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Thomas J. Edwards: NATO Gets Tough

California Review

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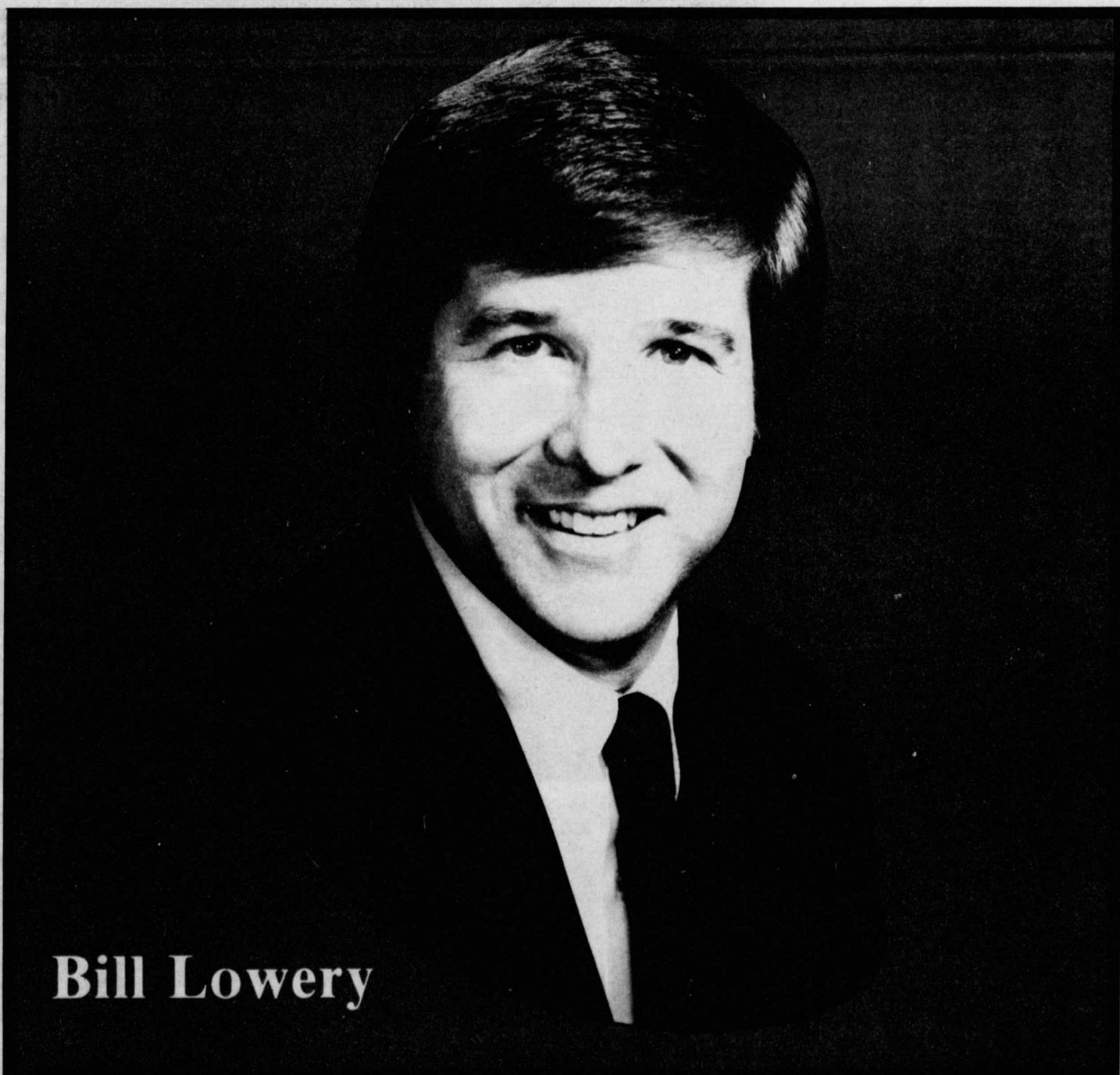


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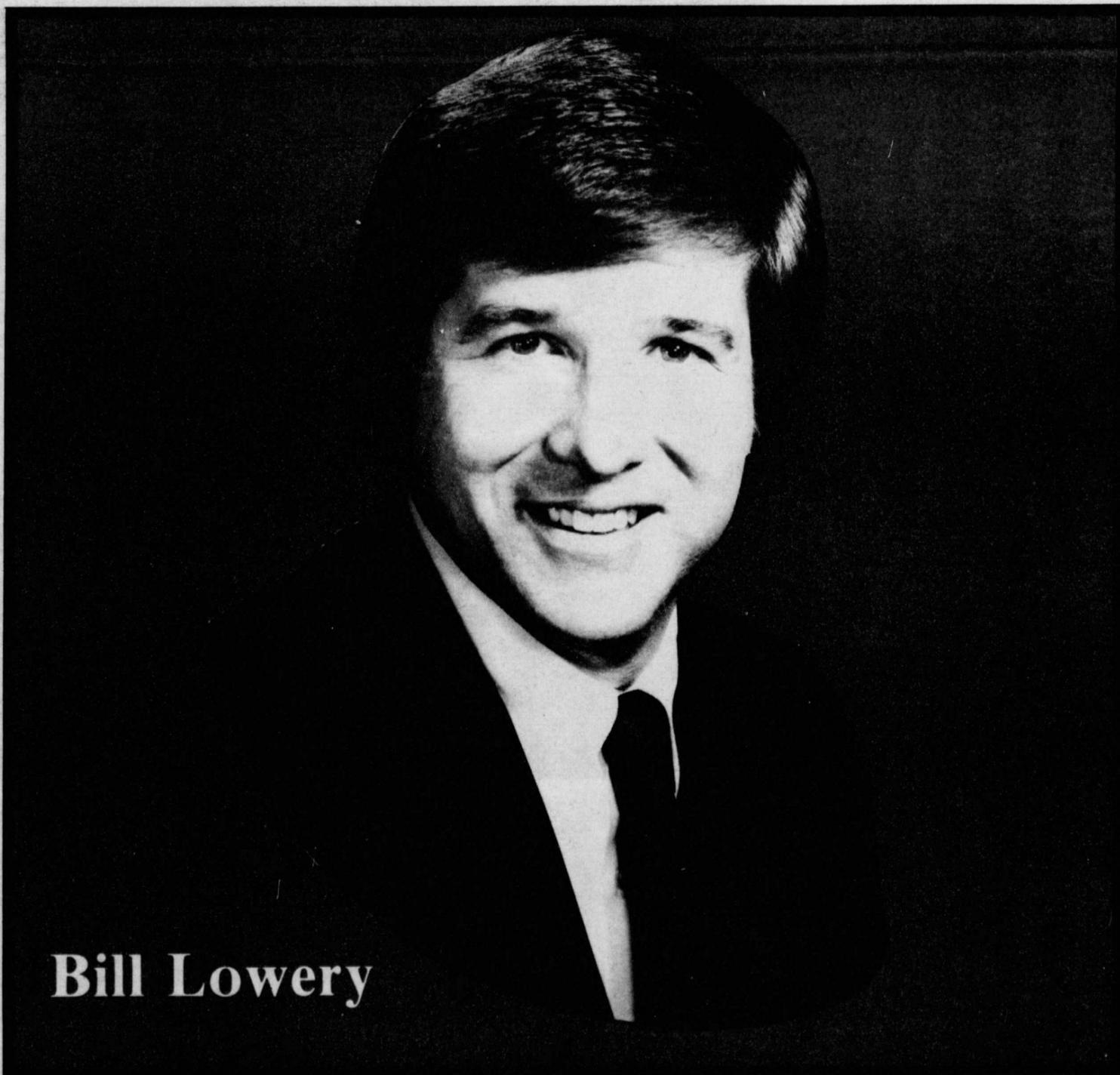


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Taxing Away Prosperity

By Bryan A. Bloom

When President Reagan took office in 1980, our nation was on the verge of economic collapse. The well meaning but incompetent Jimmy Carter had left behind an inflation rate of 13.3 percent, 21.5 percent interest rates, and severe unemployment. Now, after three short years of President Reagan's economic program, inflation is at 5.1 percent, interest rates are at 12.5 percent and unemployment, after an initial rise, is falling steadily.

It is now possible to examine why President Reagan's tax policies brought new life to our economy. If we look at our economic history, the United States of America became the hope of the world because our government fostered a climate conducive to growth. People were willing to work hard and save for the future, confident that our economy would not falter or stagnate. Investors were willing to undertake the risk of investment for hope of future gains. For most of our history, the only barriers to opportunity were those imposed by the earth itself. But, tax legislation during the ten years preceding the election of Ronald Reagan was inadequate to the task of growth, and was generally more concerned with redistributing money than with fostering more production. This is partly due to the belief of some liberal politicians that individuals can only benefit at the expense of others.

Germany after WWII experienced an economic miracle under Finance Minister Ludwig Erhard. Erhard believed that the German people should not waste their political talents and energies arguing over how to divide up the economic pie (increasing taxes) but that they should rather concentrate on making the pie grow. And they did. This is exactly the type of dynamic policy we are now following — and it is working. Its spirit is embodied in the epigram conceived by John F. Kennedy to describe economic growth: "A rising tide lifts all boats."

To understand why high tax rates discourage economic growth we can look at the Laffer Curve, named after Prof. Arthur Laffer of the USC School of Business. It restates the common sense notion of diminishing returns: at some point, additional taxes so discourage the activity being taxed, such as working or investing, that they yield less revenue for the government, not more. As tax rates become higher and higher they become a drag on the economy and reduce the incentive to work and invest—thus yielding both lower personal incomes and lower tax revenues for the government. There are, after all, two tax rates that yield the same level of revenue: high tax rates on low production, or low rates on high production. We are now undergoing a wise move from the former to the latter.



Historical precedent shows what a growth-orientated tax strategy can accomplish. Between 1962 and 1965, President John F. Kennedy cut personal tax rates by about 30 percent across the board, with additional reductions in business taxes. The tax cuts not only forestalled a widely anticipated recession, but launched the economy on a prolonger period of prosperity. Inflation stayed below 3 percent until 1968, and unemployment remained at a low 3.8 percent. And, even under these lower tax rates, federal tax receipts increased by 50 percent from 1962 to 1967.

Probably the most slanderous statement about Reagan's tax cuts is that they favor the rich at the expense of the poor; nothing could be further from the truth.

If the government confiscated every dollar over \$75,000 earned by everyone in America, the federal treasury would net only \$33 billion in additional revenue—hardly enough to make a dent in the \$200 billion deficit. Also, President Reagan didn't change the tax system—he reduced by 25 percent the tax rates

in the existing system. That system was put into place during the twenty-six years before 1980, when the Democrats had control of Congress and wrote the tax laws.



But let's examine some figures to see if in fact the tax system favors the rich. The top 10 percent of the taxpayers in America pay roughly one-half of all the

federal income taxes collected. The top half of the taxpayers pay 93 percent of all income taxes collected. Does this sound as though the rich are not carrying their fair share of the tax load in this country?

The dollar figures are even more revealing. In real terms, the one-and-a-half million upper-income taxpayers (out of the 96 million total taxpayers) paid \$63.8 billion in taxes. The approximately 59 million taxpayers earning less than \$20,000 a year, on the other hand, paid less than \$42 billion in taxes. Moreover, the roughly 8,200 millionaires who filed in 1983 handed over as much to the feds as did the 34,000,000 wage earners who earned less than \$10 thousand dollars. Is this catering to the rich?

Not only were these cross-the-board tax cuts supported by Economist Milton Friedman, but when Walter Mondale criticized John Glenn for voting for the presidents' tax cut, Glenn said, "It was absolutely essential that we have a change from the disastrous failed policies of the past!"

We are now moving, once again, towards a growth-oriented tax policy that will encourage all the economic prosperity and entrepreneurial freedom our system is capable of fostering. Let's keep moving in that direction.

Bryan A. Bloom is a senior at UCSD.

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Letters



California Review:

This is the best paper I've ever read in my life. Keep up the good work.
John Michno III
San Diego

Dear Tom:

It was a pleasure meeting with you and your colleagues on May 5.

You can be rightfully proud of what you and the staff of the *California Review* have accomplished and I wish you continued success with your publication and in your own academic and professional pursuits.

I look forward to the opportunity when an interview with you might be arranged.
Until then, all the best.

Dear Mr. Young:
I think your journal is swell.
Yours faithfully
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
New York

Sincerely,
Al (Alexander M. Haig, Jr.)
Washington, D.C.

Who Reads California Review?



Gen. Alexander M. Haig

Also Ronald Reagan, Neil Reagan, Milton Friedman, Marva Collins, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., Pete Wilson, Arthur Laffer, Jack Kemp, Thomas Sowell, George Will, Charlton Heston and many others.

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California Review (Restitutor Orbis) was founded on the sunny afternoon of seven, January, nineteen-hundred and eighty-two, by discipuli cum civitas listening to Respihi and 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

■ In San Luis Obispo, union hardhats booted Fritz Mondale out of town for his "build down" approach to employment.

■ Speaker of the House, Thomas "Tip" O'Neill has the amazing ability to see through the benign rhetoric of the Reagan administration to the awful truth that lies beneath. For instance, on the administration's policy on Central America he says, "I have a strong feeling... that the administration will not be happy until there's a war down there." And on Social Security, "In their hearts they definitely want to strike at that fund."

■ Tip O'Neill's "safety net" is still secure. On top of his \$91,000 salary, he received almost \$15,000 in Social Security benefits last year.

■ In the wake of preparations for President Reagan's trip to Ireland *someone* conducted a poll, reported by UPI, that a majority of the people in Ireland oppose President Reagan's re-election. CR's question is, "Who cares?"

■ Greek Premier, Andreas Papandreu, has announced that all forms of torture will now be banned in Greece.

■ Last month German measles broke out at the New York Stock Exchange. The New York City Health Department believes the outbreak may be related to a previous outbreak at the Commodities Exchange Center. We never dreamed the *new indicator* would resort to germ warfare.

■ Duke University researchers have discovered that smokers who drink heavily are less likely to develop emphysema than non-drinkers. Unfortunately, according to the researchers, "the protection alcohol seems to give the lungs is often offset by the damage it can do to other parts of the body, notably the brain and liver."

■ The National Conference of Black Mayors has endorsed President Reagan's proposal for a sub-minimum wage for teenagers. The proposal states that those aged 16 to 21 could be paid \$2.50 an hour from May 1 to September 30. Labor Secretary, Raymond Donovan, says that if Congress approves the proposal 500,000 new jobs could be created and the unemployment rate for minority youth could drop by one-third.

■ Presidential candidate, Walter Mondale, on one of the gravest world crises of this century—the Soviet boycott of the Summer Olympics:

"Today I call on President Reagan to roll up his sleeves and get personally involved. We must use the full force of the presidency and the government to resolve this situation satisfactorily." Would Mondale put this much effort into getting the Soviets to free the Sakharovs or pull their troops out of Afghanistan?

■ Look out Admiral Gorchkov! Our Ron has just pulled the "Mighty Mo" (USS Missouri) out of the mothballs for renovation.

■ The Lummi Indian tribe has hired former Secretary of the Interior, James Watt, to help develop an economic plan that will make them less dependent on government programs.

■ WINSTON CHURCHILL ON SOCIALISM: "Government of the duds, by the duds, and for the duds."

■ Pope John Paul II last month traveled to Papua New Guinea where native tribesmen greeted their "No. 1 Jesus Man." A last-minute decree by the Prime Minister also allowed native warriors to bring their bows and arrows and stone axes to Mass.

■ And in L.A., outraged citizens announced plans for a statewide initiative to outlaw all gay-rights laws in the state of California. Striking such fancy was the incident concerning two lovers of the same gender caught doing their number on a dance floor at Disneyland. The Mouseketeers were unimpressed.

■ Attention *Minority Students*: Are you tired of Lenin's "useful idiots" running away with your heritage as a part of their personal political ambition? Fight back! Write for the *California Review*.

■ FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND ON ARMS CONTROL: "The trouble is, the East is producing missiles, the West is producing pacifists."

■ Word is out. Libyan thugs shipped more than \$100 million worth of weapons, including 120 Soviet-made SAM-7 missiles, to Argentina in 1982 during the Falklands War between Britain and the Argies. The only payment Libya has received, however, is a plane-load of apples and bananas.

■ On the other hand, the *Economist* of London has shown that Britain's victory in the Falklands was largely the result of American intelligence and material. For which the British thanked us by criticizing our invasion of Grenada — which was supported by 91 percent of the Grenadian people. What's that old saying about biting the hand that feeds?

■ The MacMillan Publishing Co. will be publishing a summary of the Grace Commission Report. It will sell for \$9.95. The Department of Commerce is publishing the same summary. It will cost \$45.99. A MacMillan spokesman explained the difference in price this way: "We publish books to make money."

■ THE RAKE'S PROGRESS: Having conquered San Diego, first as Brigadier Editor of *California Review* and then as an editorial writer for *The San Diego Union*, H.W. Crocker III is preparing to take on the world. He has enrolled in USC's School of International Relations (United Kingdom Program) and will be studying in London and Cambridge for a master's degree.

■ MORE PROGRESS: *California Review* Imperator E. Clasen Young has been accepted into the School of Law at Northwestern University, where he will specialize in defending the U.S. Constitution.

■ YET MORE PROGRESS: Onward march the *California Review* alumni. Ralph Rainwater is heading for the graduate school at Duke University, to study political philosophy. Dean T. Smith will be pursuing graduate studies in economics at Columbia University, and Bob McKay has matriculated into the medical school at the University of Texas.

■ WOULD YOU BELIEVE EVEN MORE PROGRESS? *California Review's* Proprietor Thomas J. Edwards is transferring to USC where he will take up duties as CR's USC correspondent.

■ AND A CHEER FOR THE STATUS QUO: CR's *Optimo Princeps*, C. Brandon Crocker, will return next year to continue his duties as CR's chief editor.

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Gay Rights vs. Quotas

By Frederick R. Lynch

For several years I have been doing research in two areas of social psychology which I had assumed were totally unrelated. On the one hand, I have been studying the course of affirmative action debate for the past fifteen years; on the other, I have been studying the lifestyles and problems of suburban homosexuals.

The struggle for passage of A.B. 1, the bill which sought to prohibit discrimination against homosexuals, has led me to suspect that the evolution of affirmative action policies and the values and goals of homosexuals are related: *inversely* related.

Most of the suburban homosexuals in my study are somewhat closeted on the job. They fear they will lose their jobs or risk loss of promotion if their sexual identity is discovered. I have no reason to believe their fears are unfounded. And yet these same individuals do not, on the whole, wish to be thought of as a distinct class or "minority group." They join the vast majority of Americans in opposing group-based legal entitlements and the use of quotas in hiring and promotions.

Governor Deukmejian justified his vetoing of A.B. 1 by stating that we did not need to create yet another "protected class of citizens." Did A.B. 1 suggest future quotas? Would such fears be justified?



"Who said anything about quotas?" protested one of the gay subjects in my study.

But only a few months before, on the KNBC show "Free-for-All," a commentator had angrily declared, "If gays get civil rights legislation, then they're going to demand quotas just like all the other minority groups."

During the past decade, civil rights activists—and, in part, the mass media—have deliberately confused the terms "civil rights" (or simple non-discrimination) and "affirmative action" (or preferential treatment through quotas). The ideological strategy was to closely link the two in such a way that if someone opposed quotas, then he or she was, *ipso facto*, against civil rights. The activists and media commentators took a dangerous path: polls during the 1970s have shown increasing acceptance of non-discrimination, but strong, persistent, and widespread opposition to quotas.

The activists have accomplished their aim of conflating civil rights and affirmative action—but with a most unfortunate result. When the public (especially the white middle class) hears the term "non-discrimination" or "civil rights," they now think "quotas"—and are suspicious and hostile. And not without good reason.

Though the 1965 Civil Rights Act expressly prohibited the use of numerical quotas based on race, the Supreme Court (in the Weber case) did a swift end-run around that provision by declaring that quotas were not outside "the spirit" of that act.

In spite of protests from what George Will terms the "Indignation Industry," the Reagan administration has hardly lost any votes by establishing an anti-quota Civil Rights Commission. And a sensitized public remains on guard, as evidenced in my favorite sociological laboratory, the "Donahue Show."

On a recent "Donahue" hour concerning the lack of participation by minorities in the entertainment industry, a perplexed audience member asked "So what do you want? Quotas?" A somewhat irrelevant comment, perhaps. But it was simply another example of the public's confusion between non-discrimination and affirmative action quotas.

The fear and backlash against quotas has poisoned public debate about legitimate and reasonable matters of civil rights as non-discrimination. Regrettably, A.B. 1 was a victim of such toxic, semantic confusion.

Dr. Frederick R. Lynch is professor of Sociology at Cal. St. Los Angeles and one of CR's *Ivory Tower Praefecti*.

Performance Reviews

by Bob McKay and Carl P.D.Q. Emmanuel

On Saturday evening, April 28, the Music Department held a concert featuring the works of graduating Music Honors student Steven Blumberg. On the whole, the concert demonstrated that the quality of composition manifested by the faculty of the Music Department is well-represented at the undergraduate level.

The concert began with *Card Game*, in which the performers beat on various objects a number of times, the choice of objects and number of beats being determined by the cards dealt to the performers. The composer intended it as a spoof of indeterminate music. In that vein, I greatly appreciated it. I do not consider indeterminacy a valid form of composition, for it shifts the interest from the music itself (which in most indeterminate compositions is not particularly exciting listening) to the procedure by which the music is made.

Two pieces for Small mixed ensembles followed. These were both enjoyable pieces. Especially interesting was Mr. Blumberg's use of the drums to establish the themes of the pieces, and the subsequent development of those themes on the melodic instruments. Dan Dunbar's drumming during these performances was particularly noteworthy.

Tribute to Anton Webern, a brief piece for solo guitar, followed the intermission. In brief, I did not find it especially interesting. Following this came the highlight of the concert, *In Medias Res*, for twelve instruments. This piece was conducted by none other than Bernard Rands, the recent Pulitzer Prize winner. The composer showed a well-developed command of orchestral color and rhythm. The performers negotiated its rhythmic complexities without any problem.

Mr. Blumberg has so far managed to avoid what I see as the great plague of twentieth-century music. This is the tendency of composers to view composition as the process of creating an intellectualized model of what music should be, and then subordinating the musical ideas to that model. Composition should be a process of creating melody, rhythm, and color—for this is what we end up listening to—and then creating forms and procedures to contain these ideas. It is perhaps no coincidence that Mr. Blumberg's mentor, Mr. Rands, has been praised for expressing these same qualities—he is a musician first, and an intellectual second. —Bob McKay

Pianist Robert Henry McKay, Jr. performed for an enthusiastic crowd of students at the John Muir

Cafeteria on Wednesday evening, May 23, the occasion being steak night. Mr. McKay is not unknown to La Jolla audiences, having performed locally at fraternity cocktail parties and in local lounges.

The crowd seemed, in general, to be quite pleased with Mr. McKay's performance, although this is perhaps more an indication of the audience's ignorance of what constitutes good musicianship than it is of the quality of the performer's playing. Indeed, there were some very fine moments, but Mr. McKay's playing is hardly without flaws. No doubt the piano was out of tune, but it is not entirely to blame for some of the less-than-ideal sounds that emanated from it.

The concert began with two Inventions by Bach, two small pieces that were quite pleasingly performed. This was followed by the mighty Allegro con Brio movement of Beethoven's *Waldstein* sonata. This performance demonstrated both what is right and what is wrong with Mr. McKay's playing. He managed the runs with ease, the chorale-like second theme sang, and he generally managed to convey quite well the drama in this most exciting of Beethoven's piano works. The performance was marred, however, by Mr. McKay's perennial inability to keep a steady tempo throughout the piece, the lack of any meaningful shading in the melodic lines, and a constant muddiness in the bass. These problems were somewhat mitigated in his performance of the Scherzo from Beethoven's Op. 31, no. 3 sonata. This was perhaps the best performance of the evening, as the bouncy jollity of this quicksilver piece was maintained to the end.

Chopin has always fared well at the hands of this particular pianist, as he demonstrated in the performance of four of the Preludes. The phrases were well-shaped, and the dynamics were effective. Less happy was Edward MacDowell's *Hungarian*. This is a piece of virtuosic schmaltz, and is clearly enjoyed by the pianist for just that reason, as he blustered through it with dazzling technique—ignoring even what little musical value this piece possesses. Speaking of schmaltz, the pianist also played a trifle that he composed in his youth, a minuet called the *Cathedral City Waltz*. This quasi-classical bit of decadence, while ably performed, makes one glad the performer has chosen a field other than composition as his life's work.

Mr. McKay's stage presence was impressive, as he managed to maintain his dignity in spite of the utterly tacky suit that he was wearing. However, he showed himself to be less than tactful and more than arrogant; when one of the diners requested that he play some Led Zeppelin, he snarled that he is an artist, not a pop musician. For the time being, we will agree with the latter part of this assertion and withhold judgement on the former. —Carl P.D.W. Emmanuel

From the Shelf of the Brigadier

Two Short Book Reviews From CR's Brigadier Editor Emeritus, H.W. Crocker III

NAVY & EMPIRE, by James L. Stokesbury (William Morrow & Company, 430pp, \$16.95)

From the time of Britain's rollicking sea dogs to the Royal Navy's victory in the Falkland Islands four hundred years later, Britain has always been dependent upon her mastery of the seas. It was Oliver Cromwell who made Britain's navy something more than a ragamuffin collection of rogues and adventurers. He reorganized it, made it an efficient military organization, enlarged it, and used it to protect Britain's merchant fleet—thereby creating what would become the indissoluble link between navy and empire.

Despite Cromwell's reforms, Britain, as Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan pointed out, continued to rule the waves more by her enemies' weaknesses than by her own strengths. William Pitt (the elder) was the first to recognize that Britain's trade wealth enabled her to subsidize allies on the continent, preserving a strategic balance that would keep the continental powers wary of each other and give Britain a free hand on the seas, enlarging her empire, increasing her wealth, and, in turn, allowing her to exert even more influence upon the continent. Britain's army has rarely been large, but her navy's mobility, its capacity for amphibious operations, and the wealth of empire made Britain a formidable nation. James L. Stokesbury's account of British sea power is good reading. His prose sometimes lacks precision and his word choice is occasionally faulty, but the story he has to tell is too exciting and his wit is too lively for these to be major complaints.

THE PROFESSION OF ARMS, by General Sir John Hackett (Macmillan, 239pp, \$24.95)

Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest single boon to the professionalization of military life. In order to defend themselves from his conquering armies, the nations of continental Europe were forced to develop professional officer corps on the basis of merit rather than nobility. Germany took this professionalism the most seriously and by 1859 was responsible for 50 percent of the military literature being published in Europe. The triumph of military professionalism was Germany's smashing success in the Franco-Prussian War—an event so shattering that it impelled Britain to abolish the purchase of commissions and start developing a professional officer corps of its own. One of the many outstanding persons to emerge from that officer corps is General Sir John Hackett, who as an undergraduate at Oxford in 1932 decided that a second world war was inevitable and that he would prefer to die fighting in it as a professional soldier rather than as an amateur. A retired Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Rhine and a visiting professor of classics at King's College, General Hackett is best known as the author of *The Third World War: August 1985 and The Third World War: The Untold Story*. His latest book, based on a series of lectures he delivered at Cambridge, is a handsome, profusely illustrated work examining the history, function, and character of the professional military man from the hoplites of Sparta to the soldiers of today. It is recommended reading for anyone interested in understanding the world's noblest profession.

¡ VIVA REAGAN?

By Dr. Frederick R. Lynch

Press coverage of President Reagan's public appearances during Hispanic Heritage week last September implied that Reagan was politicking upon turf reserved for Democrats. He was not. In the 1980 elections, Reagan garnered fully 36 per cent of the Hispanic vote. Of course, pundits for the news media and the Democratic Party are fond of pointing out that Reagan was running against an unpopular incumbent. But will Reagan's share of the Hispanic vote be diminished in 1984? Are Hispanics just another taken-for-granted Democratic-allied "minority?" Don't count on it.

The Democrats are so skittish about the Hispanic vote that speaker the House "Tip" O'Neill has stymied the bipartisan Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill in Congress. Co-Sponsor Republican Senator Alan Simpson charged that O'Neill feared that President Reagan might veto the bill in order to curry favor with Hispanic voters. O'Neill presumed that Hispanics were opposed to the bill, especially the provisions for sanctions against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. However, according to Simpson, O'Neill was badly misinformed, perhaps by Democrat/Hispanic radicals. Simpson pointed out that public opinion polls indicate that Hispanics—like the majority of other groups in the U.S.—favor immigration controls, even employer sanctions. Furthermore, the bill provided a generous amnesty for many illegals already here. And it is unlikely that Reagan would have vetoed a pet bill of his own Attorney General. Apparently, the Democrats are worried to the point of confusion about the Hispanic vote. Lucid concern is well advised.

If the Democrats can effectively appeal to the economic interests of Hispanic groups, they might reduce Reagan's appeal. Mexican-Americans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans (the three major subgroups in the Hispanic population) all have median incomes below the national average. However, there are diverse economic interests within each of these groups. Furthermore, if unemployment, inflation, and interest rates continue to decline, attacks on Reagan's policy will be much less effective unless Democrats can come up with reasonable and viable alternatives—which they have not thus far. We could, then, see a re-emergence of social and cultural topics in the 1984 campaign, a development which could strain Hispanic-Democratic ties.

Hispanic groups have tended to place a great deal of emphasis upon such "traditional" values as family, patriarchal authority, religion, and hard work. These are clearly "conservative" and usually Republican themes. If the Democratic leaders are not circumspect,

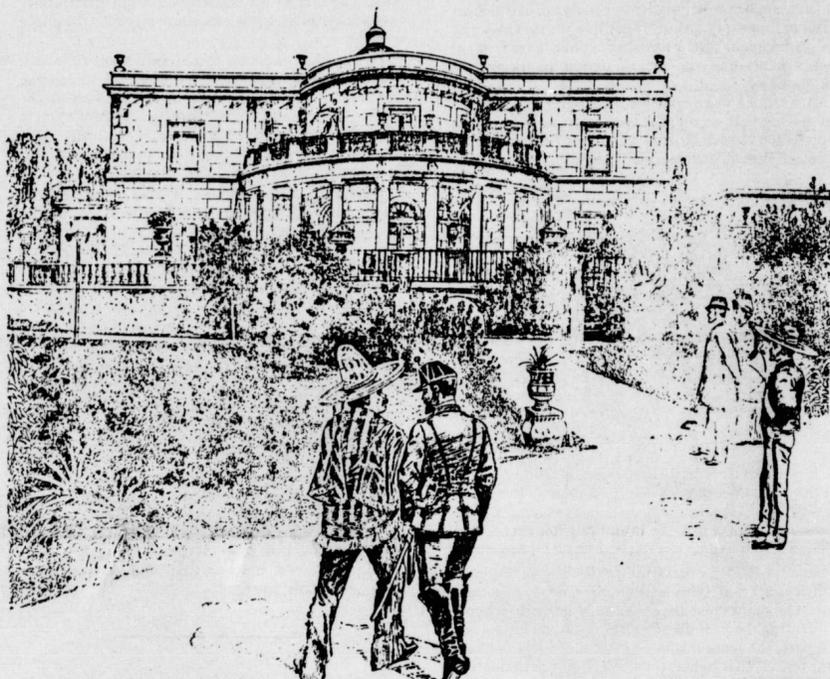
they could find those very values sullied at their national convention in San Francisco. Should that gathering turn into a circus of strident gay rights activists, and attacks upon traditionalist values, a Democratic disaster could occur in terms of Hispanic votes, especially amongst the middle class electorate.

The Democrats' assumption that increased government spending for social services is a "Hispanic issue" is not necessarily valid. Some segments of the Hispanic community (especially the Cubans in Miami and Chicanos in Los Angeles) are emerging as an ethnically distinct merchant group or "middleman minority." Like the Chinese and Japanese Americans, many Hispanics originally migrated to the U.S. in order to earn money. While retaining some ties to the "old country," they have also maintained strong kinship and community ties in the new land as well. Partly

through utilization of those kinship and community resources, a number of Hispanics have achieved success in small business and professional roles, especially within their own burgeoning neighborhoods. If these small business and professional sectors continue to grow in Hispanic constituencies, then "tax-and-spend" Democratic proposals for welfare-state programs might well be scorned by tough-minded Hispanic businesspersons, accountants, and lawyers.

The assumption that Hispanics are a solid segment of the Democrats' "minority-coalition" politics is sure to be tested in 1984.

Dr. Frederick R. Lynch is professor of Sociology at Cal. St. Los Angeles and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.



¡Adios! to Bilingual Education

By C. Brandon Crocker

Bilingual education, since the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, has become entrenched in the California public school system, despite the fact that there is no evidence that it effectively teaches non-English-speaking children English. In fact, the research that has been done on the subject shows just the opposite. Even a study by Andrew Cohen, which is often cited to support bilingual education, shows that Mexican-American students who are taught bilingually are outperformed in most English language skills by Mexican-American students who are taught solely in English.

A foreign language is easiest to learn when one is young and immersed in the language. But with "transitional" bilingual education programs, children are segregated from English-speaking classmates, are not immersed in English, and, as Robert Rossier points out, often "become inhibited about responding in English when they know the teacher understands their native language." Moreover, many immigrant children go home after school to non-English-speaking parents. This is not an effective way to teach immigrant students English.

The assertion that teaching immigrant students in English prevents them from learning the subjects being taught, is not well founded. In Los Angeles, a study was conducted of 150 high school seniors, mostly from Spanish-speaking countries, who were not native

English speakers, but who were immersed in an English language program. The study showed that their grade point averages, occupational choices, and post-secondary education plans were comparable to



those of their classmates who had English as their native tongue. The recent experience with refugees from Vietnam, has shown, again, the ability of immigrants to learn English quickly and succeed in school when they are taught in English and are integrated with English-speaking students.

Certainly, classes such as English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) can be quite helpful in teaching immigrant students English. But "transitional" bilingual programs which greatly limit the students' exposure to English and to English-speaking classmates have not been successful in teaching students English.

What bilingual programs have been successful at is building entrenched interest groups. Some Hispanic lobbying organizations support bilingual education because it increases the demand for Spanish-speaking teachers (many of whom are Hispanic). There also exists a self-interested bureaucracy. For example, in the 1976-77 school year, Los Angeles paid \$1.2 billion for administration of its bilingual program, and these payments have increased substantially since then. Bilingual education, however, is not popular among immigrants nor among most other segments of society. If the special interests behind bilingual education can be overcome, immigrant children will be freed from a disabling systems that can only hamper their successful entry and advancement in the job market and more tax dollars will be available for more effective programs.

C. Brandon Crocker is a junior at UCSD.

Medicina Frugalitas: The Cost of Health

By Bob McKay

Besides the federal budget deficit, perhaps the greatest financial crisis faced by Americans today is the dramatic increase in the cost of medical care. This problem is especially intractable because of the special nature of health-care economics; they do not follow the typical rules of the market-place. The individual consumer is at the utter mercy of the health care system—one can buy cheaper cuts of beef, buy a used car, or live in a less expensive part of town, but one cannot economize on health care. Thus, politicians and economists have been entirely frustrated in their search for a method of dealing with health care costs.

The price of health care has far outpaced inflation largely because of the unique economic rules governing medicine. The demand for medical care is to almost no extent a function of the cost of such care. Therefore concerns about loss of business have not deterred those in the medical field from raising prices. Cost control is the least of the worries for the health professional. At the same time, advances in the ability of the medical profession to care for patients have been occurring almost exponentially, but advances in the medical field tend to create entirely new techniques—they do not make existing techniques more efficient. The state-of-the-art in any field is expensive, but in the medical profession it is uniquely so, due to the high level the state of the art has reached, and due to the fact that high-tech medical equipment has such a limited market.

It will require the utmost in innovation for our society to come up with a way to control the cost of health care. Ideally, we want to deliver the best possible health care at the lowest possible cost. To do that, we need to develop a system that will encourage the health professions to cut, or at least hold the line on costs without compromising the quality of care. Unfortunately we always seem to accomplish one without accomplishing the other.

The classification of medical procedures into diagnosis related groups (DRG's) by Medicare and a growing number of private insurance firms is one attempt to deal with the problem. The DRG scheme operates under the following procedure: if one needs an appendix removed, the insurer pays a fixed rate for an appendectomy. Unfortunately, human beings are nowhere near as standardized as automobiles. If the patient needs a quick, easy operation, the doctors and hospital profit. If the patient is an exceptionally complicated case, the doctors and the hospital lose money. Thus, a strong incentive for cutting costs exists, but a concomitant incentive for maximizing the quality of the care provided does not. Seeing that the patient is well provided for is left to the good faith of the physicians. Trusting to good faith is generally a bad idea, even among such a conscientious group as physicians. The DRG system leaves too much incentive for the less-than-scrupulous doctor and hospital to cut costs at the patient's expense.

Even the conscientious physician is faced with a dilemma by DRG's. The whole point of such a system is to eliminate unnecessary procedures. However, in medicine, there is no such thing as a necessary or unnecessary procedure. An example is lab testing. Obviously, if a diagnosis requires a lab test, then such a test is necessary. However, biomedical assays tend to be inherently inaccurate—many are correct only 90% of the time. Hence, if an assay that is 90% accurate indicates a certain diagnosis, the correct treatment will likely be applied only 90% of the time. Thus, a second assay is reasonably justified. If it is equally accurate and confirms the first diagnosis, there is a 99% chance that the diagnosis is correct. Here we enter the gray area; 99% odds are excellent, but in a matter as serious as health care, hardly overwhelming. Would a third test be necessary? It would probably be redundant, but on that one occasion it is not, it would certainly be a fortunate thing that it was done. It is impossible to arbitrarily determine to what lengths it is justified to go in seeking a diagnosis. The same gray area exists in the delivery of treatment, as well.

While the DRG concept is flawed, it represents a sincere effort to deal with a problem in grave need of a solution. With appropriate modification, it could possibly be made to work, and should not be summarily dismissed. This is not the case with the other major available alternatives. There will inevitably be those reactionaries still living in the era of the Great Society

unnecessary medical expenditures is knowing when they are unnecessary. A large proportion of a general practitioner's office visits are from people for whom the doctor can do nothing—often people with a cold or the flu. A lot of unnecessary expense and effort could be avoided if victims of colds or influenza would realize that the only available cure is time. Similarly,



and the New Deal who will insist that the escalation of medical costs only points out more than ever the need for nationalizing health care. Socializing medicine for the purpose of controlling its costs would be, to quote the great modern philosopher David Bowie, like putting out fire with gasoline. The federal government is not noted for cost-effective delivery of goods and services. Proponents argue that, among other things, the exorbitant salaries of physicians could in this way be controlled. Ignoring for the moment the fact that physicians' incomes are hardly exorbitant—considering the twelve-plus years of higher education needed to become a physician, the fact that would-be physicians must consistently rank at the pinnacle of their academic peers, and the fact that a physician cannot be economically productive until his or her early thirties—socializing medicine would probably have little influence on physicians' salaries. Union representatives do not generally break into sweat when Uncle Sam is on the other side of the bargaining table. There is no reason the medical profession should be any exception. The AMA has proved to be a potent organization in the past, and should be more than a match for any government negotiator trying to tell it what its members should be paid. Most likely, socialization will bring us all the inflation that currently characterizes medical economics, while denying us the tremendous innovation and growth with which the medical profession has blessed us.

While society searches for a method of controlling medical costs, there are a number of things the individual can do. The best way to avoid spending money on health care is to take care of one's self. By exercising, eating properly, avoiding smoking, and buckling up one can dramatically reduce one's need for costly medical attention. (In fact those whose lifestyle creates a demand for medical care should bear more of the burden of its cost. Society should resent having to pay the costs of someone who was needlessly injured in a car accident because the person's seatbelt was not fastened.) A second way of avoiding

doctors frequently prescribe medication more to satisfy the patient than in response to a clinical need. A change from the prevailing get-sick-take-something mentality would go a long way toward eliminating the unnecessary (and costly) prescription of medication.

Is there light at the end of the tunnel, or are we condemned seeing an ever-increasing percentage of our budgets going toward keeping ourselves well? I believe that our current problems are temporary ones, but the ultimate solution will not arrive until 20 or 30 years down the road. The great emphasis in health care today is on curing existing diseases, which is an expensive route to take. However, the other possible route, prevention, has been largely left up to the individual. Obviously, attempts to beseech individuals to take care of themselves have been largely futile, although some progress has been made. One can envision, however, the day when prevention can be achieved independently of individual initiative. We are already seeing synthetic substitutes for the most unhealthy items in our diet. The potential of medications serving as preventatives rather than cures is being explored. And more sensitive assays may improve our ability to detect a disease in its latent period. Like communism, disease is easier to halt before it spreads than to eliminate after it has established itself.

Bob McKay is a senior at UCSD and will be attending Medical School in the fall.



California Review Interviews Congressman Bill Lowery

Bill Lowery was elected to the United States House of Representatives from the Forty-first Congressional District in 1980, replacing Bob Wilson who had held the seat for twenty-six years. Mr. Lowery is currently finishing his second term as a member of that body where he sits on both the Committee on Science and Technology and the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. A Republican, he has worked previously for President Gerald R. Ford and Senator Barry Goldwater, as well as serving as a member of the San Diego City Council and Deputy Mayor of San Diego.

Both Congressman Lowery and his wife, Katie, are native San Diegans. They make their temporary home, until they come back to San Diego, in McLean, Virginia where they have two daughters. Mr. Lowery was kind enough to discuss some of his views during a recent dinner with the editors of *California Review*.

CR: Are we getting our money's worth with the Department of Energy?

LOWERY: No. It's better called the Department of No Energy. Synfuels is probably the biggest waste of money. We appropriated, \$20 billion and we haven't produced a drop of energy. The assumptions behind the program are crazy. It would only be efficient if oil was at \$60 a barrel. We should fund out the few projects we have which would commit about \$4 billion, but the remaining \$16 should be used for deficit reduction.

CR: Do you support a flat-rate tax?

LOWERY: Yes. The preliminary estimates are that if we taxed everyone with absolutely no exemptions, a flat tax of 14 percent we would get the same amount of money we are now getting in income taxes. But realistically I don't think that's going to fly. There are going to have to be some exemptions. In particular, personal resident mortgage deductibility. Another would be charitable deductions, otherwise we would have every university and United Way in America upon us. Third would be an exemption on state and local taxes. And, possibly, to get enough votes to pass it, a medical deduction for elderly constituencies.

CR: Do you think we'll get one soon?

LOWERY: It depends on your definition of soon. Nothing in the federal government moves quickly. We'll debate it for about two years and then we'll start moving legislatively on it within the next two years. So it could possibly be done in 5 years.

CS: Are you in favor of the sub-minimum wage for teenagers during the summer months?

LOWERY: Yes. In fact, I'd abolish the minimum wage outright. But a youth differential is a good beginning. The minimum wage is a boon to organized labor. They don't want the competition. The minimum wage law has been highly discriminatory towards young people, particularly minority youth. It provides the biggest barrier to employment for America's young people, and I think we can make a profound impact on the outrageously high unemployment rates among black urban youth. If we had a more realistic wage base, those kids could get employed and they could start on that first rung of the ladder and develop a sense of self worth.

CR: You are a co-sponsor of ERA but you voted against it when it came up in the House. Why?

LOWERY: What I voted against was the procedure. The procedure that was used is the procedure that is reserved for the routine, non-controversial house-keeping matters. There is a limit to debate—20 minutes for Democrats, 20 minutes for Republicans—and I would not support any constitutional Amendment being brought up on that basis. I think Constitutional Amendments are of sufficient importance that debate should not be limited to 20 minutes

"The charge that this administration has not been negotiating in Central America is garbage."

to each side. There are many issues which need to be clarified on ERA—Veterans preference points, women in combat, issues of personal privacy, abortion (I happen to think ERA is neutral on abortion but others disagree). The circumstances under which it was brought up was some of the most blatant partisan tactics that I've witnessed in my three and a half years in the House. Each week a schedule is published for the next week's legislative business. ERA was not on that schedule. Only on the day before the vote did the word leak out that it would be brought up for a vote. That afternoon, I joined with many of my colleagues and filed a petition with the Speaker asking that the Rules Committee immediately bring a rule to the floor where we could have a proper debate on the Equal Rights Amendment and a vote. To this date Tip has not rescheduled the issue, and it's a travesty.

CR: Do you see any problems with comparable worth pay scales and equal pay for equal work legislation if ERA passes?

LOWERY: Well there should be equal pay for equal work.

CR: But how do you determine what is equal work?

LOWERY: Well if you're in the same job classification men and women should be paid exactly the same wage. You get into problems when you start discussing if you look at where the high wage scales have been, they've been traditionally in union contracts in the manufacturing trades. In those areas there has obviously been past discrimination against women. But I don't think you find so much discrimination when you come to the high-tech sunrise industries. And you haven't had it in traditional jobs available for women. I'm thinking primarily of education. There has not been a disparity in the wages of men and women educators. But comparability is a tough issue that I think we have to continue to work on.

CR: One writer from the *Washington Post* suggested that \$6 million worth of litigation would come about in the first six months after the passage of ERA.

LOWERY: Only \$6 million? I'm sure there's going to be plenty of litigation. But there has been on virtually every Constitutional Amendment.

"The United States has given more aid to Nicaragua than all other countries combined."

CR: What do you think about women in combat?

LOWERY: If we're ever going to have a draft, I think it should be applied universally. But women in combat should not be decided by anyone other than the field commanders.

CR: What do you think is the future of NATO?

LOWERY: I think the Reagan administration has made a good deal of progress in restoring our readiness and our integrity to our defenses all around the globe. NATO has certainly been strengthened. I think the alliance is quite strong. It's regrettable that this current generation of Europeans has a very short memory. We have just witnessed the longest era of peace and stability in Europe probably in the history of Europe. And I think that's largely a result of the commitment of the alliance and its unity. Regretably, with the memory of the Second World War almost 40 years behind us, the current generation of Europeans is forgetful of the lessons that have been learned. There's a strong streak of appeasement and unilateral disarmament which is not shared by a majority in the NATO countries. In fact, if you look at the elections in

"Embargoes only hurt the U.S. economy."

West Germany and Great Britain, where the alliance was a prime question, the conservative parties won handily.

CR: Do you think the Soviets are going to come back to the strategic arms negotiating table?

LOWERY: We're ready to negotiate any day of the week, anyplace. Our commitment is real and sincere. The Soviets have attempted through intimidation to exercise their will upon Europe and the world. It hasn't worked. They're now pouting. I would guess they're trying to make an impact on the elections here in the United States, now that they've failed in Europe. We're ready, willing and able to negotiate. The burden is on them. We're sincere about wanting to rid the world of nuclear weapons but it's not going to be unilateral, it's not going to be one-sided, and I think they're having difficulty dealing with the Reagan administration was a bunch of patsies.

Let's be clear on the whole nuclear question. We have fewer warheads and less megatonnage now than we did twenty years ago. This talk about an arms race is absurd. We have been unilaterally disarming. We haven't begun new weapons systems. We're way behind. If you look at the TRIAD, we have kept reasonable pace with the submarine launched missiles, but prior to Trident we hadn't built a new missile launched submarine since the mid-sixties. With the air leg of TRIAD we have B-52s that are older than the pilots who fly them. The ICBMs are probably the worst. The Titans which we are retiring are twenty-eight years old, the Minutemen are 18 years old. While we have unilaterally cancelled B-1, done our darndest to cancel MX and other weapons systems have the Soviets made a corresponding gesture? Not at all.

Jimmy Carter thought when he cancelled B-1 that we'd witness a corresponding act of humanity on behalf of the Soviets and we're still waiting for it! The Soviet chief negotiator at the most recent arms talks in Geneva, said to the U.S. negotiator that the Soviets are neither pacifists or philanthropists. On the European front, specifically talking about theater nuclear weapons, we hadn't introduced new weapons systems in over twenty years. The Soviets introduced 300 SS-20 launchers, each with the capacity to fire two missiles which have three warheads. That's 1800 new warheads to hit Europe. When President Reagan came into office, in the first sixty days in early March, he told Mr. Brezhnev that we would not deploy Cruise or

Pershing missiles if they'd take out their 1,800 warheads in Western Europe and the Soviet response was "Nyet." Now what was the threat the Soviets were responding to? We hadn't increased the ante in twenty years; theirs was a new introduction, a destabilizing introduction which had to be countered. We are now countering them. They have used disinformation and intimidation, and tried to influence domestic elections in Europe, and they have failed miserably. We are now in the process of deployment. If the Soviets are serious and want to pull back, we are perfectly agreeable to that. We haven't been the aggressor, the "Warmonger," we haven't been the ones that have started an arms race. Quite the contrary, we're now just trying to make-up for twenty years. Go back to the Kennedy years. You look at the defense budget, in real dollars it has been stable, as a percentage of GNP we were spending about 9½ percent in the Kennedy years. Jack Kennedy wasn't labeled a warmonger or accused of accelerating an arms race.

"We have fewer warheads and less megatonnage now than we did twenty years ago."

During the Carter years we were down to about 4½ percent. We're now spending about 6½ percent of GNP on defense. The Soviets are spending sixteen percent. They've got a smaller GNP than we do but they're spending \$50 billion dollars a year more in real dollars on weapons. And they have conscription and low wages for their military, compared to ours, where over half our military budget goes into salary and retirement.

CR: Do you see any importance other than political in Secretary of State Shultz going to Nicaragua?

LOWERY: The charge that this administration has not been negotiating in Central America is garbage. The United States of America has given more aid to Nicaragua than all the countries combined. The Western countries provided about 90% of the economic aid, yet it was the Eastern Bloc that was supplying tanks. Tanks have been introduced into Central America now, and they had never been there before. Runways that can accommodate MIG aircraft with pilots being trained in the Eastern Bloc. Also, we attempted good relations, and while we were attempting and helping the Sandinista movement, both with the overthrow of Somoza and the post-era for a year and a half, they were already trying to export revolution to other countries—to democratic countries. I think we will continue to negotiate. If the Sandinistas will be true to their revolution of

"Regretably, with the memory of the Second World War almost 40 years behind us, the current generation of Europeans is forgetful of the lessons that have been learned."

democratic pluralism, they will allow self-determination to exist with other nations. If they will stop the arms shipments from the Soviet Union, through Cuba, to Nicaragua and the rest of Central America, we'll back off. We'll have good relations.

CR: How important is it for us to provide Stinger weapons to the Saudis?

LOWERY: I don't think we should be sending Stinger weapons to anybody. Those weapons are too easily adapted to terrorist purposes.

CR: Do you think it would ease East-West relations if we opened-up more trade agreements?

LOWERY: Well, that was the Kissinger theory, with Nixon, that the Soviet system would crumble internally economically and the more hooks we had in them with trade the better behaved they would be. And we had a period of some stability. I think we should engage in bilateral trade and cultural arrangements. Embargoes only hurt the U.S. economy. But we ought to demand that they pay for what they buy from us in hard currency. We shouldn't be extending them credit.

CR: Do you think Tip O'Neill is an obstructionist to the legislative process?

LOWERY: Sometimes. Tip is my candidate for grandfather of the year. I just wish he would use his own money to pay for all the presents he gives out instead of billing the taxpayers.

CR: We hear that you are, again, going to be a father soon.

LOWERY: What do you know that I don't?

CR: Tom answers your phone, remember?

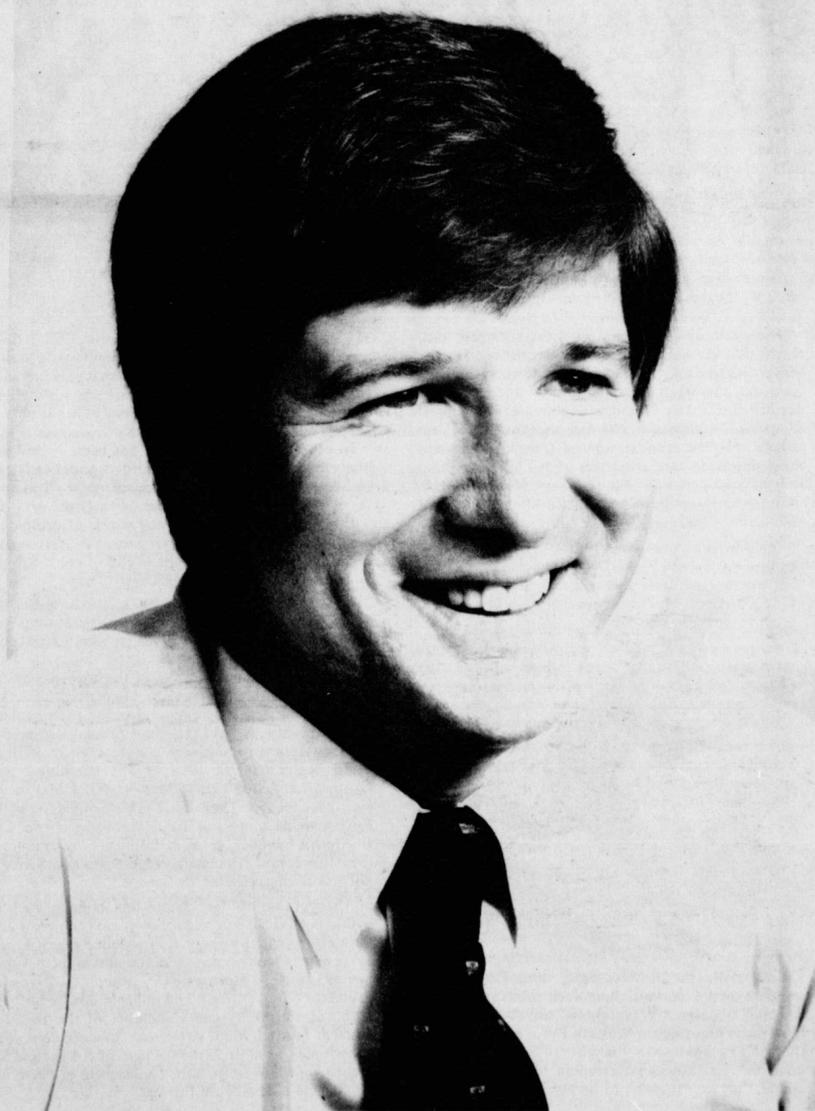
LOWERY: I haven't forgotten.

CR: Are you hoping for a boy or a girl?

LOWERY: If it's just a healthy child, I'll be happy.

CR: Thank you for the interview, Congressman.

LOWERY: Alright. It was nice talking with you.



Sowing Discord Among Brothers

by Thomas J. Edwards

They did not appear spineless, weak-kneed or even lacking in determination as had been so often speculated — they looked like determined brothers. And what the brethren announced at their annual meeting in Washington this last week was not some idiotic conciliatory apology to the Soviet Union (though several honest overtures on arms control were set forth), but a "Joint NATO Ministerial Communiqué and Statement on East-West Relations" in which the ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization made their feelings clear to the Bear in the East.

The Kremlin's failed multi-million ruble "peace" campaign to stop the deployment of Euromissiles and to break-up NATO has received a bloody nose, but the Soviets are not conceding defeat.

To be sure, the Western alliance, created formally by the North Atlantic Treaty of 4 April 1949, has had its share of problems — Soviet activities aside. Creating a formidable force out of sixteen diverse nations, politically independent and with their own national security prerogatives, is not easy. The world economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s, coinciding by chance with the beginning of NATO's agreed 15 year Long Term Defense Program (LTDP),

The Soviet Union understands well the military and strategic realities of the most advanced weapons systems in the world being placed in Europe to counter their forces. They also understand the immense strength that can be achieved through cohesion of various elements and a belief in the moral superiority of one's cause.

Thus the decision was reached, shortly after NATO's 1979 decision, by the Soviets to launch a massive counteroffensive aimed at reversing that decision and crushing NATO politically, if not militarily.

According to Dr. Wynfred Joshua, adjunct professor of national security at Georgetown University and director for European and Soviet Political/Military affairs in the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Soviet decision to launch a "peace" offensive against the United States and NATO came from the highest levels of the Kremlin. She states:

Policy decisions on active measures in the anti-INF campaign, as in other areas, are struck at the apex of the Soviet political system: the Defense Council. Propaganda themes and covert operations are approved and sometimes formulated at this highest level. Chaired by the top Party leader, now (Konstantin Chernenko), the Council includes senior political and military members of the Communist Party. According to a Western source, it probably consists of about eight members, most of whom are also on the Politburo. This unique organization is the most powerful organ of state control of all aspects of Soviet political, military and economic policies.

With support and direction coming from the highest levels of the Soviet government, the injection of hundreds of millions of rubles and unimaginable human resources the Soviet Union's "peace" offensive has succeeded in temporarily delaying the introduction of Cruise Missiles in the Netherlands, a nation scheduled for a mere 48 GLCMs.

While the Soviet efforts to end or curb deployment of Euromissiles and to break-up NATO continue, it should be evident to all that they have essentially failed. Those in NATO have learned also that when one speaks of "credible deterrents" reality can be a sobering factor. For the credible deterrents of NATO do not exist *prima facie* for the Soviet Union; they are deterrents which must be demonstrated and proven real time and again. The ministers of NATO are truly

has brought attention to this fact. In 1977 NATO member states made a firm commitment to maintain a 3 percent annual increase in their defense expenditures; yet high inflation and increased prices fostered by economic crisis provide a sufficiency of funds only to keep NATO barely marking time.

In other words, the Alliance has been — and will likely continue to be — strained economically. As countries continue to realize that economic situations necessitate savings and budget cutting, the problem will become more acute. In the words of prominent defense economist, David Greenwood: "In defense resources management the problems of the 1980s will be those of the 1960s and 1970s writ larger."

To deal with the increased Soviet threat in Europe — resulting from hundreds of SS-20's being deployed and aimed at Europe, tank divisions numbering some 30,000 vehicles "chomping at the bit" along the East and West German border, and the massive Soviet build-up of strategic arms — and to deal with the fact that economic realities and neglect have jeopardized the credibility of NATO's conventional forces and military options, a decision was reached in 1979 to begin deployment in 1984 of 572 Pershing-2 and Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) in the European theater. These missiles were called for by the European nations, and have the added benefit to European member states of militarily "re-coupling" the Alliance and helping allay fears that the U.S. might not risk itself in defense of Europe.

Also because of these constraints, member nations within NATO have strived for increased cohesion. It is these efforts which prompted President Reagan during a recent press conference to comment that the Alliance has never been stronger. Dr. Joseph S. Nye Jr., professor of government and international security at Harvard University and a member of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group, states that "alliance cohesion" contributes far more to the strength of NATO and the security of the West than the deployment of Pershing-2 and Cruise Missiles in Europe.



The communiqué began with the comment that Soviet military expansion has continued "beyond any reasonable defense needs," and went on to make it clear that the West will safeguard its interests. They derided the Soviet Union for their use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Asia and proclaimed firm support for the reunification of Germany. Perhaps most significant, the ministers of NATO stated that they have had enough of the Soviet Union's "massive military build-up that threatens the alliance while (at the same time) seeking to undermine NATO's solidarity."



Undermine the Soviets have tried. Indeed, no sooner had the Communiqué been released than the Kremlin accused "Washington" of drumming up hysteria by pleading for Western Europeans to protect themselves against a "mythical Soviet military menace." The Soviet government news agency Tass added, they are "threatened by no one."



rallying as brothers of a family being threatened, and it is a likely hope that the words of President Reagan as he bid farewell to the NATO ministers in Washington will echo in other capitals of the world, and reverberate all the way to the Kremlin: "I hope the Soviet leadership will finally realize that it is pointless to continue its efforts to divide the alliance. We will not be split. We will not be intimidated. The West will defend democracy and individual liberty. The West will protect the peace."

Thomas J. Edwards is a sophomore at UCSD.

At the Pinnacle of Espionage

The KGB Wins

by Drew DeGolyer

In the past four decades scholars have generated many comparisons of U.S.-Soviet military power, economic strength, and social systems. Don Quixote was not the first to say that comparisons are odious; nevertheless the temptation to make them endures.

In the field of intelligence, a comparison between the Soviet services (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti) and those of the United States (Central Intelligence Agency) might be in order. The KGB comprises the Soviet equivalents, in large part, of the following organizations in the United States: the Immigration Service, the Secret Service, the FBI, the investigative organs of state and local police systems, the military counter-intelligence and security services, large elements of the NSC and much of the CIA. Even this contrast misses the key point. The KGB is the "sword of the Revolution," wielded for the preservation and expansion of a vast imperial despotism. Stalin called the Communist Party machine the "gears" of the system. The KGB is the foundation upon which it rests.

Within this menacing machine, the KGB has some 500,000 members, a large percentage of them being border guards to keep people from trespassing into a closed society, and moreover, to keep people from escaping. The rest of the KGB is engaged in domestic operations such as seeking out foreign agents, harassing dissidents, investigating major cases of bribery and embezzlement, checking on the military, and recruiting foreigners in the Soviet Union; foreign operations include data collection, stealing important documents and materials, and "active measures" or pro-Soviet agitation. The KGB is second only to the Communist Party in authority. It is not significantly restrained by law, although Soviet bureaucratic procedures, "red tape," infests it along with the rest of Soviet society. Critics of the KGB are usually jailed, often harassed, sometimes murdered and always silenced. The idea of a Soviet citizen bringing suit against the KGB for violation of civil rights is tantamount to subversion in the Soviet legal sense of the term.

The CIA entered the postwar era with a reputation of glamour and prestige derived from the exploits, real or fabricated, of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services). The CIA had little to do with internal security, exercised no police powers and was entrusted with basically a defensive mission, the CIA had *elan* under the directorships of Bedell Smith, Allen Dulles and John A. McCone. In that time the CIA was an exciting environment; it enjoyed high social status in Washington, and suffused the capital with a sense of tough-minded dedication to enlightenment and patriotism. On matters that really counted, however, CIA directors and their agency carried little political

influence beyond immediate intelligence concerns. By way of contrast, note the ambitions and careers of Beria, Shelepin, and Andropov. It is one of the sharper ironies of history that Soviet propagandists over the years have portrayed the CIA largely as the sinister octopus that the KGB is, and that much of the Western world has come to believe this deception.

The visibility that the CIA has acquired makes it a tempting target for the press. The consequences of the attacks are most obvious in the restrictions on operational activities that have placed certain categories of people beyond reach of recruitment, marked certain countries off-limits for covert action, and required a clearance procedure for others virtually assuring that any serious plans would be exposed in the press before their execution.

Meanwhile in the KGB, personnel procurement and training have followed a consistent pattern since World War II. The system provides a steady, consistent harvest of young talent for all its clients. The KGB's First Chief Directorate receives the cream of the crop: young men from the families of high officials who feel as part of a self-perpetuating elite dedicated to strengthening the communist system—and enjoying the delights of the capitalist world in doing so. They are cynics, by and large, bereft of idealism, but loyal and capable in advancing the cause, not perhaps with the flare of a Richard Sorge or an Ignatz Reiss, but effective nevertheless.

Having touched on the fundamental differences and the qualities of personnel in the KGB and CIA, we come to the areas of intelligence activities that are comparable to an extent.

Judging by what is openly said and printed on the subject, U.S. technology in the critical fields of overhead reconnaissance and signal interception remains superior to that of the Soviets. In the Soviet Union the strong operational tradition of the Soviet services that has put such great emphasis on spies has, until recently, probably fostered a relative neglect of technical intelligence systems.

The other principal field in which U.S. intelligence agencies ostensibly enjoy a lead is analysis. Again, Soviet tradition and continuity, combined with the abundance of fresh information available on the United States and its allies, apparently inhibit the development of refined analytical and estimative processes in the KGB—and even, it appears, in the Central Committee apparatus. When we turn to clandestine operations—espionage, counterespionage, and covert action—we come to a subject where the data necessary for an accurate assessment is small. In terms of numbers, the West is outmanned in large proportions. The total Soviet official presence in the U.S. amounts to some 1,200 people. Experience over the years has shown that something more than half of these are intelligence officers in the KGB or GRU (the military branch of the KGB). To this one must add the officers of the satellite services from Eastern Europe and Cuba, creating an additional presence of 800 officials. In many other countries the same numbers, proportionately adjusted, apply.

Perhaps the most significant of the consequences, however, is in the change in personnel. Many of the leaders of the preceding twenty years left the Agency in early retirement; others, to some degree, retired in place. The shift from accolade to opprobrium, from broad authority and confidence to rigid restrictions, made the game no longer worth playing. The extent of the expertise leaving with that exodus is a question for speculation.

This legal presence of overt Soviet officials, moreover, is supplemented by a cadre of "illegals": Soviet intelligence officers who pose as natives of the countries in which they operate or of other benign, non-communist nations. No accessible source has known the figure with any degree of accuracy, but it could be in the hundreds. If, as I presume, there are U.S. operational intelligence officers stationed in the USSR, their number at any given time must be less

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The Preservation of Culture

by E. Clasen Young

As graduates of the Class of '84, we join the century-long procession of University of California Alumni. As alumni, it is not our concern to reflect only on how education at the university level is, and what it will come to mean for posterity.

It is true that the Great Universities are the products of high aspirations, and more specifically, of the quality curricula and the study of Western Culture — which, in itself, produces the great minds. It is Culture that saves the future from being vulgarized. It can take us toward the perfection of beauty and intelligence, toward that which Swift calls "Sweetness and Light."

But as the pure sciences move to the center of university education, the study of Culture becomes secondary. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has gone so far as to say that the duty of education at our universities is "to create a great spirit of tolerance for the ways and views of other individuals in a national society and an emerging world society." The question hitting us in the face is whether "tolerance," as such, is edifying. A literature professor at this university mentions that the great modern intellectuals — Pound, Joyce, and Hemingway — would have laughed at such piety, because literature is "free of the necessity to conform, even to ideals."

The great works of Culture teach the human condition, and, in fact, make the reader more intelligent. But the great works studying condition are being replaced at the universities by conditioning studies.

The New Consciousness is concerned with modernity at variance with the past. To many, Aristotle and Cicero have no legitimacy.

But we of the future must understand the past to understand the human condition. The base of Culture is not solely the sheer desire for scientific explanation. Matthew Arnold tells us that Culture embodies "the impulses towards action, help, and beneficence, the desire for removing human error, clearing human confusion and diminishing human misery, and the aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it." Culture as such is a "study of perfection," driven by the force of moral and social passion for doing good.

We must remember that the idea of perfection as an "inward condition" conflicts with the mechanical civilization in which we live. In this age, people are always apt to regard wealth as a precious end in itself.

But Culture as perfection consists in becoming something, rather than in having something. It consists in a condition of "the mind and spirit," rather than in an "outward set of circumstances." And instead of being a frivolous thing, Culture has a very important function to fulfill for mankind.

It helps us, by means of its spiritual standard of perfection, to regard wealth as but machinery. Arnold says, "if it were not for this purging effect wrought upon our minds by Culture, the whole world, the future as well as the present, would inevitably belong to the Philistines" — those who believe in greatness

and welfare as manifested by wealth.

Others offer a new Culture through destruction of the past — "with abstract systems of renovation applied wholesale to create what they think proper for the actual condition of humankind."

Culture works differently. It does not try to teach down to a lower stratum. "It does not try to win poor souls for this or that great cause of its own, with ready-made judgements and slogans. It seeks to make all people live in an atmosphere where they may use ideas freely and nourished, but not bound by them."

Culture can only prevail with individual initiative. One must carry others along in the march to perfection and the expansion of all the powers which make the "beauty and worth of human nature."

Culture is social salvation. And the followers of Culture are the true apostles of equality. They have a "passion for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge and the best ideas of their time." They labour to "divest knowledge of all that is harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, and exclusive." They labor to make it work "outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remain the best knowledge and thought of the time" — therefore a true source of Sweetness and Light, and the true duty of the university education.

E. Clasen Young is Emperor of the California Review.

The State of Economics

By Dean T. Smith

Much of what Lester Thurow writes in *Dangerous Currents* is true. It is true, for example, that economists are frequently wrong, that economics is less a science than an art, and that it is easier to influence the economy than to control it. In many other things however, he is wrong. He consistently blames economic theories and their practitioners for failing to solve social and political problems. Worse, he often seems to deliberately misstate and grossly oversimplify the claims of economic theories with which he disagrees. And, as if in confirmation of the fact that economists are frequently wrong, he prematurely calls the Reagan Administration's economic policies a failure when, in fact, the economy is perking along quite nicely.

In his critique of modern economics Thurow gets right to the heart of the matter. In the introduction he writes:

My book is a critique of economics as it is by and large taught and practiced in the United States. I am convinced that accepting the conventional supply-demand model of the economy is rather like believing that the world is flat or that the sun revolves around the earth...

Now, the basic supply-demand model is economics. It is the foundation upon which all economic thought is built. It is more than a model; it is frequently referred to as the "Law of Supply and Demand." This "law" has probably always been known and was codified as early as 1776 by Adam Smith. By 1890, Alfred Marshall had made the first attempt to rigorously "prove" the law, and since then many of the world's great minds have considered and accepted the idea that scarcity induces a rise in price whereas relative abundance brings about a decline. Even run-of-the-mill minds understand that. Alas, not Professor Thurow.

One of the major problems with this book is the schizophrenia Thurow exhibits. In trying so desperately to argue that the various economic schools of thought are wrong, he is forced to use supply-demand analysis. For example, he claims that supply-siders are wrong to encourage capital investment through more rapid

depreciation because this distorts investment decisions away from those that a free market would produce. But this is only true if investors are making decisions based on the logic of the market, i.e. supply and demand. In all fairness to Thurow, the price-auction (supply-demand) model is probably so thoroughly a part of his training that he thinks in those terms automatically.

Economics is a young science compared to most others, especially compared to the hard sciences. As such, it is a dynamic discipline, and debate within its ranks is vigorous and spirited. It is simply inconceivable that so fundamental an idea as the law of supply and demand would go unchallenged if there were even a suspicion that it was not a valid concept. Thurow is clutching at straws in his attempt to find new theories to solve our seemingly intractable economic problems.

Since he knows better, one is then left to ask what is Thurow's motive in writing this book? The answer is that he's got a few axes to grind. The first group he maligns is the supply-side school, arguing that they are price-auction believers and free-marketters run amok. He disputes their contention that the government is basically an intruder which distorts market operations. Yet it takes little imagination to think of Thurow decrying the distorting effects of the present budget deficit.

Throughout the book there is an undercurrent of distaste for the Reagan Administration; occasionally it rises to the surface. This should not be surprising to anyone who read Prof. Thurow's popular *Zero-Sum Society*. He is basically an interventionist who would have the government try to solve any and all economic problems. To him, working, earning, saving and accumulating wealth to pass on to one's progeny is a game. He claims:

We can decide to ratify the arbitrary initial income distribution given to us by history, but that in no way alters the fact that we have made an equity decision. Then, too, we have to decide on how often the game starts over with a redistribution to zero-zero or whatever we take as the fair starting score for the next game.

Dangerous Currents: The State of Economics
by Lester Thurow
Random House \$16.95
237 pages, notes



By rejecting the supply-demand model of economic reality, Thurow is free to reject that model's most profound conclusion — namely, that the best outcome is obtained when individuals are permitted maximum latitude to make their own economic decisions. Thurow completely ignores the distinction between positive and normative economics made so well by Milton Friedman in *Essays in Positive Economics*. Come to think of it, forget Thurow's book and re-read Friedman's.

Dean T. Smith is a senior at UCSD.

Protecting the Right to Work — In the Home

By Carmelita Rosal

Under the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938, a 1943 regulation prohibits Americans from doing work at home in seven industries: knitted outerwear, women's garments, gloves and mittens, embroidery, handkerchief manufacturing, jewelry manufacturing, and button and buckle manufacturing. Individuals exempted from the law are those who are physically or mentally handicapped, those who are established independent contractors, and those who care for an invalid at home.

In 1981, Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan revoked the regulation forbidding workers in the knitted outerwear industry from doing work at home. However, the Court of Appeals overturned Secretary Donovan's decision, calling it "arbitrary and capricious."

The Court's ruling serves the interest of labor unions, but hampers the economic opportunities and upward mobility of non-union members. There are two reasons why labor unions persistently lobby for such labor constraint. First, the restriction gives labor unions power to drive out potential and existing competitors who are willing to work for a lower wage or who might help a business to cut its overhead costs. Second, the restriction increases the demand for union labor, and enables unions to seek inflated wage scales.

Three ramifications posed by the labor constraint include reduced (family) income, increasing the number of persons on welfare, and restricting women from

acquiring skills to command higher wages. The current restriction is masked by the concern to protect the working class of our society. Yet, if one examines the reality of such constraint, economic opportunities for the poor are impeded.



Union leaders say they are worried about the "exploitation" of homeworkers. Meanwhile, they seem to be oblivious of their own version of exploitation: workers in restricted industries must be associated with a union before they are entitled to a factory job. Furthermore, union leaders fail to recognize that a contract agreed upon by homeworkers and firms is based on voluntary action. The homework option encourages individuals to become self-sufficient and to take initiative.

Some union supporters of the homework constraint argue that the homeworkers do not typically receive vacation time, fringe benefits, and job security, and that they are less likely to be employed in decent work conditions. The definition of decent work conditions, however, is a subjective assessment. A worker employed in a fully automated garment factory may be exposed to riskier work conditions than a homemaker who prefers to knit sweaters in his less cluttered abode.

And although a factory worker earns a slightly higher salary than a homemaker, the net wage (income after tax deduction and work-related expenses) may actually be higher for the homemaker because of the "compensating differential" related to working at home.

The society we live in is not static and the rules that govern it must not be out of step with the rapidly changing times. The female labor participation rate has risen because women are seeking supplemental income. And many women are inclined to participate in entrepreneurial activities at home. Married women who want to work and who find hired child care to be inadequate may choose home-based self-employment. In addition, most professionals highly proficient in computer programming will choose to work independently at home. Clearly, the law dealing with homework should be amended. The current prohibition not only stifles new employment opportunities, but it also enforces regulations aimed at benefitting special interest coalitions (i.e. labor unions) at the expense of other productive members of society.

Carmelita Rosal is a junior at UCSD.

The Diplomatic Way of Handling Ms. Astorga

By H.W. Crocker III

It's sad to say, but the rejection of Nora Astorga as Nicaragua's next ambassador to Washington is further proof that the Reagan administration lacks *savoir faire* in matters of state.

Moreover, it is obvious, and too bad, that President Reagan did not personally review Ms. Astorga's credentials. Instead, her nomination seems to have been sunk by the CIA, which opposed her because of her admission that during the Sandinistas' war against Somoza, she lured a Nicaraguan general into her bedroom, where she and her revolutionary comrades removed his eyes, punctured his ears, castrated him, mutilated him generally, and ice-picked him to death. Admittedly, that's not the sort of behavior one looks for in an ambassador, but if President Reagan had handled her case, he would have shown more sophistication, while at the same time protecting American citizens from what could become a bloodthirsty diplomatic corps. He would have invited Ms. Astorga to a private meeting at the White House, and with his devilish charm and disarming wit, he would have guided the conversation thusly.

REAGAN: (Offering his hand, which Ms. Astorga, surprised, accepts almost demurely.) How do you do? Is it Miss or Mrs. Astorga?

ASTORGA: (She is dressed in a black jump suit with a brown beret on her head. Her burning onyx eyes flex their muscles.) It's Ms.

REAGAN: (Smiling.) Will you have a seat, Ms. Astorga? (She sits in a chair in front of the President's desk. President Reagan sits in the chair behind his desk.) Well, Ms. Astorga, I'm very pleased to meet you.

ASTORGA: What is it you want, fascist pig?

REAGAN: (Smiling and laughing.) Oh, so you've been reading my press. You shouldn't believe them. You're a bright girl. They're the ones that said you Sandinistas were democrats. Now, you know that's not true, and I know that's not true, and we both know that Democrats are bad enough, but your group is worse.

ASTORGA: Okay, cowboy, thanks for the speech. What do you want?

REAGAN: Well, Ms. Astorga, I'll tell you. There are a lot of people here in Washington who think that murderers shouldn't be allowed in the country, especially as ambassadors, what with diplomatic immunity and everything else they get conferred on them. But heck, the way I look at it, if we disqualified murderers and murderers, half the Third World couldn't be represented here.

ASTORGA: Your colonialist thoughts are well known, Mr. President.

REAGAN: (Smiling.) Are they really? You know, I'll never get over the incredible attention you receive when you're President.

ASTORGA: Mr. Reagan...

REAGAN: Call me Ron.

ASTORGA: Why did you want to talk to me?

REAGAN: Well, Ms. Astorga, I wanted to tell you that I, personally, am favorably disposed to your nomination as Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States.

ASTORGA: Then why haven't you ordered my acceptance?

REAGAN: I intend to.

ASTORGA: What do you mean?

REAGAN: I mean, I intend to order your acceptance.

ASTORGA: But why? Why would you do this for me, Ronnie?

REAGAN: Make it Ron. Well, Ms. Astorga, the way I see it, if we're going to accept an ambassador from Nicaragua, she might as well be representative of the current Nicaraguan regime—and I think murderers and murderers are perfectly good representatives of the Nicaraguan government.

ASTORGA: Do you really want me here in Washington, Ron? I mean, really?

REAGAN: Why sure, Ms. Astorga. Did you ever see the movie *The Green Berets*?

ASTORGA: No.

REAGAN: Oh, it's a great John Wayne pic. I'll have to invite you over for a private screening—that is, if I can trust you in the dark. Ha, ha, ha. Anyways, in it there's a segment where they use a South Vietnamese girl to seduce a Communist general so that they can kidnap and interrogate him. Now, I admit that

murdering a guy with an ice pick is a little more severe, but, after all, you're a Communist, right? Both our sides have their own way of doing things. Your team plays a lot dirtier, and for a dastardly cause. We use violence to prevent other people from making it a regular practice. Your team uses it to get in power and to stay in power. Personally, I'd much prefer that women spend their time civilizing men rather than ice-picking them, but I've been told that's a sexist point of view.

ASTORGA: Well, Ron, it is.

REAGAN: Okay, so it is. But I just want you to know that it's not so much you as your ideology that my administration condemns. I'll just never be able to support the sort of inherent barbarism and brutality that goes along with left-wing dictatorships—not to mention their expansionistic nature and the fact that they serve as Cuban and Soviet proxies.

ASTORGA: And you're willing to forgive me all that?

REAGAN: Everyone Nicaragua sends me will be a Communist.

ASTORGA: Oh, Mr. President, thank you very much.

REAGAN: Well, now hold on there, Ms. Astorga. I haven't given you a final okay yet. You see, there's still a little question I have to ask you.

ASTORGA: What is it, Ron?

REAGAN: Well, Ms. Astorga, if we allow you to come to Washington, we can't have you luring men into your bedroom and killing them—for any reason whatsoever.

ASTORGA: Oh, Ron, that will be no problem. REAGAN: Well, Ms. Astorga, I'd like to have your word on it. Do you Communists have any sort of personal honor that I could get you to pledge?

ASTORGA: No, we don't, Ron. As a Communist revolutionary, I will do anything, tell any lies, and condemn anyone to death for the benefit of the state. But, as a human being, as a woman, I give you my word.

REAGAN: (Smiles.) Oh, Ms. Astorga, you mean, as a lady. (Ms. Astorga bows her head and blushes. President Reagan stands, extends his hand, and walks her to the door.) Goodbye, Ms. Astorga. I look forward to meeting you again.

ASTORGA: Goodbye, Ron. You're quite a fella. I mean, you're quite a man.

REAGAN: Thanks. Goodbye, Ms. Astorga.

ASTORGA: Till we meet again, goodbye, Mr. President.

REAGAN: Ron.

ASTORGA: Ron.

That gentlemen, is, diplomacy.

H. W. Crocker III is CR's Brigadier Editor Emeritus.



McGuffey's Readers (7 vols.)
and
McGuffey and His Readers (by John H. Westerhoff III)

McGuffey and His Readers

By Dr. G. James Jason

Those of us who favor "basic education" in opposition to "progressive education" get used to hearing our opponents disparage over view by saying, "All you want is to bring back McGuffey's Readers!"

The joke may be on the so-called "progressives." Mott Media (1000 East Huron Street, Milford, Michigan 48042) has reissued the original McGuffey's Readers (the 1837-8 edition), along with a delightful commentary by the Reverend Doctor John H. Westerhoff entitled *McGuffey and His Readers*. Anyone interested in the fundamental issues in education ought to read these books.

Dr. Westerhoff is well qualified, indeed. He is a Professor of Religion and Education at Duke University Divinity School, has published fifteen books and a number of articles, and is the editor of *Religious Education*. He holds graduate degrees in theology, anthropology and education from Harvard and Columbia Universities.

As Dr. Westerhoff shows us, the real McGuffey—as opposed to the strawman some people have set up—was one of the finest educators this country has ever produced. William McGuffey was born in 1800 to a devout Scottish Presbyterian family, and learned early on in his life what hard work was about. His mother was the major force behind his desire for learning. While still quite young he began studying with a minister, the Reverend William Wick, and by age fourteen began his teaching career.

Sometime later McGuffey met a second minister, the Reverend Thomas Hughes, who assisted McGuffey in getting further education at the Reverend's private academy. From there McGuffey went on to Washington College, and eventually wound up at Miami University of Ohio. He spent his most productive years there as a Professor of Ancient Languages. In the mid 1830's he began writing, and soon the Professor produced the first of the readers which bear his name.

And what readers they are! Consisting of two primers, one speller and four "eclectic" readers, they are challenging and effective teaching instruments. The Third Reader—which would be read by children in the equivalent of our fifth and sixth grades—includes many selections from American and English essays (including selections from Bacon, Milton, Byron, Scott, Webster, Jefferson, Rousseau and Shakespeare) as well as lessons from the Bible (including the Sermon on the Mount). Just try to imagine a contemporary sixth grader—say, a Valley Girl—reading Bacon or Milton!

The Fourth Reader was even more amazing. It was intended for elementary school, but included selections of high school caliber—I mean, of *then* high school caliber! It had essays by Johnson and Bacon, poetry by Byron and Milton, and more selections from Shakespeare.

In all of the readers, each selection was followed by a vocabulary list, rhetorical tips (on pronunciation and elocution), and questions for discussion.

The readers contained strong expressions of value, such as would throw the modern student into consternation (or perhaps secretly comfort him). These lessons centered around piety, patriotism, and personal integrity. One sample (p. 285 Fourth Reader):

Let the American orator frown, then, on that ambition, which, pursuing its own aggrandizement and gratification, perils the harmony and integrity of the union, and counts the grief, anxiety, and expostulations of millions, as the small dust of the balance. Let him remember that ambition, like the Amruta cup of Indian fable, gives to the virtuous an immortality of glory and happiness, but to the corrupt an immortality of ruin, shame and misery.

These moral lessons were not, however, simplistic. Consider these two quotes on war and peace (the first from p. 192, the second from p. 150—note also the beauty of the prose):

(1) Though the whole race of man is doomed to dissolution, and we are hastening to our long home; yet at each successive moment, life and death seem to divide between them the dominion of mankind, and life to have the larger share. It is otherwise in war; death reigns there without a rival, and without control.

War is the work, the element, or rather the sport and triumph of death, who here glories not only in the extent of his conquests, but in the richness of his spoil. In the other methods of attack, in the other forms which death assumes, the feeble, and the aged, who at best can live but a short time, are usually the victims. Here they are the vigorous and the strong.

It is remarked by the most ancient of poets that in peace children bury their parents; in war, parents bury their children; nor is the difference small. Children lament their parents, sincerely, indeed, but with that moderate and tranquil sorrow, which it is natural for those to feel who are conscious of retaining many tender ties, many animating prospects.

Parents mourn for their children with the bitterness of despair. The aged parent, the widowed mother, loses, when she is deprived of her children, everything but the capacity of suffering. Her heart, withered and desolate, admits no other object, cherishes no other hope. It is Rachel, weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are not.

(2) I am no advocate for war. I abominate its spirit and its cruelties. But to me there appears a wide and essential difference between resistance and aggression. It is aggression, it is the love of arbitrary domination, it is the insane thirst for what the world has too long and too indiscriminately called glory, which lights up the flames of war and devastation.

Without aggression on the one side, no resistance would be roused on the other, and there would be no war. If all aggression were met by determined resistance, then, too, there would be no war; for the spirit of aggression would be humbled and repressed. I would that it might be the universal principle of our countrymen, and the determination of our rulers, never to offer the slightest injury, never to commit the least outrage, though it were to obtain territory, or fame, or any selfish advantage.

Those who hold multi-media presentations on the horrors of nuclear war appear as imbecilic next to such clear wisdom.

Any student who learned from these readers had to really *think* along the way. After Byron's poem entitled "Rome," the following questions are asked:

1. Why does Byron call Rome "my country"?
2. Who was Niobe, and what was her story?
3. How is Rome the Niobe of nations?
4. Upon what site was Rome built?
5. What "double night" rests upon Rome?
6. What ancient Grecian exclaimed "Eureka," and why?
7. What great men of Rome are mentioned in verse 5?
8. What is narrated of Sylla in verses 6 and 7?
9. Is Rome a mere mass of ruins? or are these, descriptions of parts of the city?
10. In verse 10 what moral is drawn from the rehearsal of the past?
11. What is the beautiful metaphor in verse 11?
12. What is said of the imperial urn, and what fact referred to?
13. What is said of the Forum?
14. What was the Forum?
15. What was the Tarpeian?

Is challenging your students to think and articulate so very unprogressive?

McGuffey wrote few articles on his philosophy of education—the poor fellow would not have gotten tenure at your average Education Department. But the few pieces he did write (which are included as appendices in Dr. Westerhoff's fine book) reveal a mind that truly understood what education is about.

For one thing, McGuffey was by no means a believer in rote memorization. He believed that the role of the teacher is to challenge, question, even provoke the students.

In fact, McGuffey as a true progressive educator, as opposed to the sham progressives so common today. First, he believed that almost everybody can master the essentials of knowledge. Second, he believed that discipline was essential to learning. The Socratic method only works when the participants have discipline enough to stick to the inquiry. Third, McGuffey believed that certain basic values—honesty, patriotism, diligence—are truly valid, and should be inculcated.

One question does come to the fore in reading these admirable books. They are very definitely oriented toward Christian—indeed, Protestant—faith. How can values be inculcated without adding a specific theology—so hard to do in a pluralistic society? The Readers furnish no answer; however, they do make the question very clear.

I urge you to buy and read these books. The next time someone laughs at the phrase "back to McGuffey's Readers!" ask whether he has read them. The chances are that he hasn't.

Dr. G. James Jason is professor of Philosophy at Washburn University and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.



The Mighty C.K. Littlewood
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(continued from page 11)

than one-hundredth of the number of Soviet intelligence personnel positioned in the U.S. Soviet intelligence officers can move around the U.S. at will, under only slight surveillance. In the Soviet Union the teams of watchers out-number the watched by as much as a thousand-to-one.

Add to all of this the secure base of the KGB, Moscow—untroubled by investigative journalists, Congressional committees, Internal Revenue Service regulations, leaking bureaucrats, bank inspectors or TV paparazzi—and the inherent advantages of the totalitarian state over a democracy in marshalling resources for clandestine operations become monumentally evident.

Finally we come to the area where the Soviets clearly surpass the CIA: the area of covert action. The Soviet regime began as a covert action operation, and it has continued to resort to that approach whenever possible. As E.H. Carr suggested in *The Bolshevik Revolution*, propaganda and other forms of opinion-influencing, most of them covert action in one form or another, probably saved the revolution from destruction in its early days. The entire Soviet effort, from overt propaganda to the most subtle agent of influence, is estimated at about three billion dollars annually. If one includes all the outlays for USIA, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe along with the CIA funds for covert action, one could hardly find one billion dollars among them.

Admiral Bobby Inman, recently retired as a Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, estimates that since 1965 the U.S. intelligence effort has been reduced by 40 percent. A large factor in this decline clearly has been the attacks on the intelligence community and the ensuing restrictions placed upon it. Those actions which evince discouraging trends may lead to the growth of a real concern among the voters that the cost to national security of weak intelligence organizations is too high to pay.

Drew DeGolyer is a sophomore at UCSD.

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The Modern Little Red Hen.



Once upon a time, there was a little red hen who scratched about the barnyard until she uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her neighbors and said, "If we plant this wheat, we shall have bread to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I," said the cow.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Not I," said the pig.

"Not I," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen. And she did. The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap my wheat?" asked the little red hen.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Out of my classification," said the pig.

"I'd lose my seniority," said the cow.

"I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did. At last it came time to bake the bread. "Who will help me bake the bread?" asked the little red hen.

"That would be overtime for me," said the cow. "I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the duck.

"I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the pig.

"If I'm to be the only helper, that's discrimination," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen.

She baked five loaves and held them up for her neighbors to see.

They all wanted some and, in fact, demanded a share. But the little red hen said, "No, I can eat the five loaves myself."

"Excess profits!" cried the cow.

"Capitalist leech!" screamed the duck.

"I demand equal rights!" yelled the goose.

And the pig just grunted. And they painted "unfair" picket signs and marched round and round the little red hen, shouting obscenities.

When the government agent came, he said to the little red hen, "You must not be greedy."

"But I earned the bread," said the little red hen.

"Exactly," said the agent. "That is the wonderful free enterprise system. Anyone in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. But under our modern government regulations, the productive workers must divide their product with the idle."

And they lived happily ever after, including the little red hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never again baked any more bread.

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