

E. Clasen Young

H.W. Crocker III

California Review

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One Dollar

Herbert York: Our Nuclear Non-Strategy
Winston S. Churchill II: The Last Word
C. Brandon Crocker on Tuition Tax Credits
Also: Taki, David Steele, Gary J. Jason...



Charlton Heston

POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE: THE CASE OF THE GREEK AYATOLLAH

by Taki

The American Spectator's dashing European correspondent files his first political column from the birthplace of selective democracy.

ATHENS—There is strong evidence that an unprecedented encroachment by the Soviet Union is taking place in Greece. Through subtle infiltration of the press, the Soviet machine has succeeded in moving Greece still further away from NATO and the United States. In fact it is widely believed that the Soviet disinformation service has managed to subvert Greek life and just about sever the strings that have always united Greece and the United States. The KGB's apparent infiltration of the press is a major factor in creating the anti-American climate.

By writing the above words as part of an op-ed article that appeared in the *New York Times* in January—1976—I managed to win the Delphic Oracle award that same year. More important, however, was the Cassandra Prize, which I also won. I was sued, judged, and sentenced to 18 months in jail for libeling the Greek press. Now it isn't easy to libel the Greek press. In fact, it is almost impossible. To say that Greek newsmen are on the take is akin to saying that those humanoid who overran the American Embassy in Tehran are hirsute. Fortunately, the sentence was never carried out, though there were Greeks anxious to hand the Cassandra award to me in person in the Athens central jail. I took the opportunity to depart the isles of Greece on my yacht, sans prize. After two years my lawyers managed to have the decision reversed, which can only mean the Greek judiciary accepts the fact that the Greek hacks are on the take.

My suspicions were first aroused after the Colonels' collapse in 1974 and the return of Konstantin Karamanlis as prime minister, and I wrote my piece after confirming my facts with one of his most powerful cabinet ministers, who unfortunately refused to give me documents in his possession that would prove the Soviets were paying off Greek journalists to write virulent anti-American tracts. The ensuing vilification campaign against me was of such intensity that it discouraged others from digging further. When I tried to get the *New York Times* to say something—anything—in my defense, that august paper pulled a Pontius Pilate. It seems I was not the type of person the *Times* likes to defend.

It is poetic if not divine justice, therefore, that the *Times* stringer in Athens today is in the same kind of fix I was six years ago. Well, not exactly; no one is about to sue him, though they are calling him a hell of a lot of names. Here is part of what he wrote on September 19, 1982: "The Soviet Union has infiltrated the Greek media and propagated a disinformation campaign to a deeper extent than in any Western country....methods employed by Russia have included help in setting up of a highly successful Soviet-front daily, *Ethnos* (The Nation), financial inducements to other publications, and direct pressure on conservative newspapers."

The only trouble with this dispatch is that it was published in the *Sunday Telegraph* of London. Mr. Paul Anast, the author, strings for both the *Times* and the *Telegraph*. I wonder why as I am writing this the *Times* has not run it. Perhaps they are waiting for the KGB to deny it? Who knows? What is certain is that one week after Anast published facts about how the Soviets were indirectly, as well as directly, subsidizing parts of the press in the birthplace of selective democracy, tyranny, and demagoguery, the Greek prime minister, Andreas Papandreu, the most famous anti-American since the Ayatollah himself, attended a party celebrating the first year of *Ethno's* existence—or Soviet subsidization, if you prefer.

Given Papandreu's openly anti-American and pro-Russian line, his attendance was not at all surprising. What is surprising to most friends of Uncle Sam is that Washington still takes Papandreu's posturing seriously. I have always thought of Andreas Papandreu as the Greek version of Bianca Jagger. Like the posturing Nicaraguan ninny, he has made anti-Americanism the basis of his political philosophy. (And like Bianca Jagger he runs the gamut of anti-American bile, from sneering accusations to snarling hysteria, with eyes like slit trenches for effect.)

It is curious that Andreas became prime minister in a landslide victory, because his past is not one that would endear him to most Greeks. As a student he was a Trotskyite and fled to America after police showed interest in his activities. When Greece was invaded by fascist Italy in 1940, and his class was called up, he refused to return. Instead, he became an American citizen. To avoid the draft in the U.S. he became a nurse's aide at the Bethesda Naval Hospital.

He remained in America during the savage Communist uprising in Greece in the wake of World War II and taught economics at various American universities, including Berkeley. When in 1963 his father, George, became prime minister, he was appointed to the most powerful ministry. He once again became Greek. (Before his father's election, Andreas had served as economics adviser but had retained his American citizenship in order not to pay Greek taxes.) As a minister Andreas had good ideas. So good in fact that his father's party split up, accusing the elder Papandreu of nepotism. The Colonels came soon after.

After their collapse Andreas returned triumphant. And with a new and perfect ploy, anti-Americanism. His gimmick was made easier by something Greeks call *filotimo*. It means pride, but the word can also be used when lying to save face. In ancient times, face was saved by blaming the gods. Now Uncle Sam has replaced Zeus. Papandreu has blamed all of Greece's self-induced disasters on America, and the Greeks love it. Despite the fact that he attacks nepotism yet is a product of that system, that he uses patronage as much as any politician in the past, that he plays his favorites unashamedly, and that he uses the divisive

and intemperate slogans of a reckless extremist, his star is not about to wane. His demagoguery has the people convinced that the Great Satan will finally be put in his place by Andreas. The yellowest press in Europe agrees.

What is to be done about him? This is a hard question to answer. If, as Wilfrid Sheed claims, the object of the intellect is truth, then Papandreu must be judged as being on an intellectual level with, say, Bokassa, formerly of the Central African Empire. But if the object of the intellect is to mislead and conquer, then Papandreu must be viewed as a danger to all freedom-loving Greeks. My guess is that he will never accept an electoral defeat, and that the hard-core Marxists behind him will eventually try to establish a one-party system. I can only point out to the wise men in Washington what Old Nick wrote in *The Prince* in 1532: "From this arises the question whether it is better to be loved rather than feared, or feared rather than loved. We should wish to be both, but since love and fear can hardly exist together, if we must choose between them, it is far safer to be feared than to be loved." It is about time that America chose whether it wants to be kicked around (loved) or respected (feared).



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Letters



Dear Harry:

Your January issue is terrific and the interviews with Phyllis Schlafly and Walter Williams are very interesting.

Best regards,
Ronald Burr
Publisher
The American Spectator
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Young:

Having met you at our Oceanside Republican Women's Club this month, and after receiving my first issue (Jan. '83), I must tell you, I think your magazine is terrific, even better than the *Spectator*, to which I also subscribe. I especially enjoyed the interviews with Phyllis Schlafly and Walter Williams because they express my views exactly.

Thank you,
Mrs. Grace E. White
Oceanside

Gentlemen:

Please send me *CR* for the full academic year (10 issues) for the new low intellectual price of just \$10. You certainly are not greedy. It's a fine product for a reasonable price. Thank you for making *CR* available.

My congratulations to you all!
Mrs. Diana McGuerty
Escondido

Dear Harry:

It was so nice having you as a guest and speaker at the meeting of the Del Mar Republican Women, Federated last Tuesday. Our group needed to hear about you young people and the *California Review*, and we do thank you so much for taking your valuable time to be with us. Our President, Mary Humphrey, our Board and our Membership extend our warmest regards to you and the staff of *California Review*. Let us know if we can be of any assistance in the future.

Very truly yours,
Blythe Luci
Del Mar

Dear *California Review*:

Suzanne L. Schott's remark in her article "Women and a Great America," that feminists consider *Playboy* and *Penthouse* "fine" is shockingly inaccurate. Pornography has long been an issue on which feminists and conservatives agree. Feminism hardly means to "replace the image of woman as virtue and mother with the image of prostitute, swinger, and lesbian." The feminist perspective on pornography does not agree with the "liberal" viewpoint that pornography is just one more aspect of our ever-expanding sexuality. Feminists realize that pornography promotes an ideology that degrades women and encourages its consumers to degrade women. Prominent feminists Gloria Steinem, Susan Brownmiller, Helen Longino, Alice Walker, Robin Morgan, Audre Lorde, and many, many others strongly oppose pornography, and have written a great deal of literature on the subject. Gloria Steinem has said, "A woman who has *Playboy* in the house is like a Jew who has *Mein Kampf* on the table."

It is true that *Playboy* has backed some feminist issues, but it has hardly been a welcome ally. Feminists have not in turn supported *Playboy*, nor have I heard of them ever working directly with anyone from the Hefner empire. Hugh Hefner himself made the widely published remark, "These chicks are our

natural enemy...What I want is a devastating piece that takes the militant feminists apart," in reference to an article he tried to get written in September, 1969.

I suggest that the writers for the *California Review* research more thoroughly the opinions of their opponents before making such inaccurate and insulting remarks.

Robin Pugh
La Jolla

Editor's note:

If feminists are so rabidly opposed to *Playboy* why do they accept its gargantuan financial contributions? To extend Gloria Steinem's metaphor, feminists are like Jews who accept money from Nazis. But then again, are feminists and pornographers that much different? Both support disposable children (abortion), self-centeredness (child care centers), and the same abridgement of the double standard (mutual promiscuity). Regarding Hugh Hefner's comment, need I remind you what George Wallace said about segregation?

—HWC III

Dear Mr. Crocker III,

We agree that "Literature is not an essential or necessarily important part of human existence [sic]." We feel that books about authors of literature are certainly less important than [sic] the literature itself. Further, rambling diatribes about books on authors are even more useless.

Fundamentally yours,
E.J. Arthur
J. Richard Greene
La Jolla

Editor's note:

Friends, it must have been your minds that were rambling and not my diatribes. If you will renew your acquaintance with my review of Matthew Brucoli's, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald* you will notice that I praised it. Thanks for the advice, but I reject assertion that literary matters are too piddling for my Promethean intellectual powers.

—HWC III

Dear Eric,

How are you doing? Thank you for the postcard. We have a lot of snow now. I got a new sled. Annie chewed the hands off my Barbie. She is black with a white moustache under her chin.

Love,
Ruth Ann
New Berlin, Wisconsin

Mr. Young,

Before I start in on the main point, I'd like to clarify one thing; unlike the *Review*, the *Guardian* does not make it a habit to employ, for any reason, "goons".

As far as the *Review* being picked up when the *Guardian* is gathered for recycling, this is indeed an unfortunate situation. However, to the best of my knowledge there is no one on our payroll who is in charge of gathering unused *Guardians*.

As near as I can make out, this task is carried out by a group called the "Recycling Co-op", under the auspices of an organization called the Associated Students. What the Associated Students does, or why it exists, is something I have never been able to ascertain.

If, indeed, there is a plot to remove your publication from the public eye, it originates in the hollow halls and heads of the Associated Students, certainly not from within the newsroom of the *Guardian*.

In fact, while our paper was being distributed today, something known only as a "janitor" was seen following our distributor around campus picking up as-yet unread *Guardians* and tossing them into his little truck. When an irate student questioned this "janitor", he said "I'm doin it so's thet I don't hafta pikku up after de stooedens have read em an thrown em all over de place." As such, I can well understand your fury at the situation, however, you are barking up the wrong tree.

Look it up,
Thomas Rankin
Off-campus News Editor
The UCSD Guardian
La Jolla

Editor's note:

Mr. Rankin, *California Review* does not have the financial resources to employ anyone; and if we did we would not employ goons, but marines. By the way, do your employers know what a racist you are?

—ECY

California Review

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

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



A conservative journal is a terrible thing to waste. Give to the *California Review*, a not-for-profit organization. All contributions are tax-deductible.

In Review

■ It's now official. Washington, D.C. is the first city in the United States that can claim more abortions than live childbirths. Bureaucrats just don't have time for families.

■ In the continuing battle to wipe out ignorance, the Mount Lebanon Library outside of Pittsburgh has purchased 16 videogames and plans to buy 40 to 50 more at a cost of \$14 to \$30 apiece.

■ On January 26, a thirteen year old boy killed himself because his father would not let him watch television. In his will he stated, "I leave my stereo to Maria, I leave my Atari games to David and Nancy and I leave everything to my parents. In my heart I will take my TV with me."

■ Under the heading "Kulture", new indicator collective member and sexual dilettante, Barry Hyman wrote a shattering essay about the great days gone by when sexual orgies gave emotional energy to progressives. Says Barry, "It is too bad that documentaries were not made of the sexual orgies at the University sponsored festivals held yearly on Muir Field during the early 1970s. If seen today these films would be much more fantastic than E.T." Bellevue, we think we've got one.

■ DID YOU KNOW THAT YOU'RE LESS MISERABLE? The "misery index" (inflation plus unemployment) stood at 19.8 under Jimmy Carter. Today it is 14.3.

■ Liberation from the oppression of gender! In the great state of Wisconsin, the Madison Welfare appeals Committee chose not to follow state medical assistance guidelines and decided that taxpayers should finance a sex-change operation for a 33-year-old man, according to a committee report released this month. The report said the "peculiar circumstances" of the man, who has threatened suicide unless he gets the operation, should have been taken into account by the Welfare Department. The surgery is estimated to cost up to \$25,000.

■ It takes one to know one. The security guard who discovered the Watergate break in has been arrested for shoplifting a pair of shoes.

■ In January, Ginny Foat, the California State President of the National Organization for Women was accused of the 1965 murder of an Argentine businessman. A barmaid at the time, she reportedly lured the man into a car and then killed him with a tire iron. In 1977, charges against Ms. Foat concerning the 1965 murder of a Nevada man were dropped due to insufficient evidence. The vice president of California's NOW stated that "She's shocked. She's surprised. She's devastated by the system... This is harassment." NOW President Judy Goldsmith added that "We won't waste any more precious feminist energies in internal fights."

■ Have you ever noticed that the term "academic" means "meaningless"?

■ In comparing the last issue of *California Review* with the last issue of the *People's Voice* it is interesting to notice that *CR* had an interview with a living and breathing black man giving his own answers to our questions—Walter Williams—and *PV* had a "mock interview" with the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—Jules Bagneris providing both questions (among the subjects were the nuclear freeze and Reaganomics) and answers. We had an interview with Phyllis Schlafly and they had an ad featuring a sexy young girl wishing happy new year to *PV* readers. And we're supposed to be "racist" and "sexist"? We suggest that their next feature article should be "Jules Bagneris: Portrait of a Demagogue," by Jules Bagneris, of course.

■ Remember America's "malaise" that Jimmy Carter and the press were musing over? One of the unnoticed and unapplauded benefits of Ronald Reagan's presidency (along with the lowering of inflation, interest rates, and Soviet aspirations) is the disappearance of that beast. 50 percent of all Americans believe that things will improve in 1983. 32 percent believe things will get worse. That's the most optimistic response since 1972.

■ Another good work of *California Review*: Three months have gone by and no Peter Mortensen has been spotted in the *Guardian*.

■ AMBROSE BIERCE ON THE WOMAN QUESTION: "Certain significant facts are within the purview of all but the very young and the comfortably blind. To the woman of today the man of today is imperfectly polite. In place of reverence he gives her 'deference'; to the language of compliment has succeeded the language of raillery. Men have almost forgotten how to bow. Doubtless the advanced female prefers the new manner, as may some of her less forward sisters, thinking it more sincere. It is not; our giddy grandfather talked high-flown nonsense because his heart had tangled his tongue. He treated his woman more civilly than we ours because he loved her better. He never had seen her on the 'rostrum' and in the lobby, never had seen her in advocacy of herself, never had read her confessions of his sins, never had felt the stress of her competition, nor himself assisted by daily personal contact in rubbing the bloom off her. He did not know that her virtues were due to her secluded life, but thought, dear old boy, that they were a gift of God."



■ The welfare state is alive and well in Sweden. In January, 58 of Stockholm's 59 meter maids were convicted of pocketing several million kronors from city parking meters.

■ After Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone stated that he aims to make Japan an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" able to prevent penetration of Japanese territory by the Soviet Union's Backfire bomber, the peace loving Soviets responded that in the nuclear age "there can be no unsinkable aircraft-carrier, and by deploying...arsenals of armaments, including American, the authors of such plans make Japan a likely target for a response strike."

■ So freewheelin' Tip O'Neill has the cure to unemployment—a jobs program. It rings of "feels good" politics, but will it work? Shouldn't Tip go to the Library of Congress and peruse a book on the subject? If he did, he might discover that the first make-work program—as all subsequent make-work programs—was a complete failure. At the advent of the Second Republic of France, the revolutionaries had only one coherent demand, the "right to work", that it was the government's responsibility to see to it that all who "wanted employment" would get it. "National Workshops" were implemented throughout the nation to provide what came to employment with hastily contrived road construction projects. The plan included a sub-program which would essentially pay a dole to those whom it could not employ painting the sidewalks of Gay Paree—those who "wanted to work." When the program was instituted, participation (hitherto "unemployment") was about 10,000. Four months after the program began, a whopping 120,000 were on its payroll. Unable to provide employment for such vast numbers, the government continued to shell out the dole, realizing that it had created a huge army of proletarians in Paris ready to support radical leaders and demagogues in further demands upon the Republic. The Age of Compassion had arrived.

■ In San Jose a prankster hired 75 unemployed men to tear down a house that wasn't his and which the real owner did not want torn down. When the real owner returned home, it wasn't there and neither was the prankster. We think we have a suspect. Does Tip O'Neill have an alibi?

■ In more real estate news, a house in Lorain Ohio was systematically stolen. "I never saw anything like it," one neighbor reported. "People just came there and were taking parts of it until there was no house anymore." Another neighbor added, "One night I heard a crackling sound, and someone was taking cabinets out of there." Says the owner, "Our insurance will not cover it. So far, they said there was nothing like this in our policy."

■ For seven years Rocco Trifari, who is blind, has supported his wife and four children by selling hot dogs from a stand along side a county highway in Little Falls, New Jersey. But an architect who lives nearby considers the stand an eyesore and filed a suit to shut it down. A Superior Court Judge, however, ruled in favor of Trifari stating that selling hot dogs is "deeply rooted in American culture." We're glad to see that judges no longer view American culture as synonymous with oppression.

■ Now that George Deukmejian is Governor of California, the Democrats have begun to work in earnest to solve the State's problems. In late January, Democratic State Senator Alfred Alquist submitted a bill requiring Deukmejian's picture on the IOUs that are going to finance Jerry Brown's deficit.

■ Clint Eastwood, after reading a script by a former Green Beret said "I've got to meet this guy." When he did, he donated \$30,000 to help finance the Green Beret's planned expedition to rescue Americans still being held captive in Southeast Asia. Now there's a man and an American.

■ Another throwback to the old school is Marine Captain Charles B. Johnson who stopped three Israeli tanks from crossing into the Marine Corps operational zone in Lebanon by jumping on one of the tanks, pulling his revolver, and telling the tank commander he would have to cross over his dead body. Captain Johnson is already a folk hero in Lebanon. Semper Fi, bro.

■ From the restroom stall to city hall, the homosexual community is emerging in record-breaking force to support candidates for San Diego's upcoming mayoral race. Candidates, including Deputy Mayor Bill Cleator, County Supervisor Roger Hedgecock, councilman Bill Mitchell and former councilwoman Maureen O'Connor, have been interviewed by the United San Diego Election Committee (USDEC), a non-partisan homosexual political funding group working in conjunction with the San Diego Democratic Club and the San Diego Log Cabin Club—the homosexual Republican clique which recently came out for Hedgecock and his manifestations of "openness." Of course, homosexuality doesn't have a political agenda. It's just an alternative life style.

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Afghanistan and the Compassionate Left

Liberals are fond of referring to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as "Russia's Vietnam". As with most elucidations of liberal mythology this comparison is incontrovertibly wrong. In Vietnam, the United States was coming to the rescue of an autocratic nation threatened by its communistic alter ego. In Afghanistan, the Soviets invaded a client state governed (poorly) by a Soviet puppet. The United States faced guerilla forces (the Viet Cong) and a well equipped (by the Soviet bloc) and well disciplined regular army (the NVA). The Soviets, on the other hand, face only the *mujahedin* (the equivalent of the Viet Cong). It took the United States four years to decimate the VC. After three years and two months of fighting the *mujahedin* controls ninety percent of the countryside in Afghanistan.

How do they do it? It must be guts, because that's all they have. Phillip Caputo and other old Vietnam hands have commented on how Soviet pilots and soldiers can safely get away with maneuvers that would have been suicidal in Vietnam. The death knell has been tolled quite often in the press for the *mujahedin*, but they simply will not give up. The *mujahedin* receives next to no military aid from the West. Supplies used to come in from Egypt, but after the death of Sadat that source dried up. Despite all the hoopla to the contrary, the only support the United States has sent to Afghanistan is the ever heroic reporter and good will ambassador-at-large Dan Rather who asked an Afghani chieftain on *Sixty Minutes* why his people were fighting when they knew their situation was hopeless.

A better question is "Why aren't liberals exercised by the events in Afghanistan?" Why is it that the proponents of uniworld and the self-proclaimed protectors of the third world ignore the horrors of Soviet occupation? The Soviets are using explosive toys to maim and dismember children. Yellow rain is descending causing its victims' body cavities to fill with blood. Whole towns and villages are being razed and their inhabitants slaughtered. One fifth of Afghanistan's population has been forced to flee the country. Where are the campus protests? Where are the peace marches? Where are the liberals?

The liberals are hiding. Instead of talking about Afghanistan, they talk about disarmament. That way the Soviets won't feel threatened and they'll be less compelled to attack provocative countries like Afghanistan. When the question of yellow rain comes up, the liberals announce that they will defuse international tension by downplaying the accusations and by promising not to finance chemical warfare stock piles of our own. When people talk about the atrocities, the liberals close their eyes, say: "After all, we had My Lai", and dream of riots against Reaganomics. I'm still waiting for the inevitable liberal lament that it's all our fault (taking up the example of William Shawcross and company who posit that if we had not fought the communists in Vietnam and Cambodia maybe they wouldn't have been so violent, which is kind of like arguing that if Britain had left Hitler alone maybe he would have been content with continental Europe).

The liberal's position is the mother's position: "I don't care what happens to Afghans or Vietnamese or Cambodians just as long as my son doesn't have to risk his life for them." Just as they have argued for selfishness in economic policy: "Poor people of America rise up and beg for more welfare, more foodstamps, more social security! Keep me elected and I'll keep you comfortably on the dole!", and in social policy: "Your marriage isn't everything you wanted? Divorce! You really don't want a baby? Abort! Motherhood leaves you unfulfilled! Get a job and contact a child care agency!", so too are they arguing for a selfish foreign policy. Shortly after the Soviet's invasion Jerry Brown nervously ejaculated, "Do you want your son to die in Afghanistan?" It's halfway across the world for crissakes. Recently, I saw the liberal position neatly laid out by a comedian on *The Tonight Show*: "Boy, I was really upset about Afghanistan. Aren't you? I mean, when I heard they'd taken Afghanistan I said 'Hold me back.' What'll we do without those Persian rugs." In other words, "Who cares?"

Liberals have parochial minds and ecumenical dreams. They claimed to be idealists when they didn't want to fight for Vietnam because liberals cannot comprehend that suffering and fighting will go on even if the United States is not involved. Isolationism used to be a fetish of conservatives who wanted to avoid entangling foreign alliances. It is now solely an icon of liberals. In the words of R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., "The liberals we have today aren't real liberals, they are just people who believe in incoherence and want to turn it into foreign policy." Exactly.

—HWC III

Golf, Presbyterianism and Life by Rev. David Steele

Golf is Scottish in origin. It would be tragic if Presbyterians were to abandon its theological depths in our quest for the cardiovascular. I suggest, therefore, an apt mid-winter reverie. Consider the difference in golf course design.

The typical American golf course is designed to reward a good shot and penalize a poor one. The center of the fairway is flat and well-manicured; the greens are lush and soft, designed to hold a crisp approach. While roughs line the fairway to catch a sliced drive and traps will swallow up off-line shots, the American golfer expects to be rewarded with a good lie for the next one.

The course reflects our basic American attitude toward life in this land of abundance and comfort. We subconsciously expect that if a person lives a straight life, the going will be easy. We understand that straight living is not easy or automatic. We are aware that rough may catch a misdirected life. When we see someone stranded in one of life's sand traps, we suspect that the problem lies in the direction life has taken.

NOW THE SCOTTISH COURSE is quite different in design. The course is not flat or lush. Fairways slant this way and that. Hills and hummocks abound. It is customary for a Scottish golfer to hit a beautiful drive down the middle of the fairway and watch it bounce crazily off the side of a hillock and into the gorse. (Rumor has it that attempting to hit a golf ball out of the gorse brings one new insight into the meaning of the book of Job.) So the Scottish golfer cannot expect that a fine shot will be rewarded. Crazy bounces are part of the game.

There's a bit more Calvinism in Scottish course design. It is definitely "east of Eden." Good is not automatically rewarded. Play is no bed of roses. Life is tough on the Scottish course. And playing such a course demands an inner toughness.

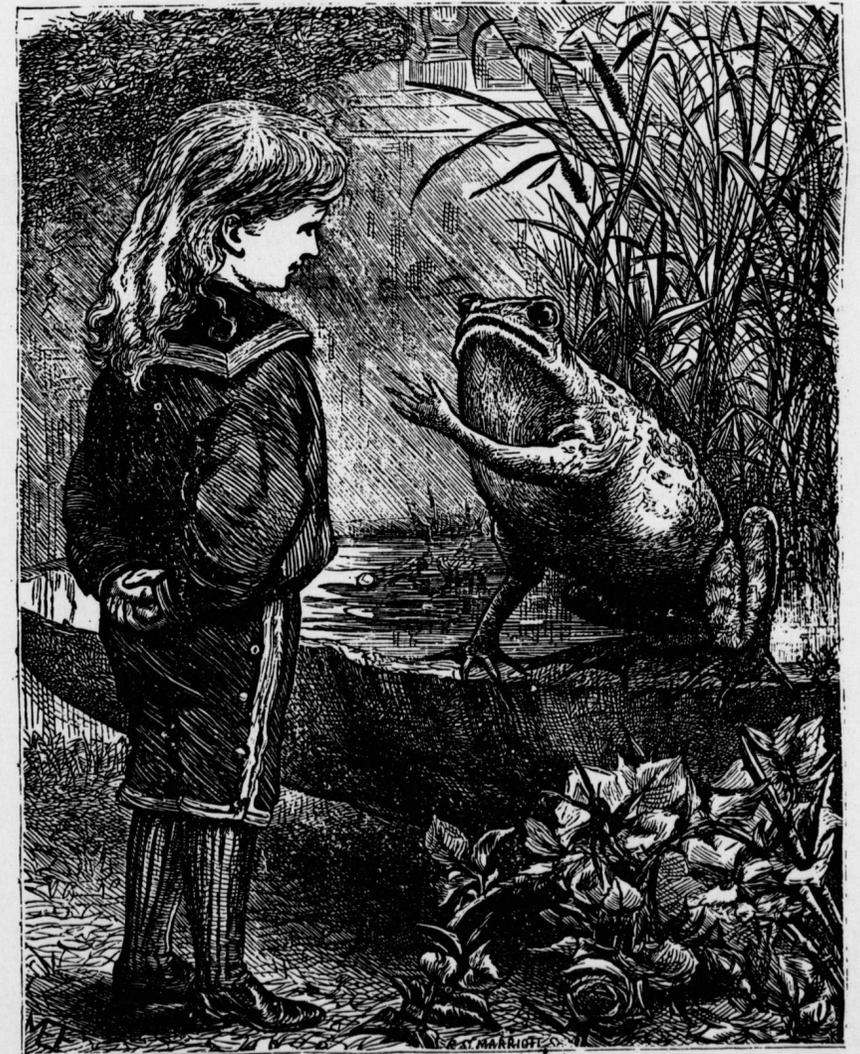
I well recall that afternoon when I watched my beautifully hit 4-wood roar straight for the green. Visions of birdie danced through my head until it hit a misplaced rake and bounced at a 90-degree angle into a gaping sand trap. As a good American, I was appalled at the injustice of it all. I had a right to expect that ball nestling close to the hole. I was a victim of circumstance.

As I stepped martyr-like into the trap to hit my next shot, I was upset, angry, and feeling very sorry for myself. And, of course, I sculled the ball out of the trap and into the woods far beyond the green. By the time I beat my way out of the trees, my par had skied to an 8. And my blood pressure? Who knows?

NOW HAD I BEEN a Scottish golfer, I suspect I would not have lost my cool. I would have understood the course as part of our fallen world—East of Eden. I would have known that outside the garden, rakes are misplaced and traps abound. I would not have allowed myself to wallow in self-pity. I would have realized that the only relevant question before me was, "What are you going to do with your next shot?"

Had this been the case, I might have discovered one of the great facts of living: There is nothing in golf (or in life) that is ultimately more thrilling than a great shot out of the sand.

Rev. Steele is pastor of Christ Church, Terra Linda, California.



Vertical Proliferation

A prominent liberal scientist offers his view

by Herbert York

Herbert York is professor of physics and director of the Program in Science, Technology and Public Affairs, University of California, San Diego. He is former director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and the first Director of Defense Research and Engineering. He was U.S. Ambassador to the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations in Geneva, 1979-1981. His *Race to Oblivion* appeared in 1970. In a recent book, *The Advisors*, which Dr. York authored, he comments, "I do believe that the United States has pursued policies which caused the technological arms race to advance at a substantially faster pace than was really necessary for America's own national security." Furthermore, York asserts in his book that, "The reasons for this are not that American leaders have been less sensitive to the dangers of the arms race than the leaders of other countries nor that they are less wise or more aggressive. Rather, the reason is that the United States is richer and more powerful, its science and technology are more dynamic and generate more ideas and inventions of all kinds, including ever more powerful and exotic means of mass destruction." This article, solicited for California Review, first appeared in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

—Carmelita Rosal

Although the history of the U.S.-Soviet arms race has been characterized by extreme changes and fluctuations, three remarkably constant features also emerge. They are:

- the rhetoric of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, which has scarcely changed in 35 years;
- the number of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles in the U.S. arsenal, which has remained essentially the same since the Korean War; and
- the expenditure level of the Soviet Union on strategic armaments, which has been about the same fraction of their gross national product since 1964.

The rhetoric of the arms race. In 1950, a document issued by the U.S. National Security Council (NSC Report 68) describes at length the U.S.-Soviet situation as then perceived, and concludes in a very pessimistic tone about Soviet capabilities and intentions:

"The Soviet Union is developing the military capacity to support its design for world domination. The Soviet Union actually possesses forces far in excess of those necessary to defend its territory. Should a major war occur in 1950, the Soviet Union and its satellites are considered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to be in a sufficiently advanced state of preparedness immediately to undertake and carry out campaigns to overrun western Europe, to launch air attacks against the British Isles, and to attack selected targets with atomic weapons in Alaska, Canada and the United States."

As a measure of how desperate the authors of this report felt the situation was, they concluded that a large measure of sacrifice and discipline would be demanded of the American people, who "will be asked to give up some of the benefits they have come to associate with their freedoms." This desperation concerned a situation that was expected to develop within the next few years after 1950.

Only seven years later, the highly publicized Gaither report concluded:

"The evidence clearly indicates an increasing threat which may become critical in 1959 or in early 1960. The evidence further suggests the urgency of the proper time phasing of needed improvements in our military position vis-a-vis Russia. The singleness of purpose with which they have pressed their military-centered industrial development has led to spectacular progress. They have developed a spectrum of A- and H-bombs and produced fission material sufficient for at least 1,500 nuclear weapons and they have probably surpassed us in ICBM development."

The Gaither report called for a large number of emergency measures for the United States, including, particularly, a national civil defense program.

By simply changing a few of the nouns in these reports, one could convert them into reports that are in wide circulation today, and that deliver essentially the same message. For example, the terms used today to present the problems of "Minutemen vulnerability" and the "civil-defense gap" are remarkably similar to those used to describe other gaps over and over again for the past 35 years. Also, for all these years, the predictions in these reports have been wrong. Of course this does not prove that similar

"It is not simply that the basic theory underlying the arms race is wrong; rather it is that there is no underlying theory at all."

predictions are wrong today, but it does mean that a healthy degree of skepticism is warranted regarding contemporary predictions about the future of the U.S.-Soviet situation, even when they are made by very prestigious individuals or groups.

Perhaps some skepticism is also warranted about the credibility of people who have made dire predictions in the past that have always proved to be incorrect, and who continue to make such predictions. If you live where there are wolves, the person who says every day that there will soon be a wolf at your door may turn out to be right some day, but this is not a person whose insights into the future would, or should, inspire your confidence. Yet some of the same people who have been saying such things in the United States, and who authored reports such as those quoted, are still in positions of considerable influence with respect to American defense policy.



The arsenal of strategic weapons. The strategic nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union are usually described in terms of type of vehicle, type and size of warhead (megatons), number of delivery vehicles of each type, vehicle speed, accuracy, details of construction and so on. Of these factors, the number of strategic delivery vehicles is the one that receives by far the most attention in U.S. Congressional budget hearings and other internal debates, as well as in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the two countries.

Shortly after the Korean War, one of the nuclear policies then being developed by the new Eisenhower Administration was the policy of "massive retaliation," which implied a full-scale U.S. nuclear response in the event of a serious Soviet expansionist move. At that time, the actual implementation of the U.S. strategic arsenal jelled in such a way that the number of strategic delivery vehicles came out to be just under 2,000. Today, a quarter of a century later, the number of delivery vehicles is 2,200 and, in fact, since 1955 this number has not changed by more than 5 percent on the average, with a maximum deviation of only 9 percent. The latter occurred when the number went up to 2,400 for a period of about one year following the Cuban missile crisis. Thus, over a 30-year period during which almost everything else that relates to the arms race changed wildly the number of U.S. strategic nuclear delivery vehicles remained essentially constant.

Although it is not easy to understand why this number has remained so steady, the history of how it came about is more straightforward. The number was determined not from strategic nuclear thinking, but as the result of an internal debate and compromise between the bomber generals from World War II and the government's budget directors. The bomber generals, who had planned and carried out the air war against Germany and Japan, thought in conventional World War II terms of the large numbers of bomber aircraft required for penetration in sufficient force to overwhelm defenses. They were applying this traditional experience to the utterly different and unprecedented situation of nuclear weapons, and were thinking in terms of large numbers of wings, squadrons and aircraft. The budget directors, however, were thinking in terms of holding costs down. The two groups compromised at a number in the neighborhood of 2,000.

Since that time almost every other feature of the nuclear arms race changed dramatically. The first-

generation atomic bombs were replaced with hydrogen bombs, with 100 to 1,000 times more destructive power, yet there was never any discussion about decreasing the number of bombs. The total destructive power of the U.S. arsenal thereafter increased greatly, reaching a maximum in about 1960. But it has been decreasing ever since, because of another factor that was changing rapidly over this period.

At the beginning, the delivery vehicles were mostly B-29 and B-36 propeller-driven aircraft of World War II vintage, with a small number of B-47 first-generation jet bombers. As time went on, jet aircraft, especially the B-52, became a larger and eventually predominant proportion of the bomber fleet. By 1960, ballistic missiles were being deployed: Thor and Jupiter in Europe, Atlas in the United States and Polaris at sea. But the missiles then had much less payload-carrying capability than aircraft, and they could carry only one warhead each. The result of this evolution of bombers to missiles was, therefore, that the number of available megatons of destructive power decreased considerably. In fact, it never returned to the earlier level of the manned bomber period, and today U.S. forces have about one-third the megatonnage that they had in 1960.

The number of warheads changed in a different way, first dropping rapidly as the missiles were deployed in the 1960s, then increasing again as multiple-independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRV) were introduced in 1970, making possible more than one warhead on a rocket. Through all these changes, however, the number of delivery vehicles remained essentially the same; every time one new missile was introduced into the force, one old airplane was removed. Although there have been numerous suggestions that the number of delivery vehicles should be altered because of the many other changes that had occurred—including the greatly increased accuracy of recent systems such as the Cruise—this in fact never happened.

The political situation was also changing radically. When the doctrine of massive retaliation was formulated in the early 1950s, a widespread belief existed in the United States that there was a monolithic Sino-Soviet bloc bent on territorial expansion, and further, that this country would be forced to employ technological means to cope with a massive ground-force invasion of Europe. In 1960, of course, the Sino-Soviet block disintegrated, but even so great a political change as this did not cause a change in the number of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. The one event that did precipitate a small change was the Cuban missile crisis: a slight increase of 9 percent in the strategic force occurred because President Kennedy decided that, at that particular time, removing B-47s from the force would send a misleading signal to the Russians, so there was a period when B-47s were not being decommissioned as rapidly as Minuteman missiles were being brought on line. Evidently this did not make much military sense, and within one year enough B-47s were decommissioned to bring the number of missiles back to 2,200.

Other important political developments were taking place: The United States and the Soviet Union entered a period of political detente; yet the missile force did not change. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks got underway; the missile force did not change. In fact, the basis for the figures brought to the SALT discussions was the existing force, and the plan of SALT was to continue the force at this level indefinitely.

It is interesting to contemplate why the U.S. missile force should have remained essentially constant throughout the many important and relevant political and military changes that took place in the 1950s and 1960s. If the succession of strategic and operations analysts through that period thought that they were actually deciding what the force would be, they were wrong, as no series of plans that took into account all those changing circumstances would have, as if by magic, all come up with the same number—2,200. The people who thought they were planning the force were actually rationalizing it.

Another example of rationalizing concerns the way the target system for the U.S. missile force seems to be derived. One might assume that in reasonable strategic force planning, the number of strategically important targets would first be defined, and then the force would be appropriately designed relative to that number. But this is not the way it has actually worked: the number of targets has in fact become

equal to the number of available re-entry vehicles. In other words, the target system is based on the force size rather than vice versa. And unfortunately, this has been the case for a long time. As far back as the late 1940s, when David Lilienthal was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he complained publicly that his job was to produce weapons in the required numbers, but when he asked what the requirements were, the only response he ever got was that there should be "more."

Soviet expenditures in strategic systems. Another of the most important facts, and constants, of the arms race is that the level of the Soviet Union's investment in strategic nuclear forces has since 1964 been an essentially constant fraction of their gross national product. Therefore, this expenditure slowly but very steadily rises, and apparently does so regardless of what else is happening in the world. We do not know how or why this came about, but it seems no more coincidental than the constancy of the U.S. missile force. Unlike the United States, however, where the expenditures have fluctuated wildly but the force has remained constant, the Soviet situation has been the reverse.

From 1964 to 1974, the Soviets built up their missile force very rapidly, from a few hundred delivery vehicles to some 2,400 by the middle 1970s. Since that time, perhaps as the result of the SALT I talks, the Soviet force has not increased in numbers. What has happened instead is that many improvements in and new models of delivery vehicles have been introduced. One result of the Soviet approach is that the number of models is very much larger than in the United States. Since 1960 the United States has

introduced the Atlas, the Titan, two models of the Minuteman, and now the MX. During the same period, the Soviets have moved from the SS-5 all the way to the SS-25—essentially 20 different systems, often with a number of modifications of each. The Soviet missile-design bureaus evidently work at a constant level of effort, steadily turning out new and improved systems. The result of this mode of operation was to increase the number of missiles until the middle 1970s, but since then it has served to introduce a greater variety and also improvements into the system.

Nothing that has happened outside the Soviet Union since the Cuban missile crisis (which probably did have a great influence on the Soviet effort) has appeared to influence their course. Relations with China steadily worsened; it made no difference. Detente came along; it made no difference. SALT came along; it made no difference. Although the SALT negotiations had some influence on Soviet missile deployment, they did not influence the level of investment in their total strategic program. Now U.S.-Soviet relations have again changed for the worse, since the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, but there are again no signs of any change in the pattern of Soviet investment in strategic systems.

The Soviet effort has clearly borne fruit. They have produced a capable development system and good, high quality equipment. They have reached approximate parity with the United States in the various factors that are important in the nuclear arms race and they may very well surpass us.

Is there a way out? When we reflect on these three constants of the nuclear arms race, we can only

conclude that the arms race really does have a "mad momentum of its own," as former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara once remarked; that it is as mindless and as dangerous as its most radical opponents say it is. It is not simply that the basic theory underlying the arms race is wrong; rather it is that there is really no underlying theory at all.

Ultimately, the solution to the arms race must be found in the political arena, because it arose out of problems that are basically political. This will have to come about through a very profound evolution of the present nation-state system, which currently is characterized by 160 independent actors with almost no body of law—and absolutely no law enforcement—governing the relations among them. Before that millennium arrives, however, we are obliged to pursue lesser possibilities. One of the most important is direct negotiation with the Soviets and others, designed first to limit the arms race, and then to reverse it. Although we have been attempting this course for some 35 years and do not have much to show for it, the present situation would probably be even worse if we had not been making this effort.

In addition, there are certain limited unilateral actions that are perfectly sound, in the sense that they would not reduce national security, and that would move the world in the right direction. One example would be a pledge of "no first use" of nuclear weapons. Another would be the elimination of battlefield nuclear weapons, which are designed to be used in actual warfare and have deterrence only as a secondary purpose. It would of course be preferable if both of these steps could be negotiated bilaterally, but even taken unilaterally they would be important steps forward.

Tuition Tax Credits and the Poor

By C. Brandon Crocker

What is it about the tuition tax credits that makes the education establishment, liberals, and minority groups so edgy? The proposals for tuition tax credits don't sound all that evil. Most schemes propose about a \$500 tax credit for each child a family sends to a private school. What objections can be made to relieving the burden of parents paying both private school tuition and taxes for public schools? Well, there are many. All, however, are irrational.

One of the loudest shrieks is let out by the egalitarians and by the leadership of the ever so compassionate Democratic Party. Tuition tax credits, they claim, will only help the rich. The "Black Leadership" comes up with the same objection and adds that tuition tax credits would therefore also be racist. Of course, the education establishment throws in the charge that tax credits would, besides help the rich, hurt the education of the poor by removing funds for public education.

Would tuition tax credits help the rich? They certainly would, but they would help everyone else far more. The typical family sending their children to a private school has an income of \$25,000 or less. Also, the program outlined by President Reagan would exclude families earning over \$50,000 a year. Tuition tax credits would help enable the poor to send their children to private schools. Already, inner city private schools are teaching children from very poor families who want their children to get a better education than what is available at the often disgraceful and even dangerous inner city public schools. These are the people who will benefit most from tuition tax credits—these poor people and other poor people who can afford no other education besides that offered in public schools. In fact, for these poor people, many of whom pay little or no taxes, a voucher system, that is, a government grant given to parents to help cover the cost of tuition for private schooling, would be an even more preferable arrangement than an ordinary tuition tax credit program.

Tuition to most private schools, however, costs more than \$500. Therefore I recommend a split level voucher system which would give poor families, who could afford little or no portion of private school tuition, a larger sum, say \$1,000. Such an adjustment would make the purpose of the system more achievable, and possibly make passage of a voucher system more plausible. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, no such proposal is currently circulating in Washington, though I think it is the best course the Reagan Administration could take.

The proposition that any sort of tax credit or voucher system would necessarily take money away from public education is very misleading. It costs taxpayers about \$2,200 a year for each child enrolled

in a public school. Therefore, for every student who would escape the public school system for \$500 or \$1,000, the public schools would have more resources per student.

Why then are tuition tax credits and voucher systems so unpopular with the Democratic Leadership? Why does the National Education Association put a picture of a sad looking black girl holding a sign saying "Tuition tax credits would hurt my education" on the cover of their magazine? Well, could it be because such systems would give more power to parents over the education of their children and take such power away from bureaucrats? Or possibly it could be because of political considerations, or plain ignorance, or effective lobbying and advertising by the National Education Association. But why would the NEA be against tuition tax credits or vouchers?

First, tuition tax credits or vouchers would mean fewer students in public schools which would make the usefulness of the Department of Education (Carter's payoff to the NEA) even more suspect. Second, fewer students in public schools would mean fewer teachers, counselors and administrators in the public school system, meaning the NEA would have fewer members from which to extract dues. Then the

ruling oligarchy of the NEA would have less money to print literature and sponsor speaking tours critical of U.S. aid to El Salvador and Guatemala, or to organize anti-nuclear power demonstrations, or to support the pro-abortion movement, or to fund other such "educational" activities. It would also mean that the NEA's masterminds would have less power over the education system and would be able to improve the instructiveness of fewer teachers through such advice as to "Acknowledge that the society in the United States is racist. Given that the educational system is a microcosm of the society, it too is racist."

The current tuition tax credit plans, a traditional voucher system or a split level voucher would all improve our educational system. It seems that the NEA big wigs and some teachers and administrators who would not make the grade in a more competitive education industry are the only ones who would be hurt by the implementation of such plans. Nevertheless, their influence has been great enough to sway public opinion against tuition tax credits and other related proposals. As long as they can maintain this influence, the education of young Americans will suffer.



California Review Interviews Charlton Heston

Charlton Heston needs no introduction. He is one of America's best known and most accomplished actors. He studied drama at Northwestern and during World War II served in the United States Air Force. His stage work includes: Antony and Cleopatra, State of the Union, The Glass Menagerie, Macbeth, Mister Roberts, Detective Story, and A Man for All Seasons. He has also appeared on television in Julius Caesar, Jane Eyre, Wuthering Heights, and The Taming of the Shrew. He is, however, best known for his films: The President's Lady, The Ten Commandments, Ben-Hur, El Cid, Fifty-five Days at Peking, The Greatest Story Ever Told, The Agony and the Ecstasy, Khartoum, and Midway. He won the Academy Award for Best Actor for his performance in Ben-Hur. He is the author of The Actor's Life: Journals 1956-1976 and has made a name for himself as an erudite spokesman against the nuclear freeze movement. Despite his busy life style, he is a dedicated family man and has been happily married to Lydia Clarke since 1944. He also recently took time out to chat with the editors of California Review; E. Clasen Young (the witty conversationalist and noted devotee of the military industrial complex) and H.W. Crocker III (CR's resident von Clausewitz and film buff). Their conversation follows forthwith.

CR: What makes you a more qualified spokesman on defense policy than Paul Newman or Jane Fonda?

HESTON: Only the amount of homework I've done.

CR: Including reading *The American Spectator*?

HESTON: Including reading *The American Spectator*.

CR: Do you believe the Soviet Union is manipulating the nuclear freeze movement?

HESTON: I think that is so self-evident as to hardly be worth debating.

CR: How so?

HESTON: The Soviet KGB has operated very effectively in a number of areas. They now, although it is such a horrible possibility that it's harrowing to contemplate and western governments are treating it very gingerly, but they seem to have been involved in the attempted assassination of the Pope. For them to have failed to operate in the peace movement is incredible.

CR: We know that anti-war protesters in the United States undercut Henry Kissinger's ability to negotiate a peace with the North Vietnamese. Is the current peace movement exerting a similar influence on Reagan's attempt to negotiate arms reductions?

HESTON: I think that's inescapable. As long as the Soviets perceive that there is significant opposition to the zero option, for example, for the reduction in nuclear arms that the Administration is attempting to negotiate, there is no reason for them to respond to those activities. I think you have to bear in mind that although the Soviets are sophisticated and by no means naive, they're very intelligent, trained men, if there is one area in which their thinking might be simplistic, it is a genuine incapacity to comprehend the functioning of the democratic process in a free society—that here we get to disagree, we get to speak up, you can carry a sign and have anything on it you want to have on it, you can get up on your soapbox. Jane and I and Paul and everybody and Ed Asner can shoot our mouths off whether we know anything or not. The Soviets perceive this functioning of the process of free discussion and it is a most difficult thing for them to understand in realistic terms. I must say I am a little nonplussed at the refusal of those involved in the nuclear freeze to support what obviously is an advance on their position—not merely to freeze nuclear arms but to reduce them. It's honestly not clear to me why they do that. It would be very hard to justify in intellectual terms. They say, "Well, the Soviets aren't going to accept that. That's ridiculous. They won't accept that." And you say, "Well, why not." There are some very curious priorities here, I'm afraid.

CR: You mentioned the zero-zero option. Do you see an alternative to the zero-zero?

HESTON: Well, obviously, any alternative is possible. We could resurrect Salt II, although, I think we're unlikely to do so. I think even its defenders during the Carter Administration now recognize

that it has serious flaws and was inadequately negotiated.

CR: Can any sort of viable, verifiable treaty be negotiated with the Soviets?

HESTON: Certainly. The key word is verifiability. If you negotiate a treaty to remove the SS-20s now in place aimed at Western Europe you can verify that those missiles have been removed. But, if you negotiate a nuclear freeze, including a ban on the testing or production of new nuclear weapons or carriers, which of course includes aircraft, there is literally no way short of universal on-site inspection to verify that. You can verify the removal of SS-20s by satellite.

CR: How would our government go about verifying such things in a virtually closed shop Soviet Union?

HESTON: You mean the testing and production of weapons? You couldn't. It would be impossible. I don't think the Soviet system that denies its own citizens freedom of movement within the country could possibly negotiate on-site inspection. They've shown no sign of being willing to do so. Even if they did, to inspect one testing ground outside Vladivostok does not mean they're not turning out and testing aircraft and new missiles in other parts of the Soviet Union.

CR: Should we make a pledge of no first use of nuclear weapons?

"Peace should be the concern of all of us, but the first moral imperative is to think clearly."

HESTON: The NATO alliance is by definition a defensive alliance. Its whole history, its reason for being, is as a defensive alliance. It precludes offensive actions. I don't think you would find anyone in the West or anyone, honestly, in the Soviet Union that would claim that NATO is going to attack the Russians. So for us to say we will not use nuclear weapons first, is, of itself, outside the definition of what NATO is for. It is a defensive alliance.

CR: Should we eliminate battlefield nuclear weapons?

HESTON: In my opinion, no. By that you mean tactical weapons, small tactical weapons?

CR: Right.

HESTON: Your definition of battlefield nuclear weapons?

CR: Right.

HESTON: What homework I have done on nuclear armaments does not include an extensive education on tactical weapons. My understanding is that there are weapons that can operate very effectively against the overwhelming tank superiority of the Soviet Union. It would be very much to their advantage to preclude the possibility of the taking out with cruise missiles or enhanced radiation warheads a Soviet tank assault. They have enormous tactical superiority, as you know, in that area.

CR: Has the focus of the peace movement been misdirected in so far as it aims at Washington instead of Moscow?

HESTON: Well, obviously. As I said at the time when I debated Paul Newman, I said I was very, very glad at the chance to debate the question at all, but I bitterly regretted that the debate could not be heard in Moscow, because they don't debate such things in Moscow. I said if somehow we could get the right to carry on this debate on Russian television instead of American television I would pay the expenses of getting us there.

CR: How did Paul Newman respond to that proposal?

HESTON: I don't recall that he responded.

CR: Do you think sentiment for the peace movement is preternaturally high because people don't understand the historical brutality of the Soviet regime?

HESTON: The idea of nuclear war is a simple and frightening idea. I engaged in a debate with Dr. Edward Teller and Helen Caldicott, the Australian pediatrician who has I guess devoted now her full time to discussing nuclear war, and retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, who similarly seems to be putting all his time into it. I had heard of Dr. Caldicott before, but I was interested to see that her total presentation was an apocalyptic forecast of the horrors of nuclear war. This is too important an issue to inject with emotion. Someone said the most overriding of all moral imperatives is to think clearly. Peace should be the concern of all of us, but the first moral imperative is to think clearly. Dr. Caldicott's contribution consists of rhetoric.

CR: Are we witnessing a replay of the 1930s?

HESTON: It's a scary thing. That conclusion seems inescapable to me. Santayana said, "He who will not learn from history is doomed to repeat it." I was reading an account of Winston Churchill's experiences in the middle thirties when he was out of office. A prominent lady laborite politician said to him, and this is like 1936-37, she said, "Tell me Mr. Churchill, why do you try so hard to persuade everybody that Hitler is a bad man?" And Churchill said, "If I do not succeed, madam, you will find out." That seems to me exactly what we're going through right now. And I hope we don't find out.

CR: Was the United States justified in bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

HESTON: I think beyond question. At least for those of us who were scheduled for Operation Coronet, which was the invasion of the main islands of Japan, and I was among them. It was a consummation devoutly to be wished, in Shakespeare's phrase. I have seen the projections of the casualties—the U.S. armed forces were expected to sustain in that invasion. There were over one million American casualties. The Japanese casualties were estimated at being over three million.

CR: How can we keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of the Qaddafi's, the Arafats, and the Galtieris?

HESTON: If I knew the answer to that I would be a candidate for President of the world.

"No action we have taken in terms of a freeze, or a cessation, or a hold has at any time deterred them in any way."

CR: Some people say that since we have enough nuclear weapons to blow up the world, we don't need any more. How do you respond?

HESTON: Obviously, that's not the issue. In the first place, many of our carriers, for example, are B-52s, are obsolete, and their capacity to do their job is reduced each year. As Soviet defenses improve, as increasingly sophisticated technologies are developed, it isn't a question of whether the things will go off, it's whether you can get them where they have to be. Nuclear arms are not designed for war. They are designed and have functioned for, what, thirty-eight years, as a deterrent. But they are only a credible deterrent if the technology surrounding them—the enhanced radiation warhead, the cruise missile, the B-1 Bomber—is constantly improved. This is an overriding imperative. It's curious to me that the nuclear freeze only developed when the Soviets had established a superior position tactically and strategically. They never discussed nor would they observe a freeze when they were trying to catch up. After the Cuban Missile Crisis when we undertook to remove

some of our missiles from Turkey on the understanding that they would diminish theirs, they didn't. They just kept on installing them. Indeed, no action we have taken in terms of a freeze, or a cessation, or a hold, has at any time deterred them in any way. What has deterred them, what has preserved the peace of the world since 1945, is a plausible, effective nuclear deterrent on the part of the armed forces of the West.

CR: What is your opinion on the MX controversy?

HESTON: Like the question you asked me a minute ago, that is a conundrum. We have elected and appointed people who are supposed to give us the answers to that. We have in place a Congress that can make a choice. It is obviously an exceedingly difficult question. I don't consider myself qualified to make a recommendation on what the solution should be. There are arguments, strong arguments, in favor of the MX. There are obviously strong arguments against the various methods proposed to deploy it.

CR: What would be your suggestion for mode of deployment?

"Given the power of film, the film-maker has to exercise a personal responsibility."

HESTON: None of the deployment methods that I have seen described have persuaded me. But as I've said, that is not an area in which I have any particular education.

CR: Do you think Catholic Bishops are a threat to peace?

HESTON: I hope God doesn't think so.

CR: You've interpreted the lives of many historical figures in your career. What do you think General Gordon's position would be on a nuclear freeze were he alive today?

HESTON: General Gordon was, throughout his life, clearly prepared to face the possibility of an armed and determined enemy. He is nowhere on record, though he was a deeply committed Christian, he is nowhere on record as being unwilling to choose the sword when there was no alternative.

CR: You've been quoted as saying that "Film is [...] the most potent [...] social weapon ever devised." Is it a weapon that in recent years has been used against us?

HESTON: Yes, I think so. You have to include film in its broadest generic definition, the moving image, including television. I think many film-makers and television programmers and much television news prejudicially depicts the United States to our own people and to the world.

CR: Do you think the media has a liberal hold on what the populace of the United States actually gets in the way of news?

HESTON: I am disturbed by the enormous power of network television. Whether their bias is liberal is not as significant as the enormous power they have. Nobody voted for them. I think after the President of the United States, the men who read the news at six o'clock on the three networks are the most powerful influences in American life. That's too bad, because we didn't get to vote for them. The First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and underlining the importance of a free press is an important safeguard to a democratic society. It functions more effectively in this country than in any other country on Earth. Indeed, there are few other countries where it functions at all. We gloss over that fact but there are in fact very few countries which have a genuinely free press. But that's all it's supposed to be—a tool protecting a free society. But as a tool it should not be a lever or a staff or a club. It's just a tool. It doesn't mandate the press to be a fourth arm of government.

CR: Would you like to see Hollywood get back to something like the Hays Code?

HESTON: No. As a film-maker, as an American film-maker, I'm very conscious of the importance of the First Amendment in terms of protecting the rights of a film-maker, of Costa-Gravas, for example, to make *Missing*. I wish he had not made it. I think it is a distorted and factually false picture of history. Obviously that's why he's being sued. Voltaire's phrase comes to mind. "I disagree with what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it." Given the power of film, which we were discussing while ago, the film-maker has to exercise a personal responsibility. The right to put what you want in a film, is a right that can't be totally exercised. For example, no one would suggest that a film-maker should make a film depicting the torture and rape of a five year old girl in photographic detail. Nevertheless, in theory, that right exists in a society free of censorship, as ours is. But the film-maker has to exercise some personal responsibility.

In my judgment Costa-Gravas, for example, failed to do that.

CR: Can you tell us a little something about *Mother Lode*?

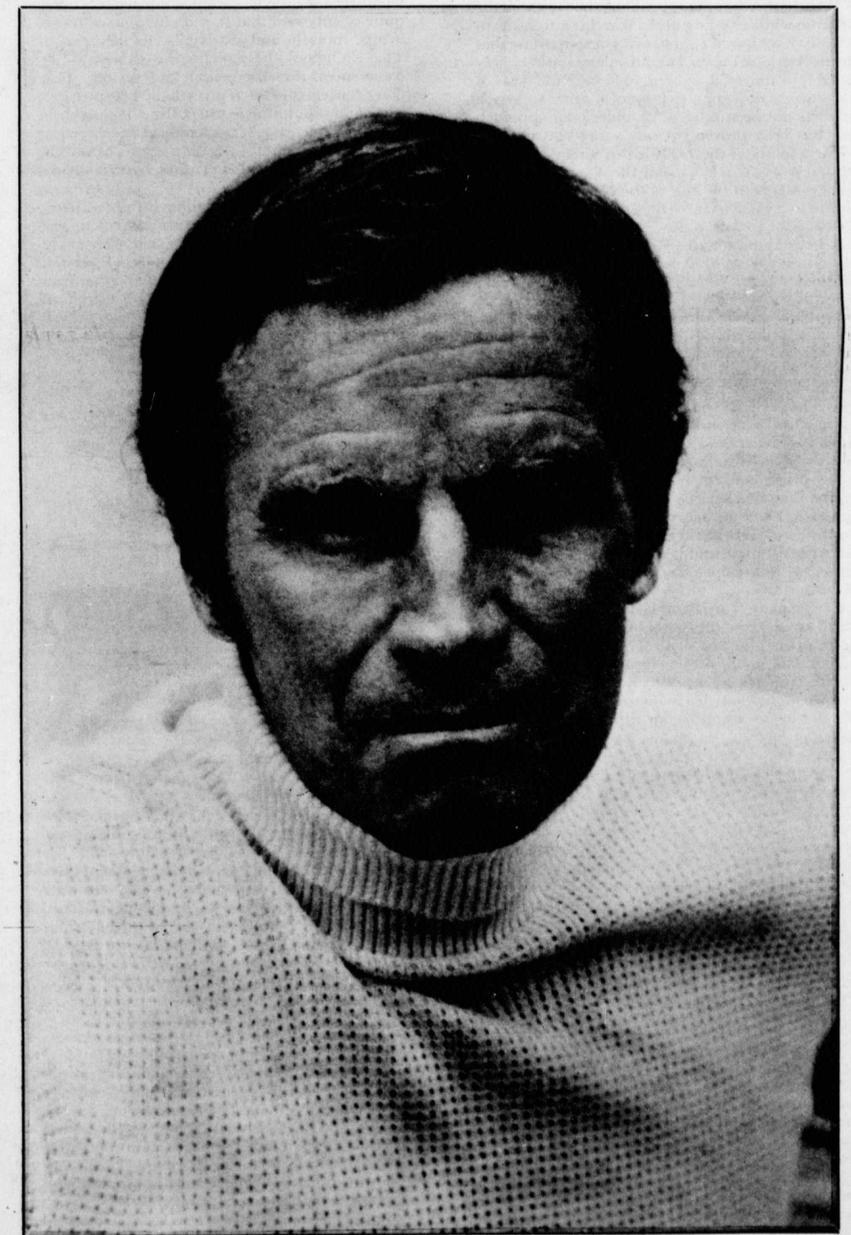
HESTON: Well, *Mother Lode* is a film without political significance. It is an adventure film about greed and gold and it's doing very well, thank you. We're very happy with it.

CR: Speaking of adventure, did you get the copies of the *California Review* I gave to Carol Lanning?

HESTON: Yes.

CR: Did you read them?

HESTON: I read several of them. They're very interesting. I wish you well with the *Review*. It's an important publication I think.



THE ONLY WAY TO PEACE

"Those who say it is immoral to have nuclear weapons at all to maintain the world balance are undermining the very basis of peace in our time."

By Winston S. Churchill II

Member of the British Parliament, author, journalist, and statesman, Mr. Churchill is carrying on a family tradition. As a news correspondent in the 1960s, he covered Africa, the Middle East, and the Vietnam War. His most recent book *Defending the West* documents the growing military imbalance between the Soviet Union and the free world.

On September 7, 1982, Mr. Churchill was a guest of the Shavano Institute of Hillsdale College to debate the nuclear disarmament issue with William Sloane Coffin on the "Counterpoint" television show. The following is adapted from Winston Churchill's debate argument, and his supporting film documentaries, on that program. It first appeared in *Imprimis*, a publication of Hillsdale College.

For 37 years our generation has enjoyed peace, a period unprecedented in this century. It has been a peace that has been based above all on the strength of the Western Alliance—which has meant, in the initial years anyway, the strength of the United States. It has been based upon the strategy of deterrence, and deterrence has worked. We continue to this day to enjoy that peace.

Yet now there are many people on both sides of the Atlantic who are going about marching in favor of peace as if we haven't got it, as if it is something that we need to look forward to. I think it would be very dangerous indeed if we were to forsake the basis of the peace we now enjoy in favor of another approach that has not been proven. Or indeed, an approach that has been proven the other way—because the peace activists of the 1930s led us directly into the Second World War by causing the Western democracies to disarm in the face of the Nazi build-up. To disarm today in the face of the growing Soviet build-up would be catastrophic.

In 1946 my grandfather Winston Churchill visited a small town in the American Midwest called Fulton, Missouri, where he delivered what has come to be known as one of the most famous speeches of the post-war era, the so-called "Iron Curtain" speech. He warned that our former ally, the Soviet Union, had become a mortal danger to the peace and freedom of the world. It had swallowed up half of Europe and was threatening to swallow up the other half. That was, of course, before the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons. In the years that have intervened the Soviet threat has become far more mortal than it was even in those grim days of 1946.

His prime concern in the postwar years was to insure that the Soviets should never get nuclear weapons. There are many people now who not only think he was right about what he said in the thirties, but who feel that had his advice been heeded in the forties, we would not today be living under a balance of terror.

I've yet to meet anybody who would dispute what we all know about the horror of nuclear war. It must be the prime objective of all of us to do all we can, as individuals and jointly, to see that we never have a world war in the nuclear age. But I believe it is vital that we should be ruled in these matters by our head and not by our heart, by our reason and not by our emotions.

I have been to Hiroshima. I don't believe anyone can go there without coming away with the most powerful feelings. I came away with a determination to do all in my power as an individual and as a member of the British Parliament to see that we never again have a world war. But I also came away with a very strong determination that never would the British people be naked in the face of a nuclear attacker in the way that the Japanese were in 1945.

That is why I disagree with those in Western Europe who advocate unilateral nuclear disarmament. This would leave the Soviets with their infantry intact while completely getting rid of our own nuclear weapons and requiring all U.S. nuclear weapons to be withdrawn from Western Europe. This could set the stage for World War III, and it would be catastrophic.

"The idiot child has the matches now." These were my grandfather's words when he heard of the successful testing of the first atom bomb. Today we must eliminate any chance of nuclear war. But this can only be done through strength, not through weakness.

The American nuclear stockpile is less than half today than what it was in 1962. Since 1967 the United States has unilaterally reduced 8,000 nuclear weapons. The Soviets, however, have not reciprocated that restraint in any way, shape, or form.

Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, former Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, recently stated:

The Soviet goals are quite clear. They have enunciated them. They intend to achieve political, military, and economic hegemony over the globe. They intend to use their immense strategic nuclear superiority and their superiority of armies, navies, and air forces to force the West to accommodate to their expansionism in various parts of the globe. I think that as a country we have failed to recognize the Soviet aim to fight and survive a nuclear war.

The average peace protester may not realize the extent to which the peace movement serves Soviet aims. Vladimir Bukovsky understands the Soviet use of propaganda. He was the leading human rights activist in the Soviet Union, imprisoned there for 12 years for his beliefs. I asked Mr. Bukovsky about the recent antinuclear demonstrations in the United States and Europe. His reply:

Of course, there are some reasons for the anxiety of the people right now, because of the accumulation of nuclear weapons and some tension in international relations. But as a matter of fact, the upsurge of this movement, this huge campaign, was very much instrumented by the Soviet government. In some Soviet publications recently, they quite openly said that they do help peace movements, morally and materially, as they put it. They do help with financing the gatherings, the conferences, the discussions, and so on. They don't conceal the fact. It gives them more possibilities of manipulating world politics. It gives them a chance to increase their defenses while preventing the West from establishing once again a balance of forces. And above all, it creates hysteria in the world.

The peace movement is not something new. In the 1930s there was a very major peace movement that paved the way for the Second World War, by its insistence that the governments of France and of Britain should unilaterally reduce their armaments at a time when it was already known that the Nazi government was embarked on a massive rearmament campaign. We, in fact, sowed the seeds of the Second World War. How easily people forget the past.



Norman Podhoretz, editor of the American magazine *Commentary*, told me during the filming of documentaries for this program:

Sir Winston Churchill said in the 1930s that every time the Nazis did something that began to wake up the Western democracies, they would wait and let the lesson be digested and forgotten before moving again. By the time the West really did wake up, it was too late and World War II, which Sir Winston called "an unnecessary war," broke out. I fear that we're engaged in a similar process now. In fact, the analogies between the 1930s in England and the situation in America today are frightening. Some of us are trying desperately to sound the Churchillian warning against arguments that were used by Neville Chamberlain and others in the 1930s in England, who said that Hitler was not, in fact, aggressive; was not, in fact, a real threat. The Soviet Union is a threat fully comparable to the threat that Nazi Germany posed to the West in the late thirties. And America has now become a nation which is vulnerable to the political blackmail that nuclear parity or superiority makes possible for the Soviet Union.

Podhoretz is not exaggerating. There is no doubt

that the West, and the United States in particular, has become number two in military strength. William Van Cleave, professor of defense and strategic studies at the University of Southern California, cites a study done for the U.S. Department of Defense in 1978 which identified over 40 comparisons of nuclear strength and traced each one from 1962 ahead to 1982. In 1962, at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, all forty-some indices favored the United States. In 1978, at the time the study was done, only seven or eight of them favored the United States. And today in 1982, none of them do.

The only analysis one can give of the Soviet attitude is that it's naked, old-fashioned imperialism. We have documented evidence of the Soviet use of chemical and biological agents in their attack on Afghanistan. We have documented evidence of enormous Red Army violence in suppression of the resistance movement in Afghanistan. "Counterpoint" has obtained a dramatic filmed interview with members of the Afghan resistance. In it one of the freedom fighters asks: "Do you people in America really then honestly believe that the Russians want Afghanistan and Pakistan? The Russians want the oil of the Middle East. They don't need us; they need you!"

Tens of thousands of Afghans have died in their struggle against the Soviet invaders, while thousands in the West picket their own governments for peace. Here again is Vladimir Bukovsky's view of those pickets:

Most of these people are very sincere, if somewhat naive. Most of them are quite naturally anxious, frightened by the prospect of war. This fear, this anxiety, is very skillfully exploited by the Soviet propaganda as well as by certain organizers connected to Moscow. Lenin described this phenomenon quite candidly back in the twenties when he said, "The people in the West most valuable to us are the so-called 'useful idiots.' They are better than the comrades in arms or the fellow travellers." That was his phrase, very cynical. That concept continued to be developed after his death, and Soviet foreign policy today still relies heavily on the "useful idiots."

Because this point is crucial, let's hear two more respected American voices about it. First, writer and activist Midge Decter:

I do not believe that this movement is moving by what it claims it is moved by, namely, terror of nuclear destruction. This movement has far more to do with a desire to see the United States disarmed and disabled. The United States has been given the responsibility in the years since World War II to be the defender of something which is becoming a more rare and more precious commodity every year, namely, the principle of liberty and freedom. And the people who wish to see the United States cease and desist from an active role in the world are people who are being very careless of American freedom; in fact, who have very little love for it.

And finally, Admiral Zumwalt once again: In my judgment, the peace movement is composed largely of well-meaning and idealistic people who simply have not had the relevant experience to realize that a freeze would permanently freeze Soviet strategic nuclear superiority and increase the likelihood of war. I believe that these well-meaning people tend to believe that the freeze is the first step toward disarmament. I am convinced that it is the last step. I'm an older man who spends more time worrying about what will happen to his children and grandchildren than I do about what will happen to me. I believe that my country has never been in greater danger than it is at the present time, as a result of the mistaken philosophy that led us to permit the Soviet Union to achieve immense military superiority. I believe that the only hope for those children and grandchildren to live their lives in a prosperous and democratic society is for us to regain the kind of military capability that will deter Soviet expansionism and motivate them to work with us to achieve sensible and balanced arms control agreements.

One of those well-intentioned American peace agitators, William Sloane Coffin, has gone so far as to quote my own grandfather out of context on this subject, as if Sir Winston were advocating hasty disarmament when he warned in the late 1940s: "The Stone Age may return on the gleaming wings of science. Time is short."

The fact is that my grandfather, when he made

that particular statement, was referring to the short time while the United States would still have a monopoly of nuclear weapons. He was looking ahead to the day when the Soviets would have not only acquired the nuclear technology, but would have built up a large inventory of nuclear weapons. He wanted the Western allies, led by the United States, to bring matters to a head with the Soviet Union before they had nuclear weapons. It was the failure to do so that led ultimately to the present balance of terror, the unhappy condition under which mankind lives today.

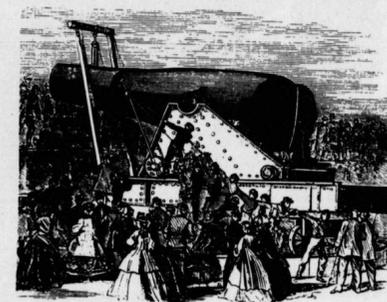
There is one condition, however, even worse than a balance of terror, and that is an imbalance of terror. And there are those in Western Europe who form a major activist core of the peace movement who would, if their advice were heeded, lead us directly to such an imbalance. Basically, what is being said by the peace movement on both sides of the Atlantic is that the time has come for the West to show restraint, for the West to take an initiative in the hope that the Soviets will follow suit. But the fact is that is precisely what the West has been doing for the last 15 years under successive U.S. administrations, both Republican and Democrat. We have seen massive restraint.

Since 1968 the United States has not deployed a single strategic nuclear missile. You have been absolutely constant at 1,710 submarine and silo-launch missiles. Has that been reciprocated by the Soviets? Not a bit. The Soviets during the same 15-year period have been adding two nuclear missile

launchers every week—100 per year—until they have managed to shift the balance of power, once massively in favor of NATO and the West, to the point where it stands today—heavily in favor of the Soviet Union.

It is the same in conventional weapons, which are far more powerful and deadly today than they were in the days of the Second World War. The Soviets can mobilize 30 million men in an emergency. The United States can mobilize not quite three million. That is the extent of the disparity.

Now my opponent, Mr. Coffin, has referred to the sentiments of the Soviet people, suggesting that they do not want war any more than we do in the West. I couldn't agree more. The tragedy is, and the real



difference between the Soviet Union and us in the Western democracies is, that nobody consults the Soviet people for their views. They do not control their country. One looks forward to the day when they will. But it is a narrow clique in the Kremlin that rules the Soviet Union and it is they who decide Soviet policy.

Mr. Coffin, like many of the peace activists on my side of the Atlantic, has put himself in the position, which I imagine to be quite an embarrassing one for him, of seeking to advance and defend the proposals of Mr. Brezhnev. One of these, specifically, is the so-called "no first use" of nuclear weapons.

My reply is simply to point out that NATO goes one very large step further than this proposal. We say as an alliance that we will not make first use of any weapon when it comes to an East-West confrontation. NATO is solely a defensive alliance which has as its aim the maintenance of peace and freedom, having seen half of Europe swallowed up already.

There remains the constant danger that Soviet ambitions, whether it be in Afghanistan, in the Middle East, or potentially against Western Europe could, given the chance, lead to a major confrontation. So we must never leave them in any doubt as to the strength of the Western alliance and our determination to insure the survival of freedom and democracy.

Yes, we have peace as our objective. But let us do it through strength, and let us have our aim multilateral disarmament, not any unilateral freeze or unilateral disarmament, which could only be catastrophic.

*The Pursuit of Virtue
& Other Tory Notions*,
by George F. Will
Simon and Schuster
397 pp., \$16.50

Notes from the Brigadier



H. W. Crocker III

George Will is an anomaly. He is a man of taste, discernment, and discretion in an age of vulgarity and decay. Will never raises his voice. He is always civil. He knows that the accumulated wisdom we call tradition is on his side even if today's aggregate numbers are not. Will traces his philosophical pedigree "to Burke, Newman, Disraeli and others who were more skeptical, even pessimistic, about the modern world than most people who today call themselves conservatives." Well, I call myself conservative and my perceptions are considerably darker than Will's. Indeed, the thing I admire most about George Will's collection of essays is his unflinching good nature.

Above all else, George Will is a decent man. He mixes Midwestern normalcy (which I thought no longer existed) with a Ph.D. from Princeton (interestingly enough the alma mater of another honest American, Jimmy Stewart). Will trumpets the glories of America, her immigrants made good—the Rockefeller who fled religious persecution in France and Edmund Muskie, the son of an immigrant Polish tailor—, football crazy Nebraska "Where the girls are the fairest," [and] The boys are the squarrest," and the epistemological lessons of the Chicago Cubs in "The Chicago Cubs and the Decline of the West." But Will is by no means parochial. He criticizes neo-conservatives because they "do not have stained-glass minds. Neo-conservatives do not really mourn the passing of the thirteenth century: feudal codes, heraldic banners, serried ranks of bishops, the lower orders tugging at their forelocks—that sort of good stuff."

Will's definition of "conservatism, rightly understood," is troublesome. He is at great pains to point out that he opposes laissez-faire because he rejects the idea that good derives from self-interest and the inflaming of appetites and antagonism towards government. He echoes George Gilder's assertion that self-interest leads ineluctably to the welfare state. He is for a capitalism that is watched over by a

THE VICTORIAN FROM ILLINOIS

state which takes as its duty the transmission of conservative values. These essays leave Will's philosophy inadequately defined and it is a shame that he puts such emphasis on its definition, because it seems muddy, and he is extraordinarily winning when he drops his attempts at lexicography and deals with issues.

His section on "THE WAR AGAINST THE TOTALITARIAN, 1939—" contains his best essays. He has the uncanny ability to teach history in a way that is brief, dramatic, and resonant. Did you know the Senate which ratified the Kellogg-Briand pact outlawing war had the prudence to follow that action with an authorization for fifteen more cruisers or that German troops used Michelin guides in their invasion of France? His passages on World War II are fascinating. As we all know the allies were woefully unprepared for war. "The British pulled three-hundred-year-old howitzers from museums, the French sent to Finland some guns used in the Crimean War, and the Norwegian navy included a warship commissioned in 1858." But it was not advantage in materiel that allowed Germany to blitzkrieg across Europe. Britain was still Europe's great power. The French had five allies. The Germans had none. And get this, "In 1939, German aircraft production was about the same as British production. German tank production was less than British production. The British and French navies were larger than the German navy, and Germany did not launch a ship larger than a destroyer during the war." The Second World War was almost lost because of Germany's tremendous martial spirit and the flaccid moral character of the Allies. Applying this criteria to today's cold war one must pause as he looks at the state of the West.

George Will is a refreshing dissector of social issues, refreshing because he is wry and calm. Whether he is talking about "The Cold War Among Women" (in which a son asks his mother "Mommy, why did you grow up to be nothing?") or about "Sex Education: Plumbing for Hedonists" (in which he says, "These days, everything somehow reminds everyone of sex, and President Carter's desire to subsidize wood-burning stoves reminds me of sex education. I don't understand subsidies for the world's oldest use of fuel, and I don't understand intense instruction in the world's oldest obsession."), he is witty, civil, and cultured.

In any collection of essays this size there are apt to be a few of inferior quality. His obituary for John Wayne doesn't match up to the tributes of Joan Didion or Andrew Sarris and his laughter in "Out-Porning the World" seems peculiarly hollow, ugly, and out of character. It's as though he is so shell-shocked at discovering that the USA has become the world's leader in pornography that he can only respond with a forced, disingenuous, off the cuff humor. It's an odd and distasteful piece and it is the only one of its kind.



Tip O'Neill M.D.

By Suzanne L. Schott

Wake up all you apolitical UCSD Pre-meds! The liberal media is experimenting dangerously with your future. In its February 1983 issue, *The Washington Monthly* ran a twenty-page feature concerning the problems of the American medical "system." Their three-fold solution: "Draft the doctors," "Nationalize the hospitals," and "Nationalize the medical schools." Naturally, radicals applauding these proposals feel that "selfish" doctors and hospital administrators are at the root of all American health-care evils. Upon close examination, however, the facts point to a culprit in another direction. (Try Washington).

Earlier this month, *The New York Times* reported that Medicare — the national health insurance program for the elderly — and Medicaid — assistance for the poor — are expected to cost \$75 billion this year, amounting to 9.5 per cent of total federal spending.

Although President Reagan has remarkably cured inflation, he has failed, like his recent predecessors, to inhibit the soaring cost of health care.

While the general Consumer Price Index rose only 3.9 per cent last year, the smallest increase in 10 years, the cost of medical care jumped 11 percent. At this rate, Medicare, which is financed from trust funds, will be bankrupt some time between 1987 and 1989 — unless Congress acts to increase revenues or reduce outlays.

Oh, the joys of social programs! Of course, Congress didn't count on this crisis in 1965 when they first passed the program promising free hospital care to anyone over 65, regardless of their ability to pay.

Back then, Congress projected a \$8.8 billion Medicare budget for 1990. They miscalculated. In 1972, costs already exceeded that. Recent predictions for 1990 give a \$100 billion figure.

We can "blame" medical inflation on many factors — patients insisting on the "best care possible," costly experimental technology for the terminally ill, and hospital administrators' plans for larger and more modern facilities. Health and Human Services Secretary Richard Schweiker accuses "policies of the past" — that is, unwise government planning and spending.

Yet, many critics of our present medical "system" call for even greater governmental control. Although this country's physicians themselves have traditionally run the nation's health care system, "Complete control can never be yours again," Victor Fuchs, a Stanford economist told the California Medical Association recently. "Everybody was running scared when we had what I call the KKK of medicine — Carter, Kennedy, and Califano. When that threat went away most medical leaders said 'We'll just go back to business as usual.' That's a shame, because while that threat went away for a time, don't think that it's gone forever. Don't think that it can't come back, and very quickly and heavily."

Unfortunately for the free enterprise system and quality control through competition, many liberal politicians, Senator Edward Kennedy, for example, as well as liberal economists are now pushing for compulsory government health care — that is, "socialized medicine."

For some, augmenting government control is an easy pill to swallow — if it's instituted in the name of "compassion." One only has to look to those examples of altruism out-of-control: Welfare and Food Stamps, to see the problem with this kind of blind bureaucratic reasoning.

The Washington Monthly asserts that nationalized medicine would "allow the doctor to be a truly selfless professional...protected from the turmoil of the marketplace."

As I see it, if an American physician wants this type of "protection," he can move to England where socialized medicine has been in effect for 35 years. The socialist administrators of Britain's National Health Service are in such dire financial straits that they now allocate their limited resources "to extend life, not to reduce pain."

Ironically, the NHS was created to provide "treatment of every kind to every citizen." Apparently, only those with five or ten years to sit in a delapidated, federally-furnished waiting room can still collect on this promise.

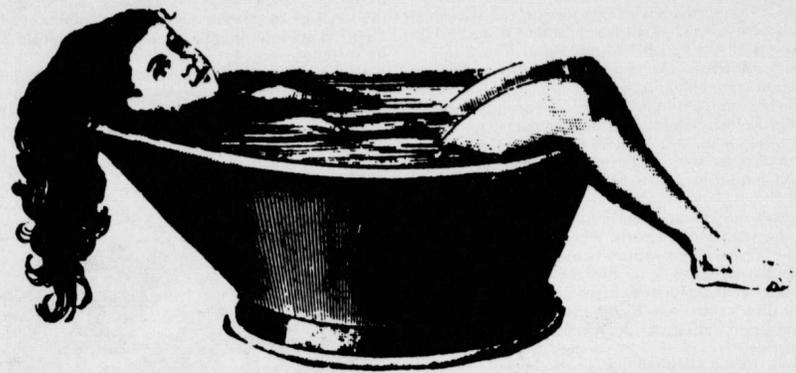
Nevertheless, a *Washington Monthly* subtitle cries "Hail Britannia!" "Waits for some elective surgery [in England] now exceed two years; as anyone with a ruptured disk knows, that kind of wait can be particularly painful. These are serious problems, but hardly insurmountable ones. Managers of the system could decree that waits for non-cosmetic surgery not exceed a few months."

When a member of your family is suffering, do you want to sit at home for months checking your mailbox daily for a federal 'O.K.?'

But, the radical proposals do not end with Teddy Kennedy's National Health Insurance ("socialized

school will only cost an additional \$150 million a year, and it would give the government effective control over the nation's next generation of doctors."

So beware, Pre-meds, for you may not be granted training in Cardiology. You may never get a house



medicine") plans. *The Washington Monthly* suggests: "Nationalize the Medical Schools;" "completely free medical education is the answer."

The answer to what—the staggering debts of poor medical students? Call that a "fringe benefit;" the real goal is this: "Paying the full bill for medical

in the suburbs. The National Health Care System is itching to "control" you, to send you off to Alaska or perhaps to an isolated Appalachian community. When the Great Society decides, for example, that it has enough specialists, our freedom of choice will vanish, and we might as well be back in the USSR.

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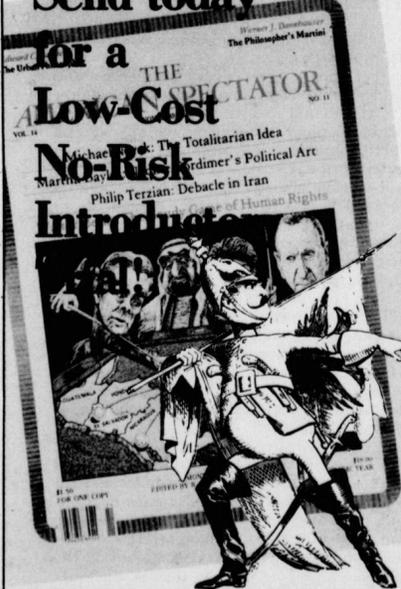
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Spectator. Long before "Yellow Rain" in Afghanistan and Cambodia hit the front pages and editorial columns, *Spectator* readers were experts on the subject. The liveliest, nastiest debate on Nixon, Kissinger and the destruction of Cambodia took place in these pages between William Shawcross and Henry Kissinger's chief researcher. And Margaret Thatcher's high male hormone count was openly discussed long before the Falklands crisis.

In short, *The American Spectator* is where the action is! And you're invited to get in on it and savor it!

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—Time Magazine

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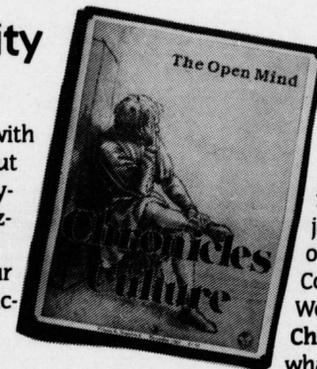
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Why Americans are So Restless

Robespierre envisioned the Republic of Virtue. And the most opulent of opulent Jacobins bartered their lucre for one way tickets to Utopia. What they got was the Reign of Terror. Later, Karl Marx praised the Terror — for it was "revolution in permanence."

Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville came to Jacksonian America and saw some startling similarities in the American character. Americans, says Tocqueville, "may be the freest and best educated men in the world, yet a cloud habitually clings to their brow." They never stop thinking of the "goods they have not got," and they are ceaselessly tormented by "the shadowy suspicion that they may not have chosen the shortest route to get them. They will clutch everything fast, and so lose grip as they hurry after some new delight." Americans, according to Tocqueville, are "restless in the midst of prosperity." Americans toil on into the Twentieth century and into the 1920's — the era of golden dreams and gilded passions. The two great beacons of the age, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway, give us their characters to typify restlessness. Jimmy Gatz is the quintessential American. His Utopia is Jay Gatsby — who balances himself on the running board of his golden car "with the resourcefulness of movement," as Fitzgerald describes, "so peculiarly American." Yet in all his prosperity there is always "a foot tapping somewhere or the opening and closing of a hand." Despite his wealth, Gatsby is restive. Hemingway gives us Robert Cohn, a prosperous man who sees his life going by so fast that he thinks he is not "really living it," in the midst of wealth and lucre, yet goaded on by the remembrance of the shortness of life.



Tocqueville tells us that "the taste for physical pleasures must be regarded as the first cause" of this restlessness. America during the decade of the 20's is a land of physical pleasures; Fitzgerald's Myrtle Wilson is the American with a taste for pleasures that are just out of her reach. Though she is married to a mechanic, she trades her buxom womanhood for a taste of the high life as Tom Buchanan's mistress. She forages through the text, grabbing at everything; society and movie magazines, cold creme, perfume, and even a dog because "they're nice to have — a dog." But everything to Myrtle Wilson is nice — to have. "I'm going to make a list of all the things I've got to get," she says. Her magazines will tempt her with more and she will be forever impatient. Like Myrtle, Gatsby derives a peculiar taste for pleasures. The prologue of *The Great Gatsby* reveals Gatsby's reason for accumulating wealth: "wear the gold hat, if that will move her." Wealth will buy Daisy Buchanan by unlocking her heart. But Tocqueville reminds us that one "who has his heart set on nothing but the good things in life is always in a hurry." The American's propensity for worldly "goods" will render him ever restless.

Another reason for restlessness among Americans is that they have a terrible passion to live life over again — to have the time to get the things they have not yet procured. Americans, Tocqueville tells us, would like to be born again. Apart from what things the American has, he "thinks of a thousand others which death will prevent him from tasting if he does not hurry." The more time the American spends thinking about acquiring a greater number of things, the more restless he becomes. Robert Cohn of *The Sun Also Rises* is the restless American who sees his life slipping by; he is "set off" by the romantic novels he reads. Cohn has money, yet he wanders with the literary types, searching for something *else* to do. Amidst discourse with Jake Barnes, Cohn brings up the prospect of taking a trip to South America. "All my life I've wanted to go on a trip like that," says Cohn, "I'll be too old before I can ever do it." Tocqueville says that the thought of life and time slipping away fills the American with "distress, fear and regret and keeps his mind continually in agitation." Robert Cohn is manifestly agitated. "I can't stand it," he says. The urge to be born again keeps the American restive despite his apparent prosperity.

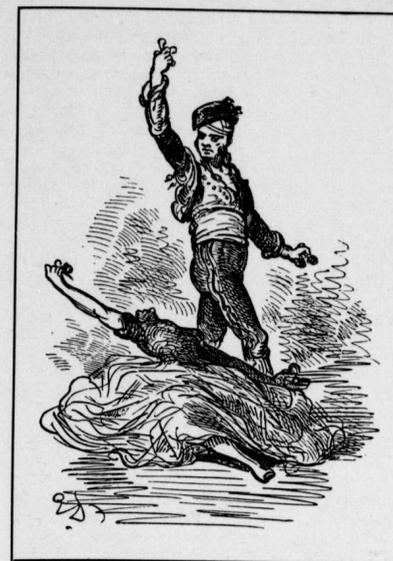
Tocqueville asserts that Americans will never really reach their ideal contentment because of such restlessness. Hemingway shows us with Robert Cohn that this is true. "South America hell," says Jake Barnes. "If you went there the way you feel now it would be exactly the same." Similarly, Jay Gatsby takes his chattels for granted — while Utopia tempts him in the form of a green light at the end of a dock. Gatsby's heart is "in a constant and turbulent riot;" his conceits haunt him in his bed at night. He adds "to the pattern of his fancies until drowsiness closed

generations of affluence. This Old Wealth is the American version of aristocracy. Tom Buchanan resents Gatsby — the giver-of-feasts-from across the bay because his new money is a threat to the legitimacy of the Buchanan "aristocracy." "Anything can happen" in America, says Fitzgerald. And many Americans who attain wealth would be *more* satisfied if they could only convince themselves, as well as the up-and-coming, that a divine right is in their hands. The brewer who once lived in Gatsby's new house, offers to pay for five years taxes on all his neighbors' cottages on the condition that they have their roofs thatched with straw. "Prosperity" is not enough. The brewer must have the illusion of feudal lordship. Tocqueville says that in America, "the more equal men are, the more insatiable will be their longing for equality." Even when Americans are prosperous, the mere notion that other Americans are on their way up, ready to reach parity with them, leads them in an effort to seek an even greater, Utopian status.

The American cannot follow a single path toward happiness; he must attain it by the shortest route possible and with the least amount of effort. Tocqueville says that one will find the American "continually changing his path for fear of missing the shortest cut to happiness." Fitzgerald gives us Jimmy Gatz who, by self-inducement, is bound for success. Yet he drops out of St. Olaf College because he is "dismayed at its ferocious indifference to the drums of his destiny." Or, as Fitzgerald tells us, Jimmy Gatz despises the janitorial work that he is to put himself through with. Hence he pursues a new path toward happiness. Similarly, Robert Cohn cannot maintain a single course toward happiness. Because he likes the "authority of editing," he takes full control of the literary magazine that he has been funding. Yet in all his frenetic restlessness, he gives it up. Neither he, nor Jimmy Gatz, nor even the American, can follow a single course toward happiness. Tocqueville tells us that Americans are often "less afraid of death than enduring the effort toward one goal." The American idea of happiness is continually metamorphosing into new, more sublime visions.

Tocqueville says that suicide in America is rare. But madness, he says, is more common in America than anywhere else in the world. Madness is inordinate restlessness. It can take the prosperous soul and cast it into a pit of want. Jimmy Gatz is mad; and his madness materializes into the form of Jay Gatsby in whose brain a "universe of ineffable gaudiness" spins itself out. The Buchanans are also mad — "they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them together." If Tom and Daisy Buchanan exemplify two Americans, Jay Gatsby—Jimmy Gatz's Platonic creation—personifies *all* Americans. As Nick Carraway tells us, Gatsby is "worth the whole damn bunch together." The American can be in the midst of abundance and be completely withdrawn, restless, or in the sphere of madness.

The American can be smothered in abundance, yet he will continue to conjure up greater passions; happiness may be visible, yet it will be just out of reach. Tocqueville lets us know that Americans will "see it close enough to know its charms, but they do not get near enough to enjoy it." Fitzgerald personifies this American with Jay Gatsby. Before he is immensely wealthy, before he is even remotely wealthy, Gatsby realizes that his obsession with Daisy Buchanan has committed him to the "following of a grail." She has become a symbol to follow, but Gatsby will never live this dream he fabricates. He falls into vast money that will "move" the image of Daisy closer to realization. When Daisy is at Gatsby's home, the dream becomes so real that Gatsby can "hardly fail to grasp it." But the dream is over; it has been for a long time. To Gatsby, Daisy Buchanan is not a person, but an enchanted object—part of the green light at the end of the dock. Fitzgerald tells us that Gatsby's "count of enchanted objects had diminished by one." Happiness for some Americans is unreachable; and for Gatsby, as he moves closer to the real Daisy, "a faint doubt occurred to him as to the state of his present happiness." The significance of the green light on the end of the dock is gone. And Daisy the person is no match for Daisy the dream. Tocqueville says that the American will be long dead before he has fully relished his delights. In his lifetime, Jimmy Gatz never gets the "goods" he so longs for—for they, as the Platonic son-of-God Jay Gatsby, are not real.



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Left-Wing Thought Appeals to Mediocre Minds

by Gary J. Jason

Recently, one of my students asked me if I planned to attend the campus Peace Day rally, which would feature speakers in support of a nuclear freeze. There was a look of shock on his face when I explained that I was a conservative, and that in my view such freeze rallies don't decrease the chance of war, but only serve to increase it.

After discussing the matter some minutes, he said that my point of view seemed reasonable enough, certainly deserving of discussions. Why, he asked, hadn't he ever heard about it? Why, he wanted to know, are conservatives so seldom met with on campus?

This is not an unusual incident. The question is often raised when the dominant *Weltanschauung* in humanistic/social science departments, in the media, among elementary and secondary school teachers, and among government workers generally is one of left/liberalism.

Is it because (as liberals often allege) the conservative point of view is conceptually inadequate, and hence less likely to appeal to those more articulate and intelligent?

I think the answer lies elsewhere, and my purpose in writing this article is to adumbrate the reasons for the lack of conservatives on campus and in the media.

Upon reflection, there seem to me to be five major reasons for this unison chorus of the left.

To begin with a Nietzschean notion, it is pretty clear that most everyone has a desire for some measure of power. This is not *per se* unnatural or immoral. Many people enter professions in which this desire can be fulfilled in a more or less direct fashion, such as business or engineering, and indeed such professionals tend to be conservative.

The humanist/social science academic, however, is (practically speaking) impotent, and can only gratify this desire for power indirectly by trying to establish a governmental system in which he will have an increased voice.

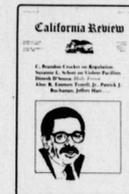
Add to this an exaggerated estimation of the ability to understand and reshape the world (an epistemic overconfidence which no businessman or engineer can ever develop, living as they do in the real world), and the inclination toward the left/liberal point of view becomes automatic.

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To the motivation of power we must next add the motive of money. It is obvious that the businessman has a vested interest in conservative economic policies, and the engineer in conservative defense policies. This the liberal delights in pointing out.

But he does not very often confess that the teacher, journalist and bureaucrat have just as strong a vested interest in higher governmental social spending. The more NEH fellowships funded, the more that money goes directly into the pockets of humanities professors. The more social programs created, the more cushy jobs there are for all those B.A.'s in social sciences, and the more jobs for all social science professors.

Ego and money are pretty obvious causes of left/liberal views in *Academe* and government. Somewhat more subtle are what I would call "selection pressures," things about the academic system which more or less ensure that liberalism will be the dominant view.

Consider the desire for security, an attitude most everybody shares, but which in some is very intense while in others fairly minor. The academic world (with its tenure positions) and the bureaucracy (with its termination-proof jobs) has much to offer the person who deeply desires security.

On the other hand, the person who is more interested in trying for great success even at the risk of great failure is going to be more attracted to business.

This ensures that over time there will be risk-averse (security-oriented) individuals in *Academe* and risk-comfortable individuals in business. This in turn leads to the tendency of academics to espouse a philosophy of cradle-to-grave protectionism, and the tendency of businessmen and engineers to espouse more libertarian points of view. (It comes as no surprise to me that on my campus, while one sees Marxist posters outside philosophes' office doors, across campus one only sees libertarian posters outside computer scientists' office doors.)

This is one selection pressure pushing people of one bent toward *Academe* and those of contrary bent away. The most powerful selection pressure (against conservative views on campus) is intelligence — but in a way contrary to what is often alleged.

It is commonly supposed that journalists and humanist/social science professors are liberal because they are so intelligent, the inference being made that conservative thought is inherently simplistic, appealing only to limited intellects.

In fact, it is the converse that is the case. The most intelligent people are attracted, not to education, the

social sciences and humanities, and the social welfare bureaucracy, but rather to medicine, business, engineering and computer science.

As some evidence of this, look at SAT scores. The departments whose students have the lowest scores are Physical Education, followed closely by education, journalism, the social sciences and the humanities. The best students gravitate toward the sciences and engineering. Left-wing thought, in fact, appeals to the mediocre minds, and those are just the minds that gravitate these days to *Academe* and the media.

This selection pressure results in a skewed sample. Those in a position to best articulate (and promulgate) their political views — journalists, teachers, and academic writers — are not truly representative (intellectually, emotionally, or economically) of professionals as a whole.

One other selection pressure ought to be openly mentioned: Deliberate discrimination, or what is called "McCarthyism of the left." There is a practice — one that I have encountered first-hand — of actively suppressing the conservative point of view.

A conservative will be made to feel quite unwelcome in the typical humanities/social science department. Certain lines of research will not be funded (try getting a grant to study the impact of so-called "affirmative action" upon its victims). And certain people get denied tenure.

I do not encourage the reader to reason *ad hominem*, i.e., to draw the conclusion that liberal positions are false simply because liberals usually have certain emotional, intellectual, and economic motivations.

Instead, the reader should draw the conclusion that engineers, computer scientists and businessmen ought to be encouraged to articulate their experiences and perspectives. Only then will the public dialogue be based upon a fair spectrum of thought.

Gary J. Jason is professor of philosophy at SDSU.



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