

E. Clasen Young

H.W. Crocker III

# California Review

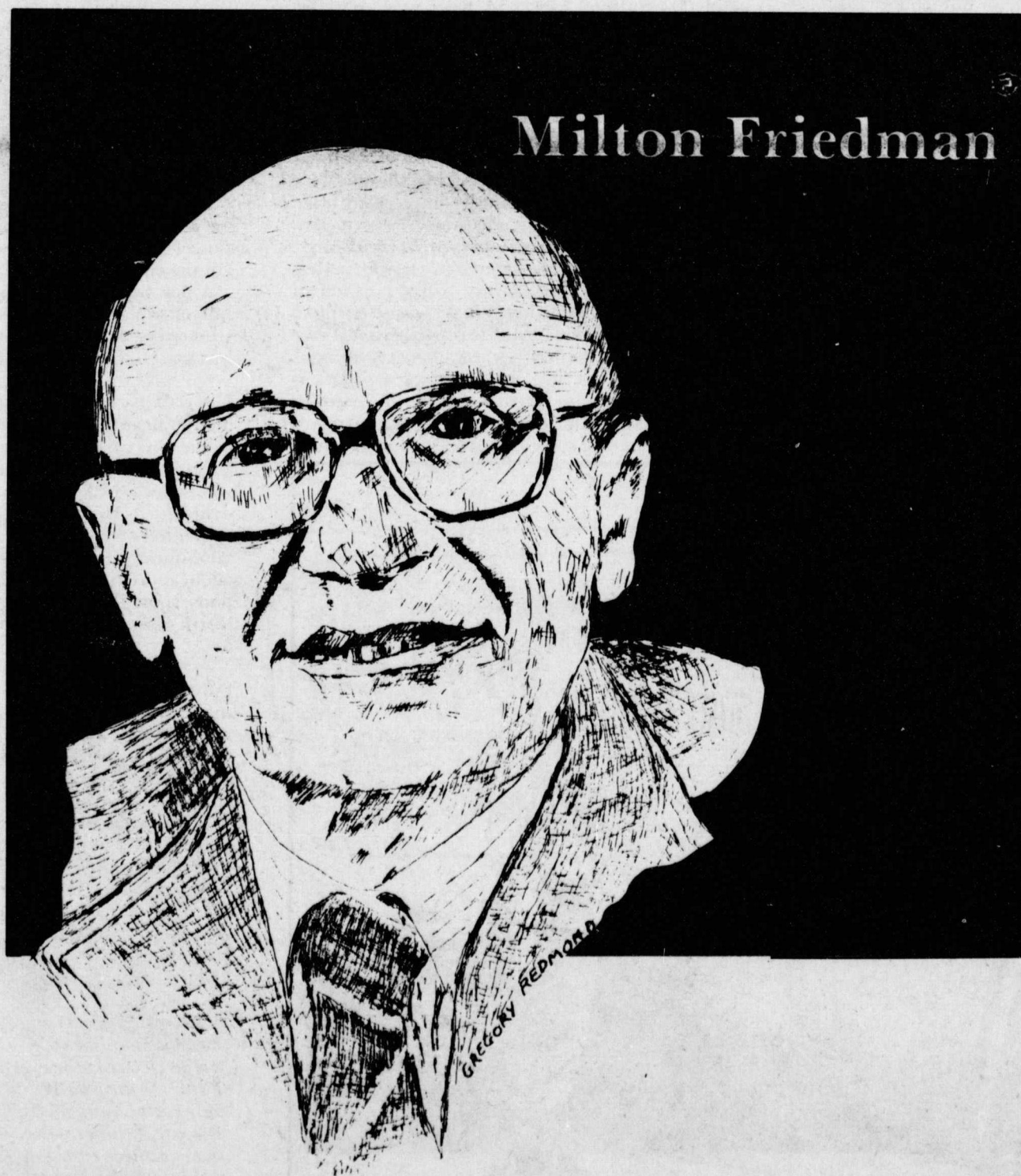
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Suzanne L. Schott on Burke  
C. Brandon Crocker on Third  
World Poverty  
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Also: Midge Decter, Jeffrey Hart . . .





## Is the West in Danger?

By Midge Decter

The title of my talk can hardly even be called a rhetorical question. Everyone in this room knows the West is in danger. Why else, indeed, are we here if not to take counsel about that very fact? The truth is we have all come, even if by separate routes, to the same sense of urgency. Speaking for myself, I would say it is a terrible sense of urgency, bred in the idea I cannot shake loose; that we have never been closer to losing that which it has been our unique historical privilege to be the guardians of. I mean, of course, nothing else than our very freedom. That freedom is nowadays threatened in many ways. Again, I need not list them all in this company.

There is, for instance, no need to speak here of Soviet weapons and the almost uninterrupted, brazen encroachments of Soviet ideology. Any reading of one's morning paper is a sufficient reminder of both. Nor do I aim to speak of the adequacy or inadequacy of the present administration in responding to those encroachments. Where I live, at least — which lately feels to me as if it is on the shuttle between New York and Washington — we have been speaking of little else for nearly a year now. Our disappointment is in inverse ratio to our high hopes — the first in decades — of a year ago. But there are dangers to freedom that the Reagan Administration, or any other administration, can do nothing about, for they stem from our relation to life and reality — and it is one of these that I wish to call attention to today.

In the end, I believe it is a far more intractable and possibly far more divisive danger than either the aggressiveness of our enemy or the so far less-than-forceful responses of our government to it. The danger I am referring to is that contained in a simple, deadly, corrosive question. This question, spoken or unspoken, is in the air all around us. It infuses our culture, it dogs the education of our children, and it seeps, unless we are eternally vigilant, into the very marrow of our bones. It is a liberal question, fundamentally, but calling ourselves conservatives will not, by itself, protect us from its simple, deadly, corrosive effects on our private spirits and on our public conduct. The question I mean is expressed in two short words that, put together and combined with the interrogative, might nowadays just be the two most potent words in the English language. They are, "So what?" As in, John loves Mary — so what? As in, a precious constitutional principle is being violated — so what? As when the novel or film or play or music currently being touted as a profound masterpiece by our cultural standardbearers is actually a piece of meretricious junk — so what? One could nowadays apply this formulation in immediately recognizable ways to just about every area of life — private, communal, national, international; to sex, to family obligations, to cultural standards, to our demands on public officials, to our reading of their demands on us, and to our sense, or lack of sense, of responsibility to

the world at large.

The West Europeans are on a course of surrendering themselves voluntarily to the ultimate inroads of Sovietization? Well, let them. We can surely defend our own borders. Elections that do not produce the desired results can be negotiated away in the service of public relations or social convenience? Well, is that not the way the world really works anyway? Why kid ourselves? Each wedding we now attend feels not like a sacramental initiation into the tides and currents of man's fruitful sojourn on earth, but rather like a throw of the dice? Well, after all, we have a new set of social relations replacing the old.

But there is one area of our social attitudes in which the cynicism and despair of "So what?" seems to me to have become most particularly pervasive and threatening. This area, I suppose, is affected by the present government's failure to act. But the speed and ease, with which it took over in the first place must tell us something we cannot deny about the deeper sickly condition of our national ethos.

I am speaking about the near obliteration of what we refer to in the shorthand of public discussion as the idea of merit and its substitution by the idea of group or class entitlement. This substitution is not, and never has been, as its proponents claim, an issue of justice or even, as many of its opponents claim, an issue of injustice. It is, and always has been, a matter of cynicism, plain and simple. We are facing a problem caused by the maldistribution of achievements and awards? Very well, then, we shall — by fiat — declare the nature of achievement null and void. And do not deceive yourselves; affirmative action is not only a matter of employment and educational accreditation. Tomorrow, as we see, it will touch the electoral process itself; indeed, it is already doing so, and from there it will touch everything. That is why a stroke of Reagan's pen, though it would make a very great difference, will not by itself suffice to rid us of this spiritual cancer. A basic principle dismantled will, like Humpty Dumpty, not so easily be put together again. And the basic principle here goes deeper than equality of opportunity, though this in itself is the one truly revolutionary discovery of the modern world — our nation's discovery, by virtue of which we have been the one benignly revolutionary nation in modern history. Nevertheless, the principle goes deeper even than that. It is, like the question that undermines it, a blindingly simple principle: that reality counts for something. That it has weight. That it has meaning, and will not be denied.

I have said that affirmative action, the most perfect example of "So what?", is not really a matter of employment and education. What I was referring to is the underlying message of this policy, a message taken to heart all over this society; that everything is a fraud, a racket, a deal, an arrangement. Work is nothing; standing is everything. What one needs in this life — and there is not an issue of a women's magazine, for instance, that does not somewhere

carry an article or a passage of an article pointing this out — is not ambition, energy, training, and that one indispensable and completely incommensurable trait for success called, where I come from, "moxy." One does not need these things. What one needs is a network — old-boy, old-girl, or racial.

Look at any list of grants awarded by major foundations. Look at any list of literary or journalistic prizes, of honorary degrees, of appointments to boards, of awards that carry gold plaques, and you will see the work of a committee which by now does not need to calculate percentages, for they are imprinted on the very nervous system. Does all this matter? There is that insidious question again. It matters — nothing more. Take something, for example, that might not sound very important. Each favorable review of a book the reviewer himself knows to be bad but is the work of a woman, or a black, or a homosexual, or just an enemy of ordinary life (and we see such a review, somewhere, every day) is a blow at the proposition that there is good and bad, worthy and unworthy, healthy and unhealthy; in short, a blow at the proposition that life is weighty and has consequences. Each blow at this proposition produces another divorce, another deserted child, another decision to abort the fetus that amniocentesis reveals to be imperfect, another impulse to pull the plug on a sick parent, another homosexual, another mugging.

Am I being extreme? All this from affirmative action? Yes. All this from the same sense of life that made affirmative action a feasible policy. All this, in other words, from "So what?" But what, you might ask, does this have to do with the fact that 300 SS-20's are pointed at Europe; that a new Soviet fleet sails the seven seas; that our European allies are, without saying so, considering the possibility of surrender and that in order to wheedle them into reconsidering we disastrously send negotiators to Geneva or Vienna; that the Soviets have launched the most massive propaganda campaign in three decades to disarm us and that we have had to stand by sheepishly as this campaign has swept across our own shores and thrown our populace and our politicians into deep confusion? The answer is — everything. It has everything to do with these things. Those Soviet missiles, ships, and lies are being armed in all the more deadly fashion by our own decay. We have not — not yet — applied our so dangerous question to the prospect of Soviet conquest, but we are coming close. I do not think in the end we would do so — but "in the end" is too late.

A few years ago, the *New York Times* carried a story about an antidraft demonstration at Princeton University. I think it was antidraft. The occasion was forgettable, blended into so many others like it. What was unforgettable, however, was the news photo that accompanied the story. It was of a young man — healthy, vital, privileged, tanned, no doubt, by the suns of skiing in Vermont and beaching in the Virgin Islands. He was carrying a placard on which was scrawled the motto, "There is nothing worth dying for." He is our child, that young man. We desperately do not wish for him to die. But his announcement on that placard is an announcement about more than the draft, more than nuclear weapons, more than war. He who says there is nothing worth dying for says there is nothing worth living for.

We, as a society, have some measure of responsibility for the message on that placard, for the fact that a young American — the healthiest, luckiest, most tenderly treated young man in history, at the height of his physical and sexual powers, marching around that pretty, pretty town on a day of bright sunshine — we have some responsibility for the fact that he could find nothing of value save his own skin; neither mother, nor father, nor kith, nor kin, nor country, nor God. Nietzsche said that he who values only staying alive has the mind of a slave. Until we take it upon ourselves to make that boy a free man — both: free and a man — the continued survival of our own freedom as a nation will not be assured.

This speech was given at the annual meeting of the Philadelphia Society in Chicago April 17, 1982. Midge Decter is the executive director of The Committee for the Free World, composed of a number of eminent authors and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. Formerly the senior editor of *Basic Books* and executive editor of Harper's, Miss Decter is the author of *The New Chastity and Liberal Parents, Radical Children*.

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## Letters



Dear Mr. Young:  
Congratulations. It is lively, literate, and fun to read. All the best to you.

Yours cordially,

William F. Buckley, Jr.  
New York

California Review.

I think your publication is purely and utterly stupendous. The wit, humor, and biting chastisements of the Left are unequaled in any publication I have encountered lately. Keep up the good work.

Thank you,

John Mabie  
San Diego

P.S. I am currently attending San Diego Mesa College and will be at UCSD for the winter session next year. I am looking forward to my transfer and plan to participate actively in the University's conservative movement. Please contact me with information on present endeavors and future plans of the California Review and the College Republicans of UCSD.

Viva Conservatism!  
Go Reagan!

P.S.S. Thanks for the tip on Gilder's book; it was great.

Dear Eric,

Thank you for sending me the California Review. I read every word and was delighted. I thoroughly agree with your stand on affirmative action and thought it was very well expressed. And I was interested and amused by other articles. Where did you get the Cruikshank drawings?

Love,

Granny  
Burge Plantation  
Mansfield, Georgia

Dear Mr. Young,

We hope for the success of your new publication. My husband is a scientist engaged in cancer research (monoclonal antibody and tumor antigen) at Scripps Clinic.

Many scientists believe that only liberals support research. We would like to correct that impression. My husband and I would be happy to contribute a short article to your paper. Please call us if you are interested.

Best regards,

G.L. Reifeld  
La Jolla

An Open Letter to the California Review.

We find your attempt at right-wing, pseudo-satirical journalism to be tasteless and gutless in addition to its admitted elitist, racist, sexist, and ageist viewpoint.

While you obviously think that thin guise of humor will temper the ferocity of your remarks we find that this rather feeble attempt at satire only emphasizes your already archaic attitudes. Your "President" and "Editress" founded the paper to preserve the "American Way." This questionable attempt at journalism certainly carries this out. You preserve the American way of blindness and ineptitude in dealing with the rest of the world.

We cannot call for you to cease publication. We, thankfully, do not have that right. But we can call on anyone who reads your periodical to leave your stacks of papers untouched upon publication. If your advertisers do not see any significant circulation they certainly (and hopefully) will discontinue their support. We also call upon all UCSD students and staff to boycott your advertisers: Conoco (an oil conglomerate), See Dory gift store, La Jolla Barbering and Styling, The Toggery Shop, Lilly Pulitzer resortwear, and Coors (an oppressive outfit to begin with).

We are sending copies of this letter to the new indicator and to the UCSD Guardian. While we may not always agree with their stance on issues, we know that they believe in equal time.

Jean Dangler

Dean H. Haas

Editor's note:

California radicals are a miserable lot. For a long time this campus has been the turf of ideologue blockheads with designs on replacing our constitutional system with their highschool term projects. Leftists are, understandably, threatened by the prospect of more information reaching their sheep. Boycotts, namecalling, obscene phone calls and other McCarthy tactics, however, don't carry any intellectual weight.

What makes these folks afraid? Is it because they're witless? The current wisdom is that Solzhenitsyn was invented by the CIA.

—ECY

## California Review

Credo: *We few, we happy few, for he who picks up this paper today shall be my brother, be he ne'er so vile, this paper will gentle his condition.*

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California Review was founded on the sunny afternoon of seven, January, nineteen-hundred and eighty-two, by Young and Sullivan, two American history fanatics engaging in discourse on preserving the American Way.



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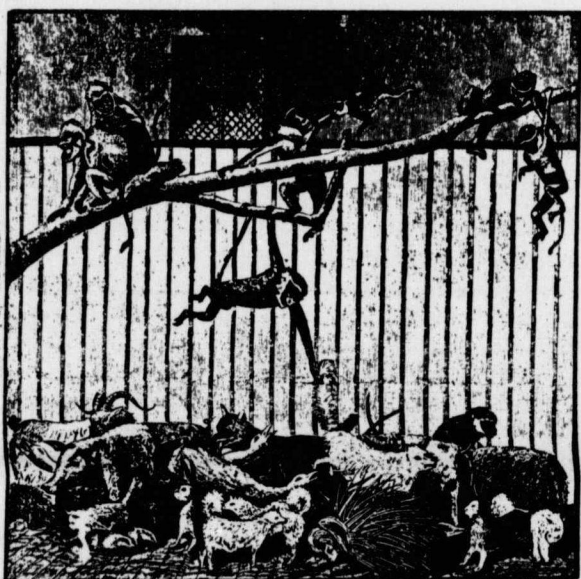
# In Review

■ UCSD has affirmed its devotion to seriousness and high standards by unveiling *Women's Studies* and *Black Performing Arts Program* minors as new entries in its list of academic disciplines.

■ Kabul Corral, Afghanistan: Two years after Brother Brezhnev launched his peace crusade into Afghanistan, Moscow continues banning western reporters from the fun. But internal sources indicate that the Soviets are shooting *each other* with real bullets—thus usurping freedom-fighter responsibilities. A Communist Party power struggle resulted in a gunfight at the Presidential palace in Kabul leaving eight dead.

■ What's worse than a President's lavish vacation schedule? Give up? Paying some bonehead at Newsweek to complain about it.

■ Campaign promises can come true. Today most Argentines are millionaires—indeed, multimillionaires—just as Colonel Juan Domingo Peron prophesied when he rose to power in the 1940s. Thanks to an average inflation rate of 140 percent, a million pesos are exchangeable for \$43.00 in the United States.



■ One would expect UCSD's Welcome Week to be a time when students are taught how to use the campus libraries and how to read a book. Not so. The University was offering such scintillating diversifications as "COLLEGE AND FREEDOM: MAKING CHOICES ABOUT SEX. Men and women are invited to a wide-ranging discussion about meeting and choosing sex partners, alternative sexual lifestyles, and sexual decision-making within relationships." Not to mention "HOPE IS NOT A METHOD", a birth control seminar. If we're going to be open, we should stop calling ourselves the University of California at San Diego and start calling ourselves the University of California for Sin and Debauchery.

■ I HAVE A DREAM DEPARTMENT: The forces of integration continued their struggle during Welcome Week, too. Featured was the Asian Student Orientation, Black Student Orientation, Black Community Get-together, Black Students Science Organization Orientation, and Black Students Union Dance.

■ Joseph "Jo-Jo" Giorgianni the 565-pound asthmatic and sex offender who was released from prison because his cell did not have air conditioning was reincarcerated after he was seen treating himself with cigars while in a casino. Mr. Giorgianni is serving time for the rape of a 14-year-old girl. He claimed that there was nothing wrong with what he did and that if he had not been fat and Italian no one would have cared. Unfortunately, neither the *new indicator* nor the ACLU were available to defend this victim of weightism and racism.

■ The week that the Soviets accused the Israeli's of committing a genocide in Lebanon was the very same week that the Soviets massacred every man, woman, and child in six villages of the Logar province in Afghanistan. More than 2,000 civilians were killed.

■ Liberal pretty-boy Robert Redford, a substantial landowner in Utah, wants to develop the area near his Sundance Resort, says Redford's properties manager, John Lear. The actor has applied for permits to develop between 40 and 50 lots near the small ski resort and has asked Lear to draw up a master plan for the resort, Redford's ranch in Spanish Fork, and other holdings.

Formerly an ultra-preservationist, Redford now views developed wilderness in a different light. "Economics are playing a big role in everyone's life," Lear said. James Watt be proud.



■ Stephen P. Jobs of Los Gatos made it to this year's Forbes Four Hundred list. In 1976, the 27-year-old college dropout saw potential in personal computers. He sold his belongings, moved into a garage, and now owns 13.6% of Apple Inc. shares, valued at about \$100 million. Of course, as Robert Lekachman will tell you, there's no opportunity in America.

■ After two men were married to each other in a county in Colorado, a local cowboy tried to get a license to marry his mare. In an act of speciest arrogance, the county clerk denied the request *even though there is no law prohibiting a man from marrying his horse.*

■ A lot of people seem to think that the only morality worth having these days is no morality. *California Review* disagrees. There is right and there is wrong and everyone is free to choose for himself. Life is not easy, but the wrong choice will make life more difficult for oneself and for others.

■ During a recent Padres telecast the egregious Dave Campbell identified the Padre organist's rendition of Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries" as "music from some surfing movie. It sounds like the introduction to 'Ben-Hur.' Hang a star on that one."

■ Helen Caldicott, of the Physicians for Social Responsibility, has diagnosed the arms race as a case of "missile envy" stemming "from an inadequate male sexual complex on the part of the world's leaders." The profound Ms. Caldicott is also trying to get the Sierra Club to join the nuclear freeze movement because nuclear war would hurt chipmunks, and birdies, and the ozone layer.

■ The *new indicator* owns prime office space in the Student Center, receives funding from the University (through you and me), and has a paid staff. (Reggie Williams, the collective's one man band makes nearly \$6.00 an hour). *California Review* receives no University funding, operates on a completely volunteer basis, and has no office space. We don't call up our competition's advertisers and threaten boycotts either. Maybe that's why we're called elitist.

■ The World Peace Council, one of those groups agitating for a nuclear freeze, has scheduled its next meeting in Afghanistan. The President of the WPC, Romesh Chandra, a former member of the central committee of the Communist Party in India, has the following maxim for his followers: "People ask me, 'You are a peace movement. Why do you support the armed struggles in Nicaragua, Palestine, Vietnam?' And I reply, 'The armed struggle in these countries is the peace movement.'"

■ Many of you gagged at Ms. Fonda's exercise book, but now you can try one of the Jane Fonda Workout salons popping up around the state. But Jane isn't just shaking the flab—she's pouring \$30,000 a month into hubby Tom "Chicago Seven" Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) group in Santa Monica, hopefully boosting his chances in the race for state assemblyman in the 44th district this fall. Trashed in the '76 race for the Democratic Senate nomination, Tommy is putting his socialist ideals into practice by trying to buy the election. Is Jane Fonda's body all that great?

■ It's official. The number one arms merchant in the world is the Soviet Union. Little attention was given to this news by the peace front, but some people are getting fed-up with the better red than dead set. An American correspondent in London asked a gregarious peacenik why America catches all the flack. The response? "Because the Russians won't listen."



## The Playboy Philosopher

Mortimer Smith in his book *My School the City: A Memoir of New York in the Twenties* recounts how he used New York City as a classroom. Newsstands were stocked with literary magazines, legitimate theatre was thriving, movies were becoming an art form, and institutions—museums, churches, and universities—had tours, sermons, and lectures that made autodidacticism a happy educational alternative. Today a good deal of that alternative has been effaced, much to the detriment of the urban slum dweller and to America as a whole. The reason: pornography. In New York, where the productions of George M. Cohan used to capture every theatre on Broadway, the very same theatres have become triple-X arcades. Pornography dominates the magazine industry, floods moviehouses, and, for those fortunate enough to have cable, it comes on TV. We wonder why crime is astronomical, why violent crime and sexual assaults continue to rise, why our largest criminal class is made up of juveniles. It's not tough economic times. Crime rates during the Great Depression represent an Eden compared to the current statistics. It is because our music, our literature, and our film seems to have no other mission but to shock our sensibilities, glorify our depravity, and break down taboos. This is the new definition of art; and art is didactic—it teaches lessons. *Taxi Driver* taught John Hinckley a lesson.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn has told us how pornography lowers the world's view of America. We once exported films like: *The Best Years of Our Lives*, *Going My Way*, *It's a Wonderful Life*, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, and *The Pride of the Yankees*. Now we export films like: *Porky's*, *Animal House*, *Up in Smoke*, *Making Love*, *The Blue Lagoon*, *Deep Throat*, *Tarzan the Ape Man*, and *Friday the Thirteenth*. Indeed, when the Russians directed the Polish Army to impose martial law in Poland the American movie playing in Polish moviehouses was *Apocalypse Now*. The irony is almost too much. The leader of the free world flagellating itself in front of people suffering real oppression from civilization's anathema. When the Nazis marched into France the French people cheered the American movie playing in their theatres—*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. The Poles had no such option.

Any intelligent, civilized person can see that pornography is a horror—degrading to humanity and clogging our modes of discourse. Why then does it exist? Who could possibly support such a thing? Meet the Playboy Philosopher.

You've seen him. He's the one that approaches the magazine rack looking over his shoulder. He's the one with those sophisticated and progressive opinions that we closed minded pruders can't tolerate.

A sampling:

- 1) "Hey, that's not pornography. That's the way life is."
- 2) "I'm pro-choice when it comes to abortion. There's nothing like a pregnancy to ruin a girl's shape."
- 3) "I support the ERA. Hugh Hefner does. If you're going to get girls to pose nude for you, you've got to make concessions."

These are the men that keep the masturbation industry thriving; and their numbers aren't limited to the young. There are lots of swinging oldsters too. Contraception cuts across all generation gaps. Consequently, older men are no longer satisfied with their wives. The natural processes of age and maturation, the natural fading away of early marital concupiscence, is to them a horrible scheme, no doubt propagated by that villain of all villains, the policeman of the bedroom, the Moral Majority. Women are upset because thanks to contraception and the gospel according to *Penthouse* any show of warmth, tenderness, or affection on their part is taken by the libidinous male as an invitation to ride. Pornography has dehumanized human relations.

Pornography makes sex a consumer item. As C.S. Lewis pointed out, if you went to a foreign country where the people were not starving and yet they flocked to burlesque houses where food was unveiled you would think that their appetites had been perverted. Well, so have our sexual appetites. Sex is no longer linked to procreation or even the spiritual bonding of husband and wife. Sex today is supposed to be nothing but fun. The result is that one half of all marriages end in divorce, one third of all pregnancies end in abortion, and men who are otherwise tightfisted with their money lay down five bucks or

so to watch the latest in raping techniques.

It used to be said that the hush-hush sexual morality of the Victorians led to all sorts of psychological problems. Our open morality has not made us any less sex obsessed, but rather it has made us more so. It has made lust a part of the national character.

No doubt, someday soon, the Playboy Philosopher will develop the ultimate in progressive thinking. Unhappy with the wife who wishes he would grow up, alienated from his children who are disgusted with him, unable to find enough one night stands free from VD, and uncomfortable (though he won't admit it) with the homosexuals, coprophiliacs, and necrophiliacs, who he helped legitimize with his sex-is-nothing-but-fun lifestyle, the Playboy Philosopher will turn to the greatest fun of all, one with no responsibilities and no human beings to worry about—pantheonized onanism.

HWC III



## The Case Against Dope

We all know about the reports that link marijuana smoking with lung cancer, brain damage, lowered sperm counts, ad nauseum. People who are not already convinced that marijuana is unhealthy and who cling dumbly to the politically motivated counter studies of pro-marijuana groups will never be convinced by such a tack. They are already intellectual chattels of the drug. I would like to try a different approach. I would like to attack marijuana on aesthetic grounds.

Marijuana retains the glamor of the sixties counterculture that fanned it. Though every dormster smokes it, it is still supposed to be an act of rebellion. Being a dope smoker is an act of conformity; and any college age student who still feels he has to rebel against his parents has obviously not grown up at all.

The marijuana cigarette is a decidedly wimpish excuse for a rag. It looks like some kindergardener's paper mache version of a condom. It is neither a manly cigarette nor a feminine one. It lacks phallicism and it is certainly not graceful. It also stinks. The sickly sweet smell of marijuana is not the scent that makes women impatient for their men to come home from the sea. Marijuana smokers have a tendency to drool, and combined with their heavily veined eyes and droopy eyelids, they rarely look suave.

Lastly, in this era when no one wants to make a commitment to another human being or to our nation one wonders why young people are so eager to give up their liberty for the gaol of drugs. During the Vietnam War it was the policy of the North Vietnamese government to smuggle dope to American servicemen and to the United States. Their purpose was two-fold. One, they used the money to support the Viet Cong. Two, they believed it would help to weaken America's will. The North Vietnamese remembered how opium had made China a patsy for the imperial powers. Today the drug market is controlled by organized crime and Fidel Castro (who uses the money to supplement his eight million dollar a day allowance from the Soviets). Does today's dope smoker really want to tie himself to that historical, economic, and political tradition?

HWC III

## Behind Seminary Doors

By Jeffrey Hart

As everyone knows, college faculties are politically kinky, but a recent survey of the political attitudes of those who teach America's future ministers and priests nevertheless came as a bit of a shock.

The peculiar political behavior of academics has been documented again and again.

In their study of the 1972 election, for example, Everett Carll Ladd and Seymour Martin Lipset tell us that, despite Nixon's landslide defeat of McGovern in the nation at large, McGovern carried the professors by 56 to 43 percent, a contrary landslide.

But those figures don't begin to tell the story. According to Ladd and Lipset, McGovern was backed "by three-fourths of faculty in the liberal social sciences, by seven in 10 among humanists—but by only half of the natural scientists and a third of the faculty at business schools. Further, McGovern was the choice of 70 percent of the faculty at elite institutions as compared with less than half at lower tier institutions."

I suppose this should have prepared us for the results of a new poll conducted by Roper and focusing on professors at Christian seminaries and theological schools throughout the country.

Hold your breath. Ninety-two percent of Episcopalian faculty believe the United States spends too much on its military. Only 27 percent of the same group believes the United States is a force for good in the world. Other denominations show the same split, though to a marginally lesser degree.

Eighty-five percent of the Catholic professors believe the United States "treats the Third World unfairly."

Seventy-five percent of the Episcopalians believe "repressive regimes backed by the United States" are a greater problem in the world today than "Communist expansion."

In ranges varying from one-quarter to one-third, the theology faculties believe there should be a "top limit on incomes so that no one can earn very much more than others." About half of the Episcopalian, Methodist, Lutheran and Catholic faculties believe that "the United States would be better off if it moved toward socialism."

More than half of those faculties disagreed with the statement that "economic growth is a better way to improve the lot of the poor than distributing existing wealth."

According to Mr. Ladd, mentioned above, who headed this survey, the political attitudes of those theologians closely resemble those of the general humanities faculty.

These poll results, and they are much more extensive than can be indicated in a column, were published in a new and very useful magazine called *This World*, which focuses on the relationship between Christianity and issues of politics and economics.

My own impression, based on an admittedly limited sample, is that the gap between faculty political attitudes and those of the general public is actually widening.

The country moved to the right with the election of Reagan, and the polls show rightward trends on a whole range of issues.

In consequence, McGovernite opinion on the campus feels itself in a condition of siege. It fears the loss of the "gains" it made during the '60s—reverse discrimination, trendy ethnic and feminist programs, ecological stuff.

McGovernite access to government at all levels is being choked off. The mood of the faculty leftists is hardening and turning bitter.

King Features Syndicate

Jeffrey Hart is a professor at Dartmouth College, an editor of *National Review*, and an author. His most recent book is *When the Going Was Good: American Life in the Fifties*.

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STARTING NEXT MONTH: Bruce Macdonald's *Keeping It Right*



## Notes from the Brigadier

Why We Were in Vietnam  
by Norman Podhoretz  
Simon & Schuster, 240pp.  
\$13.50

### The Reason Why

Norman Podhoretz's thesis is really not so shocking. He says the war in Vietnam was beyond our military, political, intellectual, and moral capabilities, but that the argument of the anti-war left that what America was doing was immoral was blatantly wrong then and is manifestly wrong today. For this he has been excoriated, defamed, and chastized by those who think they did mankind a great service by getting the United States out of Vietnam.

One can see why they might be worried. Never have traitors been so free from impunity. Jane Fonda is rolling in filthy capitalist dollars, Tom Hayden is a successful politician, and Ramsey Clark is a Democratic ambassador-at-large. For years now, leftists have looked down on America as that sin-infested land mass whose people have finally been chastened by humiliation and guilt.

Among this choice collection of highly articulate Bozoes, Podhoretz zeroes in especially on Frances Fitzgerald, Mary McCarthy, and Susan Sontag. Ms. Sontag comments on the "moral beauty of the Viet-

namese" who she thinks are treating downed American pilots like indulgent nannies. She explains away the pictures of Stalin in North Vietnam as an example of the North Vietnamese abhorrence of waste. Pictures are for hanging, you know. Ms. McCarthy marvels at how clean North Vietnam is and at how puerile the American P.O.W.s are compared to their dashing captors, (one of whom reminds her of Prince Andrei in *War and Peace*.) Ms. Fitzgerald congratulates the North Vietnamese on their ability to release "aggression as a creative force." For example, "The NLF generally proscribed torture and preferred the bullet to any other means of dispensing death." Hully gee!

The liberal follies are almost innumerable. A group of theologians, the sainted Dr. Martin Luther King among them, condemn America for its policy of moving civilians out of combat zones! Unable to come up with a reason for America's "imperialism" in South Vietnam, (South Vietnam was of no value to the United States for raw materials or from a



H.W. Crocker III

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strategic point of view), America's critics decided that the United States had a psychological need to dominate others. Much, as I suppose, we had a need to dominate Europe with the Marshall Plan. Loonies like Hans J. Morgenthau, (who was an anti-war "moderate"), accused the United States of committing a genocide in Vietnam. Amazingly, despite the genocide, the population of South Vietnam increased by 3.83 million and of North Vietnam by 3.99 million during the war.

Podhoretz gives attention to the infamous gaffes of the press, too. The Tet Offensive of 1968, which was played up as an American disaster, was one of the greatest American victories of the war. It decimated the Viet Cong, proved that the South Vietnamese people did not support the Communists, and led to an increased seriousness and resolve on the part of the South Vietnamese military. The siege of Khe Sanh, which was turned into another Dien Bien Phu, was actually a sidelight of the Tet Offensive, and incidentally, another Communist debacle. The

Christmas bombing of 1972, which scrupulously avoided civilian targets and inflicted only minor civilian casualties, was blown up into a replay of Hiroshima.

Can the anti-war movement be excused because it didn't understand the true colors of the North Vietnamese Communists? No. When Vietnam was partitioned in 1954 one million Vietnamese fled the North. The Communist government murdered 50,000 of the remaining landlords. In the Tet Offensive, during their brief occupation of Hue, the Communists executed 3,000 civilians. The evidence was there, but too many journalists, like Harrison Salisbury, relied on North Vietnamese propaganda for their information.

The perceptions of the anti-war movement have, unfortunately, sunk into the national psyche. Jimmy Carter spoke of our overcoming an "inordinate fear of Communism." It took the bloodbath in Indochina, the furtherance of Soviet influence in Africa and Latin America, and the invasion of Afghanistan

to reawaken a proper awareness of Communism in Jimmy Carter. The men and women who forced us out of Vietnam, (including the dovish Congress of 1975 which refused to even sell spare parts and ammunition to the imperiled South Vietnamese), should bear the burden of guilt for the real tragedy of the Vietnam War. Ronald Reagan was right. The men who fought to save Vietnam from Communism were part of a noble cause. The same cannot be said for those who led us out.

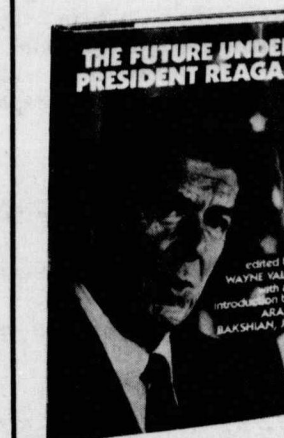
Norman Podhoretz's thesis that our being in Vietnam was an act of imprudent idealism seems, to me, correct. *Why We Were in Vietnam* is a fine, compact history of the war and a scholarly dissection of the anti-war movement. Most importantly, it sets up a new and more accurate agenda for any discussion of our role in Vietnam and, therefore, of our role in the world.

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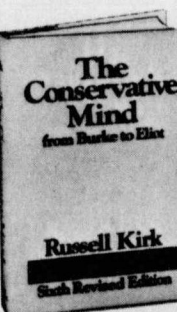
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## Advice from Uncle Milty:

## California Review Interviews

## Milton Friedman

Dr. Milton Friedman, the winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1976, is one academic whose prose and logic is pellucid and free of ivy. The author of *Free to Choose* and the charismatic host of the PBS television series of the same name (which has been seen in England, Australia, Holland, Japan, and Singapore), he is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, a Paul Snowden Russell Distinguished Service Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, a member of the research staff for the National Bureau of Economic Research, and a columnist and contributing editor of *Newsweek*. Somewhere in his busy schedule he found time to converse with CR's Business Manager, C. Brandon Crocker, about the current state of the economy. Their spirited discussion follows forthwith.

**CR:** Many people have described the actions taken by the Federal Reserve over the past few years as monetarist, yet you have been criticizing the Fed for not following a monetarist policy. Why would you not call recent Fed policy monetarist?

**FRIEDMAN:** Because an essential feature of what I and most other monetarists regard as a monetarist policy is steadiness and predictability in the rate of monetary growth. The Federal Reserve's policy has been monetarist in rhetoric, but it has not been monetarist in practice. It has been monetarist in rhetoric because it has stated that its objective is to achieve monetary targets, but it has not been monetarist in practice because monetary growth has in fact fluctuated more widely since October 1979, when the Fed adopted new procedures, than it had in any similar period.

**CR:** Do you have any reason to believe that the Fed will try to keep the money supply more stable in the future?

**FRIEDMAN:** I have no doubt they will try. I think they have been trying. The problem is not with their will, it's not with what they'd like to achieve, it's with the bureaucratic inertia that has kept them from making the changes in their operating procedures that are required in order to achieve that objective. They have at long last announced that they are going to make the first of those changes which is the replacement of lag reserve requirements by contemporaneous reserve requirements. That is a change that some of us have been urging on the Federal Reserve ever since 1970.

**CR:** With all the talk around about welfare reform and cutting wasteful spending, would you outline your idea for a negative income tax?

**FRIEDMAN:** I would be glad to. Incidentally, however, I want to disagree with the wording of your question. What we want to do is cut government spending period. The word wasteful is not a meaningful term. One man's waste is not another man's. Waste depends on the objective you have in view. I believe that total government spending is much too large. As a fraction of our income it should be cut sharply. Now it is true that a major source of the growth in government spending has been an increase in transfer payments, that is to say, in payments to some individuals financed by taxes upon other individuals. The problem is how you move from that situation to the place we'd like to be. You cannot suddenly, overnight, discontinue the whole set of transfer payments. We have, through government, essentially made some millions of families dependent on those payments for their livelihood. You cannot suddenly cut that off and throw them in the streets. I have proposed that we try to make the transition by replacing the present collection of transfer programs by the negative income tax. A negative income tax is simply what its name implies. Under the present income tax there is a break even point, an exemption amount. If you earn less than that you pay no tax. If you earn more than that you pay a tax on the difference between your income and that personal exemption, that no tax amount. If the no tax amount is \$6,000 for a family and your income is \$10,000 you pay a tax on \$4,000. The negative income tax simply reverses that below the same break even point. If the break even point is \$6,000 and a family has an income of \$2,000 it would receive in payments a fraction of the difference of \$4,000. The higher the fraction, the better the family, but the less incentive for the family to get off the

negative income tax and go to work. On the other hand, the lower the tax rate, the lower the fraction, the more incentive there is for a family to get off. But you have to strike a balance between those two. I have in general tended to propose that we use the present no tax amount for the personal income tax, although I hasten to add that that should really be raised, and use as the negative income tax 50% of the amount below the personal exemption. In that way every individual would have a very strong incentive to get off the negative income tax because for every dollar he earns he would at least get to keep 50 cents of it, whereas under present welfare arrangements it is very often the case that if he goes out and earns an extra dollar he loses the whole dollar or even more in the form of a special welfare payment. In addition, we now have a collection of a wide variety of different measures which overlap but which some people can benefit very much from and some people don't get. Such measures as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, SSI, food stamps, Medicaid, and you can go down the list. The negative income tax would lump all of those together and say "if we're going to help the poor, let's help them by giving them cash which they can spend in accordance with their likes and let's get rid of the tremendous bureaucracy that we've built up to administer these specific programs."

**CR:** There is a lot of talk in Washington about implementing a flat rate tax system.

**FRIEDMAN:** There is more talk than there is action. Most of the talk is an attempt by people to use the rhetoric of the flat tax to conceal business at the same old stead. I have long been in favor of an honest-to-god flat rate tax. An honest-to-god flat rate tax would be one which levied a single rate on all income, from whatever source, in excess of some personal exemption, the same type of thing I was talking about on the last question. Under such a tax, in my opinion, you could raise the same amount of revenue that is now being raised by the income tax with a relatively low rate under which everyone would benefit. But that isn't what most of the talk about the flat rate tax currently is. People are calling things a flat rate tax which involve fairly sharply graduated rates and more important, which do not get rid of the deductions which now reduce so sharply the base of the personal income tax. What you need to do is to eliminate all the complexities of the personal income tax and have a form that can be on one piece of paper in which you simply list total income. You take nothing but a personal exemption and strict occupational expenses and then you apply a single rate to the balance. There are a few proposals for that kind of a thing. Two of my colleagues at the Hoover Institution, Bob Hall and Alvin Rabushka, have been devising a very detailed plan along these lines which they are shortly going to publish in the form of a book, and I believe there is one group in Congress which is trying to push that. But most of the talk you hear around Washington is really a fake.

**CR:** Another plan that you have been backing for sometime, tuition tax credits, is being currently considered. Why do you support a voucher system?

**FRIEDMAN:** I support the voucher system because there is no respect in which the poor people of our country, I shouldn't say the poor people, the impecunious people, the disadvantaged people of this country, there is no respect in which they are so disadvantaged as with respect to the kind of schooling their children can get. Those of us in the middle and upper income groups have at least some choice of which schools our children go to. If we do not like the public schools that are available for them we can afford to pay twice—once in the form of taxes to support the public school and once to pay for the tuition of the private school of our choice. The disadvantaged families who live in the slums of our big cities unfortunately have no such choice. They have to send their children to the local public school. Those local public schools are disgraceful. They are not educational institutions. In very, very many cases they are institutions of confinement whose real function is to keep the kids off the street. The people who would benefit most from a thorough going voucher system would be the people in such areas. For the first time the parents in those areas would have an effective freedom of choice as to where to send their children. Many of them have been striving desperately to get better schooling for their children.

That is why Catholic parochial schools in particular, have seen a great increase in the number of students coming to them from such slum families. A voucher scheme would really broaden that enormously. It would enable a market system to go to work to provide schools of every kind and variety for people throughout the country, but in particular for the disadvantaged people in those slums. I know of no other way in which the disgraceful results of our so-called public education can be corrected. And a thorough going voucher scheme may or may not be the same thing as tuition tax credits. If one considers it a little, one will discover that one kind of tuition credit, one in which the credit on one hand is limited and, on the other hand, transferable, can be devised which will be essentially identical to a thorough going voucher scheme except for the name. That is the kind of tuition credit scheme that I would really support.

**CR:** You supported the tax cuts of 1981 but for reasons other than the Laffer Curve...

**FRIEDMAN:** I support the tax cut of 1981. I do not support the tax cut of 1981 for the reasons that many supply-siders have offered on its behalf. I favor it, as I have for a long time, before the word supply-sider came into the lexicon, because I believe there is no way in which you can cut government spending except by cutting the amount of tax receipts the government has to spend. Therefore, I have been in favor of cutting taxes at any time, in any way, on any excuse. That's the only effective way of bringing pressure to cut down the size of government. I do not believe, and did not in 1981 believe, that cutting taxes across-the-board would increase total revenue and make it unnecessary to cut spending. If I had thought that would be the case, I would have favored a still larger tax cut because my purpose is to cut government receipts. There are some kinds of tax cuts, for example cutting the top rates of the personal income tax, reduction in capital gains tax, and so on, which do have the effect of generating more revenue. But a broad scale, across-the-board tax cut is not likely to generate more revenue. Moreover, I do not believe you would get an instantaneous effect on effort or investment or any of those things. I think it is regrettable that some of the supply-siders, who had a very good case to sell, oversold their case and in the process, to some extent, discredited themselves.

**CR:** Well, what do you think of supply-side theory in general?

**FRIEDMAN:** There is nothing new about supply-side theory except its name. It's simple, ordinary, economics. Economists have argued for hundreds of years that if people get paid more to do something, they are likely to do more of that thing. If they get paid less for doing something, they are likely to do less of that thing. If you charge more for something, people will buy less. If you charge less, people will buy more. That's simple, straight-forward, ordinary, economic analysis. What is called supply-side economics is simply the application of that to a specific situation. Namely, if you impose a heavy tax on work, people are likely to work less because it reduces the return of work. If you give a subsidy to leisure, people are likely to take more leisure. All of that is correct. So I am very much a supply-sider in the sense I have always been a supply-sider before the name was invented.

**CR:** You've also been a long time supporter of the Balanced Budget Amendment. Why do you think that its adoption is important?

**FRIEDMAN:** I have not been a long time supporter of a balanced budget amendment.

**CR:** Oh.

**FRIEDMAN:** I have been a long time supporter of a spending limitation amendment. Now, the present amendment which is under the name of the Balanced Budget Amendment is a combination of a balanced budget and spending limitation amendment and that is why it is the first balanced budget amendment I have enthusiastically supported. It is a very sophisticated and subtle amendment and I think it would be enormously effective. The reason I am in favor of an amendment to limit spending is for the same reason I have indicated. I believe that we have a bias in our political structure under which Congress, by voting on each spending measure separately, tends to spend a greater amount in total than the public at large would favor if it could vote

on it. We have a bias with respect to any specific spending measure in that small groups tend to benefit a great deal and the costs are spread very thinly. The small group that benefits lobbies for it. The large group that will pay for it does not know about it and does not lobby against it. When you add the separate pieces together you get a total that is larger than the public at large or their representatives would vote for if they really had an effective vote on the total. I believe that the kind of balanced budget, tax limitation measure, that was recently passed by the Senate is the only device that I know of that has a ghost of a chance of correcting that political defect.

**CR:** Many economists believe in the Phillips Curve and point to the current fight against inflation as evidence of its validity. Do you believe that unemployment and inflation are inversely related?

**FRIEDMAN:** That's not a question to be answered with a yes or a no. It depends on what period you have in mind. There is no relationship between a continuing level of inflation and the level of unemployment. On the other hand, there is a transitional effect. If you move from relatively low inflation to relatively high inflation, the initial effect will be to reduce unemployment. The ultimate effect will very likely be to increase it. Similarly, if you move from high inflation to relatively low inflation, the initial effect will be to increase unemployment although the ultimate effect will be to reduce it. Most of the difficulties with monetary policy and other policies arise because very often the short term effects are in one direction and the long term effects are in the opposite direction. Politicians tend to be very, very shortsighted and they tend to over emphasize the short term effects and ignore the long term effects. There is no long term Phillips Curve, in my opinion, but there is very definitely a curve relating changes in the level of inflation to the level of unemployment.

**CR:** Will the recent \$98 billion tax package narrow future deficits and result in lower interest rates?

**FRIEDMAN:** No. I do not approve and did not approve of that recent tax increase. I think that President Reagan was right in January in his State of the Union message when he said that raising taxes will not reduce the deficit, but will simply increase the amount that Congress spends. I believe that was true more recently. Interest rates are not very closely related to short term ups and downs in the deficit. Long term interest rates do depend on the prospect of deficits over the next four or five years, but I do not believe that the tax increase affected significantly those prospects.

**CR:** Well, why do you think Wall Street has acted so favorably to the tax package?

**FRIEDMAN:** It hasn't. You happened to have a chance coincidence. What Wall Street acted favorably to was the sharp decline in interest rates and the pronouncements of two of its leading gurus that they had reversed their former predictions and were now predicting lower interest rates for the future, rather than higher ones. If you look at the exact timing, you will see that the big jump on Wall Street came before the tax measure was passed and while there was still enormous uncertainty whether it would be passed. So I believe that was pure coincidence.

**CR:** Have we seen the worst in interest rates or will future government borrowing push them back up?

**FRIEDMAN:** You are making a standard mistake. Government borrowing can go up in the future and still interest rates can come down. There's not that kind of mechanical one-to-one connection between the two. Whether we have seen the worst in interest rates depends on something very different. It depends on whether the rate of monetary growth is going to stay where it is or go down. If over the longer period the rate of monetary growth does what it has done so many times before, and after coming down speeds up, then we have not yet seen the worst of the interest rates. Nobody can really make any firm predictions about interest rates for any long period of time.

**CR:** Do you think the recession has bottomed out?

**FRIEDMAN:** No. Well, I shouldn't say no. I think that the recession is bumping along the bottom, but I don't think we've had a definite upturn.

**CR:** Do you think the recovery will be moderate?

**FRIEDMAN:** That depends. I don't believe that's

in the picture. That depends on what policy is followed by the Federal Reserve and what policies are followed in Washington. So, I don't believe anybody can say. I would not be surprised to see the recovery be extremely vigorous if we have the right pattern of monetary and fiscal policies. There is nothing wrong with the American economy that some sensible government policies won't solve.

**CR:** How about double digit inflation? Has it been "wring out" of the economy?

**FRIEDMAN:** That depends. Inflation depends on monetary growth. If the Federal Reserve returns to double digit monetary growth then we'll have double digit inflation. If the Federal Reserve keeps monetary growth roughly where it is now, or at a lower level, then we will not. If it keeps it roughly where it is now then we will settle down at about 8% inflation. In order to wring inflation out of the economy you've got to have lower monetary growth than we do now. Let me qualify that last statement. So far as inflation is concerned, it depends on monetary growth over something like a two year period. When speaking about the need for lower monetary growth, I'm speaking of the average over the last two years. For the past six months, from January to July 1982, monetary growth had been much too low. It's been at the rate of 2.3%. That is why the putative

recovery was aborted and why we are still in a recession that will not clear up for awhile. So I am not talking about monetary growth rates lower than we've had over the past six months; but lower than the average we've had over the last two years.

**CR:** It looks as though something is going to have to be done if the Social Security System is to remain solvent. What actions would you suggest?

**FRIEDMAN:** Well, I've long been in favor, as you may know from my writings, of abolishing the Social Security System.

**CR:** Right.

**FRIEDMAN:** But I don't believe that that's in the realm of political feasibility, even though it would be highly desirable, in my opinion, to let people take care of their own retirement, keep their own taxes, and provide for their own future. In the meantime there will be band-aids that will be used to patch up the present Social Security System. What the specific band-aids will be, I'm in no position to predict.

**CR:** What is the course of action the Reagan administration should take to bring the economy back to life?

**FRIEDMAN:** If you ask that question you're going to get the wrong answer. It is not the business

(continued next page)





of the Reagan Administration, or of any administration, to bring the economy back to life. It is the business of the Administration to follow a stable policy which people can count on, and in terms of which the individual entrepreneurs around the country, the individual workers, the individual savers, the individual investors can use their resources most effectively, which will not bring the economy back to life, but which will enable the economy to perform the way it should perform. From that point of view, what the Reagan Administration needs to do is to continue with the four point program that was the essence of President Reagan's economic policy during the campaign, and which he has tried to follow since. Number one, cut tax rates. Two, cut government spending. Three, reduce or eliminate as much regulation as possible. And four, promote a steady rate of monetary growth around a slowly declining trend. Those are the four basic steps that are necessary. They should be taken systematically, consistently, and the government should not deviate from those for short run considerations in order to give a little jag to the economy up or a jag down.

**CR:** How would you rate President Reagan's performance on economic matters so far?

**FRIEDMAN:** The problem is that a President has a great deal of influence but not a great deal of power. In those areas where he has had power, I think President Reagan has, on the whole, done extremely well. His immediate action of eliminating price controls on oil was very well taken. His proposals for cutting taxes were very desirable. So, on the whole, I would rate what President Reagan himself has done very high. The one point on which I've been disappointed with him was his recent support of the tax increase. However, what has actually happened has not been the result of President Reagan alone, but of President Reagan, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Congress. The combined activities of these three groups does not deserve a very high rating. The Federal Reserve, in my opinion, has behaved very badly, indeed. It has produced the most erratic monetary policy of the past fifty years. And that erratic monetary policy has produced erratic interest rates and an erratic economy. Many of the short term difficulties in which the economy finds itself derive from this. The Congress has similarly not really cooperated the way one would have hoped it would. It did pass the tax measure that President Reagan recommended, but it added onto it a lot of elements

that he didn't recommend. It has not been willing to come to grips with the major problem of Social Security. It has not really done an effective job of cutting government spending. So I think you have to give the collection of government agencies a sort of a mixed verdict. However, that may be too negative, because there has been a tremendous change in the whole tone of the discussion. You cannot conceive of a recession like the one we've been going through five or ten years ago without there having been a spate of bills in Congress to spend more money on employment creating measures, on assistance of one kind or another, all sorts of pump priming bills. You have had none of that this time. It is very hard to recognize how unusual it is that in the middle of a recession the major concern of the Congress should be how to cut down the deficits. That is a real reversal. I think the right way to look at the situation now is that we are moving from a trend in one direction, which has lasted some fifty years, a trend toward bigger and bigger government, higher and higher spending, higher and higher taxes, and more and more inflation. And we are in the process of reversing that and moving toward a period in which we will cut down the size of government, in which we will reduce taxes, and in which we will, I hope, bring inflation down. It's a transition period. In the movement from one trend to the other you inevitably have a period of great instability and uncertainty, and that's what we've been going through.

**CR:** Do you think embargoes of the Soviet Union are counterproductive?

**FRIEDMAN:** Yes.

**CR:** What about the gas pipeline and grain?

**FRIEDMAN:** I think that we ought not to provide any governmental subsidy to the Soviet Union or to any company that deals with the Soviet Union, as we ought not to any company that deals with anybody. But I do not think that it is productive for us to engage in economic embargoes. This has nothing to do with my desire to do whatever we can to penalize the Soviet Union. It has to do with the very clear record of history that embargoes simply don't work. I recommend to your readers that they go back and study what happened to the first embargo this country imposed which was by Thomas Jefferson in 1808.

**CR:** You have written that "The gains that strong unions win for their members are primarily at the expense of other workers". Would you expand on

that?

**FRIEDMAN:** If you raise the price of anything, you sell less of it. If unions raise the price of their labor, there will be fewer people employed in that activity. The people who are not employed in that activity will try to get jobs somewhere else. Where can they get jobs? Only by competing with people in other areas and other occupations. That's with people that are not in those particular unions. But, in order to sell more you have to have a lower price. Hence, a union which is successful in raising the wages of its members tends to do so by adding to the supply of workers for other jobs and thereby lowers the wage rate in other occupations and activities.

**CR:** Do you agree with George Gilder that capitalists are altruists?

**FRIEDMAN:** No.

**CR:** You take Adam Smith's view of self-interest and the invisible hand.

**FRIEDMAN:** Right. I believe in Adam Smith. I don't think capitalists are any more altruists than government politicians are. I think people are people. All of us have an enormous capacity to recognize that what's good for us is good for the country.

**CR:** You recently had a new book published—*Monetary Trends in the United States and the United Kingdom*.

**FRIEDMAN:** Right.

**CR:** Have you any new books planned for the near future?

**FRIEDMAN:** Well, there won't be in the near future. Sometime later this year or next year the revised and updated version of a collection of *Newsweek* and other columns that was published about five or six years ago. For reasons which I am not too happy about, it came out under two different titles. One title was *There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch*. The other title was *An Economist's Protest*. This time we will correct that mistake and we'll come out under only one title. I'm not sure what the title of it will be yet.

**CR:** I have a Milton Friedman T-shirt from the Decatur Shop.

**FRIEDMAN:** Ha, ha.

**CR:** Do you have one?

**FRIEDMAN:** Yes indeed.

**CR:** Do you think the drawing does you justice?

**FRIEDMAN:** Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha! You'd better ask Norma Lipsett, who drew it. Ask her. I'm not going to comment on that!

of Love" is the real standout of the album and is supported by "The Woman in Me" and "Protection"—good songs all. "State of Independence" is her requisite song of mysticism and "Livin' in America" confirms her place as one of pop music's black conservatives (along with Pearl Bailey, Sammy Davis Jr., and Lionel Hampton). Donna Summer has always shown a reverence for things past and that is continued on this record with her rendition of Billy Strayhorn's 1949 composition "Lush Life". The rest is mediocrity. That's better than can be said for most pop albums.

With rock and roll disintegrating and country-western unlikely to hegemonize popular music there may still be hope for our nation's airwaves. In the meantime I'll keep listening to Beethoven and make occasional pop stops with Donna Summer. She's a good kid.



Beyond the brazen explication of *laissez-faire* in the title track of *Bad Girls*, (*Bad Girls* and *Live and More* have long been her most sonorous efforts with *Bad Girls* the favorite of rockers and *Live and More* the preference of easy listeners), *The Wanderer* is the richest in *Wealth & Poverty* imagery. "Running for Cover", in some wonderfully hard-boiled verse, warns ghetto inhabitants to pull up on those bootstraps or face the devil as a playmate. "Who Do You Think You're Foolin'" sarcastically reminds us that success is results not promises. Kaleidoscopic language and a gurgling drain do a pretty good job of exposing the secular humanist lie in "Nightlife."

*The Wanderer*, however, is also unlistenable. Happily, *Donna Summer* is a mature effort—musical and intelligent. "Love is in Control" is its hit single and is predictable disco. Take it or leave it. "Mystery

## Burke's Case for Conservatism

by Suzanne L. Schott

"People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors," writes Edmund Burke. "The idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement...the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but, in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve, we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete."

"Conservatism" as defined by Edmund Burke incorporates a respect for tradition, "A principle of conservation," that escapes the meaning of the word as defined by today's average southern California liberal. His *Reflections on the Revolution in France* take the form of a letter to a young Frenchman in 1790. Written prior to the French Revolution as we think of it, they contain some of history's earliest arguments for Conservatism.

Burke predicted a France devastated by radical "free-thinkers"—and he was correct. Beginning in 1794, the "Reign of Terror" provided ample confirmation. Perhaps it is not too much to pray that today's liberal ideologues will heed Burke's words of wisdom before they similarly devastate America's social tradition. Although Burke wrote as an Englishman, a common sense approach will sufficiently transport his case for conservatism across the Atlantic. Burke liked Americans—which is saying a lot for an eighteenth century Englishman—we are heirs to his legacy.

Burke argues for the essence of moral tradition: "Nothing is more certain, than that our manners, our civilization, and all the good things which are connected with manners and with civilization have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles; and were indeed the result of both combined; I mean the spirit of a gentleman, and the spirit of religion."

Lest we forget, spirited European gentlemen from good stock established America.

Burke, "not being illuminated by a single ray of this new-sprung modern light," properly cherishes a "generous loyalty to rank and sex." In his famous "Queen of France" passage, the noble feminine figure of Marie Antoinette symbolizes virtue violated by French egalitarianism.

"It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted in this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision...little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour, and of cavaliers."

But, he laments: "The unbought grace of life, the cheap defense of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone!"

Indeed, radical levelers, even in America, have borne little regard for what Burke terms "chivalry"—"that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom." "It was this, which, without confounding ranks, had produced a noble equality, and handed it down through all the gradations of social life."



Therefore, let us preserve "chivalry." "If it should ever be totally extinguished, the loss I fear will be great." For, under this "new conquering empire of light and reason," all of the "decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off." "On this scheme of things, a king is but a man, a queen is but a woman; a woman is but an animal, and an animal not of the highest order. All homage paid to the sex in general as such, and without distinct views, is to be regarded as romance and folly."



Reflect on the social revolutions of the sixties. Reflect on adversary individuals and coalitions who currently thrust new demands for "equality" into our society. Increasingly, this same "scheme of barbarous philosophy" threatens the traditional wholeness of American life by undermining the spirit of capitalism to which we owe our greatness, by subverting the general esteem for private property that provides incentive for advancement, and by destroying the family by attempting to present natural male and female roles as obsolete.

Burke correctly declares: "Those who attempt to level never equalize." Prior to the eighteenth century, England's class system, grounded in the family, was governed by a natural order, within which each man or woman had a distinct role. Personal pride and happiness were not functions of one's place on the social totem pole. "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love to our country, and to mankind."

The "rights of men" have been subject to violent controversy ever since the phrase was popularized by such writers as Voltaire and Rousseau. But, as Burke rhetorically questions: "Am I to congratulate a highwayman and a murderer, who has broke prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights?"

Primarily concerned lest French philosophy corrupt England, Burke employs wit and logic to enhance his case: "What is the use of discussing a man's abstract right to food or medicine? The question is upon the method of procuring and administering them. In that deliberation I shall always advise to call in the aid of the farmer and the physician, rather than the professor of metaphysics."

"Far am I from denying in theory...the real rights of men. In denying their false claims of right, I do not mean to injure those which are real, and are such as their pretended rights would totally destroy. If civil society be made for the advantage of all men, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to do justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in public function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry...They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents...Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself..."

In the "partnership" of society, "all men have equal rights; but not to equal things."

Burke criticizes the radicals "so taken up with their theories about the rights of man, that they have totally forgotten his nature." "The pretended rights of these theorists are all extremes; and in proportion they are metaphysically true, they are morally and politically false."

As United States citizens under the Constitution, we have no legitimate claim to any abstract "rights of men." Rather, we are uniquely blessed with the rights of *Americans*.

Much of Burke is especially useful in combatting the ideologies of Marxists, Socialists, and other share-the-wealth leftists who would sacrifice "everything human and divine" to "the idol of public credit."

Regarding the "truly despicable" National Assemblymen who have brought about a "fond election of evil," Burke observes: "Something they must destroy, or they seem to themselves to exist for no purpose." Striving to convince his young French friend of the revolutionaries' imbecility, Burke argues: "You began ill, because you began by despising everything that belonged to you."

Governmental science, according to Burke, is "intended for such practical purposes," that it "requires experience, and even more experience than any person can gain in his whole life." Burke's political hero, the statesman, applies practical knowledge of history and habit to policymaking.

"When I hear the simplicity of contrivance aimed at and boasted of in any new political constitutions, I am at no loss to decide that the artificers are grossly ignorant of their trade, or totally negligent to their duty. The simple governments are fundamentally defective, to say no worse of them."

Indeed, conservatives must realize that nouveau-theoreticians from French "sophisters" to Marx-worshipping PhD's "cannot produce anything better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges."

Ironically, liberal "equalizing" sociologists usually make "no sacrifices to their projects of greater consequence than their shoe-buckles" whilst they "bathe in tears" and "plunge in poverty and distress, thousands of worthy men and worthy families."

To his surprise, Burke finds the National Assembly's characteristic type of individuals to be men "not taught habitually to respect themselves, who had no previous fortune in character at stake; who could not be expected to bear with moderation, or to conduct with discretion, a power, which they themselves, more than any others, must be surprised to find in their hands."

He asks: "Who could doubt but that, at any expense to the state, of which they understood nothing, they must pursue their private interests which they understood but too well?" "To squander away the objects which made the happiness of their fellows, would be to them no sacrifice at all."

The ignorant sector presently condemning not only the Reagan administration's social program cuts and supply-side economics, but also the free enterprise system, have much in common with these revolutionaries "who, immersed in hopeless poverty, could regard all property...with no other eye than that of envy..."





(Burke, continued from p. 11)

Burke ascribes the trouble in France to "rash and ignorant counsel in time of profound peace." Thus, let us stomp on our peacetime parasites with soles of conservatism before they chew to shreds our freedoms.

Louis de Bonald, one of the foremost French conservatives during the period contributed this analogy to the opposition of Revolution philosophy in his *Theorie du Pouvoir Politique*: "Of old, in the century of force, a gallant knight, mounted on a palfrey, helmet on head and lance in hand, persuaded himself in his chivalric dreams that a beautiful princess locked in a tower under guard of a wizard, was going to offer him her hand and her estates for freeing her from captivity. Today, in the century of enlightenment, the young literary man, still covered with dust from school, a pen in his hand and the social contract in his head, imagines in his philosophic dreams that a people groaning under despotism will in its primary assemblies confer upon him at least the legislative power if he can with speeches and writings break their chains. We have here the same passions; but the knight was a generous and brave visionary; the literary man is a dangerous lunatic."

Returning to Burke's *Reflections*, we note similar sentiment towards the calculations of Bonald's "young literary man": "I was indeed aware, that a jealous, ever-waking vigilance, to guard the treasure of our liberty, not only from invasion, but from decay and corruption, was our best wisdom, and our first duty."

## The Pursuit of Happiness

One man's freedom may be another man's straight jacket. As this issue of *California Review* goes to press, a campaign to "reclaim America" is smoldering after making several whistletops on the east coast. *Reclaim America*, an offensive of the fundamentally left-wing National People's Action group (NPA), is intended to set a course of economic redistribution, provide a platform for single issue gripe-groups, and boost the careers of several political opportunists. The "Reagan is anti-people" rhetoric is running thick with a fervor heretofore wielded only by militant marxists.

Gale Cincotta, Chairperson of the NPA vehemently exonerates the movement:

*Reclaim America* is for the underemployed; for the right to affordable home heating fuel. Extravagant military spending is breeding fears of nuclear war and is stealing from social programs at the same time hundreds of billions of dollars in tax breaks for big business are lining the pockets of the already rich.

Who, might I ask, is stealing from whom?

Carl Holman, President of the National Urban Coalition, declares that *Reclaim America* must be implemented to "protect and recover the progress we've made since the sixties." But who gets the bill for this "progress"? Luminary John E. Jacob of the National Urban League says the movement will "reclaim the promise of America." Powerful words, these — "right," "progress" and "promise." But in the context used here, they are nothing more than esoteric presumption. America is the land of both opportunity and adventure—the antithesis of a promised future. America's premise is its promise.\*

The basis for the concept of a limited government in the United States was not the materialized dream of an egalitarian philosopher. Rather, the concept was based on English common law and John Locke's commentaries on the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. A limited government best protects the "natural rights" of all men.

In his work, *On Civil Government* (1690), Locke tells us that the Revolution of 1688-89 "put an end to attempts at despotic monarchy." He asserts that men have "natural rights", including the right to "life, liberty and property (and the freedom to pursue that property)." Locke is correct. The right to engage in enterprise provides freedom.

Sir William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), makes mention of man's right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Replacing the word "property" with "pursuit of happiness" does not change the meaning of the original phrase. Therefore, Thomas Jefferson incorporates this revised version into the American Declaration of Independence — "pursuit of happiness" was understood then as it should be now. Americans have the right to seek happiness—some



As Burke so aptly remarked: "A few years ago I should be ashamed to overload a matter, so capable of supporting itself...but this seditious, unconstitutional doctrine is now publicly taught, avowed, and printed." Now, more than ever, the American Way must be conserved.

As socialist Sweden murders the work ethic and communist Russia depreciates the value of life, let us listen to Burke, for: "Whenever our neighbor's house is on fire, it cannot be amiss for the engines to play a little on our own. Better to be despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security."

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln, our nation's first Republican president said: "What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried?"

The philosophers of these nations where true freedom is foreign have no roots in the ancient democracies of our beloved Western tradition. They "despise experience as the wisdom of unlettered men...They have 'the rights of men.' Against these there can be no prescription; against these no argument is binding; these admit no temperance and no compromise: anything withheld from their full demand is so much of fraud and injustice."

Although our overwhelmingly liberal news media would lead us to believe otherwise, conservatism is still very much the essence of America, just as the family is still the most sought-after source of love and security.

"Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field; that, of course, they are many in number; or that, after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome, insects of the hour."

America's silent majority has endured the noise of "insolent irreligion" long enough. Let us instead sustain an "austere and masculine morality" with Burke's case for conservatism.

## Young Ideas E. Clasen Young



may attain it; others may not. This is America's promise. Pursuit means adventure; happiness means an acquired capacity for a particular purpose; or as Nathaniel Webster writes, "happiness is graceful aptitude." Heinous radicals are not graceful.

The legislative power that composed Locke's "political society" would protect the "pursuit of happiness" only as long as "everyone, by majority would give allegiance." Lois Gibbs of the Love Canal Homeowners Association, and a leader of *Reclaim America*, represents the holdouts of the me-generation: "The time is come to take back what is rightfully ours despite industry and government." But would Ms. Gibbs have anything at all had it not been for the "political society" that guaranteed her "pursuit of happiness"?

The "political society" must endure to protect "natural rights"—neither the "society" nor the "rights" can be jeopardized for what Locke calls "light or transient causes," exempli gratia—the high cost of heating fuel. Maggie Kuhn, former sixties burnout, and Gray Panther on the *Reclaim America* prowls is very upset:

It is high time to free the hostage cities from the Reagan people and their paranoia. The people, old and young, must work together for peace. We can take back our blighted slums, get windmills, and solar ponds installed, bring abundance, safe energy and hope.

Seriously? Her multi-faceted radicalism is a chimera, both light and transient.

\*Al Talaric, 1982

## ANN WATSON REPORTS: A California Review Conversation with Ann Watson

Ann Watson was born in Vienna, Austria. She grew up under a reign of terror imposed first by the National Socialists under Hitler, then by the Russian Communists under Stalin. Escaping to the American zone of occupation she became an official translator and interpreter for the Criminal Investigation Division of the United States Forces in Austria—a branch of military intelligence. Mrs. Watson is a graduate of the University of Vienna and the International School for Interpreters (1945). She is now a naturalized American citizen. Ann Watson is the author of two books: *They Came in Peace and Cruel Peace*. She has been honored by many organizations for her lectures and speeches on international affairs and the threat of totalitarianism to the institutions of this country. She is currently teaching on a part-time basis for the San Diego Community College. A concert pianist, and a charming and vivacious woman, (with the most intelligent German Shepherd in the world—it understands English, French, and German), Mrs. Watson took time to chat with *Brigadier Editor Crocker* about her world view.

CR: How did your newsletter get started?

WATSON: I am not the run of the mill conservative newsletter writer. I never made a dime doing any of this work. I've done it as a labor of love. It started when I wrote my book and, strangely enough, it started with UCSD. I was teaching German and French for people who wanted to get their Ph.D., psychologists and psychiatrists, who had to read German texts that were very difficult to translate. One night one of my students asked me a little bit about my background living under Hitler and Stalin. I started talking and the class became very fascinated and didn't want to study German after that. This one gentleman said to me, "Well, I just heard Angela Davis and Marcuse and all these people give a speech at UCSD and they ought to hear what you have to say about Communism. Would you consider having a debate with some of these students at UCSD?" I said, "Sure, why not?" To make a long story short, they finally set up the debate at the Twelve-thirty Club in La Jolla and I debated Marcuse's little angels. The debate turned out to be six against me. We had a high school principal to monitor the debate. He said, "This isn't fair." The people from UCSD invited me to a meeting prior to the debate and the head of the Chemistry Department who somehow had got involved said to me, "Yes it is fair because you were born and raised over there. You claim you lived under Communism..." I said, "I didn't claim it, I did live under Communism." He continued, "...and therefore you have more credibility with the audience than our students would have." So I agreed to everything. The debate took place and I won the debate hands down. They were still screaming into their mikes when the debate was over. I had lunch there and the next day I became desperately ill. I went through Scripps Clinic. They thought I had cancer, they took every test, they couldn't figure out what was wrong with me. One of the people in my German class was a young doctor who had just opened up his practice and I called him up and said, "I don't know what to do anymore. I lost twenty pounds, my hair fell out, my fingernails are breaking. I'm constantly sick, I can't eat, and I have a low fever, and these doctors put me through misery giving me all these tests and they really don't know what's wrong with me." He said, "Come down to my office tomorrow morning." I went down there. He checked me out and he said, "You have a low grade poison in your system. I think it's LSD and you're very allergic to it." You see, LSD is pure acid and I have been allergic to acid ever since. If I drink one glass of orange juice I get an immediate reaction, I can't eat strawberries, I can't drink more than two glasses of champagne, anything with acid in it will affect me this way. This doctor gave me some vitamins and some cortisone shots and eventually I got over it, but I still have this allergy. I suspect they really tried to put me out of business at the very beginning of my career as a conservative. I was so sick that summer, I didn't feel like doing anything, and I stayed home, and I got so upset about all those things that I sat down and wrote a book which is entitled *They Came in Peace*. It's my life under Hitler and Stalin in Vienna. I entitled it *They Came in Peace* because the National Socialists under Hitler, the Fascists under Mussolini, and the Communists under Stalin all had one message for the people—that they were bringing peace and prosperity. Of course the message is that they brought not only war and misery, but they also brought starvation and unbelievable agony, and that they are not for the little guy. They are not for you and me. They abhor nothing more than a middle

class. The Communists destroyed the middle class and so did the Nazis. They believe in an elitism at the top and the masses at the bottom who are being fed propaganda and turned into zombies to do the bidding of the master. I mean, there is no equality in Russia. There is no equality in any Communist country. I think the greatest danger to America is the fact that the people that have a lot of influence and power and money are ignorant of history, are ignorant of foreign countries, totally ignorant. They're ignorant people. I've talked to senators and congressmen who I consider so ignorant I wouldn't want to waste my time educating them. They don't know anything about Europe. There was one man who was running for President at the same time as Reagan. A Republican. A very handsome, nice man. CR: Phil Crane.

WATSON: Phil Crane. Phil Crane was my choice for President. I'll tell you why. In the thirty minutes that I interviewed him for a TV program I found out that he speaks German and he speaks French and he studied at the University of Vienna and he was at the Sorbonne in Paris and he knows the world and he's a statesman and he's not a two bit politician. He had the charisma and he had the knowledge.

CR: And yet he got very little support from the Republican Party.

WATSON: That's right. That's right.

CR: What do you think of Reagan's plan for peace in the Mideast?

WATSON: It's an absolute disaster. Here we have this peace plan. Everybody's rejected it already. This sounds good for the election. Tell the Jews, "Don't worry, we love you." And tell the Arabs, "Don't worry, we love you too. And we'll give you everything we have. We'll give you our jet planes, and our money, and everything. Just keep the lid down." And the Russians love it. I listen to Radio Moscow.

CR: What do you think of Reagan's position on the gas pipeline?

WATSON: Well, I have written volumes on the gas pipeline. His position is absolutely correct. The only problem is the way he has presented it, number one. And number two, the Europeans are saying, "Fine, we are engulfed in an unemployment crisis and we are faced with the Red Army at our borders." I mean, the Red Army is as far from the people living in West Germany as Tijuana is from us living right here. How would you feel if you lived in San Diego and you knew that there were nuclear missiles in Tijuana, and there were tank armies, and there were chemical warfare divisions, and all this stuff is sitting there and could be thrown at you at any time. And your one and only ally is selling grain to the troops. The greatest weapon in any war is food. You know what defeated Hitler more than anything else? The fact that we were all starving to death. We had nothing to eat. My father was killed in Stalingrad. He was a colonel in the German Army. Not by choice, he was drafted when the Germans took over Austria. In the last letters that I got he said, "We're freezing and we're starving." Had it not been for that the Germans would have obliterated the Russians. The Russians were almost finished, had it not been for the United States sending food and equipment to the Russians on the Lease-line Agreements.

CR: Do you have a corollary foreign policy axiom as regards Poland?

WATSON: The people of Poland laid their lives on the line trying to overthrow their communist government. What did we do? We bailed out the Communist government of Poland to the tune of 71 million dollars at a time when we were practically bankrupt in America. We have an army of allies behind the Iron Curtain that are willing to lay down their lives for the things we take for granted. All we have to do is to do what the Mossad and the KGB and every secret organization is doing except our dumb, dumb CIA. Give them weapons, give them moral support, give them books. Show the world that we mean it! Show them we mean it! How can Reagan talk about the Soviet Union with all this rhetoric—"Light a candle in your window." (Somebody in Clairmont burned down their house putting a candle in their window for the Polish people!)—and the next day give the government that suppresses the people 71 million dollars. Then we give Romania 200 million dollars. They can't pay the interest on the debt. These Communist governments don't pay off their debts. They know from the beginning that we're a bunch of idiots.

CR: And then they can blackmail us by defaulting on the loans.

WATSON: Exactly. If we're going to give money away, give it to the Americans, don't give it to the Russians. So, if I were President today I would subsidize every farmer. If they have a surplus I would

ship it to countries that are friendly to the United States, where they are starving to death in Africa, in Indochina, wherever.

CR: Do you think an all encompassing, unilateral boycott of the Soviet Union would be successful?

WATSON: Absolutely. Absolutely, because there's only so much that Europe can do. The thing with Americans is that they just don't know any geography, they don't know any history, and they don't know anything about these governments. People always say to me, "But, Ann, Argentina will sell grain to the Russians." Let them. Argentina can't produce enough high-grade grain to keep the Russian Empire alive. Australia cannot feed the Communist world. We are the world's breadbasket. Our government has turned us into a breadbasket for our enemies. That's immoral. Out of every five men in Russia, four are in some sort of military service. The same is true in Nicaragua, the same is true in Cuba, the same is true in every Communist country. Now, who's growing the food? Old men and old women are growing the food. Unfortunately, Reagan is no different from Carter. He's still going to sell the Russians grain, and he's still going to communicate with the Russians, and he's taking all this gruff from the United Nations, this theatre of the absurd, which we spend 3.5 million dollars for.

CR: Do you think we should withdraw from the United Nations?

WATSON: Why of course. The United Nations would collapse the day we withdraw. Our government should have intelligence enough to realize that this game we have been playing is self-defeating.

CR: If we could stop our corporations from subsidizing the Russians, would that be sufficient corporate reform for you or do you have something broader in mind?

WATSON: Oh no, I have much more in mind than that. But to get back to my little career. I got on the radio because I was advertising my book on the air and one of the talk show hosts went on vacation and he decided to try something different. So, he said, "Each day of the week, somebody different will take over my show. There'll be a gay, there'll be a black, there'll be a Mexican and there will be a right wing conservative." He picked me to be the right-wing, conservative, "fascist" type. This was Fred Lewis. He works at the college with my husband. We're very good friends, we respect each other, but, you know, he's just a dumb-dumb. So, Fred said to me, "Well, which day do you want? You can have any day you want, because you're the only woman on the program and I'll let you have your choice." I said, "I want Friday." He said, "Why Friday?" I said, "You'll find out." They had me and I was known as the "fascist bitch." Then they had a black professor from UCSD who wrote poetry and who talked about racism and poetry and of course nobody in Southeast San Diego understood a word he was saying, but he was black and he talked to the black people. And we had a Mexican guy by the name of Vic Viapando, who plays tennis with my husband. He was a great socialist, except that he wouldn't live in Mexico. He wanted to live in America under the free enterprise system. He's a heck of a nice guy, and a lovable guy, and a good tennis player, and I educated him along the way and he's not a socialist anymore. And then the gays had a show and then there was a woman who advocated sex education for twelve year old children. So they all did their thing. On Monday was Vic Viapando, on Tuesday was the gay liberation movement, on Wednesday was the sex lady, on Thursday was the black movement, and Friday came along and I came on the air and I totally obliterated them all. I listened to every show, and I took notes, and I made tapes, and I took on all the main points that were discussed on the air. I took them one by one and debated them out of sight. I had the best ratings any show had ever had on KSDO before I left. The week before I was fired the general manager invited me to a party and I sat at his table and we chatted and he showed me the rating book. He'd had a few drinks and he got carried away and he showed it to me. He said, "Do you see that. You've done terrific shows. Terrific. People write to me and say they set their alarm clocks just so they don't miss your show." I came home and I said, "Gee, isn't that wonderful." I expected to stay on the air. On Monday morning I was fired. I had some interesting experiences: with Jane Fonda during the Vietnam War, and a guy threw a chair at me and tried to kill me, the Black Panthers cut all the telephone wires when I was interviewing Admiral Sabin during the Vietnam War. Then they set fire to the station. It had been raining. My show was over about 8 p.m. that Sunday and Vic Viapando came on after me. And because

(continued on next page)



(continued from page 13)

everything was so damp the fire didn't start until I was off the air. When I was driving home, I heard Vic Viapando scream, "My God! The radio station is on fire!" They had a detective there and they called me and told me never to drive my car alone, never to leave my car in the parking lot there, and to be careful. I got many threats from various groups. This is how my whole career started. But to get back to the original question about my newsletter. I started writing the newsletter when I was on the radio because people would write to me and ask me all these questions. So instead of answering each and every one of these letters I decided to publish a newsletter. That's how it started. I did my last television show in June. I had to give it up after that. So right now I'm teaching and I'm publishing my newsletter and I don't know how much longer I can afford to do that. I get letters back from people. One subscriber said he had a vision from God. God told him to change his life and he's cancelled all his subscriptions, including mine. And then I had a letter from a lady who said, "Dear Ann, I have enjoyed your newsletter very much, but now I have decided to stop because ignorance is bliss."

For those who don't think ignorance is bliss, The Ann Watson Report is available for \$39 a year from Ann Watson, P.O. Box 22296, San Diego, CA 92122.

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## The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change

## Capitalism, Socialism, and the Third World

by C. Brandon Crocker

It seems strange, considering the empirical evidence, that American liberals should scorn free market capitalism as a leech on the Third World and hail centrally planned, socialist, and Marxist economic systems as the savior of Third World peoples—but who ever said that American liberals are logical?

Many liberals, such as UCSD's Political Science Professor, Peter Gourevitch, for example, assert that U.S. interest rates and not Francois Mitterrand's socialist economic policies (which when announced after his election caused a large outflow of money from the French stock market) are to blame for France's deteriorated economy. Strangely, high U.S. interest rates started to have their devilish effect on the French economy only after Mitterrand's election, yet the Federal Funds rate has dropped 40% since Mitterrand's victory.

Though such a defence of French socialism may be rather weak, the well entrenched (in academe at least) belief that socialistic, planned economies are what Third World nations need, and that capitalism has been the Third World's greatest enemy, is even more vulnerable to scrutiny.

One charge leveled against capitalism now is that

capitalist countries are successful because they have exploited Third World nations through "neo-colonialism". The theory being that Western corporations exploit Third World nations but not capitalist nations. "Neo-colonialism", however, is just another slogan the Left uses in place of reasoned argument. If the charge were true the United States would be a lesser developed country. After all, the American economy throughout the 18th and 19th centuries was, in large part, a foreign (mainly British) venture. Also, under this theory, countries with the greatest contacts and trade relationships with Western capitalist countries would be the poorest while those with the fewest contacts would be the richest. In fact, the inverse is true. Many liberals, however, find validity in their accusations in the fact that many major corporations move their operations to Third World countries to take advantage of the large, and therefore cheap, labor forces. With logic endemic to the leftist mind, many American liberals argue that it is worse for a Third World person to be employed by a large corporation and make a small income (in U.S. standards) than to have no employment and no income.

This brings us to the heart of the real reason why many Third World nations have stagnant economies. Many American intellectuals advise Third World countries to develop some sort of "planned", highly regulated (to "protect" workers) economy, and most Third World countries seem to have an abundance of people eager to do the planning. Yet advocates of socialistic, planned economies have few examples about which to brag. After 35 years of central economic management, India has become the world's largest charity. Cuba, before Castro's revolution, had the fourth largest per capita GNP in Latin America. Today, despite receiving 8 million dollars a day from the Soviet Union, it ranks fourteenth. Socialism has changed Tanzania from an exporter of maize to an importer of maize. Vietnam's new economic system has made Vietnam's chief export slave labor. The fact is that such economic systems keep lesser developed countries lesser developed.

Labor forces in lesser developed countries are large and contain a high percentage of unskilled and underemployed individuals. The natural result of this situation is low wage rates. Normally, a capitalist will take advantage of this fact and invest in the lesser developed countries and make use of the cheap labor. As this process occurs, the work force becomes more skilled and the unemployment rate drops. The results are higher wages and higher standards of living. But one policy that many lesser developed countries have followed is higher wages by government decree and not by market forces. What these artificially high wage rates do is to prevent the attraction of investors and entrepreneurs and thus, though the wage rates may be high, few have jobs and the economy remains underdeveloped.

Another tactic that has been used by lesser developed countries is to nationalize industries. Lesser developed countries are usually plagued by high interest rates, which means a shortage of capital. Probably no single action taken by a government does more to shut off the inflow of foreign capital than nationalizations. Losses incurred by companies due to nationalizations have been enormous. Companies try to avoid losses, so they avoid investing in countries which have nationalized other industries or that appear to be considering nationalizing.

Free market capitalism, however, has been tried by some Third World countries. For instance, the Ivory Coast has the freest economy and the highest per capita income in black Africa. There is also a more even distribution of wealth in the Ivory Coast than in socialist Tanzania and Zambia, yet distribution of wealth is left primarily to the market.

In 1973 under communist President Allende, Chile had an inflation rate of 350%. After General Pinochet took office, however, the inflation situation got worse, hitting 500% in 1974 and 374% in 1975. At that time, Pinochet decided to take the advice of Milton Friedman, and with the aid of a team of economists trained at the University of Chicago under Friedman, Pinochet cut taxes and opened up the economy to free trade. As a result, the Chilean economy grew nearly 9% in 1977 compared to a 13% contraction in 1975 and tax revenue, even at the lower rates, increased. In 1981 the inflation rate stood at around 10%.

Free trade has turned the economies of many countries in the orient into some of the strongest in the world. Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, and Singapore have all had successful experiments with relatively free market capitalism. Even the Soviet Union has employed free enterprise in order to save its economy. The Soviets have allowed some 3% of Soviet farm land to be run privately. On this 3% is produced 25% of all Soviet farm products.

The track record of socialistic economies shows that socialism has failed to improve the condition of the people in the countries in which it is employed, whereas capitalism has had great success. It seems high time that leftist ideologues got off their moral high horses and took a look at the reality of the systems they advocate. Poor people need more than rhetoric, as Lalith Athulathmudal, Trade Minister of Sri Lanka puts it, "We are in a post-socialist era, an era where slogans no longer are believed to be ipso facto. They have to be proved...To my mind today...we have taken a socialist goal, but in practical terms socialism means whatever means can be employed to improve the lot of the poor. If that includes private enterprise, then that's also a good object, because if that gives jobs, if that increases income, if that gives better cultivation methods, if that means better management of your industries, well that's good enough socialism for me."

## SOCIALISM



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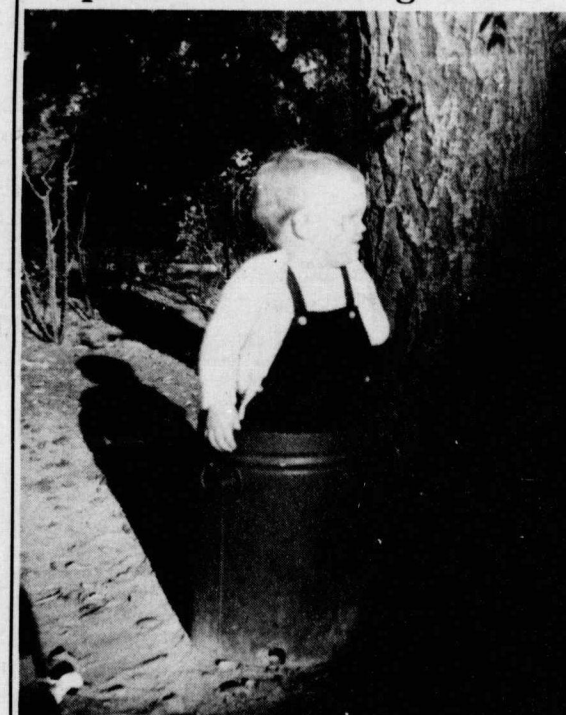


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## Coming Soon in California Review...

### Up from the Garbage Can



E. Clasen Young looks at abortion

Photo by Eric's Mom

### One Night I Had a Dream

I dreamed I was walking along the beach with the Lord, and across the sky flashed scenes of my life. For each scene I noticed two sets of footprints in the sand, one belonged to me, the other to the Lord. When the last scene of my life flashed before us I looked back at the footprints in the sand. I noticed that many times along the path of my life, there was only one set of footprints. I also noticed that it happened at the very lowest and saddest times of my life. I questioned the Lord about it. "Lord, you said that once I decided to follow you, you would walk with me all the way, but I have noticed that during the most troublesome times in my life, there is only one set of footprints. I don't understand why in times when I needed you most, you would leave." The Lord replied, "My precious child, I would never leave you during your times of trial and suffering. When you see only one set of footprints, it was then that I carried you."

— author unknown

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*Pugwash!*

## Meet the Editors of California Review



**President: E. Clasen Young**  
**Born:** August 5, 1961.  
**Birthplace:** Westchester, New York.  
**Height:** 6'1".  
**Weight:** 175.  
**Hair:** Blond.  
**Eyes:** Blue.  
**Hobbies:** Riding to hounds, collecting financial aid.  
**Favorite author:** F. Scott Fitzgerald.  
**Favorite book:** *Winning Through Intimidation* by Robert J. Ringer.  
**Favorite actor:** Laurence Olivier.  
**Favorite movie:** *Chariots of Fire*.  
**Favorite composer:** Bach.  
**Favorite musical composition:** The Brandenburg Concertos.  
**Favorite rock group:** Lawrence Welk.  
**Favorite magazine:** *National Review*.  
**Favorite political commentator:** William F. Buckley, Jr.  
**Religious affiliation:** Presbyterian.  
**Favorite theologian:** Saint Augustine of Hippo.  
**Dream vacation:** Freddy's Saloon, Bar Harbor, Maine.  
**Favorite initials:** I.B.M.  
**Favorite military organization:** U.S. Navy Seal Team.  
**Favorite corporation:** Laker Airways.  
**Best friend:** Lord Mountbatten.  
**Favorite sports:** Surfing, rock climbing, social climbing.  
**Favorite saying:** "Liberals are manifest lunchmeat."  
**Favorite television show:** "Firing Line."  
**Favorite economist:** Thomas Sowell.  
**Favorite President:** Abraham Lincoln.  
**Favorite General:** George Patton.  
**Dream girl:** Margaret Thatcher.  
**Favorite car:** Jaguar.



**Brigadier Editor: H.W. Crocker III**  
**Born:** December 15, 1960.  
**Birthplace:** San Diego, California.  
**Height:** 6'2"  
**Weight:** 175.  
**Hair:** Blond.  
**Eyes:** Blue.  
**Hobbies:** Old movies, figuring out how many liberals can fit on a nuclear test site.  
**Favorite author:** Damon Runyon.  
**Favorite book:** *The Wild Geese* by Daniel Carney.  
**Favorite actor:** John Wayne.  
**Favorite movie:** *Gunga Din*.  
**Favorite composer:** Dvorak.  
**Favorite musical composition:** The New World Symphony.  
**Favorite rock group:** The Arizona St. Geology Department.  
**Favorite magazine:** *The American Spectator*.  
**Favorite political commentator:** R. Emmet Tyrrell, Jr.  
**Religious affiliation:** Presbyterian.  
**Favorite theologian:** Jerry Falwell.  
**Dream vacation:** Nairobi, Kenya.  
**Favorite initials:** U.S.M.C.  
**Favorite military organization:** United States Marine Corps.  
**Favorite corporation:** Bangor Putna.  
**Best friend:** His cowboy boots.  
**Favorite sports:** Boxing, anything where he can get injured.  
**Favorite saying:** "Be a Man Among Men: Join the Rhodesian Army."  
**Favorite television show:** "The Honey-mooners."  
**Favorite economist:** George Gilder.  
**Favorite President:** Teddy Roosevelt  
**Favorite General:** Gordon of Khartoum.  
**Dream girl:** Donna Summer.  
**Favorite car:** A jeep.

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An exclusive California Review interview with Clarence Pendleton, Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.



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