when he said: "I am no friend of energetic government. It is always oppressive."

Despite their suspicion of government, classical liberals invested high hopes in the political process. By and large, they were great believers in democracy. They believed in widening the suffrage to include every white male, and some of them were prepared to enfranchise women and blacks as well. Although liberals occasionally worried about "the tyranny of the majority," they were more prepared to trust the masses than to trust a permanent, entrenched elite. Then, as now, liberal social policy was dedicated to fulfilling every human potential and was based on the assumption that this often-hidden potential is enormous. Human beings, liberals argued, were basically good and reasonable. Evil and irrationality were believed to be caused by "outside" influences; they were the result of a bad social environment. A liberal commonwealth, therefore, was one which would remove the hindrances to the full flowering of the human personality.

The basic vision of liberalism has not changed since the nineteenth century. What has changed is the way it is applied to modern society. In that respect, liberalism has changed dramatically. Today, instead of regarding government with suspicion, liberals welcome government as an instrument to serve the people. The change in philosophy began in the latter years of the nineteenth century, when businesses—once small, independent operations—began to grow into giant structures that overwhelmed individuals and sometimes even overshadowed the state in power and wealth. At that time, liberals began reconsidering their commitment to the *laissez-faire* philosophy. If the state can be an oppressor, asked liberals, can't big business also oppress people? By then, many were convinced that commercial and industrial monopolies were crushing the souls and bodies of the working classes. The state, formerly the villain, now was viewed by liberals as a potential savior. The concept of "freedom" was transformed into something more than a negative freedom *from*; the term began to take on a positive meaning. It meant "realizing one's full potential." Toward this end, liberals believed, the state could prove to be a valuable instrument. It could educate children, protect the health and safety of workers, help people through hard times, promote a healthy economy, and—when necessary—force business to act more humanely and responsibly. Thus was born the movement that culminated in "New Deal liberalism."

New Deal Liberalism

In the United States, the argument in favor of state intervention did not win a truly popular constituency until after the Great Depression of the 1930s began to be felt deeply. The disastrous effects of a depression that left a quarter of the work force unemployed opened the way to a new administration—and a promise. "I pledge you, I pledge myself," Franklin D. Roosevelt said when accepting the Democratic nomination in 1932, "to a new deal for the American people." Roosevelt's New Deal was an attempt to effect relief and recovery from the depression; it employed a variety of means, including welfare programs, public works and business regulation—most of which involved government intervention in the economy. The New Deal liberalism relied on democratic government to liberate people from poverty, oppression, and economic exploitation. At the same time, the New Dealers claimed to be as zealous as the classical liberals in defending political and civil liberties.

The common element in *laissez-faire* liberalism and welfare state liberalism is their dedication to the goal of realizing the full potential of each individual. Some still questioned whether this was best done by minimizing state involvement or whether it sometimes required an activist state. The New Dealers took the latter view, though they prided themselves on being pragmatic and experimental about their activism. During the heyday of the New Deal, a wide variety of programs were tried and—if found wanting—abandoned. All decent means should be tried, they believed, even if it meant dilution of ideological purity. The Roosevelt administration, for example, denounced bankers and businessmen in campaign rhetoric but worked very closely with them while trying to extricate the nation from the Depression. This set a pattern of pragmatism that New Dealers from Harry Truman to Lyndon Johnson emulated.

New Politics Liberalism

New Politics liberalism emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a more militant and uncompromising movement than the New Deal had ever been. The civil rights' slogan, "Freedom Now," expressed the mood of the New Politics. The Vietnam peace movement demanded "unconditional" withdrawal from Vietnam. The young university graduates who filled the ranks of the New Politics had come from an environment where "non-negotiable" demands were issued to college deans by leaders of sit-in protests. There was more than youthful arrogance in the New Politics movement, however; there was a pervasive belief that America had lost, had compromised away, much of its idealism. The New Politics liberals sought to recover some of that spirit by linking up with an older tradition of militant reform, which went back to the time of the Revolution. These new liberals saw themselves as the authentic heirs of Tom Paine and Henry David Thoreau, of the abolitionists, the radical populists, the suffragettes, and the great progressive reformers of the early twentieth century.

While New Deal liberals concentrated almost exclusively on bread-and-butter issues such as unemployment and poverty, the New Politics liberals introduced what came to be known as "social issues" into the politi-

cal arena. These included: the repeal of laws against abortion, the liberalization of laws against homosexuality and pornography, the establishment of affirmative action programs to ensure increased hiring of minorities and women, and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. In foreign policy too, New Politics liberals departed from the New Deal agenda. Because they had keener memories of the unpopular, and (for them) unjustified war in Vietnam than of World War II, they became "doves," in contrast to the general "hawkishness" of the New Dealers. They are skeptical of any claim that the United States must be the leader of the "free world," and they emphatically reject the notion that America must seek superiority in armaments over the Soviet Union. They are not isolationists (of all the political groups in America, they are probably the most supportive of the United Nations), and they claim to be as concerned as any other group that America's defenses be adequate. They minimize, however, the danger to the West of an outright Soviet invasion. The real danger, they argue, comes not from Soviet military advances but from mutual miscalculations that could lead to a nuclear holocaust. All of the above issues are touched upon in this book.

The schism between New Deal liberalism and New Politics liberalism was evident during the 1984 Democratic primaries. Walter Mondale was the candidate of organized labor, remaining old-style Democratic organization leaders, senior citizens, and others who saw the battle against the Republicans primarily in terms of economic welfare issues. Mondale's candidacy, then, had overtones of New Deal liberalism. Gary Hart, on the other hand, seemed to be most popular with "yuppies" (young urban professionals), who had come of age during the 1960s and early 1970s. They saw economic aid to the needy as only one of a number of issues. "Social issues" such as environmental problems, feminist concerns, America's involvement in Central America, and, more generally, the need to be "modern" and "relevant" were high on their agenda. In his convention speech, Hart proclaimed that "it is better to be mistaken than to be irrelevant."

Most of the voters following the campaign were aware that the differences between Mondale and Hart were more matters of style than of substance. Both subscribed to all of the "social issues" positions of the New Politics. Both favored gay rights, legalized abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action programs. Indeed, these positions were written into the 1984 Democratic platform by a committee controlled by Mondale delegates. Hart lost the nomination, but his "yuppie" constituency—or at least its philosophy on "social issues"—has been increasingly dominant in the leadership circles of the Democratic party. For example, in 1984 Ann Lewis, political director of the Democratic National Committee, said, "Gay rights is no longer a debatable issue within the Democratic party." Before 1972, it would have been a highly debatable issue; in 1968, it would have been unthinkable to even mention such an issue.

Conservatism

Like liberalism, conservatism has undergone historical transformation in America. Just as early American liberals (represented by Thomas

Jefferson) espoused less government, early conservatives (whose earliest leaders were Alexander Hamilton and John Adams) urged government support of economic enterprise and government intervention on behalf of privileged groups. By the time of the New Deal, and in reaction to the growth of the welfare state since that time, conservatives have argued strongly that more government means more unjustified interference in citizens' lives, more bureaucratic regulation of private conduct, more inhibiting control of economic enterprise, more material advantage for the less energetic and less able at the expense of those who are prepared to work harder and better, and, of course, more taxes—taxes that will be taken from those who earned the money and given to those who have not earned it.

Contemporary conservatives are not always opposed to state intervention. They may support larger military expenditures in order to protect society against foreign enemies. They may also allow for some intrusion into private life in order to protect society against internal subversion and would pursue criminal prosecution zealously in order to protect society against domestic violence. The fact is that few conservatives, and perhaps fewer liberals, are absolute with respect to their views about the power of the state. Both are quite prepared to use the state in order to further *their* purposes. It is true that "activist" presidents such as Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy were likely to be classified as liberals. However, Richard Nixon was also an "activist," and, although he does not easily fit any classification, he was far closer to conservatism than to liberalism. It is too easy to identify liberalism with statism and conservatism with anti-statism; it is important to remember that it was liberal Jefferson who counseled against "energetic government" and conservative Alexander Hamilton who designed bold powers for the new central government and wrote: "Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government."

Neoconservatism and the New Right

Two newer varieties of conservatism have arisen to challenge the dominant strain of conservatism that opposed the New Deal. Those who call themselves (or have finally allowed themselves to be called) "neoconservatives" are recent converts to conservatism. Many of them are former New Deal Democrats, and some like to argue that it is not they who have changed; it is the Democratic party, which has allowed itself to be taken over by advocates of the New Politics. However true that may be, as neoconservatives they now emphasize themes that were largely unspoken in their earlier views. They recognize, as did the New Dealers, the legitimacy of social reform, but now they warn against carrying it too far and creating an arrogant bureaucracy. They support equal opportunity, as they always did, but now they underscore the distinction between equal opportunity and equality of result, which they identify as the goal of affirmative action programs. Broadly speaking, neoconservatism shares with the older variety of conservatism a high respect for tradition and a view of human nature that some would call pessimistic. Neoconservatives, like all conservatives, are also deeply concerned about the Communist threat to America. They advise shoring up America's

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com