

John S. Cleaves: The Balance of Power

Who lives joyfully, freely in Russia?
—Nekrasov

California Review

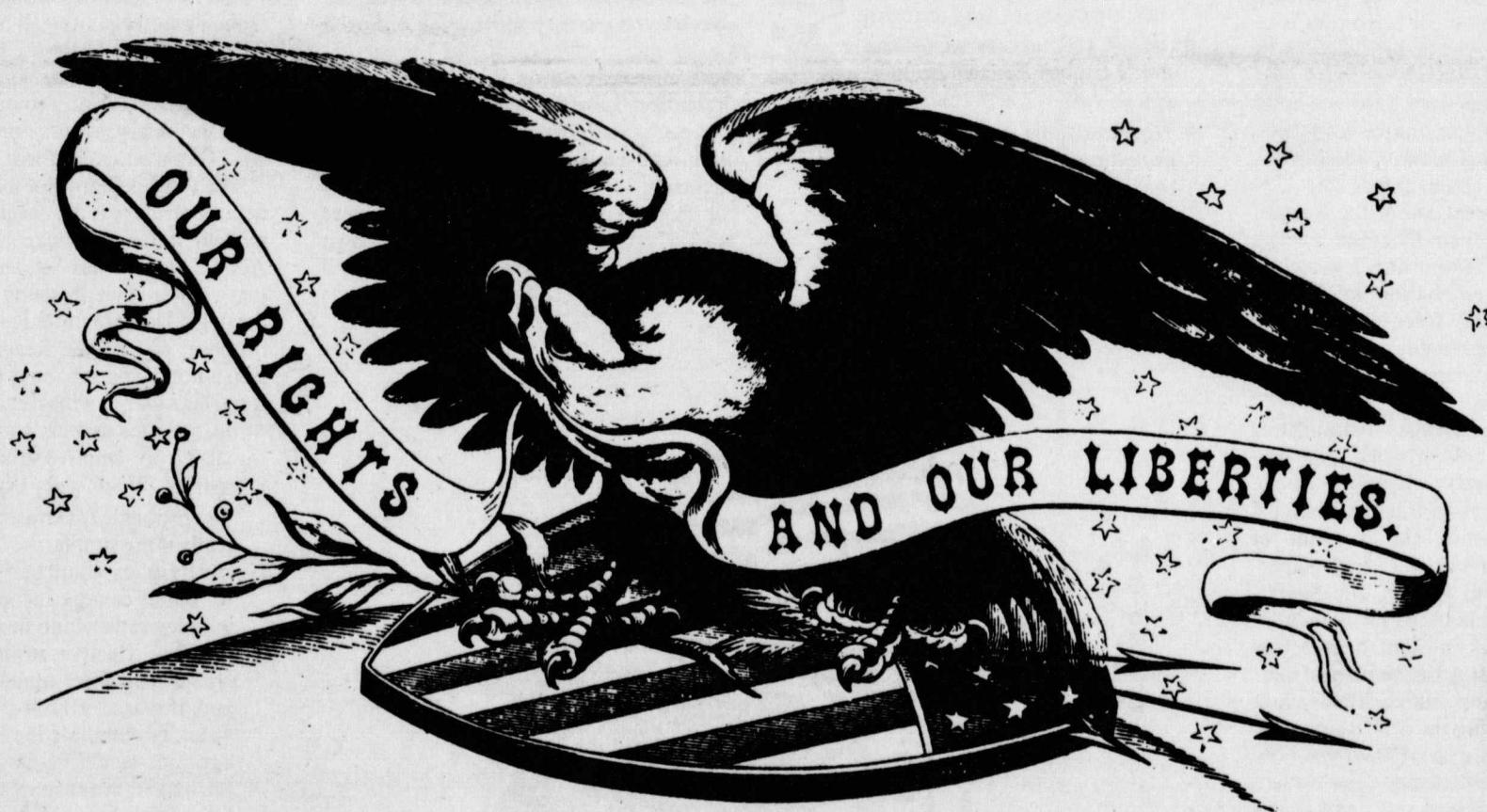
Volume VII, Number 1
October, 1987



P.O. Box 12286
La Jolla, CA 92037

©Copyright California Review 1987

Douglas Jamieson on the Nuclear Doctrine
Brooke Crocker with a Freshman Primer
Allan Naiman and a Soviet Defect
Also: Kurt A. Schlichter, Horatio Galba,
H.W. Crocker III and U.S. Secretary
of Education William J. Bennett,
plus much, much more.



Has Congress Gone Too Far?

See Articles, pp. 5, 14.

The United States Defense Posture

By Douglas Jamieson

The 1970's marked a definite turnaround in the nature of the United States foreign policy. The Nixon Doctrine of 1969 started an appeasement of tensions between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The Doctrine had many intentions, but its main objective was to end the Cold War. Along with ending the Cold War came improved relations not only with the Soviet Union, but with China as well. Other provisions were that the United States would not fight other people's wars for them, and that the U.S. would get off the arms race treadmill. The Carter years moved into an even greater posture of detente. During the years of 1976 to 1979, the Carter Administration downplayed the "Soviet threat." Carter's foreign policy toward the Soviet Union was wishful thinking at best. The result was that the Soviet Union took advantage of the U.S. and embarked on a massive nuclear arms buildup. The invasion of Afghanistan and the overthrow of Somoza in 1979 seemed once again to reinforce the true intentions of the communist Russians: to spread the Marxist philosophy wherever possible throughout the world. The Soviet threat which the U.S. chose to ignore was now greater than ever; not simply because communism had already overridden southeast Asia, or was trying to spread into Afghanistan. The Soviet threat was now in the immediate back yard of the U.S. The western hemisphere had been infiltrated by communism in Nicaragua. American foreign policy was failing and a reevaluation was desperately needed—the 1980's saw the remedy.

With the inauguration of Ronald Reagan, a new phase of foreign policy was ushered into America. President Reagan's foreign policy includes three clearly defined objectives. First and most important is to acknowledge the Soviet threat; second is to define the United States' interests and national security objectives; third is to build a strong defense in accordance with those interests and national security objectives.

Addressing the Soviet threat, the U.S. began the implementation of the Reagan Doctrine. The Reagan Doctrine evokes United States aid to promising democratic freedom fighters combating totalitarian regimes. Immediately, freedom fighters in the countries of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Angola were recognized by the Reagan Administration.

Furthermore, the Reagan Administration had seen the Soviets work their way around treaties, as well as flagrantly violate them. This is the case with the SALT I Treaty, which limits the amount of launchers (nuclear missiles) each superpower is allowed to deploy. The Soviets kept within the limitations on launchers, but worked their way around the treaty by dramatically increasing the number of warheads each missile contains. The Soviets did this by deploying the SS-18 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) that contains ten or more warheads. The Soviets also flagrantly violated the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty by installing a radar in Krasnoyarsk, Siberia that can detect and track incoming ICBM's over Soviet territory. Under the treaty each superpower is allowed one hundred antiballistic launchers with tracking radars in one location. The Soviets have this point defense deployed around Moscow. The treaty prohibits additional radars that can track ICBM's in other regions of Soviet territory, in a way useful for defense, such as the Krasnoyarsk radar does. Regarding the SALT I Treaty, the United States still has to rely on Minuteman II and Minuteman III ICBM's, which contain two and three warheads respectively. On the other hand, to counter the Soviets' massive warhead buildup, the United States has managed to deploy ten of the fifty Peacekeeper ICBM's (MX missiles). Each Peacekeeper ICBM contains

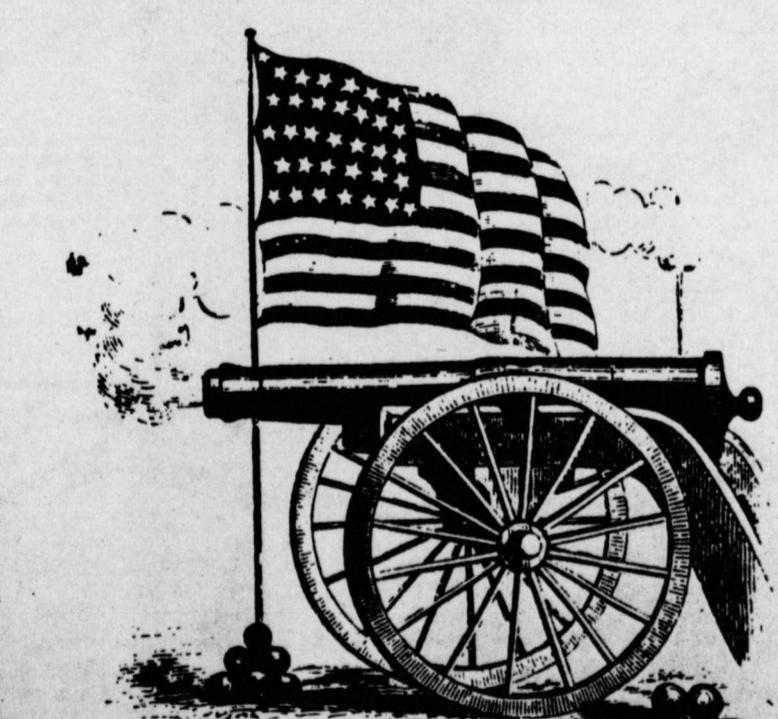
ten or more warheads. Regarding the ABM Treaty: Though the Soviets are in direct violation, the United States has remained within the treaty's restrictions. This includes all research and testing done on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) thus far.

The United States' interests and national security objectives go hand in hand. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger in his *Annual Report to the Congress* fiscal year 1988 describes the United States' interests:

America's paramount national interests are peace, freedom, and prosperity for ourselves and for our allies and our friends, and for others around the world. We seek an international order that encourages self-determination, democratic institutions, economic development, and human rights. We endorse the open exchange of ideas and other measures to encourage understanding between peoples.

Once the United States' interests have been defined, objectives are essential in order to maintain those interests. Caspar W. Weinberger states that the major objectives are to:

- Safeguard the United States and its forces, allies, and interests by deterring aggression and coercion; and should deterrence fail, by defeating the armed aggression and ending the conflict in terms favorable to the United States, our allies, and our interests at the lowest possible level of hostilities.
- Encourage and assist our allies and friends in defending themselves against aggression, coercion, subversion, insurrections, and terrorism.
- Ensure U.S. access to critical resources, markets, the oceans, and space.
- Where possible, reduce Soviet presence throughout the world; increase the costs of Moscow's use of subversive forces; and foster changes within the Soviet bloc that will lead to a more peaceful world order.



- Prevent the transfer of militarily critical technology to the Soviet bloc.
- Pursue equitable and verifiable arms reduction agreements. Because compliance is key to the value of any international agreement, and in view of the Soviet record of violations, fully effective verification is the vital part of any agreement.

These objectives give the United States some clear criteria for planning its defense strategy, but this is not the sole basis for the

U.S. defense posture. The U.S. regards its allies and other interests as invaluable. This is of utmost importance, yet the U.S. can not simply say that it needs unlimited defense resources in order to protect its allies and interests. Congress asks many questions and how much the U.S. needs for defense purposes is questioned regularly. The U.S. must have a set guideline to base its defense posture on. Unfortunately for the United States, the Soviet Union is this guideline. Therefore, the Soviet threat and the Soviets' massive arms buildup are the key elements in the formulation of the U.S. defense posture.

Ever since the arms race began, the world has been held hostage by the concept of mutual assured destruction (MAD). This concept relies on the fact that if either the United States or the Soviet Union launched a pre-emptive strike, then the other superpower would react in destructive retaliation so that each would destroy the other. The MAD concept has kept both superpowers in line for well over two decades. Presently, the United States defense strategy must be primarily based on offensive deterrence. This form of deterrence is both nuclear and non-nuclear (conventional). Respective examples are the Peacekeeper ICBM and the Air Force F-16 jet. However, a search for a less perilous protection than holding each other's population hostage is also of primary importance. This is where the development of a defensive system comes into place. The United States' defense strategy, therefore, must be the development of all three force categories: nuclear, conventional, and defensive.

Nuclear ICBM's were developed by the United States and the Soviet Union for the sole reason of being an offensive weapon. Over the years as each superpower deployed measurable numbers of ICBM's, the use of these missiles became increasingly undesirable because of the MAD concept. Therefore, each superpower had to intimidate the other, consequently deterring any use of nuclear missiles. This is why the U.S. must continue to keep a strong offensive nuclear force. The U.S. can never afford to let down its guard; it happened in the Seventies, and

needs.

Another necessity to deterrence is conventional force. This is managed with a combined effort between the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the category of conventional weapons the U.S. and NATO lag far behind the Soviet Union quantitatively. On the other hand, the U.S. holds a marginal lead qualitatively, especially in the area of tactical airforce. The U.S. also leads both quantitatively and qualitatively in naval warships. The drawback in NATO's development of conventional forces is in the fact that they rely too heavily on U.S. nuclear deterrent. This is seen with NATO's willingness to accept Pershing II and cruise missiles from the U.S. These intermediate range missiles would counter Soviet SS-20 intermediate range missiles. Nevertheless, the U.S. has managed to build a deterrence on its conventional forces in Europe, as observed even before the Pershing II and cruise missiles were deployed. France and Britain have their own minimal intermediate range nuclear force (INF). France has a truly independent nuclear force. Britain's nuclear force comes from Polaris and Trident submarines which are obtained from the United States. Furthermore, West Germany holds roughly 72 short range nuclear missiles with the warheads controlled by the U.S. For this reason, if there was an arms control agreement, particularly removing all U.S. and Soviet short and intermediate range missiles from Europe, the result would be that the U.S. and NATO would have to work systematically to counter the quantitative conventional force advantage the Soviet Warsaw Pact nations have. The other preferable alternative would be to reach a subsequent agreement reducing and equalizing all NATO/Warsaw Pact conventional forces. However, if the likelihood of such an agreement seems slim, then the U.S. must continue to strengthen its secondary means of deterrence—U.S./NATO conventional force.

The third category of the United States defense strategy is the development of non-nuclear defensive weapons. The Reagan Administration has set about to develop just a system that presently is known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). With the proposal of SDI, the Reagan Administration is not trying to portray the thought that a nuclear war is winnable; instead the Administration is seeking ways to reduce the threat of a pre-emptive strike by the Soviets. Caspar W. Weinberger explains:

The rationale for strategic defense is really quite simple: The United States and its allies would be far better off if we could destroy incoming nuclear missiles rather than destroying people. An effective strategic defense would help deter attacks against us and, if it is as effective as we hope, virtually eliminate the terrible damage that would occur if deterrence fails, or in the case of an accidental launch.

The importance of SDI goes well beyond the alleviation of damage to the U.S. if deterrence fails. SDI actually serves as an aid in the reduction of nuclear weapons by giving a message to the Soviets that if SDI is deployed, nuclear weapons will become less effective in a pre-emptive strike. However, the Soviets still suspect that the U.S. is planning a pre-emptive strike by using SDI to render the Soviets' retaliatory capability ineffective. The fact of the matter is that President Reagan has made several arms reduction proposals to the Soviets just to extinguish such suspicions. In spite of that, the Soviets insist that the SDI program must be limited to just research, if not totally eliminated, before any arms control agreement can be met. This proposal by the

continued on page 15

Letters

Dear Editor,

I applaud not only the courage but the quality of what you are doing.

Sincerely,

Thomas Sowell

Senior Fellow

Dear Editor,

Keep up the good work and "give 'em Hell!"

Sincerely,

Edwin O. Leonard

Dear Editor,

On behalf of Governor George Deukmejian, I would like to congratulate the *California Review* for its successes.

Sincerely,

Kevin M. Brett

Press Secretary

Dear Editor,

The *Review* is a breath of fresh air amidst the stench that so characterizes the groves of academia in 1987.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Whiteley

Dear Editor,

This is the best college newspaper I have seen. Keep it up, fellow conservatives.

Sincerely,

Frank Cerrone

Dear Editor,

The recent publicity blitz by business supporters of the beer industry's wholesaler monopoly bill is instructive. A common fallacy parroted by liberals and the media is that businessmen relish an unregulated free market. The wholesalers' sophisticated propaganda demonstrates that frequently the opposite is true.

Many such businessmen attempt to use the power of government to give them the profits that they can't earn legitimately in the marketplace. They purchase the best politicians that money can buy, and then they push through protectionist laws to rape the consumer.

It was the big airlines who opposed the deregulation of air fares by the now defunct CAB. It was the big trucking companies who opposed the deregulation of shipping by the ICC. In both instances the deregulation has saved consumers tens of billions of dollars while cutting the monopoly profits of the previously regulated industries.

Voters should not confuse the pro-business, anti-consumer politics often favored by the two major parties with the true free market policies espoused by Milton Friedman and other libertarians. The beer monopoly bill is simply a blatant version of the thousands of such subsidy laws which now permeate our society.

Yours truly,
Robert Valente

California Review



Credo: *Imperium et libertas*.

Magistratus:

John S. Cleaves Fortis Praeses
Robert Triplett Eximus Concubitus
Douglas Jamieson Tribunus Plebis
Leslie Crocker Supremus Auxilium

Equites:

Douglass Breckinridge, James Calhoun,
Brooke Crocker, Allan Naiman, Lorna Murdock,
Bill Eggers

Praefecti:

Michael Johns Washington, D.C.
J. Michael Waller Central America
Dinesh D'Souza Third World
Barry Jantz SDSU
Ken Royal Irvine

Ivory Tower Praefecti:

Dr. G. James Jason
Dr. Frederick R. Lynch
Dr. Patrick Groff
Dr. William S. Penn, Jr.
Dr. Alfred G. Cuzán
Dr. Serendipity Q. Jones

Artifex Maximus:

Gregory Redmond

Jurisconsulti:

The Praetorian Guard and Charles Purdy IV
(Praetorian Praefectus)

Founders and Members of the Pantheon:

H. W. Crocker III, Brigadier Editor Emeritus '83
E. Clasen Young, President Emeritus '84
C. Brandon Crocker, Imperator Emeritus '85

Bearers of the Torch:

C. G. Alario, Rebellis Dux Emeritus '86
P. Joseph Moons, Optimo Princeps '87
Kurt A. Schlichter, Centurio Luxuriosus '87

Please address all letters, manuscripts, and blank checks to:

The Temple of Mars the Avenger
P.O. Box 12286
La Jolla, CA 92037

California Review (Restitutor Orbis) was founded on the sunny afternoon of seven, January, nineteen-hundred and eighty-two, by discipuli cum civitas listening to Respighi and engaging in discourse on preserving the American Way.



The opinions and views contained in *California Review* are the opinions of individual writers and do not necessarily represent the collective opinions of the CR staff, the ASUCSD, the Regents and/or the University of California.

A conservative journal is a terrible thing to waste. Give to *California Review*, a not-for-profit organization.

In Review

■ The Sierra Club announced itself to be one of the ten most extravagant lobbyist groups, spending \$1,059,721 in 1986 in efforts to convince Congress to end cattle grazing, timber harvest, watershed management and automobile touring in public wilderness areas. Keep those Sierra Club contributions coming in, folks. It costs real money to keep undesirables off your federal lands.

■ Former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda, have an interesting belief. "We are part of the achievement of being a god," stated the former Dictator in a Playboy interview. Need he say more?

■ Have any extra bricks? Kenny Bob Parsons and the members of the Great Wall of Texas society need over 32 billion of them to build a 40 foot high, 40 foot thick wall along the 3,617 miles of Texas border.

■ Mr. Rogers left his neighborhood for Moscow last month where he was a guest host for the children's show "Good Night, Little Ones." In return, young Americans get to see Tatiana Vedeneva on "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood." Now you can watch GlasnoTV in your own living room.

■ President Reagan is in trouble with the Internal Revenue Service! Actually, it was an IRS trainee who typed in the President's name while practicing setting up tax liens against delinquent taxpayers. Unfortunately for the President, the entry can't be removed from the agency files, though the entry was made with a bogus Social Security number and address.

■ Sweden is arming its army conscripts with camouflage colored condoms. The condoms are labeled "COMMANDO—Defense Against AIDS." It's only a matter of time before some fast food joint comes out with a collectors' series featuring "Star Wars" characters.

■ A new biography of former Fed Chairman Paul Volcker is out and shows that his advocacy of a tight money policy was not limited to the national economy. According to Mr. Volcker's daughter, who is quoted in the book, the former Fed Chairman was loath to part with money. "I remember we had this old car," she relates. "The car was just falling apart. I remember at one point the front seat fell back. He took the kitchen stool and propped up the back of the seat for a couple of years." Mr. Volcker, the book reveals, also bought a washer and dryer for his daughter as a present "and then proceeded to carry over his laundry every week in a suitcase." Concludes Mr. Volcker's daughter, "He's just sort of cheap."

■ The famous black economist and syndicated columnist Walter Williams, while pondering the current state of The Republic, writes in one of his recent columns, "Some of my mail is encouraging. I receive the *California Review*."

■ Judicial activism is popping up in Wyoming where the State Supreme Court is going beyond interpretation of the law to the invention of new words. In a footnote of an opinion written by Justice Walter C. Urbigkit, Jr., the Justice, speaking for the Court states, "we have decided that we like the word 'conclusory,' and we are stressed by its omission from the English language." "Conclusory" (a combination of "conclusion" and "illusory") would pertain to making an allegation which one mistakenly believes is supported by facts. The footnote continues, "We now proclaim that henceforth 'conclusory' is appropriately to be used in the opinions of this court."

■ The British are still British. Police in England chased a robbery suspect and finally tackled him on the front lawn of 75 year old Mrs. Mary Pecover. According to Mrs. Pecover, "I came out because I heard a helicopter hovering above."

"As soon as I got outside there was this big fellow lying face down in my front garden with two policemen sitting on top of him and another standing by him."

"They just stayed sitting on this chap and they asked for a cup of tea."

"I said: 'Do you want three cups or four?'"

"They said: 'Just three, please.'"

■ Meanwhile, Brooke Shields showed that one can graduate "with honors" from Princeton without taking a single course in history (except for film history, of course).

Classics, Political Science, Economics, English and American Literature, Mathematics, and the physical sciences. Appropriately enough, however, she did take a course in beginning acting.

■ Senator Joseph Biden's quest for the Democratic presidential nomination was struck a death blow when, after revelations that the Senator made a habit of adopting large portions of other politicians' speeches as his own (including one from British Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock, in which Kinnock talks of his family background), Biden was forced to acknowledge having exaggerated his academic record and having been caught plagiarizing at law school. If only Biden had had Ted Kennedy's wealth he could have done as Kennedy did and paid someone to do his school work for him.

■ The original Marlboro Man has gone to the big ranch in the sky. Three guesses as to the cause of death.

■ File this one under "Now I've heard it all." A convict sentenced to life for a first degree murder has sued to be released. The convict, one Richard Richards of Missouri, claims that the pacemaker implanted in his chest in 1985 has extended his life span beyond the "natural life" of his sentence.

■ During a recent debate, Republican Presidential Candidate Jack Kemp denied he was a hawk. "I'm a dove," he said, "a heavily armed dove."

■ Pravda reported in August that an 11-year old girl from Soviet Azerbaijan woke up from a nap in the garden choking and gasping for air. Doctors removed a two-foot long Caucasian Cat Snake from her throat. The kid is all right, but there is no word on the fate of the running-dog reptile.

■ It's about time. In Ferrol, Spain, a monument to the most unappreciated of the body's organs was unveiled by the mayor/coroner. The political pathologist, in an ode to the liver, noted that he had seen "hundreds of these organs tortured by cocktails and wine." Perhaps Ferrol is a college town.

■ The London-based International Epicurean Circle has named the Scottish National Dish, haggis, "the most horrible gastronomic and culinary delight of the century." The honoree is, of course, a sheep's minced heart, liver and lungs cooked with oatmeal in the skin of the sheep's stomach. Mmmmm-mm-mm.

■ They have already claimed to have invented the electric light, radio, television and the airplane, but this time the Russkies have gone a step too far and asserted that they, in fact, created the American game of baseball. Supposedly, baseball's immediate predecessor was a Russian folkgame. However, an American who coaches Russian amateur players finds no innate talent there. "The Russians," he says, "throw like girls."

■ The stray dogs of Singapore cross roads only through crosswalks and at the appropriate color of the light.

■ We at CR want to know what the big deal about Ollie North haircuts is. We had them before he even took the stand!

■ A Vanity Fair article on the self-destruction of Gary Hart points out that when Democrats get in trouble, it's almost always about sex. When Republicans do, it's almost always about money.

■ Remember how last year a nitwit bit an FBI recruiter at UCSD and was arrested? Those charges were dropped. About the same time, in Managua, a peaceful demonstration for the restoration of civil liberties was broken up by Sandinista thugs with cattle prods and attack dogs. So far, no leftist protest at UCSD. What would the secret police have done if the demonstrators had bared their teeth? Probably put their Soviet made rifles to work. There's nothing like a double standard, is there?

■ East Germans, who are used to waiting up to 12 years for getting their orders for a new car filled, are now allowed to bequeath their place in line on the waiting list to family members if they believe they might be dead by delivery time.

■ Mr. Gorbachev seems destined to visit America soon, but no gay rights groups appear interested in protesting his arrival. Instead, they are focusing on Pope John Paul II, who has no one rotting in his prisons for practicing homosexuality, unlike Smilin' Mike. Maybe they think the Russian leader is cute.

■ Amy Carter has proved to be almost as bright as her father. Last quarter she flunked out of Brown University.

■ So-called "Peace Activist" Brian Willson, who decided to make a protest against American support for forces supporting freedom in Central America, recently sat in the path of a Navy munitions train. Not surprisingly, he was run over, and lost both legs and a chunk of his skull. Naturally, the left was ecstatic. "Ronald Reagan," said one excited caller to a radio talk show, "is now mutilating those who stand for peace."

■ Among the visitors to Mr. Willson's hospital bed: Singer-Song Writer-Lesbian Joan Baez, Castro and Arafat's friend Jesse Jackson and the wife of Nicaraguan dictator Daniel Ortega.

■ Mr. Willson is suing the Navy for not stopping the train, of course.

■ How has CR found out all this legless leftist trivia? Because the first thing the leftists did after the accident was hire a publicist to take full propaganda advantage of the incident.

■ Remember how last year a nitwit bit an FBI recruiter at UCSD and was arrested? Those charges were dropped. About the same time, in Managua, a peaceful demonstration for the restoration of civil liberties was broken up by Sandinista thugs with cattle prods and attack dogs. So far, no leftist protest at UCSD. What would the secret police have done if the demonstrators had bared their teeth? Probably put their Soviet made rifles to work. There's nothing like a double standard, is there?

By John S. Cleaves

September was the bicentennial for the Constitution of the United States. Two hundred years of freedom and equality for Americans, of democracy and capitalism, of free speech and balanced government. As the United States enters its third century as a constitutionally defined nation, it has many proud achievements to look back upon, and many more to anticipate in its future. The Constitution is America's greatest accomplishment. It defines the nation, the people, and the culture. The way we act, speak, and write is based on the freedom it gives us. Our businesses and industries practice under its guarantees. Our government is bound by its rules and regulations. Or rather, the government *used* to be bound by the Constitution, for that seems to be changing.

In fact, it is these Senators and Congressmen who would politicize the Bench. As it stands now, the Supreme Court is in a deadlock, four Justices of conservative leanings, four of liberal. The appointment of Judge Bork would break the situation and give the Court a majority which favors the conservative side of social issues. It would also give the Court a majority of strict Constitutionalists who follow the letter of the law, as opposed to the revisionists, who favor modification of the Constitution to fit their own views on society.

The Democrat controlled Senate will not tolerate such a situation. Instead they say Judge Bork will politicize the Court while in fact it is they who would politicize the Court by requiring that the next Justice be a liberal of their own viewpoint. If they cannot achieve that lofty goal, they will instead continue to attack whomever the President nominates so that the Court will be left in perpetual deadlock, unable to reach a decision on any number of issues.

Not only is such an action an inclusion of politics into the Supreme Court, which is supposed to be free from the like, but it is also an attack upon the Constitution itself.

The system of checks and balances provides the Congress with a means of preventing the President from packing the Court with political cronies. In the past it has worked well. Now, however, Congress is infringing on this system to gain influence over the Court. They would have a

Court which supports them, or no Court at all. What makes the situation even worse is that President Reagan is in fact a lame duck President. Congress does not approve his bills and overrides his vetoes. They question his decisions and work to prevent him from taking action.

Therefore, the situation at present is one in which the Legislative branch is moving beyond its Constitutionally defined bounds, using the balance of power to its own advantage by keeping the Executive weak and the Judicial tied up in indecision.

The Congressional call for implementation of the War Powers Act in the Persian Gulf points to another infringement by the Legislative upon a separate branch of government.

that no matter what they do, it is highly likely that American forces would be withdrawn in sixty days by a Congress forever afraid of another Vietnam. This Act handcuffs not only the President but also the military, which now must try to protect America while faced with the spectre of being withdrawn before effective action can be taken.

Of course, Congress answers to the American public and these actions it has taken would have met with great resistance if not for the fact that, to an extent, the people have lost faith in the Executive.

The reason for this loss of faith were the two great Presidential scandals of recent decades, Watergate and the Iran-Contra affair. It is unfortunate that two of the ablest Presidents to serve this nation would become involved in controversies which would damage and destroy their ability to lead the country. These affairs have allowed Congress to take on the role of "protector of the people," supposedly saving the public from an Executive gone wild.

In reality, Congress is threatening, not protecting, the public with its actions. It is restricting and even stripping the Executive branch of power, while at the same time it is keeping the Judicial branch indecisive and ineffective until it can be made supportive of the goals held by Congress.

In this, the two hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the document which defines America, Congress, with the help of an error-prone Executive, is stepping beyond the laws which have restricted it since 1787. If Congress continues down this path, it will destroy the balance of power and thus the Constitution itself, and America will once again find itself in tyranny, for an unrestricted oligarchy is just as bad as an autocracy.

John S. Cleaves, a Senior at UCSD, is Editor-in-Chief of CR.

Constitution, 200 Years Old, Killed by Congress

that no matter what they do, it is highly likely that American forces would be withdrawn in sixty days by a Congress forever afraid of another Vietnam. This Act handcuffs not only the President but also the military, which now must try to protect America while faced with the spectre of being withdrawn before effective action can be taken.

Of course, Congress answers to the American public and these actions it has taken would have met with great resistance if not for the fact that, to an extent, the people have lost faith in the Executive.

The reason for this loss of faith were the two great Presidential scandals of recent decades, Watergate and the Iran-Contra affair. It is unfortunate that two of the ablest Presidents to serve this nation would become involved in controversies which would damage and destroy their ability to lead the country. These affairs have allowed Congress to take on the role of "protector of the people," supposedly saving the public from an Executive gone wild.

In reality, Congress is threatening, not protecting, the public with its actions. It is restricting and even stripping the Executive branch of power, while at the same time it is keeping the Judicial branch indecisive and ineffective until it can be made supportive of the goals held by Congress.

In this, the two hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the document which defines America, Congress, with the help of an error-prone Executive, is stepping beyond the laws which have restricted it since 1787. If Congress continues down this path, it will destroy the balance of power and thus the Constitution itself, and America will once again find itself in tyranny, for an unrestricted oligarchy is just as bad as an autocracy.

John S. Cleaves, a Senior at UCSD, is Editor-in-Chief of CR.

Young Americans for Freedom

The Nation's Largest Conservative Youth Organization

Join Us!

"Young Americans for Freedom helped make possible my candidacy for President in 1980. For twenty-five years, Young Americans for Freedom has been the key conservative youth group in training leaders who now operate at all levels of government.

YAF's support of conservative principles will be crucial in reversing the tide toward a more heavily regulated economy and a weaker national defense.

I urge all of my youth supporters to join Young Americans for Freedom. The conservative battle continues after Election Day. Don't think the battle is won just because the election is over.

I've been associated with YAF for over twenty years. I think you should be too."

President Ronald Reagan

Application for Membership

Young Americans for Freedom
P.O. Box 847 Sierra Madre, CA 91024-0847

I wish to apply for membership.

I enclose my membership dues of \$ _____

NAME _____ (Please Print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE _____

PERMANENT ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

AGE _____ SCHOOL OR OCCUPATION _____



CHECK ONE:

- 2 Year Membership \$5.00
- Associate Membership \$10.00 (Over 40)
- I enclose a contribution of \$ _____
- I would like more information about YAF
- I would like to start a YAF chapter



A Challenge for the Reagan Doctrine

By Horatio Galba

If the Reagan Doctrine of supporting anti-communist insurgencies is to be taken seriously in the future, it must be applied, without delay, to aid and abet the Michaelites of Ethiopia before they are persecuted further by Ethiopia's cruel and oppressive Marxist government.

The Michaelites are youths who imitate their cult hero, Michael Jackson, adopting his clothes, mannerisms, and whatever else there is to adopt of him. The Marxist government of Ethiopia has called upon parents to take action against "the invasion of this hippie culture," without, obviously, knowing what a hippie is.

It is hard to see how youths who dress in sunglasses, mock opera military uniforms, and white gloves can be considered hippies. It would be more appropriate to call them officers and gentlemen with high voices who can dance. In other words, they are perfect anti-communist resistance. Untainted by human rights violations, having a profound affection for popular American culture, and in joyful opposition to the humorless Ethiopian communists, the Michaelites should be able to obtain support from both sides of the congressional aisle. It is hard to see how aid could be denied to any movement so pure of corrupting influences and so far from our own shores.

Admittedly, the Michaelites have been known to get out of hand from time to time.

Reports have surfaced that a band of Michaelites broke into a private dinner, ate all the food, and got into a fight over a married woman. But can anyone in Ethiopia really be blamed for eating all the food he can? And can we really condemn youths who fight over a married woman when our own preachers and politicians are shamelessly cheating on their wives during all hours of the day and night? Are we not all sinners in the eyes of God?

Now, the more cultured among us might argue that while Wagnerites in Ethiopia could merit our support, Michaelites are more than a little *infra dig*; and one could not easily debunk the argument, if it were made by Secretary of State George Schultz, that we should provide arms and military training to the Ethiopian regime so that it could squash the Michaelites and, by our aid, help us wean the communist government from its dependence on the Soviets.

This leaves us with only two morally acceptable choices. We must either airlift the Michaelites to safety or we must do all we can to help them in their struggle against a government that has one of the worst, perhaps even the worst, human rights records in the world. Unfortunately, unlike the Falashas, whom the Israelis were able to liberate from the Ethiopian communists, the Michaelites have no homeland. They could be transplanted in Hollywood, but they might find freedom spiritually numbing after having endured so much abuse at home. The Michaelites, if they were brought to America, could find the country as spiritually hollow as Solzhenitsyn has. It would seem by far the better course to supplement their electric guitars with stinger anti-aircraft missiles, captured

AKs, and other tools of urban and rural guerilla warfare.

We must not treat the Michaelites lightly. They have been willing to risk their lives to follow their beliefs. At a recent funeral for a young Michaelite, the mourners were heard to lament, "a star performer is departed . . . To whose care have you abandoned us other Michaels?" Though directed to God, that plea must also be haunting American decision-makers. The United States must not allow itself to be lured into inaction because of the Iran/Contra affair. The world keeps spinning and problems keep erupting despite congressional hearings. If the Reagan Doctrine is to be truly and honestly employed, and if we are finally going to recover from our fear of internationalism spawned by the Vietnam War, we must come to the aid of the Michaelites, because in our hearts, we all know what the Michaelites could do to the Ethiopian regime: they could beat it.



Horatio Galba is CR's European Literary Correspondent.

The Solution to the Irish Question

By Horatio Galba

The seemingly insoluble problem of what the British should do to resolve the troubles of Northern Ireland, is really not so insoluble after all. Indeed, if British diplomacy was truly all that it's often cracked up to be, the solution to the Irish question would have been found long ago.

The answer, of course, is that Ireland, North and South, is inevitably, a part of China; and with Britain committed to handing over nearly four million Hong Kong Chinese to a People's Republic of China to which they do not want to belong:

and with the British locked into a no-win situation in Ireland, where they are regarded as oppressors by the Catholics and as perfidious double-dealers by the Protestants, an obvious trade presents itself.

Like elephants, the Irish and the Chinese have long memories, and both races would be gratified by an opportunity to combine forces and strike at the English. Buttressed by Chinese manpower, the Irish would undoubtedly feel like swinging their shillelaghs, and the Chinese, with their Oriental shrewdness and inscrutable cunning, could provide the proper poetic response—namely, to flood Britain with birth control devices, thereby exacting a horrible revenge for the opium wars Britain forced upon the Chinese in the nineteenth century by depopulating England of its next generation. Irish knowledge of birth control is limited, but they would have few compunctions about using Chinese expertise in this area against the English.

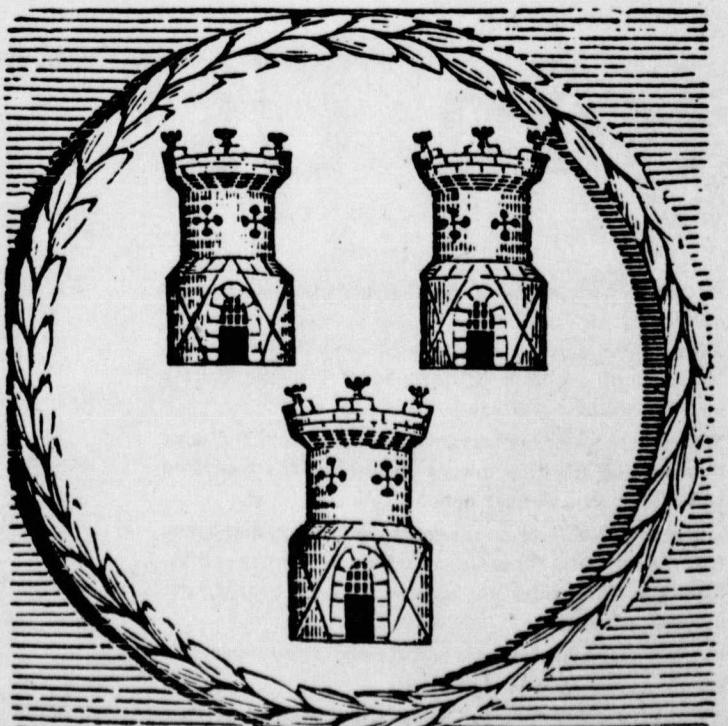
The pleasures to be afforded the Irish and the Chinese, however, are not the only arguments to be taken into account. The geo-political consequences of China assuming sovereignty over Ireland would be tremendous. If brought into NATO, a Chinese Ireland would firmly cement China in the pro-Western, anti-Soviet camp, and, depending on the size, type, and quality of military forces China chose to deploy in Ireland, would greatly improve NATO's ability to fight a conventional war in Europe, thus raising the nuclear threshold. Moreover, a Chinese entry into the EEC would relieve Europe of its butter mountains and agricultural surplus. And if Britain retained its foothold in Hong Kong, the British could still maintain an important presence in the Pacific, and, perhaps in alliance with the Chinese, be able to threaten Argentina with war on two fronts if the Argentines threat-

ened any more trouble over the Falklands.

Samuel Johnson believed that the Irish problem could be resolved by transplanting the Dutch in Ireland and the Irish in Holland. This, he posited, would allow the industrious Dutch to turn Ireland into a prosperous and enterprising country. The Irish, on the other hand, would neglect to keep up Holland's dikes and would all be drowned. Admittedly, this is a solution to the Irish problem, but man's better instincts demand a more humane policy. Giving full vent to Chinese *Lebensraum* in Ireland would seem an astute program. It would buttress the attempts of Chinese liberals to create a more pluralistic Chinese society and would give Chinese hardliners the prospect of incorporating fighting Irish into

the Chinese army, possibly for use as shock troops in Vietnam. For the British, the retention of Hong Kong would provide not only the important psychological uplift of being able to hold onto a valuable piece of ever-fading imperial glory, but the assurance that not all Britons will be on the dole by the year 2000. One can only hope that those Irish-Americans and their representatives in Congress who defend the despicable IRA, will come to their senses, support this noble plan, and encourage British Foreign Office sinophiles to come out of the closet.

Horatio Galba is CR's European Literary Correspondent.



Understanding Profit

By C. Brandon Crocker

Workers are toiling hard. A robust gentleman with "Capitalist" written across his stomach comes into the scene, takes the products of the workers, hands the workers some money and sells the products for much more. The workers are left pondering how the capitalist gets away with paying them less than the value of the goods they produce. This scene, which I recently saw in cartoon form in a Leftist student publication, states in simple terms the conception many Leftists have of profit. Often, businessmen offer the explanation that profit is the reward to which people are entitled for putting their property at risk by going into business. Both of these frequently aired views demonstrate that the notion of profit, even in the world's premier capitalist power, is a greatly misunderstood concept.

The Leftist interpretation of profit—what the capitalist is able to extract from his workforce—is a result of ignorance of developments in the field of economics over the past 100 years. Exploitation theorists still believe in Ricardo's "Iron Law of Wages," which sets wages and profits in constant conflict, and his "Labor Theory of Value," which states that the exchange value of goods is determined by the equivalents of labor power that go into their manufacture. In production the worker contributes labor and receives wages. The capitalist contributes machinery ("stored" labor) and receives interest or profit (though some, including the author of the mentioned cartoon, are not willing to allow the capitalist any return). Any increase in the capitalists' reward, therefore, must come at the expense of the workers. From this Karl Marx predicted class conflict with capitalists exploiting the workers in order to maximize profits, a proletarian revolution, and various other horrible events, all with an uncanny accuracy which falls just short of that demonstrated by the average psychic in *The National Enquirer*.

What Karl Marx did not foresee, and what many present day Leftists ignore, is that fact that the "Iron Law of Wages" and

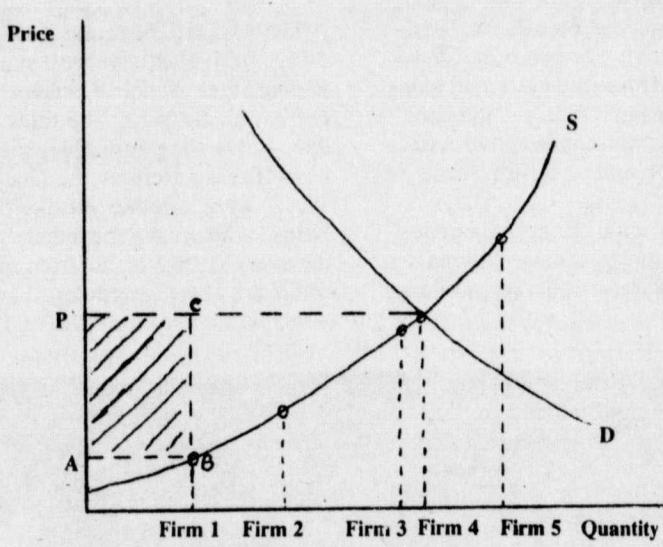
the "Labor Theory of Value" have long been buried in the ash heap of economic theory history. The American economist Francis Walker shattered the "Iron Law of Wages" more than 100 years ago by demonstrating that wages and profits can, and often do, move together as increases in productivity lead to increased profits and increased wages (as labor becomes more valuable). Not long after, William Jevons and Carl Menger replaced the "Labor Theory of Value" with what could be called the "Subjective Theory of Value."

Opening up a line of thought that is now cornerstone of microeconomic theory, Jevons and Menger developed the idea that product's value is determined by marginal demand—that is, how much somebody is willing to pay for the last unit produced. The consumer, therefore, not the producer, determines value. In addition to being on much more solid theoretical ground than Ricardo's "Law," Jevons' and Menger's hypothesis is also far more intuitive. For instance, is the value of this essay determined by the amount of time I have devoted to its composition, or by the (subjective) value readers obtain from it? If it is determined by my time and energy then value must be unrelated to the usefulness of the output, which is an obviously absurd conclusion.

Though the value of labor is not necessarily equal to the final value of a product, can't an employer get away with paying workers less than what their labor is worth? Generally, the answer is no. If adding a particular employee would boost net output by \$10 an hour, the employer would be willing to spend up to \$10 an hour in compensation to that employee. As long as there are other buyers in the particular segment of the labor market whose efficiency in using labor is similar, compensation will tend to be bid up to the average marginal productivity of labor (in this case \$10 an hour). If compensation remains below that level, it would be in the interest of one employer to raise the compensation level in order to hire the employee away from his current employer. Therefore, employers who try to

One of the most common justifications for profit is that profit is the reward one deserves for taking risks—spending savings and mortgaging the house to set up a business which may fail. Society benefits from these risk takers through more and better products and services, as well as through increased employment opportunities. But people need and inducement to take risks, and profit acts as this inducement.

It is true that certainty is preferred to uncertainty. Therefore, the greater the risk of a project the greater the expected return that is needed to induce investment in that project. Risk is involved in producing to fulfill an uncertain demand. But risk is not



As price increases, the willingness of suppliers to produce increases (so the Supply Curve "S" slopes upward). As price rises, firm 1 (the lowest cost producer as marked on the Supply Curve) can afford to produce. Since it cannot meet all the demand, however, firm 2 also enters, as does firm 3 and firm 4. At price equal to P firm 5 will not produce because it cannot cover its costs. As price increases, however, demand falls (so the Demand Curve "D" slopes downward). Price is set where Supply = Demand. Profit is measured by the difference between P and the firm's cost. The least efficient producer, firm 4, about breaks even. The most efficient producers make bigger profits.

We have seen that the value of goods is not determined by labor content but rather subjectively by consumers based on how well the product fulfills a need, and that an employer cannot cut costs by paying sub-standard wages. Therefore, we cannot say that the hatched area ABCP, which represents the profits of firm 1, comes from exploiting workers. Consumers do not pay producers for taking risks so it does not come as a gift from consumers. Consumers are willing to pay P for the last unit produced. What has caused a profit is producing a product to fulfill a particular need at less than P.

Profit is a reward for good management (i.e. fulfilling a need at low cost). It is the reward a producer earns for increasing the efficiency of both the capital and labor he employs, *vis-a-vis* his competitors.

Rather than being hurt, workers benefit directly from the competition among producers to increase efficiency. As producers develop more efficient ways of production, the average marginal productivity of labor rises, causing the value of labor and, hence, wage rates, to rise as well. This is how wage rates rose 400% in real terms (i.e. after inflation) in Great Britain between 1800 and 1900, while labor unions wielded little power, and while population quadrupled.

Contrary to being something that producers add on to production costs, profit is, as John Chamberlain writes, "in effect, not added to the price but taken out of the cost." Profits are the result of increasing the value of capital and labor, not exploitation. When profits are being made, everyone is benefiting—producers, consumers, and workers.

C. Brandon Crocker is CR's Imperator Emeritus.

STUDENT REGENT '88

APPLY NOW

APPLICATIONS AT:

ASUCSD OFFICE

COLLEGE DEAN'S OFFICES

EDNA

CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

GSA OFFICE

OGSR

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE STUDENT AFFAIRS OFFICE

APPLICATIONS DUE BY:

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1987

CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

NO LATER THAN 5:00 P.M.

An Orientation session will be held October 26, 1987 in the Multi-purpose room, upstairs, Student Center at 5:00 p.m.

Leapin' Lizards, He Can't Be Conservative!

By Kurt Andrew Schlichter

I was always amused, when I would be sitting in the Pub with other *Cal Review* staffers, at the fact that many people seemed quite astonished that we were there. "I didn't know Republicans partied," they would say, which usually prompted me to order another pitcher so they wouldn't consider it a fluke. No, people have some how gotten it into their heads that most young conservatives spend a good deal of their time wearing bad suits and talking about Laffer Curves. Maybe some do, but the rest of us no longer have to battle the stereotype. Now P.J. O'Rourke has come along and written a manifesto for, as the book's notes indicate, "the conservative with a sense of humor and a healthy dose of depravity."

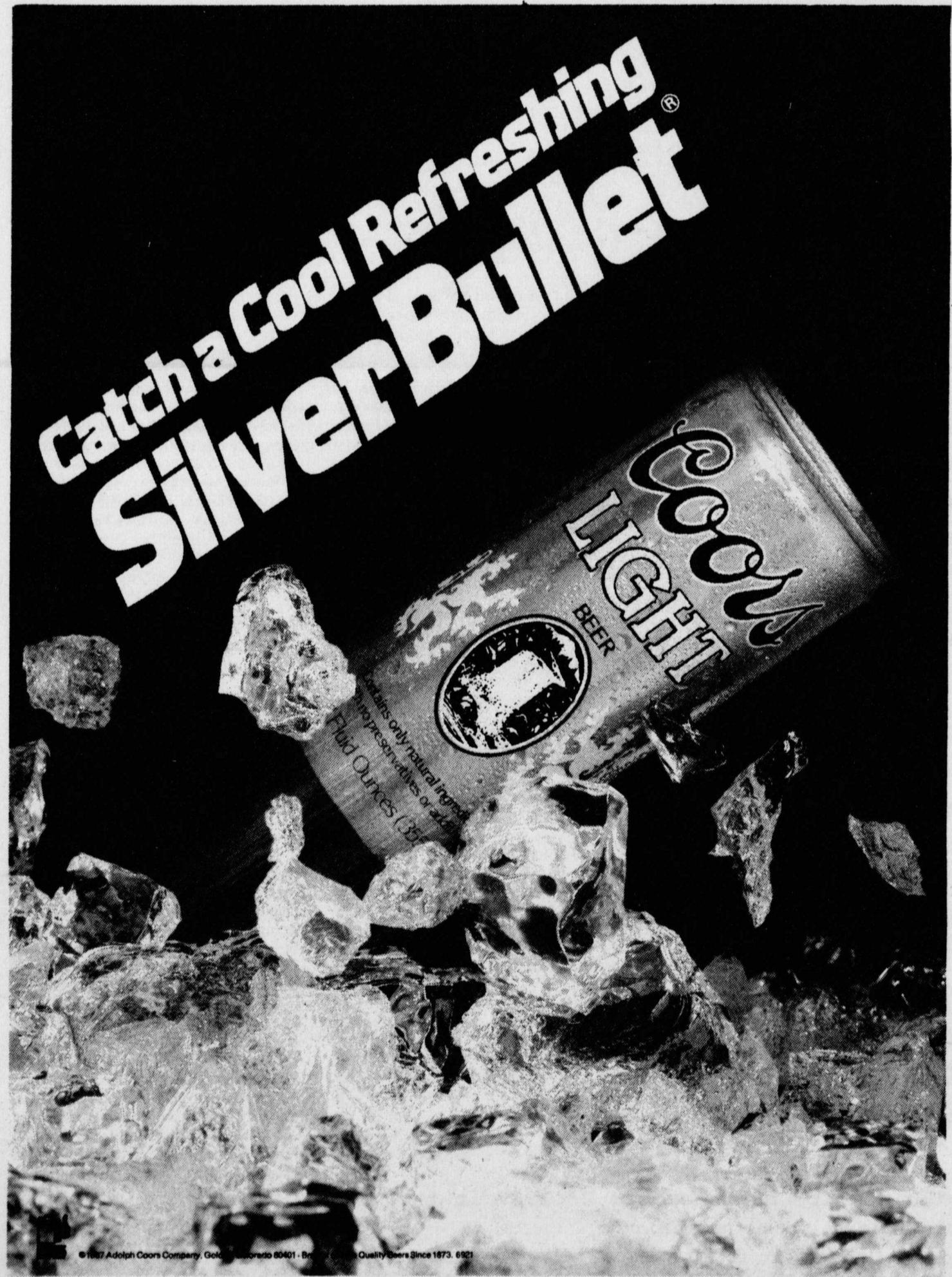
In "Republican Party Reptile," O'Rourke's depravity occasionally passes beyond healthy. There is sex, and drinking.

and rock, and not a few drugs, but one gets the impression that the author is like a little kid who just learned a swear word and decided to announce that fact in the middle of church. He wants to be the bad boy of conservatism. He is certainly that, but he is much more. Beyond the joyously detailed recounts of drunken road trips and other debaucheries is a man profoundly patriotic and essentially decent. He's also one heck of a writer.

The book is a collection of long and short essays from such divergent magazines as *Rolling Stone*, *National Lampoon*, *Car And Driver* and *Harper's*. The titles and topics likewise run the gamut. One article explains how "Ferrari Refutes the Decline of the West" while another attacks the "Safety Nazis" who seem to be intent on eliminating every vestige of fun from modern life.

There are also commentaries on "Dinner-

Catching a Cool Refreshing Silver Bullet"



Kurt Andrew Schlichter is an ex-editor of California Review. He is currently working on his first novel for lack of anything better to do.

Table Conversation" and a "Brief History of Man" that runs maybe five hundred words. But the highlights are the on-location essays. He has gone to Beirut in search of hijackers, the Caribbean in search of drug runners and Manila in search of Marcos. All those trips are recounted here.

Yet where O'Rourke truly shines is on a *Nation* magazine sponsored peace cruise on a rickety liner down the Volga in the heart of the Soviet Union. His hysterical essay on the cruise of what he calls the "Loath Boat" is the best analysis and destruction ever of those irritating "peace activists" and "leftists" perpetually moaning about the arms race.

O'Rourke makes no bones about it. He is "seeing the Soviet Union through the bottom of a vodka glass." And who wouldn't, being trapped on a cruise liner with a flock of socially-conscious ex-hippies and fussing leftist geriatrics?

Crazy. And stupid too.

One . . . told me, "You know if the people who put Reagan in office prevail, they're going to take the vote from women."

"Ship of Fools" is truly a masterpiece, the best exposé of the nitwit left that I have ever read, bar none. It had me rolling on the floor from start to finish not merely because it was funny but because I kept recognizing the archetypal leftists that I dealt with during four years of college at UCSD.

But life isn't all funny. P.J. O'Rourke writes through what had to be a flood of tears about the corruption of Ferdinand Marcos and the disaster that befell the people of the Philippines. After seeing the dictator's corruption in action, he writes bitterly,

"Reporters who do duty in the third world spend a lot of time saying 'It isn't that simple' . . . But in the Philippines it is that simple. Ferdinand Marcos is human sewage, . . . a vicious lying dirtball who ought to have dragged through the streets of Manila with his ears nailed to a truck bumper."

"Goons, Gunks and Gold" also contains scathing portraits of Congressional election overseers more concerned with looking good on the evening news back home than on monitoring the elections. He writes of how liberal Senator John Kerry spent most of his time walking around "like a male model" as Marcos' thugs threatened election workers.

O'Rourke refuses to be bound by the accepted conventions of conservatism, more concerned with a good time than a good reputation. His Republicanism is deeply ingrained. As he points out in his introduction, his grandmother "wouldn't speak the word 'democrat' if there were children in the room. She'd say 'bastards' instead." So is his hedonism. One of the essays concerns his experimentation with the drug Ecstasy.

Yet, for all his calculated outrageousness, P.J. O'Rourke points out something very important. There must be a place in the conservative movement for people who aren't fundamentalists and who do not patronize country clubs but do share an affinity for a strong defense and the God-given right to make a buck.

Conservatism in America isn't going to flourish if the fragile coalition of people who, let's face it, really don't like each other very much, tears itself apart over a bunch of silly social issues. The O'Rourkeian wants Big Business and big bar tabs, the military and Mohawks, Ronald Reagan and rock'n'roll. And if the Right won't take them, maybe the moderate liberals will.

By U.S. Secretary of Education William J. Bennett

When I arrived at college as a freshman some time ago, I had definite ideas about how to use my four years of higher education. I was resolved to play a little football, and I wanted to major in English in order to become sophisticated, land a good job and make big money.

But because of my college course requirements, I found myself in an introductory philosophy class, confronted by Plato's *Republic* and a remarkable professor who knew how to make the text come alive.

Before we knew it, my classmates and I were ensnared by the power of a 2,000 year old dialogue.

Crazy. And stupid too.

One . . . told me, "You know if the people who put Reagan in office prevail, they're going to take the vote from women."

"Ship of Fools" is truly a masterpiece, the best exposé of the nitwit left that I have ever read, bar none. It had me rolling on the floor from start to finish not merely because it was funny but because I kept recognizing the archetypal leftists that I dealt with during four years of college at UCSD.

But life isn't all funny. P.J. O'Rourke writes through what had to be a flood of tears about the corruption of Ferdinand Marcos and the disaster that befell the people of the Philippines. After seeing the dictator's corruption in action, he writes bitterly,

"Reporters who do duty in the third world spend a lot of time saying 'It isn't that simple' . . . But in the Philippines it is that simple. Ferdinand Marcos is human sewage, . . . a vicious lying dirtball who ought to have dragged through the streets of Manila with his ears nailed to a truck bumper."

"Goons, Gunks and Gold" also contains scathing portraits of Congressional election overseers more concerned with looking good on the evening news back home than on monitoring the elections. He writes of how liberal Senator John Kerry spent most of his time walking around "like a male model" as Marcos' thugs threatened election workers.

O'Rourke refuses to be bound by the accepted conventions of conservatism, more concerned with a good time than a good reputation. His Republicanism is deeply ingrained. As he points out in his introduction, his grandmother "wouldn't speak the word 'democrat' if there were children in the room. She'd say 'bastards' instead." So is his hedonism. One of the essays concerns his experimentation with the drug Ecstasy.

Yet, for all his calculated outrageousness, P.J. O'Rourke points out something very important. There must be a place in the conservative movement for people who aren't fundamentalists and who do not patronize country clubs but do share an affinity for a strong defense and the God-given right to make a buck.

Conservatism in America isn't going to flourish if the fragile coalition of people who, let's face it, really don't like each other very much, tears itself apart over a bunch of silly social issues. The O'Rourkeian wants Big Business and big bar tabs, the military and Mohawks, Ronald Reagan and rock'n'roll. And if the Right won't take them, maybe the moderate liberals will.

In the end, regeneration of our universities will come from within. Only those within the academy can rescue the academy. Students can plan a part. Students can demand that colleges live up to the promises in their glossy catalogues. This will benefit you,

My Soul Longs for Plato, Ritchie Valens

and it will be a service to those who follow in your path.

So read Bloom, think hard—but also have fun this year. And in this one respect, feel free to act contrary to Bloom's advice: feel free to listen to a few, or more than a few, rock n' roll classics along the way. This summer, as Allan Bloom's book was number one on the best-seller lists, the Los

Lobos film soundtrack to *La Bamba* was topping the *Billboard* charts. Take it from a former rock band guitarist, from a soul that will not cease longing to hear Ritchie Valens and Buddy Holly just one more time, that rock n' roll and a good education are not incompatible.

Distributed by the Collegiate Network.

Books From Regnery Gateway

The Third Generation

Edited by Benjamin Hart
240 pp., \$9.95 Paper, \$17.95 Cloth

A collection of speeches given at The Heritage Foundation by 30 prominent young conservatives. Topics covered range from preserving the family to battling Communism.

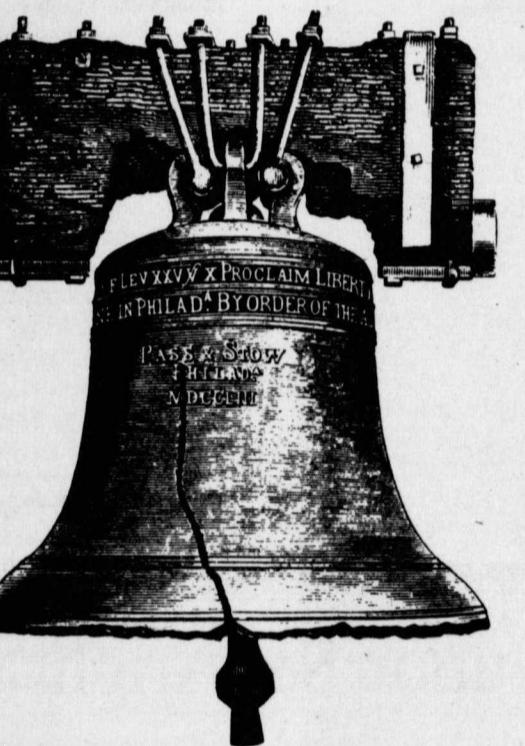
"The Third Generation chronicles the greatest political caper of the decade: How Ronald Reagan robbed Teddy Kennedy, Gary Hart, and the 'Party of Compassion' of tomorrow's best political minds." —Patrick J. Buchanan

First Principles:

A Primer of Ideas for the College Bound Student

By Hugh Hewitt
127 pp., \$7.95 Paper

Hugh Hewitt covers some of the basic questions new undergraduates will face on such topics as communism, government, defense, and ethics. A book for parents who don't want their children led astray for lack of intellectual ammunition, and for students who don't want to be humiliated in the intellectual warfare to come.



Dear Alex: Letters from the KGB

By Dinesh D'Souza and Gregory Fossedal
Introduction by Richard M. Nixon
160 pp., \$14.95 Cloth

Taking C.S. Lewis' *Screwtape letters* as their guide, Dinesh D'Souza and Gregory Fossedal have fashioned a wickedly funny collection of Vladimir, a Soviet disinformation expert, to Alex, his young charge, on how to manipulate the American media. Vladimir shows Alex how to direct the peace movement, defeat SDI, and justify the shooting down of civilian airlines.

Other Titles Available:

Witness

By Whittaker Chambers

Chambers' autobiography recounting his early work with the Communist Party, and his later renunciation of that life. 808 pages. \$11.95 Paper, \$21.95 Cloth.

"One of the most significant biographies of the century." —*The New York Times*

Red Horizons: Diary of Duplicity

By Ion Mihai Pacepa

Romania's former foreign intelligence chief bares all in this sensational new book. 396 pages. \$19.95 Cloth.

Right Minds: A Sourcebook of American Conservative Thought

By Gregory Wolfe

The only guidebook to conservative think tanks, foundations, publishers, and periodicals. 256 pages. \$16.95 Cloth.



Regnery Gateway, Inc.

1130 17TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 620,
WASHINGTON D.C. 20036

Title	Qty.	Price
		\$2.00

Postage
Total

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

CR-1

Why Communists Spy

By Allan Naiman

The Soviet Union obtains a great deal of information by spying on other countries. Their commercial jets, known to fly over sensitive areas of foreign countries, are equipped with windows convenient for taking pictures of objects on the ground. This spying activity by the U.S.S.R. explains its shooting down of KAL 007. They thought KAL 007 was on a spying mission because it would be spying if it were in KAL 007's place.

Why do the Soviets spy so much? Spying is easier and less expensive for a country than developing technology, but that isn't the main reason, however. The main reason for the incessant spying by the U.S.S.R. is its inability to develop its own technology, due to the nature of Communism.

The nature of Communism handicaps the development of technology in two main ways. One, the development of modern technology requires large amounts of capital. Large amounts of money and specialized equipment are needed to develop a new electronic circuit or chemical substance. Two, to advance in technology also requires competition. Communism allows only the government to have capital, and competition is not allowed. In short, technology requires Capitalism.

To demonstrate the need for competition, one can best turn to the history of computers. For the first few decades after the electronic computer was invented, the field was dominated by the mainframes and minicomputers of companies like IBM and AT&T. These computer companies mainly tried to maintain a few big customers, rather than trying to sell more than the other companies. Due to this lack of competition, there was very little hardware development.



their previously faithful customers to Apple, so they, too, developed microcomputers. In the early 1980s, when many companies put microcomputers into the market, both Apple and IBM moved rapidly to develop better machines. For two examples, transportable computers like the Apple IIc were developed to compete with the transportables of Osborne and Kaypro, and 3½" disks were developed to store more than 5¼" disks while occupying less space and being more difficult to damage. To sum up, the development of significant new computer technology was accomplished under the

with mistreatment, they would be replaced quickly and easily. This was so when the dominant industries were textiles and steel, where workers were relatively easy to train. It is not so in a technology-oriented system, however, where a new worker learns to use a specific operating system, a specific program, and methods of application for the specific job. Once trained, a worker is very valuable to the boss, and can influence the boss to give the worker good conditions of employment.

For example, I operate word processors and databases for two small publications.

The publisher of one of these publications uses as many volunteers as he can get. He prefers to use me, however, because I learn programs fast and retain this knowledge better than most people. My boss knows I am able to work quickly and work efficiently. So he gives me a good working environment (and a good supply of pizza and colas). He makes it obvious that he values the work I do. The publisher of the other publication I work for has not had as much experience with me. Nonetheless, he shows that he values the work I do for him.

The point here is that in jobs requiring a use of modern technology, bosses don't abuse workers in a Capitalist system. Eliminated therefore is the need for a Communist revolution. It is conceivable that Communists might actually oppose technological development so as to make revolutions occur more often, which they could exploit.

Modern technology thus has the potential to prevent Communist revolutions and promote Capitalism during the industrial transformations of underdeveloped nations. If the U.S. wants a developing nation to develop a Capitalist system instead of a Communist system, it shouldn't send them loans. The U.S. should send instead a good supply of technology. The U.S. should make sure that the developing nations incorporate modern technology into their economy. If we don't we're likely to have even more countries than the U.S.S.R. spying on us.

The author would like to acknowledge proofreading by friend and California Review Ivory Tower Praefect Dr. Patrick Groff.

Allan Naiman is a philosophy major at Warren College.

Communist Invasion of Revolution Set Aright

By Alfred G. Cuzán

One way Communists win friends—they are called "fellow travelers"—in the West for their revolutions around the world, is by falsely portraying themselves as revolutionaries in the mold of the American patriots of 1776. Yet, there is no comparison between the American war of independence from Great Britain and Communist conquests delivering captive peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America into the prison house of the Soviet empire.

The American revolution declared that "all men are created equal," having God-given rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that they have the right, indeed the duty, to defend their liberty and property from the designs of despotism. The signers of the American Declaration of Independence eloquently echoed the English philosopher John Locke who, in *The Second Treatise of Government*, argued that any government trampling on the people's natural rights is tyrannical, deserving to be destroyed in a revolution. Furthermore, any government delivering the people into the subjection of a foreign power is *ipso facto* dissolved, they being again at liberty to create a new one.

However, Locke warned that revolution is justified only against tyranny. Anyone rebelling against a just government is guilty of "the greatest crime" he could think of, becoming "the common enemy and pest of mankind," to be treated accordingly. The Americans evidently agreed, for out of "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," the Declaration took pains to prove that the signers were going to war only

after "a long train of abuses and usurpations" had made it clear that the English crown wanted to "reduce them under absolute despotism."

Communist thinking about revolution is very different. Parroting Marx and Lenin, Communists deny the existence of God, the right to property, or the legitimacy of representative democracy. Patriotism and nationality meaning nothing to them, Communists have no scruples about collaborating with Soviet agents in overthrowing native governments and replacing them with puppet regimes obedient to Moscow.

Communist revolutions are carried out by self-appointed "vanguards" respecting neither life nor property who, upon conquering power, reduce their countrymen to the most abject despotism, being themselves under the Soviet thumb.

Communists everywhere arrogate to themselves an unlimited right to overthrow governments they do not control, just and unjust alike. However, they deny the right to make revolution to the captive nations of the Soviet empire. Any attempt to shake off Stalinist despotism—in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, or Nicaragua—is branded a "counter-revolution," no matter how long the Communists have been in power. Following this strange standard, Fidel Castro continues calling his despotic regime "The Cuban Revolution" nearly thirty years after he replaced Fulgencio Batista as the Island's dictator. But Castro's self-portrait stands Locke's ideas of revolution on its head, the despot becoming the eternal "revolutionary."



And That's the Way It Isn't . . .

By Dr. Gary Jason

A Review of *The Media Elite: America's New Powerbrokers* by S. Robert Lichter, Stanley Rothman, and Linda Lichter (Bethesda, MD: Adler & Adler, 1986), 342 pages, \$19.95

There is a difference between something being intuitively obvious and something being proven true. The book under review says little that isn't already intuitively obvious to anyone of moderate or conservative politics, but it does provide useful evidence to buttress those institutions. For what Rothman and the Lichters have done is to document in detail the liberal bias of the major news media in this country. The authors use a variety of social scientific techniques to do the job—which, considering the uses to which liberals have put social science, is an ironic turnabout.

The point here is that in jobs requiring a use of modern technology, bosses don't abuse workers in a Capitalist system. Eliminated therefore is the need for a Communist revolution. It is conceivable that Communists might actually oppose technological development so as to make revolutions occur more often, which they could exploit.

The book is well structured. Chapter One contains a brief review of the rise of the power of the media, especially broadcast media, through this century. Chapter Two presents a "group portrait" of journalists (the media elite). The picture is not surprising in general, although some particular facts are eye-opening. The media elite are predominantly white, male, early middle-age, rich, well-educated, big-city, Northern or Upper-Midwestern (only 3% of the media elite are Californian), non-religious, markedly liberal politically and socially, and highly influential. What is surprising is the enormity of the difference between the average American and the media stars. For example, over the sixteen-year period studied, less than twenty percent of the media elite even once voted Republican in a Presidential race. More outrageously, journalists of the future at the Columbia School of Journalism rated Fidel Castro more favorably than Ronald Reagan. The Lichter/Rothman findings are clearly robust and have been amply replicated by other independent sources.

Chapter Three examines the sources from, and the ways in which, the journalists create a picture of the world. Naturally, journalists get the preponderance of their

information on controversial issues from identifiably liberal sources, such as activist groups (like Nader's many organizations) and opinion journals (like *Mother Jones*). Only one in five journalists surveyed said they looked to business-related sources in gathering information for their stories. (The Lichter/Rothman researchers looked at the sources for stories on welfare reform, consumer protection, environmental issues, and nuclear energy.) Considering that most journalists don't have either the intelligence or the education required to interpret technical primary sources, this means that the conclusions those journalists reach are based upon the highly biased liberal secondary sources. Moreover, the Lichter/Rothman researchers were able to demonstrate bias in the recall of journalists (i.e., their selective memories) by the standard psychological experimental technique of having the subject first read a story, and then give the gist of it. Also, the journalists were given a Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), which is rather like a Rorschach test: the subject is shown a picture and asked to invent a story that might go along with it. Psychologists who employ TAT's feel that the story a subject invents will reveal hidden or repressed desires and attitudes. Again, the tests argue for a fundamental liberal bias in the perceptions of the media elite.

Chapter Five then shifts the book's focus entirely away from the media elite themselves to the product they produce. The authors begin by discussing the methods used for analyzing the content of news stories. The reader is given nice examples of differing accounts of the same event—which leads to the suspicion that somebody must be lying (although the authors resist such a conclusion, stating instead that there are different paradigms at work). And the authors give some very trenchant criticisms of current journalist practices—such as "reconstructing" dialogues that never actually occurred, citing anecdotes in lieu of solid empirical evidence, constructing "composite" characters that don't actually exist, and "objectively" refuting a politician's remarks in the report of those remarks in a partisan manner.

I will not discuss Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight in detail. Each chapter contains a content analysis of the coverage of a major recent issue. Chapter Six discusses the biased coverage of nuclear power, and reviews the evidence that shows that science journalists are vastly more negative about nuclear energy than are engineers and energy scientists. The results are robust, and they are surprising in that they show little division of opinion in the energy

community about the merits of nuclear power. Chapter Seven discusses the controversy surrounding busing as a tool for school integration. The authors review the debate, then document the pro-busing bias in the media coverage of it. Chapter Eight discusses the oil crisis of the early 1970's, and again uses content analysis to document the anti-business bias in the media coverage of it.

There is much of value in this book. There is good discussion throughout of social science methodology and empirical techniques (such as questionnaire formulation, TAT evaluation, polling, significance levels, and content analysis). And certainly, with the wealth of evidence presented, nobody can ever again deny the obvious—viz., that the major news media are biased in the liberal direction.

The major problem with the book is that the authors buy into a number of social science myths that rob the book of its punch and its normative potential. These myths include the idea that it is impossible for science and journalism to be value-free, and that one's paradigm shapes the world one sees (which leads many to conclude that there is no objective reality). The net effect is to absolve journalists from the duty of attempting to remove bias in their reporting, and from exposing themselves to other views. Aristotle pointed out that the way one can achieve balance (the "golden mean") is to become conscious of his tendencies and to act in the opposite direction. There is no reason journalists can't identify their bias—indeed, this book does that for them—and seek to present opposing views. Objectivity is obtainable to a great degree, it just requires work. And it is a shortcoming of the book under review that it doesn't make that case clearly and forcefully.



Dr. Gary Jason is a contributor to CR.

On Becoming a Student

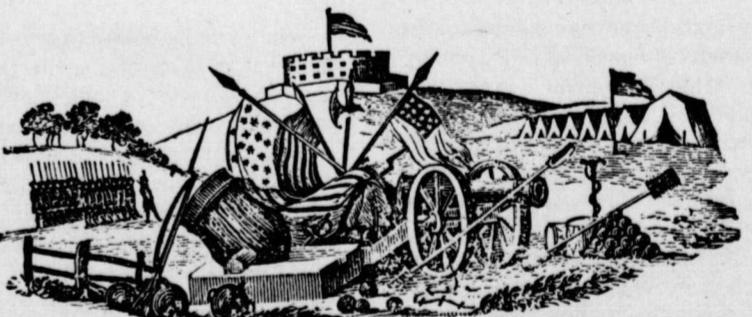
By Brooke Crocker

Many challenges await the high school graduate entering a university—social, academic, financial. In a university the new student will also be challenged philosophically as he comes across new ideas concerning how to view the world and its problems. Being part of an institution of higher learning, students and professors naturally debate ideas on politics, economics, morality, religion, etc. Some students and professors will be convinced that their position is the true one, and will try to attract others to their point of view. How does the student fresh out of high school avoid being consumed by the first articulate junior, senior, graduate student or learned professor, who attempts to win his heart and mind, and instead become a true student, weighing all opposing views carefully and perhaps injecting new ideas of his own? The answer according to Hugh Hewitt is for the high school graduate to apprise himself of the basic issues and facts before embracing a particular view. This is what Mr. Hewitt sets out to do in his book *First Principles*.

The book discusses eleven basic issues ranging from race to religion. The chapters are kept invitingly short, merely pulling out

central questions and encouraging the reader to research and analyze each topic further. Mr. Hewitt's clear and concise writing also helps the book.

Though the purpose of the book is to encourage critical thinking. Mr. Hewitt often goes beyond mere cataloging of facts and discussing issues. He also challenges the reader by providing some conclusions of his own. For instance, in the chapter on defense, summing up a section concerning the question of if there is a moral difference in the U.S.'s use of military force and the USSR's use of military force, he writes:



invading Afghanistan and staying? Yes, of course there is.

Mr. Hewitt states that his intended audience is the few high school graduates who have the desire to become serious critical thinkers. This book does succeed in allowing such an audience to gain a basic understanding of the underlying issues in a variety of areas. The people who would benefit most from this book, however, are those who have not been exposed to more than a minimal high school education and who have not enquired into the issues discussed in *First Principles* on their own. Unfortunately, these are the people who are least likely to seek out a book such as this one, and who are most likely to fall into the trap of uncritically accepting the views of their friends and professors.

First Principles: A Primer of Ideas for the College Bound Student
By Hugh Hewitt
Regnery Gateway, 127 pages, \$7.95

Brooke Crocker is a Freshman at UCSD.

Cuba Delindo Est

By Cato

Although the United States pledged, in 1962, not to launch an invasion of Cuba, as part of the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis, Cuba has afforded the United States sufficient provocation and poses a sufficient threat to American interests to make that pledge null and void. An American invasion of Cuba, while perhaps not a strategic necessity, is certainly in America's best strategic interest.

There are, of course, alternatives to invasion. Some argue that Cuba is so financially dependent upon the Soviets that Castro will some day realize that it is in the Cuban national interest to improve his ties—especially his financial ties—with the United States. Others argue that an invasion is unnecessary because Cuba could easily be brought to its knees via a blockade, and that, in any event, if the United States found itself in a war in Europe or the Middle East, Cuba would not be so foolish as to interfere with American shipping because this would almost guarantee its annihilation.

These arguments all have some merit, but they are also crippled by irredeemable flaws. Castro has less to gain from improved relations with the United States than he has to lose. A pro-American Castro would never be able to wield the same international clout and prestige as a revolutionary internationalist Castro; and any hopes that his successor would deviate from Castroism are well-nigh doomed to failure. The succession of power in Cuba will be no different from the transfer of power anywhere else in the Communist world.

A blockade could decisively weaken Castro because Cuba is so dependent on the Soviet bloc for many of its essentials, but a blockade is always a difficult thing to manage, it works slowly, and, in the meantime, superpower tensions would be drawn extremely taut. And while it is true that Cuba could be neutralized in time of war, it is also true that the American manpower and materiel necessary to keep Cuba in check is manpower and materiel that could not be used elsewhere.

Moreover, Cuba's military potential is not a declining factor. It is an ever increasing threat, because Cuba's improving defenses will make it progressively more dif-

ficult to contain. Cuba already has the capability to cut American sea lines of communications in the Caribbean, and if air power were supplemented by bases in Nicaragua, it would have the capability of striking all of Central America, including the Panama Canal.

Cuban adventurism has repeatedly shown itself to be a major problem for American foreign policy in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. An invasion of Cuba offers as its prize the prospect of no more Castro, no more Cuban troops and subversives traipsing around the world agitating for and supporting Communist regimes, and a suddenly pro-American Nicaragua. Even weak-knees like Chester Crocker might support it, as the elimination of Castro would finally give him a chance to arrange for an independent Namibia (with Angola's 35,000 Cuban mercenaries cut off from their socialist motherland, South Africa would have less reason for using them as an excuse for not granting Namibia independence).

But while it is all very well and good for us to sit back as armchair strategists and rattle off all the gains to be made from an invasion of Cuba, it is quite another matter to think about how an invasion would actually work. It is going to be a sanguinary business.

The war for Cuba is going to be won in the air. American air power would first have to clear Cuban air space of Cuban fighters and destroy Cuba's air defense system. This will be no small task, but it is something that can be and must be accomplished straightforwardly, because American air power has other tasks assigned to it as well.

Cuba's navy is the smallest and least reliable of its armed forces, limited mostly to small patrol boats and torpedo boats. Nevertheless, these impediments to an invasion must be sunk. Air power is the quickest and easiest way to accomplish this. Cuban submarines, however, would have to be dealt with by the Navy.

With that done, American bombers would enter the land war. Their primary mission would be to wreak havoc on Cuban artillery, for the Cubans, like the Russians, rely heavily on artillery support. When deployed for

combat, artillery is vulnerable and can be shut down by air power. The main American invasion force would also, undoubtedly, wholeheartedly welcome any further air support that could be offered it.

The land battle would consist of three parts. The initial deployment of American force would be the dropping of special operations forces on abandoned airfields outside of Havana and perhaps one or two other major cities. These teams would move into the cities and be able to report back vital intelligence on Cuban civilian sentiment about the invasion. They would also be taking advantage of one of Cuba's military weaknesses—Cuban troops are not well-versed in urban combat. The special operations forces would likely be facing Cuban militias rather than the regular army, and, of course, fighting in the cities, the Cubans would be bereft of their artillery support.

Still, there is no getting round the fact that victory would depend on a full-scale invasion of the island, with troops pouring onto Cuban beaches and reinforcing the special operations forces in Havana, cutting the island in two, and with a third wing attempting to defend and launch an offensive from the American Marine base at Guantanamo Bay. It would not be an easy fight, and victory would not be achieved simply or with any minor casualties.

It must be remembered that the Cuban population is highly militarized and highly indoctrinated and that a good many Cubans have passed through tours of duty in Angola or Ethiopia. But there is also this to be considered. The Cuban troops in Africa have not always shown themselves to be men of superior quality, in Grenada there was even talk of Cuban "cowardice," and with the U.S. Navy surrounding the island, the Cubans would realize that a Russian rescue would be impossible. (Nor is it likely that the Soviets would spring to the defense of the Soviet troops on the island—the risks of such a maneuver would be too great, and they would have to satisfy themselves with shovel-fuls of anti-imperialist fustian.)

It has been estimated by some that an American invasion of Cuba would be roughly equivalent to the American invasion of Okinawa, at which the U.S. Marine

Corps took eighty percent casualties. But the Cubans are not Japanese, and even with all the indoctrination the Cubans have received about Yanqui imperialism, we should keep in mind how many Cubans flooded the American embassy in 1980 seeking asylum in America. Nor should we worry too much about Cuban extremists retreating into the hills and continuing to fight on in endless, fanatic, Lebanese-type style. For Latins have more diversified interests and a greater appreciation of leisure than do Islamic fundamentalists; and the third part of America's land-borne invasion—the first part being the deployment of the special operations forces, the second part being the main invasion thrusts—is the return of highly motivated Cuban-Americans who would like nothing better than to spend their time hunting down stray Communists lurking in the mountains or mean streets of Cuba.

Bringing democracy to Cuba might be a tricky business, given the indoctrination the population has been subjected to, but with the expatriate influence, American influence, and the inherent appeal of democratic rhetoric, the obstacles to installing a democratic regime would not be overwhelming; and while the results of an election might not be entirely to our liking, it is doubtful that the Cubans would move to link themselves with the Soviets once again.

The benefits to be gained from an American invasion are high. So, however, might be the cost in American blood. But if America is to remain a great power, secure its defensive frontiers, and continue to mount a convincing deterrent to Soviet aggression, we must be prepared to make such sacrifices. If the costs seems unspeakably high, we should keep it in mind the next time someone tells us about the courageous and vigorous leadership of JFK, who had his chance at the Bay of Pigs to save us all a lot of bother, and who failed.

Still, Graves did love his wife and she did

Cato writes on foreign affairs for CR.

Educational Reform

By Patrick Groff

It is generally agreed that competition is the strongest of all the forces in the marketplace. A credible argument can be made that uninhibited competition in the market has a greater effect on product quality and price than does governmental intervention designed to achieve these effects. Whenever freewheeling competition is allowed to operate in the market consumers find noticeable improvements in the quality and cost of products and services.

A prime example of open competition in educational services is the training of would-be lawyers. Education in the law ranges from that offered by prestigious universities to storefront establishments. Two critical factors control the conduct of this enterprise, however. One, the percentage of graduates of any given law training that passes the bar examination is readily available. Consumers are wary of law schools with low percentages in this regard. Two, the bar examination does not require that candidates take a certain form of legal education. To the contrary, candidates for certification as lawyers are encouraged to obtain the legal information they need

from any and all sources available to them. The results of this unrestricted opportunity to become a lawyer have strengthened our democracy. There obviously is greater access to legal counsel and to hoped-for justice today than in yesteryears.

The argument for wide-open competition can be made from a reverse angle, of course. An argument of this nature proceeds to inquire what happens to productivity and cost when competition in educational services is deliberately eliminated. A foremost example of protection given to a single producer so that it faces no competition is teacher education. To become a teacher one must take courses from an exclusive provider of this service: college and university departments of education. State credentialing agencies will not honor coursework that does not originate from this single source. As would be expected under such monopolistic practice, this select trainer of teachers is not held accountable for the quality of its graduates or the costs involved in their training. No independent, disinterested agency judges whether teachers actually are able to teach or not.

When a monopoly truly becomes established in favor of a single producer of services, agencies or bodies ancillary to its function usually become eager defenders of this restrictive system. So it is with the training of teachers. School boards collaborate by honoring as acceptable for teacher salary increases or promotions only the course work inservice teachers take from departments of education. Members of these departments write textbooks used to train future teachers, as well as the ones provided for children in schools. Publishers are pleased to participate in this arrangement since it allows them to charge more for their materials than otherwise would be possible. Even the teacher unions see merit in this monopoly. They have no reason to challenge its seemlessness since the departments of education train teachers to be loyal members of these organizations.

The grant of total control over production and its costs and over the evaluation of product quality to a producer, as is the case in the department of education monopoly, might conceivably be defensible if one could prove that this monopoly (1) was

eminently successful in producing a high-quality product at a reasonable cost, and/or (2) was necessary because there was no alternative or available way to provide its services. Neither of these conditions prevails as regards the training of teachers by departments of education, it appears.

The literature on the effectiveness of their teacher training programs bristles with denunciations by disinterested critics of their practices. These critics repeatedly charge that departments of education are failing in this regard. Courses held by departments of education are called "dismal failures." It is found that teachers echo these opinions. There are reports that "teachers simply don't know how to teach" because they "get only a fleeting introduction to the knowledge required to teach." No less eminent forces than the president of Harvard University and the Carnegie Forum on Education recently made similar complaints.

The faultfinders of teacher education note, too, that the bases for such negative comments have increased substantially over the past several years. The time has come,

By H.W. Crocker III

Robert Graves: The Assault Heroic, 1895-1926 by Richard Perceval Graves Viking, 387 pp., \$24.95

When first I read *Goodbye to All That* a half dozen years ago, I thought that here was a well-educated, gallant young soldier who had thrown his life away by marrying a feminist and falling prey to trendy, intellectual left-wing views. Reading *Robert Graves: The Assault Heroic*, a biography written by the poet's nephew and covering the same years as *Goodbye to All That*, has confirmed me in my conclusion.

Grave's feminist first wife, Nancy Nicholson, refused to take Graves's name or wear a wedding ring, preferred to dress in trousers and boots, and, because of her poor emotional and physical health, kept him from earning a steady salary and becoming financially independent until he was thirty years old, when he accepted a professorship at the University of Cairo because he thought the climate would benefit her.

Nancy Nicholson is, in fact, a perfect example of what sort of havoc feminism and other progressive ideas wreak upon people.

Graves's suffering was hard enough—badly wounded, several times reported and confirmed dead, and shell-shocked (even after the war, there were times when "shells used to come bursting on my bed at midnight," and "strangers in day-time would assume the faces of friends who had been killed")—yet his wife, without the stresses of war, but with the stresses of having had four children in five years (while being a staunch advocate of birth control), seems to be ill and enfeebled in the pages of this book much more often than Graves himself.

I found myself most bitter with the pacifists who had encouraged him to make this gesture. I felt that, not being soldiers, they could not understand

Still, Graves did love his wife and she did

make him happy (though he had difficulty making the distinction between admiring her and being dominated by her), so perhaps Nancy Nicholson should not be blamed so much as Graves should be admired. He had a way of sticking things out, a certain kind of stoicism that he encapsulated in his poem "The Assault Heroic":

I stood beneath the wall
And there defied them all.
The stones they cast I caught
And alchemized with thought
Into such lumps of gold
As dreaming misers hold.

When Germany finally cracked, Graves was at first bitter that peace had come too late to save the lives of so many of his friends, but his bitterness soon gave way to a most unprogressive nationalism. "[I]t's not extraordinary to feel that the War's won at last: I keep a small silk Union Jack at the stairhead to remind me of it so that I shan't grouse at the petty annoyances of peace . . . Thank God that there are still living four or five poets . . . to do something with the language of the conquering races of the world."

When Graves returned to civilian life, he inevitably attempted to recapture his childhood. Victorians idealized childhood, and for Graves, whose introduction to adult life had been the First World War, it took on an especially comforting aspect. He said of Nancy Nicholson, "my child-sentiment and hers—she had a happy childhood to look back on—answered each other."

And, like a good Victorian, Graves idolized women. Such idolization was a founding stone of his theory of poetry, for he believed that poetry relied upon "the deification of women, summed up in the idea of chivalry."

Graves also believed that truth was not

teacher education and certification after one critic fumes, to suggest that departments of education have abdicated their responsibilities to the clients they purport to serve. Evidence is given that these departments are structurally and philosophically incapable of providing the kind of training that practicing teachers need. Some observers wonder if there are enough education professors who care about their calling to demand reforms in it.

These private sector organizations have inherent advantages over departments of education in this regard. Contrary to the practices of the departments, they must continually prove their effectiveness in order to stay in business. They must be cost-conscious, something that the departments do not have to worry about. They can offer instruction tailored more exactly to the needs of clients than can the departments. The latter are constrained in this respect by a host of unwieldy, self-imposed regulations.

The elimination of the department of education monopoly would also open up the ranks of teaching to the entry of more and different people than have by custom been welcomed into it. If teacher credential candidates' knowledge and skills were ac-

ceptable, regardless of when, how, and where they were obtained, many qualified people now prevented from becoming teachers would find access to this profession.

I also found the curricula private sector organizations use to train reading teachers to be in closer conformity with the findings of empirical research than is the course work of departments of education. The materials they recommend for teaching reading to children are less costly than are those advocated by departments of education.

The methods of teaching children to read that they espouse have greater verification.

My study convinced me that departments of education, increasingly beleaguered by growing recriminations about their practices, need to be rescued from themselves. The single apparent way to cure them of their illness in this respect is to give them a healthy dose of competition from private sector organizations that train reading teachers. Vigorous competition in this educational endeavor will help bring about needed reforms in the administra-

necessarily to be found in the facts and that associative, or what he called "analectic," though had just as much right to respect as formal intellectual thought. Given that, it is difficult to see why Richard Perceval Graves found it necessary to pen this biography of his uncle. *Goodbye to All That*, though factually unreliable, is a classic work. *Robert Graves: The Assault Heroic*, though factually sound, certainly is not.

Too much of it is taken up with diurnal trivia. "Nancy came down for tea and was 'amiable' to Siegfried, who had brought some jam-roll and chocolate with him; and afterwards Robert and Siegfried rambled along the river bank and had, according to Siegfried, 'rather an unsatisfactory conversation' which ended in a downpour." It is hard to see how details such as this can be of much use to anyone, particularly when the biographer neglects his primary tasks: such as analyzing Graves's poetry, his ideas, his place in literature and history, and his friendships with Thomas Hardy, Siegfried Sassoon, and T.E. Lawrence (of Arabia).

Graves, Lawrence (for whom Richard Perceval Graves has also served as biographer), and Sassoon are three sterling examples of why it is shameful to compare the tragedy of the Great War with the butchery of the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is a pity that this book fails to make that, or any other point.

H.W. Crocker III is a writer and editor in Washington, D.C. and CR's Brigadier Editor Emeritus.

A Victim of Trendy Leftism

make him happy (though he had difficulty making the distinction between admiring her and being dominated by her), so perhaps Nancy Nicholson should not be blamed so much as Graves should be admired. He had a way of sticking things out, a certain kind of stoicism that he encapsulated in his poem "The Assault Heroic":

I stood beneath the wall
And there defied them all.
The stones they cast I caught
And alchemized with thought
Into such lumps of gold
As dreaming misers hold.

When Germany finally cracked, Graves was at first bitter that peace had come too late to save the lives of so many of his friends, but his bitterness soon gave way to a most unprogressive nationalism. "[I]t's not extraordinary to feel that the War's won at last: I keep a small silk Union Jack at the stairhead to remind me of it so that I shan't grouse at the petty annoyances of peace . . . Thank God that there are still living four or five poets . . . to do something with the language of the conquering races of the world."

When Graves returned to civilian life, he inevitably attempted to recapture his childhood. Victorians idealized childhood, and for Graves, whose introduction to adult life had been the First World War, it took on an especially comforting aspect. He said of Nancy Nicholson, "my child-sentiment and hers—she had a happy childhood to look back on—answered each other."

And, like a good Victorian, Graves idolized women. Such idolization was a founding stone of his theory of poetry, for he believed that poetry relied upon "the deification of women, summed up in the idea of chivalry."

Graves also believed that truth was not



Through Market Forces

teacher education and certification after

one critic fumes, to suggest that departments of education have abdicated their responsibilities to the clients they purport to serve. Evidence is given that these departments are structurally and philosophically incapable of providing the kind of training that practicing teachers need. Some observers wonder if there are enough education professors who care about their calling to demand reforms in it.

These private sector organizations have inherent advantages over departments of education in this regard. Contrary to the practices of the departments, they must continually prove their effectiveness in order to stay in business. They must be cost-conscious, something that the departments do not have to worry about. They can offer instruction tailored more exactly to the needs of clients than can the departments. The latter are constrained in this respect by a host of unwieldy, self-imposed regulations.

The elimination of the department of education monopoly would also open up the ranks of teaching to the entry of more and different people than have by custom been welcomed into it. If teacher credential candidates' knowledge and skills were ac-

ceptable, regardless of when, how, and where they were obtained, many qualified people now prevented from becoming teachers would find access to this profession.

I also found the curricula private sector organizations use to train reading teachers to be in closer conformity with the findings of empirical research than is the course work of departments of education. The materials they recommend for teaching reading to children are less costly than are those advocated by departments of education.

The methods of teaching children to read that they espouse have greater verification.

My study convinced me that departments of education, increasingly beleaguered by growing recriminations about their practices, need to be rescued from themselves. The single apparent way to cure them of their illness in this respect is to give them a healthy dose of competition from private sector organizations that train reading teachers. Vigorous competition in this educational endeavor will help bring about needed reforms in the administra-

Patrick Groff is a Professor of Education at San Diego State University.

Colonel North and the Emperor's Clothes

By Fred West

The real, basic issue of the Oliver North hearings in the Iran-Contra affair, despite the outraged expostulations of Congressmen, their hired legal mouthpieces, and certain programmed newsmen, was not whether the colonel lied, or benefitted financially, or broke the laws of the land and—worst of all—bypassed Congress. Nor was it a question of whether the eloquent Marine is a genuine American hero or not; and God knows, we need genuine heroes. The real issue was our flaccid, inefficient system.

In this bicentennial year of our Constitution, we are complacently congratulating ourselves on our inherent greatness, a greatness passed on to us by our Founding Fathers who had the courage to defy and overthrow the unjust system of their day. We live today under a specious and dangerous cliché: The system works. We accept the weaknesses of the system by mouthing another cliché: It's the price we pay for democracy, for an open society, for freedom. At the time the Declaration of Independence was written, the majority of the people in England and a great proportion of the American colonists accepted the current system, too. Like Shakespeare's Hamlet, they preferred to bear those ills they knew than to fly to others that they knew not of. We preen ourselves today in the courage of the few who dared to change the system which they saw was faulty and unfair. Yet we stand in the crowd and praise the emperor's clothes, blinding ourselves to reality.

Colonel North held the mirror up, and the TV screen exposed a clear view to the entire nation of our bumbling, oversized, inefficient Congress and the system by which they mismanage the affairs of the United States. Some government officials, as well as some citizens, felt outrage against this individual who had broken THE LAW, that holy, inflexible code which they considered to be above all individuals. They forgot, if they ever knew, that a code of law is a man-made instrument, flexible enough to accommodate changing times and different conditions. They likewise forgot that our Founding Fathers were the greatest lawbreakers of their time and perhaps all time. Those heroes knew full well that they risked hanging when they declared: "We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour."

The hypocrisy and chicanery of many Congressmen became apparent during the hearings and in all the attendant reporting by newsmen and other commentators of every stripe. The same Congressmen who charged North with lying and lining his own pockets are guilty virtually every day of their tenure in office of worse malfeasance. A list of misrepresentations and misdeeds and exploitation of office is endless because, under the system, these actions continue unchecked. Congress passes laws to assure a balanced budget, then regularly breaks those laws. Hostile Congressmen accuse the President of presiding over the greatest budget deficit of all time, while ignoring the fact that the President can spend only what Congress, with its Constitutionally mandated power, authorizes him to spend. Congress presents huge omnibus bills to the President in which are tucked everything from pork-barrel projects for particular districts to increases in their own salaries and perquisites and pensions. To secure funding for his own projects, the President must sign for all these expenses. Congress refuses to grant him line-item veto powers. Then, while criticizing the President's reckless spending, Congressmen regularly enjoy tax-paid junkets on Air Force planes (at nearly \$8000 an hour for this transportation alone) to luxurious tropical resorts such as Montego Bay.

Jamaica "to study U.S.-Soviet relations" and other such specious excuses. The Iran-Contra hearings have definitely revealed the pot calling the kettle black.



North also made it clear that foreign policy, including necessary secrecy, cannot be performed through 500-plus would-be Secretaries of State. A secret, told to one other person, is no longer a secret. Multiplied by the number of "watchdog committees" plus their enormous staffs, and the grandstanding urge of practically every politician to leak tidbits to the news media, secret operations become farce and a shambles. To circumvent this and accomplish anything, the executive branch is forced into channels of action which are often less than desirable.

The adversarial tactics inbred in a Congress composed of mainly lawyer-representatives is nowhere more apparent, and shameful, than in the rebuttal by some opposing-party member to every address by the President to the American public via radio and TV. The President's statements are challenged, disputed, and otherwise denigrated. Can anyone image a partisan politician following one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's fireside chats with such a belittling diatribe? This is a tactic to demean and emasculate the Executive, just as the Contra hearings were a tactic employed for the same purpose. But North, considered a pawn, turned out to be a knight.

The system does not work, nor is it truly a democracy.

It does not work because through our government we are steadily spending ourselves into bankruptcy. It does not work because our borders are wide open to invasion of all sorts: drug-smugglers, terrorists, the criminally insane and disease, plus millions of illegals who promptly become, thanks to vote-seeking Congressmen, recipients of the diminishing American wealth and diminishing American land, and who

no longer assimilate into a varied but unified nation but who divide the country into adversarial tribes under the specious cliché: "a multi-cultural society." It does not

Wrong! What we need are people in government with a profound sense of right and wrong, with better-than-average intellect and breadth of vision to understand and work for the good of the entire nation, both in the short run and the long run.

Even with the best of representatives, 500-plus individuals could hardly reach healthy compromises and achieve fruitful agreements on matters of legislation and policy. The Founding Fathers certainly did not have such a unwieldy number in mind when they set up the order of representation. What they did leave with us, though, was the flaming admonition in the Declaration of Independence: "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the consent of the governed . . . Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government . . ." Clearly, it is high time to do some altering.

As a first step, Congress must be reduced. As a second step, it must be recomposed so that a President may carry out the program the American people elected him to carry out. Under the present system, he is not allowed to carry out that program. When the Constitution was ratified, we had 13 states and 26 senators, a manageable number, not too many to work together in reasonable and constructive harmony. One hundred is not a manageable number. Instead of two senators per state, let each state elect one senator for a six-year term, not for a lifetime career with a pension. Cliché: It takes a lot of pay to get qualified men for the position. Wrong! It takes a measure of patriotism. Such a reduced Senate would concentrate less on juicy chairmanships and other positions of extended power and more on its function of advice and consent, really advising the President instead of sniping at him and his program. And, as authorized by the Constitution, the Senate would invoke impeachment procedures should the President turn out to be less than honest.

Instead of a proportionate number of representatives from the states, two representatives from each state, at least one of whom must be of the new President's party, should be elected at the same time as the President, with the same four-year tenure. An effective and honest President endeavoring to carry out his clearly enunciated program should not have a lot of trouble in marshalling a majority in the House to write the legislation necessary to perform his job.

Since no system created by fallible men is infallible, the risk would be on the shoulders of the citizens of the country, to elect the best man to the highest position. All these recommended changes would demand but simple tinkering with our still-admirable Constitution. Our eyes are now wide open to our current, rundown system.

If Colonel North is not a genuine hero, he is certainly an effective catalyst.

Fred West is a contributor to CR.



Leslie Crocker —Defender of Freedom

We'll do anything for a buck!
Business card size, 1/4 page, 1/2 page ads
for low rates.

Call us at the office: (619) 534-6881

continued from page 2

Soviets is utterly unacceptable not only because SDI is a vital part of the U.S. defense strategy, but also because the Soviets have a strategic defense program of their own. First, over two decades ago the Soviets deployed a point defense around Moscow which consists of detection/tracking radars and one hundred launchers. This system has since been upgraded. Second, ever since the late sixties the Soviets have researched space weapons as a use in defense against incoming ICBMs. Due to these facts, SDI must not be bargained away. Consequently, strength in defensive weapons is also a deterrent just as strength in offensive weapons is. So for this reason, a move away from the concept of MAD toward deterrence by a non-nuclear defensive system would be something that benefits the whole world.

Conclusively, the United States defense ideology should be one of peace through strength. However, while the U.S. advocates world peace, the U.S. can not afford to do this unilaterally. This happened with the Soviets in the mid to late seventies, and they took advantage of the U.S. Show the Soviets military strength, and they will negotiate. This is the case with the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. On the other hand, if the United States does not show any sign of strength, or a willingness to directly confront the Soviets, the U.S. will find itself intimidated out of its own foreign policy objectives. Ultimately, the United States must shape foreign policy from a position of strength, not weakness.

Douglas Jamieson is a Sophomore at UCSD.

Confounding Fathers

By Kerry J. Joyce

Our living Constitution
Inspiring contrivance
Remarkably was written
Without our social science

But we can't glean what they did mean
This Committee thinks
Like latter age Egyptians
Gaping puzzled at the Sphinx

Judge Bork from our perspective
You are wrong in your contention
To follow in their footsteps
Was not the Framers intention

By we of the alluvial plane
You are tried and found wanting Judge Bork
The Constitution should remain
A scepter sealed for the zeal of the court

Kerry J. Joyce is a contributor to CR.

CALIFORNIA REVIEW

Special Intellectual's Rate

Only \$15 for the Academic Year

Gentlemen:

Please send me California Review for the full academic year (6 issues) for the new low intellectual price of just \$15.

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

IF THIS IS A GIFT, PLEASE ADD THE FOLLOWING:

Donor's name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Payment must accompany order

FILL OUT AND MAIL
THIS CARD TODAY

Subscribe to the raciest and sexiest magazine
in the world.
Subscribe to California Review.

California Review Back Issues

1981-82

Neil Reagan/Nathaniel Branden \$1.50

1982-83

Milton Friedman/Ann Watson	Sold Out
Clarence Pendleton	\$1.50
Admiral U.S.G. Sharp/Irving Kristol	Sold Out
Phyllis Schlafly/Walter Williams	Sold Out
Charlton Heston	Sold Out
Marvin Collins/G. Gordon Liddy	\$1.50

1983-84

Arthur Laffer/Robert Dornan	\$1.50
Jack Kemp	\$1.50
Thomas Sowell	\$1.50
Pete Wilson	\$1.50
George F. Will/Eugene Rostow	\$1.50
Bill Lowery	\$1.50

1984-85

Joseph Sobran/Bohdan Lewandowski	\$1.50
George Gilder/Maj. Gen John K. Singlaub	\$1.50
Duncan Hunter/Nicaragua	\$1.50
Gen. Alexander M. Haig	\$1.50
George Stigler	\$1.50
Midge Deeter	\$1.50

1985-86

Michael Antonovich	\$1.50
Nina May	\$1.50
Jack Wheeler	\$1.50
Reed Irvine	\$1.50
Steve Kelley	\$1.50
David Horowitz	\$1.50

1986-87

Daniel Graham	\$1.50
Media Atrocities	\$1.50
Ron Packard	\$1.50
Wally George	\$1.50

Tired of only hearing half the story?

Lots of free time on your hands?

Does your Poli. Sci. professor hate you?

Are you in favor of Judge Bork?

Do you support Democracy?

Need to improve your resumé?

Did you just discover that UCSD has no journalism program?

Want to see your name in a paper?

Does the Ayatollah bug you?

Do you want to change the world?

Does 'American Imperialism' sound good to you?

Just plain tired of hearing about socialism?

If you answered yes to any of these questions, then the *California Review* wants you.
Stop by our office, Room 212 in the Student Center.

The *Review* has paid positions open for Business Manager (on a 10% commission) and two typesetters.

We are also looking for people interested in writing and layout, or anything else dealing with the running of a paper.

General Meeting: Every Monday at 4:30
Office Hours: Monday—Rob 12-1
Tuesday—John (Ed.) 1-2
Wednesday—Leslie 2-3
Thursday—Brooke 1-2
Friday—Doug 2-3
also: Monday-Friday 4-4:30

Phone Number: 534-6881
