

E. Clasen Young

H.W. Crocker III

California Review

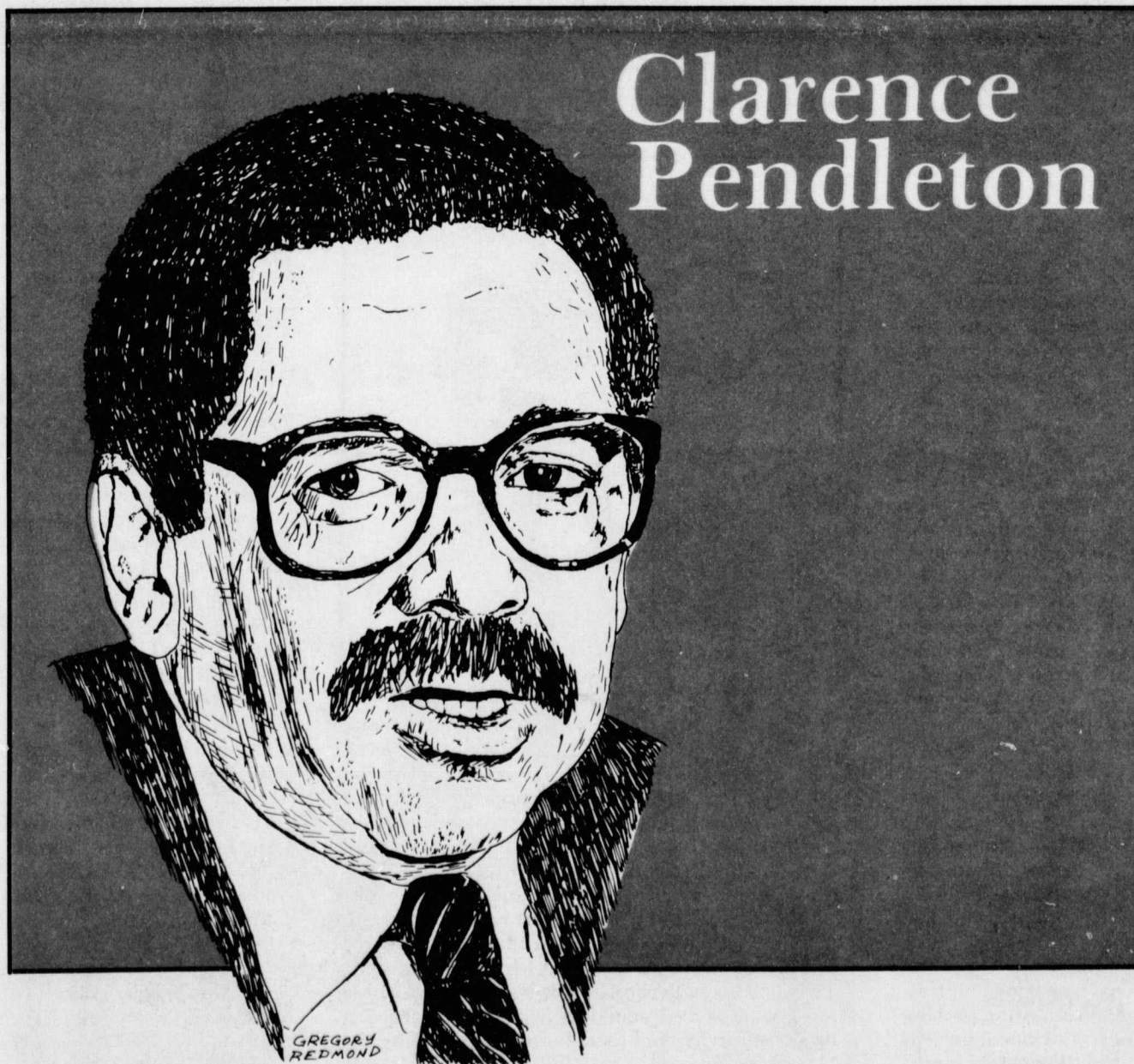
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C. Brandon Crocker on Regulation
Suzanne L. Schott on Violent Pacifists
Dinesh D'Souza: *Holy Terror*
Also: R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., Patrick J. Buchanan, Jeffrey Hart . . .



Third World Derangements

by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. is editor-in-chief of The American Spectator and a syndicated columnist. He is presently at work on a study of liberal enthusiasms.

In those magisterial realms where the legendary transformation of the Third World is excogitated and monitored, is Dr. Gunnary Myrdal often thought of as one honey of a cheerleader? I think not. Sociologist, anthropologist, professor of economic development, and Swede, Dr. Myrdal is an esteemed visionary, an early adept of Uniworld, a patron and mentor to that amazing repository of virtue—the Third World.

Yet ponder this: Sometime around the year 1960 A.D., someone slipped Dr. Myrdal a manuscript, *Blossoms in the Dust*. It is the chronicle of Kasum Nair's year-long trek through the podunks of the great Indian subcontinent, undertaken at a time a) when hope swelled for turning primitive environs into societies on the Western order and b) just before the Western order took on many of the customs of those primitive environs. Nair interviewed Indians from all walks of life, that she might "assess the impact of development upon the individuals and communities involved." The author is an honest woman; hers is thus an appalling narrative, peopled by a congeries of dim souls not one of whom really shared Dr. Myrdal's faith in Uniworld. Some were no more capable of envisaging it than they were capable of mastering ancient Greek or performing the rumba. Others opposed it violently. India, as *Blossoms in the Dust* made clear, would never become a land of instant Swedes. So tight was the hold of India's holy men, castes, and ignoramuses, that the place might not even rise to the level of a West Virginia until the turn of the century. Nonetheless, when the time came for Dr. Myrdal to compose the book's forward, the cheerleader in him leapt to life:

As the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, never ceases to stress, the problem facing the country...is how to bring about a social and economic revolution by peaceful means. India...moulding all her public life...national down to...local level...framework of democracy...universal suffrage. The hope...reform...total remaking of social and economic relations...carried out by the people themselves...a minimum of direction...without resort to compulsion...reforms need to be planned...the planning should be democratic...the welfare of the masses...its supreme goal...done by the people...expresses their desires, ambitions and needs...compulsion is excluded...Indian democratic planning...initiating a social process...the masses...become increasingly motivated...improving their lot as individuals...improving society by co-operative endeavor.

Blah, blah, blah. The very book put the lie to the blah. Twenty more years of experience stamped the lie on the blah. Pained reports from the scholars of economic development emblazoned the lie. But the blah endured. It gained adherents. Year after year the Uniworld blah was to grow more meretricious, prehensile, and brutal; but the world never outgrows its need for lies.

The Resentment was of course resentment for the erstwhile colonial powers that had wiped out cholera and cannibalism; that had introduced pants and shoes; that, in fine, had brought modernity to peoples who apparently wanted to wait and see what their own indigenous Bronze Ages might be like. Would Papua ever develop an Athens or a Rome? What might the Zambian Aristotle say, and when would an Aeschylus pop up in Burundi? All these cultural splendors had been obviated when the colonial powers barged in with their quacks and their pettifoggers. One colonial power in particular became the focal point of The Resentment, to wit: the United States, oppressor of Puerto Rico and matrix of foreign aid, technical assistance, health services, Peace Corps, and uppity women. The Soviet Union never made this mistake. It sent out tanks or East European secret police or Cuban mercenaries, and hesto presto no resentment. But from the United States there came foreign aid, and The Resentment enlarged, receiving its most eloquent articulation at the United Nations where the Third World governments expressed their pain and frustration by abominating Israel and amassing parking violations. Here at the infant seat of world government, the diplomats of the Third World became the most effective and idealistic scofflaws ever heard of.

In 1980, Cuba amassed 5,888 unpaid parking violations, with one diplomatically immune Cuban personally accounting for 651. Not even Nigeria (4,016) surpassed the Cubans, though based on the number of cars in their missions Angola was probably the preeminent delegation of scofflaws with 227 tickets per car, followed by the illustrious Cubans

with 190, and Senegal with 163.

As for The Confusion, it is something altogether more subtle and singular. V.S. Naipaul and his brother Shiva have become its most authoritative chroniclers, and from a careful reading of their works the student of Third World anthropology sees that The Confusion is that uneasiness that hits every yahoo in jerkwater once word of America spreads to his dusty burg. Let him hear of the folkways and mores observed in Hollywood, California and the grim sonorities of the Prophet will never curl his hair quite so tightly again. Once a Coca Cola vending machine or the golden arches of McDonald's have been raised above the bush, neither grubs nor caterpillars will taste so savory; immerse them in the choicest grease—it will do no good. After the wireless has been installed and the TVs are in place, news from goddess and gorgeous America will wobble every swarthy mullah, every fuliginous patriot, and all the caudillos of Patagonia. Whether a village eminence has a wife as strong as a water buffalo or a dozen nubile daughters to sell, there will still be days when he secretly sighs beneath the burning sun and dreams of discoing like made in nocturnal Manhattan.

Surrounding the legend of the Third World, there has always been a lot of whoop-whoop, and if I cite the Swede Myrdal it is only because his preachments were spermatic, and, I suppose, because his bubbly prelude to *Blossoms in the Dust* superbly illustrates how oblivious the early adepts of Uniworld were to reality. If the truth be known, it was not dreamers from the old world but Americans who in the main conected the Third World. Untrammelled by colonial holdings and heady with the fumes of idiot idealism, Americans at the end of World War II could always be counted on to throw their enormous weight behind the notion that there were developed and undeveloped worlds. The developed world included North America, Western Europe, Japan, and South Africa. Practically every other land was heaved into the Third World, though the USSR and its principalities were given a somewhat hazy classification—sometimes they were of the Third, sometimes not.



Thus something like two-thirds of the human race could be counted on by the profs of economic development to be staunchly "undeveloped." The job was to turn them into Volvo-driving, concert-going Swedes, i.e., Americans with taste.

The conception was nonsensical. It was a colossal delusion, mixing condescension in a stew of timorousness and boredom with our own culture. The adepts of Uniworld had lost their relish for the culture of the West, but they were contemptuous of the traditional values to be found with the primitives. They had no real vision of a better world and would have better served mankind had they remained at home, emptying bourbon bottles and reading the Marxist mumbo jumbo to the cat. But their wanton energies and voluminous egos would not leave them alone. They evangelized Uniworld and its balmy vision of a world culture. Where their ancestors had once sent missionaries abundant with Christian zeal they now sent social workers intent on getting the hell back to nature. Withal, the agents of Christian endeavor were driven by a bright vision of mission and truth. The adepts of Uniworld could never

decide the specifics of their truths. They had no idea whether they were bringing the word to the heathens or the heathens were there to edify them.

Was life in the Zambian bush superior to life in Scarsdale? The prudent adept of Uniworld would never say. He seemed to thump for material improvement without materialists, American without Americans; and his Third World colleagues were in bemused accord. The ambivalence of the great endeavor was there from the start and grew more apparent. Epithets changed. The undeveloped world became the under-developed world, then the developing world, then the lesser developed world, and so on. No one really knew what to call it or what to do with it, probably because it has never really existed. All that really has existed have been the proponents of the blah, but as the blah spread the ill-assorted peoples of the non-Western world were agglutinated into the "Third World," held together by but two common bonds: The Confusion and The Resentment. The rewards were bundles of gold Rolex watches and foreign aid plus ample supplies of military hardware. Thus they could bravely butcher each other. This they did with relish and their terrorists became a threat to the peace of all mankind. If they ever laid hands on nuclear weapons, they might even become a threat to the planet. But all this depended on The Confusion and The Resentment.

Yes, it is true. Throughout the Third World almost everyone takes pride in his ancient ghosts and goblins. All extol the timeless rhythms of their antique cultures. The corruptions of the foul West are known to every informed rickshaw puller, every bazaar entrepreneur. Yet word of Uncle Sam's Gomorrah remains diverting. People on every rung of the Third World ladder want to know more, and this creates problems. Fundamentally, the source of The Resentment is that question presciently raised by Sam Lewis and Joe Young in the title of their 1919 anthem, "How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm After They've Seen Parade?"

The Confusion can be observed right here in America where it addles the brains of all the mediocre graduate students sent by Third World governments to make off with the American magic. Watching them brood pays a double dividend, instructing us deeply in The Confusion and also giving us a familiarity with many of the future eminentoes of these far-off lands. For once these dolts have spent a quarter of a century or so gaining their M.A.'s in telecommunications and other such pud courses, once they have tired of clipping magazine lingerie ads for their salacious scrapbooks, of plying blonde coeds with coffee in student unions and learning how to masticate chewing gum without swallowing it, all will return home to take up lofty positions in the local establishment or to be beaten to death in Utopia's dungeons. Forty-year-old graduate students from American universities were suddenly the most powerful Metternichs in post-Pahlavi Iran. Then they were on the run. In the Third World, too, there is the proverbial rat race—sometimes dominated by real rats.

I do not want to misperceived. Certainly not all Third Worlders are mediocrities. Some obviously are men of sound character and high intelligence, but all the second-raters suffer from The Confusion whether they study at Harvard or Slippery Rock. Apparently the allure of America's trashy pop culture is too much for them. They immerse themselves in their dormitory rooms. They meditate solitarily on TV's pish-posh and radio's simian sound. They visit Disneyland and Miami Beach. They suffer all the brummagem sentiments emanating therefrom, and return to jerkwater confirmed in the belief that they have tasted the culture of Einstein and Beethoven, and that they understand. Add to these seminal experiences their attendance at a few afternoon classes where their sestas are disturbed by the occasional rough shouts of an anti-American prof and their minds will forever be abuzz with The Confusion and The Resentment.

The laugh is that our State Department still dreams of participating in the dance of statecraft with these goons. It has yet to occur to the diplomats that Third Worldism seems "to hint at a kind of universal mental retardation." The words are not from the 1960s encomiums of Dr. Myrdal but from Shiva Naipaul, reviewing the Third World politics of the Cooperative Socialist Republic of Guyana twenty years later.

Letters



Dear People:

Congratulations on your new rag. I found volume I, number one on the floor of a men's room at Western Washington University. I loved it. How can I get more issues?

Mike Bellingham, WA

Business Manager's note:

Since we cannot guarantee delivery to the Western Washington University restrooms, we suggest you subscribe.

—CBC

Dear Young, et. al.

When I saw your first marvelous issue I thought, "Pretty good, but are they a flash in the pan?" I see your second issue and I think, "Very good. No."

Keep it up. Don't let the paunchy, warty, snarling, hypocritical, jowly, racist, liberals get you down.

Now the bad news: would you like to print one of my articles?

If not, disregard the first three paragraphs of this letter and substitute: "Idiots."

Sincerely, Dinesh D'Souza Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Harry and Brandon—

Do you have time for school work, too? This is quite a project.

Mary Wright San Diego

Dear Sirs:

Any paper founded by American history fanatics, which is against affirmative action, and which shows interest in the Green Berets is O.K. with me. Enter my subscription forthwith. Thank you.

Cordially, Wayne J. Warf St. Joseph's University Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Young,

I am in receipt of your first edition of the California Review and I must say, it is quite good! I hope you can continue the great work.

I write you because I am interested in publishing a conservative student newspaper on the University of New Mexico campus. A group of conservative friends and myself have vowed to fight the indoctrination of liberalism here at UNM. Any information and advice in regards to our newspaper venture would be helpful.

Before closing, I must note with some amusement that I understand you are from Lake Forest, IL and Kenney Jones of *The Dartmouth Review* is also from the Chicago area. As for myself, I am from Schaumburg, IL. Is the Chicago area the last bastion for conservative college students? I hope we are not alone.

I appreciate any assistance you can give me! Thank you.

Sincerely yours, Keith E. Mazikowski Albuquerque, New Mexico



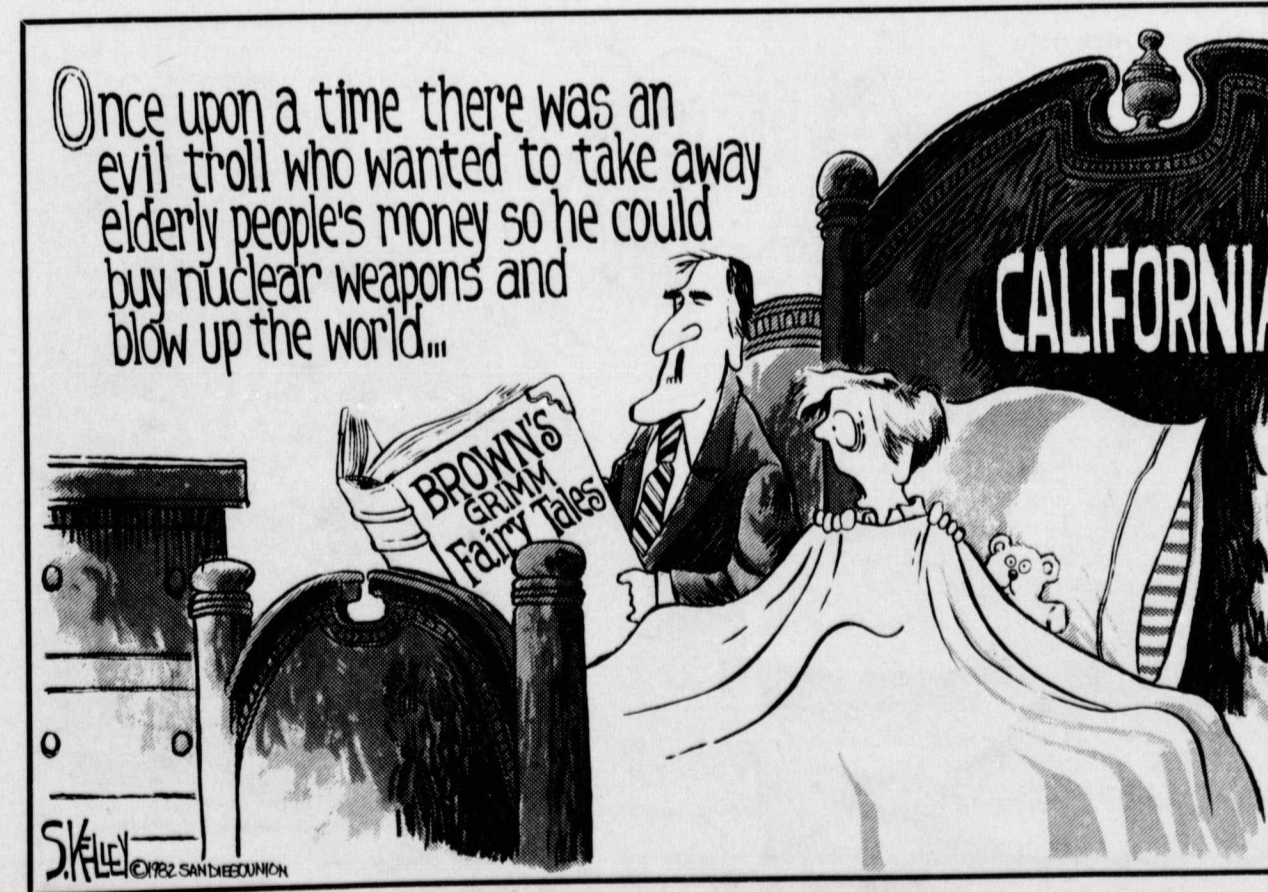
Gentlemen—

Please feel free to print the enclosed letters from the LA Times (9/26/82) concerning Ben Sasway and Draft Registration in general. Your publication, fledgling as it is, stands to gain much respect in representing alternative viewpoints.

Sincerely, J.P. Rex III La Jolla

Editor's note:

Dear Mr. Rex, we are the alternative viewpoint. —HWC III



California Review

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

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



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

■ Peter Mortenson, the *Guardian's* resident pseudo-intellectual, re-introduced us to that marvelous bastard word "irregardless" in one of his fascinating columns. Another *Guardian* language slayer referred to the famous economist "Thomas Sol". Comrades, if you must expose your ignorance, why not do it in a bonehead English class where it will do you some good. I'm sure Thomas Sowell would sleep better that way.

■ Literary giant, Alexander Solzhenitsyn—so loved by the Soviet Union that he was booted out in 1974—wrote the vivid account of his state-sponsored vacation in the Siberian prison camps, *The Gulag Archipelago*, the proceeds of which went to a fund created to help the families of political prisoners. But the Communist Party Central Committee believes that all money matters should be left to them. Recently, the government labeled Solzhenitsyn a "literary traitor" in a newspaper under their auspices—*Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*. Alleging that the fund was financed by the CIA, they stormed the fund headquarters in Moscow and stole a list of the 700 families receiving financial assistance. The list, claim the authorities, is "proof" that the fund was run by criminals.

■ Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, and Coretta Scott King were among those who took part at a "Weep-In" in our nation's capital. The weepies were bemoaning the dismantling of reverse discrimination and other civil rights priorities by the Reagan administration.

■ The once frequent TGIF imbibing party is becoming a thing of the past. A.S. programmer, David Parker enriched your social-life by spending \$450.00 of your student fees (\$300 from the A.S. and \$150 from Student Affirmative Action) to bring feminist-blues minstrel, Judy Gorman-Jacobs to UCSD. How many kegs of Coors would that have bought?

■ Discrimination is everywhere. We understand that as of this year, one cannot get an appointment at OASIS Tutoring Services unless he is a "minority" student.

■ Here come the national averages of recently-taken SAT's.

| | | |
|--------|----------|------------|
| Asians | Math 513 | Verbal 397 |
| Whites | Math 483 | Verbal 442 |
| Blacks | Math 362 | Verbal 332 |

And how should this unequal distribution in intelligence be combatted some ask?

George Hanford, President of the College Board, tells us that the results demonstrate "the need for more affirmative action." We wonder how he got his job?

■ In the Fall 1982 issue of *Nutshell*, a self-proclaimed magazine of the college community, staff writer Luke Whisnant gives college girls the following advice about their male counterparts: "We want a woman who puts out on the first, second, or maybe-third-but-no-later date..." Mr. Whisnant is not, as he claims, speaking for men on the college campus. He is talking about the overgrown, lecherous adolescents that haunt the gutters of our universities. Real men don't look for women who put out. Real men look for women who honor commitments.

■ CALLING ALL ECOLOGISTS! Scandal! The wine-grape acreage of California grew from 179,854 acres in 1971 to 342,778 acres in 1981, thus displacing untold multitudes of beetles, sow bugs, and caterpillars. Luckily for Republicans, this hot political item can't be put on James Watt's doorstep.

■ UCSD *Guardian* News Editor Thomas Rankin referred no less than five times to one Senator S.I. Hiyakawa. Who is this man? Could the profound Mr. Rankin, following in the noble steps of Peter Mortenson and other *Guardian philosophes*, mean Senator S.I. Hayakawa?

■ The Helsinki Watch Group, the group responsible for seeing that the Soviet Union lives up to the agreement it signed in Helsinki, has been officially disbanded after all but three of its members were either exiled or imprisoned.

■ We had a good chuckle when a UCSD student proposed that the Associated Students sponsor a "Nuke Ben Sasway Sexist Dance." In all seriousness, however, we agree that Benny is being dealt with rather leniently. There are two ways for one to serve the country that serves him—one is shooting bullets in the army; the other is making licence plates in the hoosegow.

■ The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* blames jeans for ruining the Soviet woman's world famous grace. It seems that even in the progressive, anti-sexist Soviet Union there is a reactionary desire of women to be feminine. Women libbers beware. The biological imperative rules all.

■ Ever wonder what labels the left-wing McCarthyites use to slander intelligent folk who deny affirmative action and who happen to be black? Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Texas) calls Housing Secretary Samuel Pierce a "Stepin Fetchit"—after the subservient black film-screen character of the 1930s—for believing in Reagan administration policies. "If he were white, he would be considered a racist," said Gonzalez. "He would have militant groups camping out in his office." Oh the joy of being black.



■ Susan L. Shirk, one of UCSD's China scholars, is the author of *Competitive Comrades*. It examines the Oriental worker's paradise—Communist China—and concludes that it's a pretty terrible place full of the alienation, cynicism, and dog-eat-dogism that compassionate commies like to attribute to capitalism. The search for a progressive worker's paradise will have to be continued elsewhere.

■ Literature classes at UCSD have a tendency to turn into anti-Reagan rallies. The illuminating Jack Behar, during a lecture on Emerson, ridiculed opponents of socialized medicine and praised its efficacy in England, whose system, he murmured sorrowfully, is already deep in red ink—in fact, broke. Perhaps professor Behar hasn't noticed all those doctors with British accents now practicing in the United States—ever hear of the "brain drain?" In another Behar lecture, the luminous professor remarked, "Who has time to read intellectual magazines like the *Nation* or the *New Republic*? I barely have time to get through the paper." Well professor, some of us do take the time to read these magazines and their superiors so that we don't make the kind of dumb political statements that emanate from some literature professors. If professor Behar taught literature the way he preaches politics, the closest he could get to a literary career would be to sell newspapers. A classroom is not a forum for soapbox politics. Professors should learn to stay on the subject.



■ The "rapid and dramatic changes in roles of women during the last two decades" have given UCSD—in all academic seriousness—an excuse to create a Women's Studies Program fashioned "to promote teaching and scholarship in a wide range of disciplines." Questioning as to whether "discipline" can be so wide ranged, we at *California Review* are offering a special class in women's studies scheduled to meet each evening at six in the Drake Hall kitchen.

■ Volume I of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* in its introduction to the period of 1820 to 1865 has the following insights: 1) "At a time when sex was banished from the magazines and from almost all books...Whitman alone called for a healthy sense of the relation between body and soul...The other male writers made no challenge to conventional sex roles...Only Whitman among the male authors regularly employed what we would call nonsexist language...While the attitudes of most male—and female—writers of the time reflected and embodied the prevailing sexism...And Whitman, the only writer of the period to advance a "Programme" for honest depiction of sex in literature, himself endured torments over his homoerotic longings." 2) "In 'a new country,' Thoreau said, 'fuel is an encumbrance,' and his generation acted as if trees existed to be burned (and mountains to be graded and wild animals to be slaughtered)." 3) "(Successive generations of American writers would experience the same trauma: Howells, Twain, and others when the United States turned from savior to conqueror in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, Robert Lowell and many others after it became clear that the involvement of the United States in Vietnam was not purely a gesture of compassion toward a grateful, beleaguered nation.)" This is a textbook for UCSD American literature classes. Question: what happened to the idea of the textbook as a disinterested disseminator of information? And since when has the left's 1970s agenda become the official way to judge history and criticize literature.

■ Massachusetts can chalk up six more victims of Reaganomics. The six were kicked off the welfare rolls after it was discovered that each of them had over \$100,000 in the bank.

■ The Committee Against Ben Sasway (CABS) will be holding a candlelight vigil this Saturday in honor of the boat people that gentle Ben thinks we shouldn't have tried to defend.

■ The Feminist Women's Health Center in Oakland is the first sperm bank to be run entirely by women. Unlike most sperm banks, it will not discriminate on the basis of intelligence and will not limit the number of donations a man may make, although they do not want one donor to father more than 15 children. The sperm bank's purpose is to provide infertile couples, single women, and lesbians with children.

■ Prince Andrew is vacationing in the Caribbean with soft-porn actress Koo Stark. It's heartening to see that the spirit of Gladstonian reform lives on in the Royal Family.

■ Freeze Reggie Williams.

Compassion for Homosexuals Won't Impress Mom & Dad

by Patrick J. Buchanan

Five years ago, Walter Mondale refused to address a gathering of homosexuals. Last week, he flew to New York to address the political arm of the "gay rights" movement, and endorsed its demand that homosexuals—like blacks, women, Hispanics, etc.—be included in federal law as a minority against whom it will henceforth be a crime to discriminate.

The change in those five years is not in the cogency of the arguments; it is in the political condition of Walter Mondale. Then, he was a heartbeat away from the presidency; now, he is a politically desperate candidate.

Edward Kennedy has pre-empted Reaganomics and the nuclear freeze; Walter Mondale needs issues and a base on the Democratic left. Today he has it. From Greenwich Village to San Francisco, he is the toast of the lesbians and gays, consensus choice of the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club.

Well, what is wrong with that, the "modern" might ask. Homosexuals are no more responsible for their condition than blacks; they, too, have been victimized by bigotry and discrimination; a good and just society would guarantee them, also, the "equal protection" of the law.

Before addressing that point, consider what the Mondale Amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would accomplish.

The U.S. Army, currently struggling with the discipline and morale problems of women in the ranks, would have to accept and live with the problem of active homosexuals in the barracks. Those lesbians, whose discovery aboard U.S. naval vessels in the Atlantic led to their dismissal, would have to be re-instated.

Homosexuals claiming the right to marry and adopt children could not be denied. The new federal law would supersede the rules and regulations of adoption agencies.

Beyond this, the vast machinery of civil rights enforcement—the divisions of Justice, Labor and HHS, the EEOC, the Civil Rights Commission—would have to be augmented with gays and advocates of gay rights.

Well, you ask, what is wrong with that? What is wrong is that it is grossly invalid to compare gays with blacks. True, a homosexual may have no more control over his "sexual orientation" than a black does over his race or color, but a man with homosexual proclivities does have the same freedom of choice as anyone else in appearance, demeanor, conduct, behavior. And this is exactly the issue.

Since the founding of the Republic, homosexuals have been writers, artists, politicians, entertainers, soldiers, businessmen, statesmen. They never suffered the wholesale, invidious discrimination that blacks endured—first as slaves, then as second class citizens.

What the "gay rights" movement demands is something far beyond constitutional or civil rights. They want the federal laws of a supposedly Christian country to sanction as good a "lifestyle" which most traditional religions hold to be unnatural and immoral. In brief, Mondale and his military homosexual allies want Congress to do precisely what they accuse Jesse Helms of doing. They want Congress to impose the moral values of a militant minority upon the whole American people.

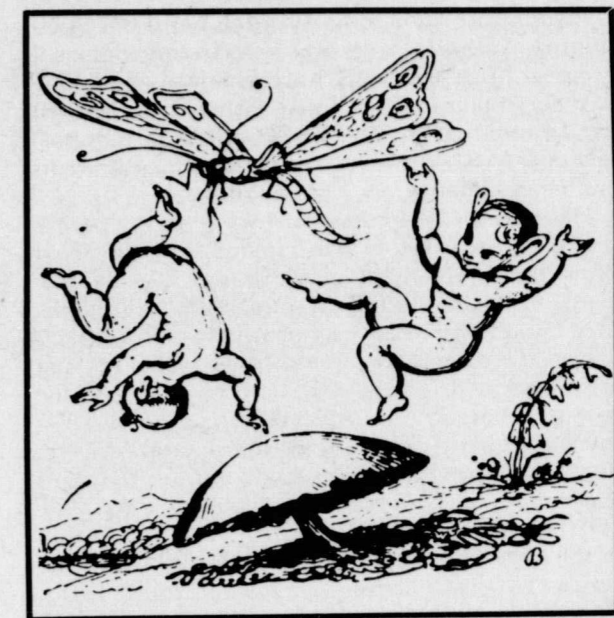
And what are the gays demanding we respect? Well, their current champion is Dan Bradley, former head of Legal Services, whose emergence from the closet is heroically portrayed in Harper's. Here is a description of the behavior Mondale wishes us to codify as right and decent and moral in federal law.

"He (Bradley) made a heartening discovery. He found the baths. Having read about the gay baths, he finally worked up the courage to visit one...he walked behind the forbidding walls and saw hundreds of gay men wearing towels. It took Bradley about five minutes to discern that the whole place was expressly designed for promiscuous, anonymous sex which was exactly what he had in mind. 'I must have had sex with 10 different guys that night,' he (Bradley) says. 'I was like a kid in a candy store.'"

Now Taylor Branch, the author of that Harper's piece, Dan Bradley and Walter Mondale may consider this morally neutral behavior, a legitimate "lifestyle" whose practitioners deserve special protection in federal law. Millions of Americans were taught, and believe, religiously if you will, that it is immoral and decadent.

And if Mondale and his new allies attempt to force their fellow citizens to accept their moral standards—under penalty of criminal sanction— they will find themselves with a nationwide movement of civil disobedience that will make the incidents at Little Rock and Oxford, Miss., look like Georgetown brunches.

Mr. Buchanan is a syndicated columnist stationed in Washington and a co-host of Crossfire.



A Little Speculation on the Leftism of Academics

By Jeffrey Hart

In a recent column I dealt with what is certainly an often-told tale, the peculiar leftism of the American academic community, these reflections being occasioned by a—once more—startling piece in *This World* magazine about the political views of professors of theology.

As I reported, those views are roughly the same as the views of humanities professors in the liberal arts generally.

Some two-thirds in elite schools supported George McGovern in 1972. More than half regard the United States as a malign force in the world. More than half regard right-wing dictatorships friendly to the United States as more of a threat than communism. Socialist redistribution toward income equality commands wide support, etc. And the leftism increases as the quality of the college or university goes up.

I reported on these results, considering that it is always well to keep the academic situation in mind, but I did not have the space to speculate on the roots of this peculiar phenomenon. Herewith, a few thoughts.

First and foremost, an academic career is in many cases the result of a conscious decision not to participate in the ordinary productive or professional life of the outer society. It represents a conscious no-saying. The Socialist academic tendency represents the negation of the outer capitalist arrangements. The demand for income equality and redistribution represents an envious response to high salaries outside and an attack upon the profit motive.

Indicative of all this is that the sectors of the academy that have the most interaction with the outer society tend to be the most conservative: the faculties of the business schools, the engineers and the hard sciences.

The more abstract and purely academic fields tend to be the most radical: mathematics, philosophy, religion—and, surprise, classics. I was startled, during the '60s, to find that young academics going into Latin and Greek studies were often Marxists, their classicism representing some desire for another and more remote reality. Noam Chomsky of MIT, perhaps our leading philosophical linguist, is also a Trotskyite anti-American in his political writing.

But I would like to make a second point. It seems to me that there is an important distinction to be made between problem-solving politics and feel-good politics. The politics of intellectuals generally and academics specifically tends to be of the feel-good sort.

The game played on the campus is to take political positions of great symbolic and emotional value to those taking them, but of little or no practical consequence. Such as removing university investments from South Africa. This would mean nothing economically to South Africa and would chiefly penalize students, whose fees might well rise. But that position "feels good." Ditto nuclear disarmament, etc.

It is part of feel-good politics that student polemics of the left, i.e., anti the outer society, are received hospitably by college faculties, while student polemics in behalf, say, of Ronald Reagan are greeted with threats of suppression. What we see on the campus today is essentially a rejectionist syndrome. The favorite leftist themes have been clobbered in the outer society, and most of their conspicuous spokesmen retired from public office, including George McGovern.

But in the academic enclave the old faith lives on, all the more congealed and bitter because of its decisive defeats elsewhere.

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

SS-20's for Lunch

The Pecksniffian luminary Andrei Gromyko is hitting sour notes in his little concerto for Soviet world-peace. The Communist Foreign Minister is accusing the Reagan Administration of planning for nuclear war with the "cold-blooded composure of gravediggers." Therefore, Gromyko arduously demands a bi-lateral moratorium on nukes. Well of course; the Soviets are starving, the Siberian Pipeline is overburdening the Gulag employment agency, and communal wheat just won't grow. The Worker's Paradise has to choose between martial supremacy and eating.

Speaking to the thirty-seventh session of the United Nations earlier in the month, Gromyko characterized Washington as a vicious lot with "the idea that it has to be number one militarily." While the Soviet Union, he said, "does not recognize anyone's right to military superiority. And it will see to it that it does not happen." He might better have said that there is no such thing as the Mafia...and he'll kill anyone who says there is.

The 73-year-old Soviet minister charges that our administration is whipping up an "atmosphere of lies, hysteria, and chauvenistic intoxication" to make it "easier to get astronomical military budgets approved." Furthermore, he alleges that the United States is responsible for the recent refugee camp massacre in Beirut because the U.S.-sponsored Camp David accord between Egypt and Israel lay at the "root cause of the Lebanese tragedy." The same week, the Russian country—so victimized by "lies, hysteria, and chauvenistic intoxication"—neatly exterminated 2,000 Afghans in the Logar province. The American press barely winked.

The Soviet upsurge in proposing moratoriums on weaponry and so-called "peace" is as sincere as their crusade for civil rights in Poland. The real issue is food. Centralized government in the Soviet Union has turned a nation into a country that now imports more grain than any other in history. Soviet officials blame their failures on weather.

Just as production declines cut across almost every segment of Soviet agriculture, the shortcomings involve virtually every agricultural input and every phase of agricultural management. Brezhnev declares that the state is planning to combat this by the implementation of a major food program that infuses capital into farming—meaning western-style capitalism with genuine incentives.

Almost needless to say, American experts claim the program will do little to solve the Soviet food problems; instead, it will aggravate them by adding new layers to the already burdened system. We can see, without the help of experts, that the real structural changes needed to reduce Soviet food deficits will threaten the traditional authority of the central government and the Communist Party. Papa Brezhnev is big on tradition—he has fun playing head of state and watching his country starve.

We Americans are lucky; we have an immense surplus of the golden grain. The reds could buy it, but they lack the greenbacks. So they sit on their missile launchers and dream of hotdogs and apple pie.

—ECY

Coming Eventually....

Bruce Macdonald's *Keeping It Right*

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Violent Pacifists

by Suzanne L. Schott

Historically prime cargo for liberal bandwagons, sunstricken UCSD radicals have jumped in for yet another joy ride. All excited over the recent trial of Ben Sasway, a San Diego draft resister, they're tearing down a dead-end street, whooping and hollering. A couple weeks ago, as if advertising for ninety-pound weaklings, hundreds of fliers appeared on campus walls and lampposts reading: "Don't Get Blown Away By the Draft." The Committee Against Registration for the Draft (CARD) was announcing its "premier meeting on campus."

The "forum type situation" commenced on a highbrow note as a grubby peacenik "moderator" addressed the auditorium's sparse population who had responded to the blitz. Clad in a white T-shirt with multicolor magic-marked slogans and bluejeans, circa 1968, he announced the first "guest speaker," a dizzy paralegal—Kathy Gilbert—from the National Lawyers Guild, the most credible organization *defending* Ben Sasway.

Ms. Gilbert proceeded to enlighten us on the "prosecutions underway around the country and a little about what they mean." A more apt appellations might have been: the Selective Service Law of 1980 and how to break it.

After dispensing a few biased facts on the legal proceedings against such delinquents as Mark Schmucker, Anton Eller, and Sasway, she asked: "Why is it that they felt compelled to put a massive amount of energy and government manpower into the persecution of men who wouldn't fill out a little piece of paper?" Ben Sasway has been sentenced to 30 months in prison over Kathy's "little piece of paper."

Her lawless platform causes one to question the virtue of the National Lawyers Guild. Projecting the image of a befuddled flowerchild rather than a sharp "lady lawyer," she views registration as something the government is scaring us into through "intimidation." Furthermore, she sees this summer's legal action as a "propaganda war" to increase registration statistics. "That means that people like Ben Sasway are really not independent potential violators of the law. They're test cases, and in the minds of the government and the prosecutors and undoubtedly the judges, their prosecution has to do with whether or not the registration program will fail or succeed."

The ignorance of her argument emerges in light of the facts. As of October 5, 94.2% of those eligible to register had done so. Thus, haven't 8,742,000 solid young citizens *already* determined the success of the registration program?

Attempting to draw us into her own little world of fear, she continued to reveal a variety of biased news flashes regarding the evolution of our present draft policies. As if the government is conspiring to wage war next week for a "draft drill," she sounds the alarm: "They're ready now, on 24 hours notice, to start the whole thing." It could be Brezhnev speaking.

Naturally, Congress and the Defense Department have reworked draft policy since the grim days of the '60's. And, if they *have* "streamlined" the draft for a more effective response in the event of an attack upon America, we should be *grateful*. For Ms. Gilbert, however, efficient defense is a "very scary thought." "Particularly scary," she asserts, "because that's only half of what they spent the last decade doing. The other thing was to look for all of the flaws in deferments, in exemptions, in induction regulations that allowed people to get out of the draft during the Vietnam era. Several years ago, a prominent attorney who had done Selective Service law during the 1960's was approached by Selective Service. They tried to steal somebody from our side to give the final touches to the regulations they had been putting in place. Fortunately, he said no, but the point is simply that they weren't looking for ways to gain fairer and more egalitarian regulations. They were looking for ways to plug the remaining loopholes that hadn't been."

I wonder if Ms. Gilbert ever pays income tax. She concluded in a grand finale of blindness: "The draft is a real personal decision. It's gonna take some weighing, some deciding about your future."

In her naivete, she refuses to see registration for what it is — a law. The only decision we have is whether to go to the post office or to jail.

The second "guest speaker" was John Slotten, a Vietnam vet turned "pacifist" who currently "writes and grows things."

Even before launching his pitch entitled "Questioning Authority," he was interjecting personal excuses: "Just because I have bluejeans and long hair doesn't mean I'm a hippie either. I just happen to be a non-materialist who doesn't believe in possessions, and I don't like to pay money for haircuts and fancy clothing. So, I do my thing."

He continued: "I guess what we're saying here is that if we are asked to participate in a system that takes us into the Army or the Navy or the Marine Corps or the Air Force and trains us to kill people, then I don't think it's really justified at all, period. I believe it's wrong, because the 'powers that be' that are asking us can be proven, if you just look in the newspaper over the last 20 years, to be not in our best interest. They're into protecting Exxon, AT&T, they're into protecting everybody but the people of America, or the people of El Salvador, or the people of Lebanon, or the people wherever we're giving aid in the form of military assistance anywhere in the world. This is something we have to think about. This is our moral obligation. This is our moral right as being Americans, to be able to say to ourselves: Listen, if those powers ask me to say I do—I say I don't. I don't have to. We do not have to. We have to understand that."

One concludes that John would have the "brothers and sisters" of America approaching the Russians with peacepipes and homegrown dope. It is unfortunate that Mr. Slotten's own difficulties in dealing with war have aroused him to the point where he so angrily demands college students to "question authority." Although we may pity his shellshocked brain, we cannot be disheartened—we have a country to defend.

The real fireworks began, however, after CARD's little program. Steve Kelly, a political cartoonist from the San Diego Union and contributor to *California Review* was on hand to challenge Ms. Gilbert with a few facts about Ben Sasway — namely that his reason for resisting is not moral, but rather, to defy the "Reagan warmonger ethic."

Unarmed, she skirted the trial issue to elaborate instead on the "trend in the last couple of administrations towards belligerent attitudes."

Next, Mr. Kelly asked the obvious in light of her sympathies: Are we then justified in choosing which laws we are to obey? Are we only to pay those taxes which go towards supporting the causes we agree with?

This produced another muddle of radical noise and a statement of profound stupidity: "The draft is not necessary for defending our country...we have gone ten years without a draft."

(It would have been amusing to hear her vivid accounts of the military action that has occurred in the past ten years.) "The only time we need a draft is in a 'dirty war.'"

Promptly, E. Clasen Young requested an example of a "clean war." The pacifists became violent.

An enraged John Slotten attacked the conservatives saying that we should be "buying tractors" and "growing rice" for the Third World Nations, not "making peace through war."

Another vehement radical — "Rick" — opened his mouth: "It seems to me like what we've got is we've got a few people who came here to disrupt. It's pretty obvious, and I think what they ought to do is leave."

Fortunately, a truce was declared, and Steve Kelly was allowed to continue.

A humorous little drama followed on the topic of National Defense.

Mr. Kelly: (unruffled) The issue of the draft goes beyond whether or not you register at the Post Office. The issue of the draft is a matter of national security...

John Slotten: (discourteously out of turn) Says who!

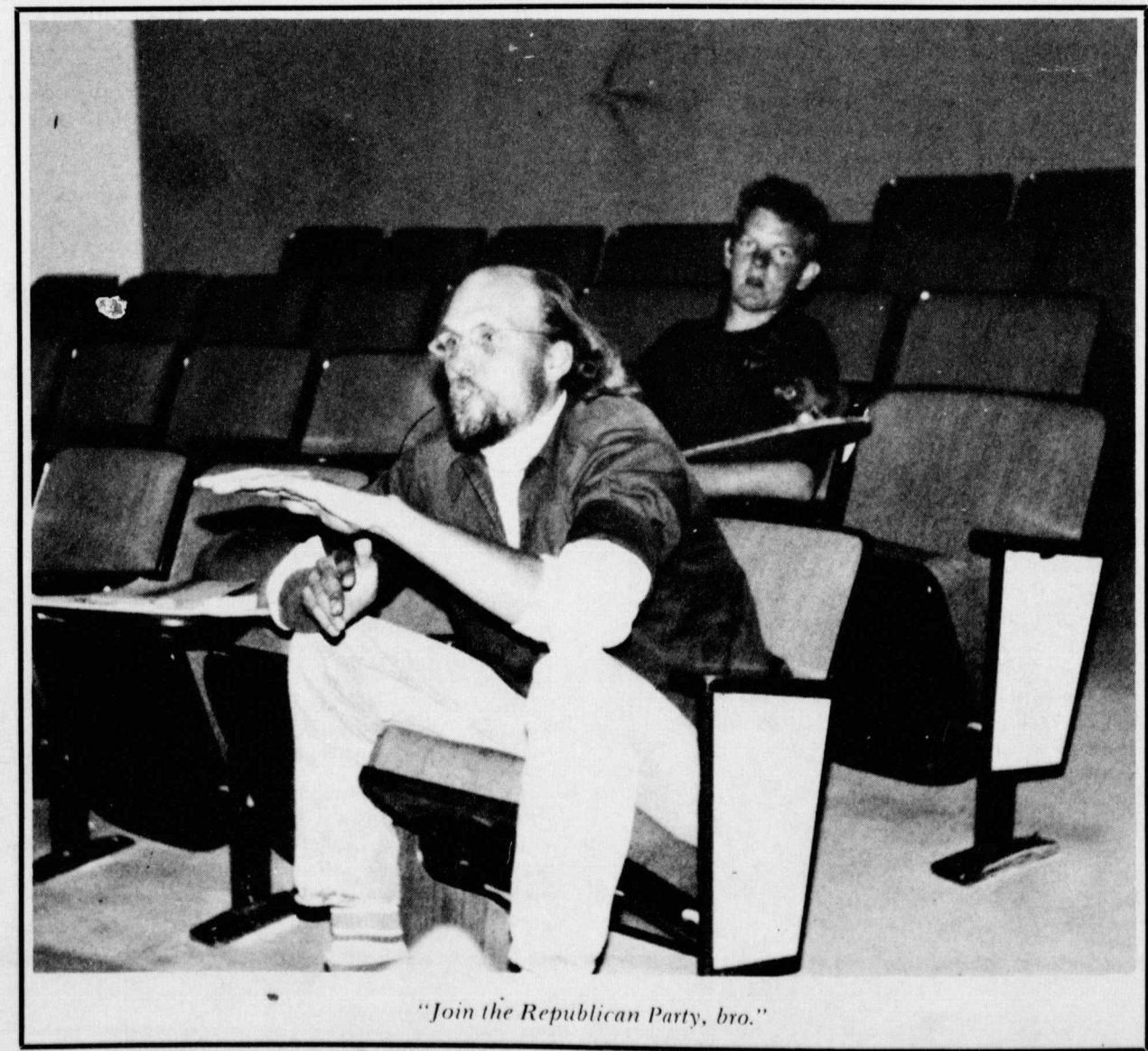
Mr. Kelly: (politely) So, I just think that national security is open game for our discussion, that's all.

"Moderator:" (presumptuously) I'd like to answer that question. I think it's really irrelevant.

Mr. Kelly: (ignoring his imbecility) Look, we're here enjoying free and open discussion...

John Slotten: (again, out of turn) I'm not enjoying nothin', bro. I can tell you right now!

(continued on next page)



"Join the Republican Party, bro."

(continued from p. 6)

Mr. Kelly: (continuing) ...in the Soviet Union you couldn't do this!

"Moderator:" (sarcastically) Yeah, I realize that. That's been made clear to me several times.

"Rick:" (bellicose, as ever) ...but these guys are in here to disrupt!

Mr. Young: (addressing the wimp) We're not in here to disrupt; we're in here for political debate.

"Rick:" (with rejuvenated violence) Why don't you just go out and organize a debate. This is not a debate.

Mr. Young: (astonished) I'm being boycotted! Mr. Kelly, is this not a tactic of McCarthyism?

"Rick:" (erroneously pious) Mr. Kelly, I see. It's Mr. Kelly and his student. I see.

"Moderator:" (again, with presumption) I can address this question. I think it would clear things up. I think there are several people who would agree that the draft is really irrelevant to any sort of national defense. If we're going to defend ourselves in this day and age, it's not going to be a matter of a war that goes on for a long time. Obviously, we've got nuclear weapons. It's not a matter of marching off to war.

Mr. Kelly: (responding with the facts) First of all, I think in the last three wars that have been fought, we've all seen one thing. In the Falkland Islands, it wasn't a question of nuclear weapons being exchanged. In Afghanistan, the Soviets are fighting with ground troops, and the Afghan rebels are fighting with ground troops. In Lebanon, this war has been going on for months. You said yourself earlier that in the event that the Russians attacked we would need a quick and ready response. Well, you're right, but I don't think we would need a quick and ready response to nuclear weapons. There will be several levels. And, all the government is asking the people is to register. They're not...

John Slotten: (indecorously interrupting) Join the Republican Party, bro!

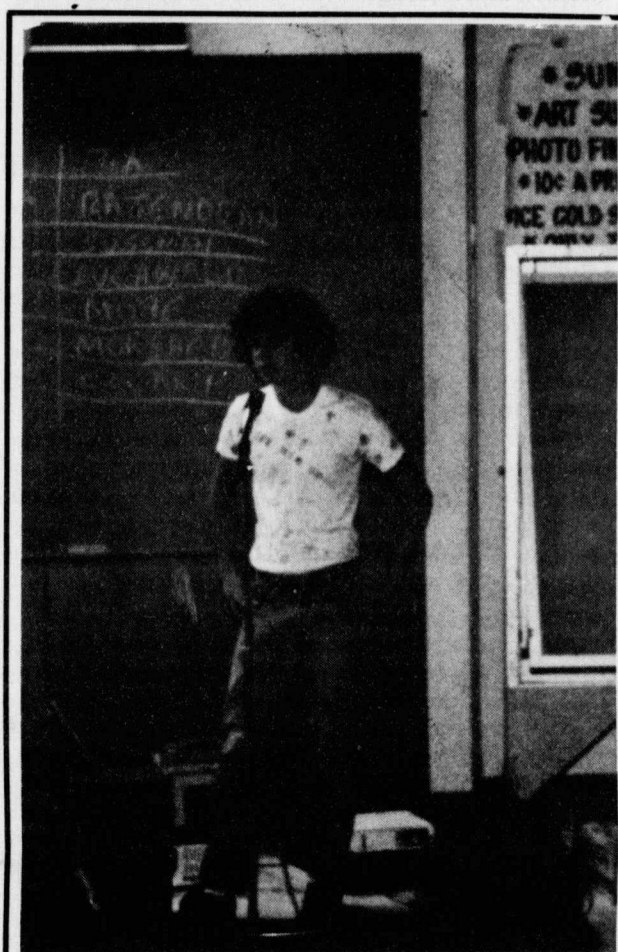
Mr. Kelly: (cooly) They're not asking that you sign up and join the army. They're asking you to register. It's a question of preparedness.

The climax of the evening occurred upon leaving the auditorium. Mr. Slotten, frustrated and enraged, dramatically pointed his finger at Mr. Young—"You're a warmonger!"—at Mr. Kelly—"You're a warmonger!"—and...at me—"You're a warmonger!" Momentarily, I believed he might slug one of us. Pacifists do become violent when threatened with the facts of this world. Thus, the conservative coterie concluded that rational debate with an irrational menagerie of radicals was an impossibility.

The truth of the matter is, as Michael Novak has written: "In the best of all possible worlds, no draft would ever be necessary."

However, "despite ever higher levels of literacy and enlightenment, there are few signs that the force of evil is being diminished in the human breast. Self betrayal, infidelity, selfishness, hedonism, cruelty, and other evils of personal life do not seem to be diminishing in frequency."

"The task of defending this nation and the possibilities of democratic life elsewhere did not end in 1945 or 1973. In the 1980's the threat to civilization is as high as it was in the 1930's, for Soviet forces far exceed those of Hitler in their power, range, training, readiness, and ambitions. The training of terrorists and subversive agents has reached gigantic proportions. To pretend that huge amounts of money, intelligence, manpower, and armaments are not being massed against the survival of liberty in the world is to live in a world of dreams and wishes."



"I think there are several people who would agree that the draft is really irrelevant to any sort of national defense."

"The 'lesson of Vietnam' does not illuminate the tremendously altered geopolitical situation of 1980. In order to be moral, it is not necessary to be intellectually frozen. Those who do not fear the decline of U.S. power which has occurred during the last twenty years, as against the growing might of the Soviet empire, unwittingly precipitate the very military crisis they claim to be preventing."

Radical campus groups such as CARD provide an example of the *manifest density* that only drains down the noble judicial, educational, and military institutions of our society. Under a guise of "pacifism"—an attitude or policy of *nonresistance*—these activists of resistance wage a continual campaign to promote anarchy.

Selective service provides an alternative for *true* pacifists, or "Conscientious Objectors." But, as U.S. Attorney Peter K. Nunez, the chief prosecutor in the Ben Sasway trial aptly pointed out, "Mr. Sasway's actions have not been based on any moral or religious conviction, but on his political beliefs." He's demanding "the right to break the law because of his political beliefs..." However, "thanks to a unanimous jury verdict and a no-nonsense judge, Mr. Sasway didn't get away with his defiance of American Society."

In the spirit of CARD, Ben sees it as *wrong* for America to strive to be "top dog" among the nations of the world. He calls this attitude a form of "chauvinism."

They used to call it *patriotism*, Ben. Columnist Erik V. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, a German who has lectured nationwide since 1949 writes: "When I first set foot on American soil in 1937, I was amazed by the nationalistic zeal I encountered. The young people I met considered their country the best, the finest, and the first in the world. Today, I find an almost complete reversal of these feelings — thanks partly to a very specific, ideologically tainted propaganda."

"It is imperative that Americans live down the antiwar propaganda of the late Sixties and early Seventies. There are, of course, those to whom the truth is absolutely unpalatable; they simply cannot face it and refuse to acknowledge moral and intellectual defeat. Others are thoroughly bewildered and have ceased to believe anything, lapsing into a sort of political agnosticism. And then there are those, true ideologues, to whom the anti-Vietnam War movement was a heaven-sent opportunity to foster leftism."

"If the Vietnam War had not existed," one of the leaders admitted, "we would have had to invent it."

It is the same story with CARD "ideologues" and draft registration.

Suzanne L. Schott is a contributing editor to *California Review* and on exchange at UCSD from Dartmouth.

CR Essay Contest

Who is the Worst Professor at UCSD?

Attention all students, parents, bureaucrats, and academics! The time has come for you to cast your ballot in the first annual **Who Is the Worst Professor at UCSD** essay contest. Will you choose...

- 1) Melvyn Frielicher, Writing Instructor, "The thing that makes me sick about *Reader's Digest* is that they just assume that the reader is heterosexual."
- 2) Richard Astle, Writing Instructor, "I admire Pol Pot. If you're going to have a true revolution, you have to get rid of the reactionary third of the population."
- 3) Reinhard Lettau, Writing Professor, "I'm happy every time that I hear that a policeman's been killed."
- 4) Herbert Schiller, Communications Professor, "The three greatest threats to freedom in this country are Walt Disney, *TV Guide*, and *National Geographic*."
- 5) Michael Cole, Communications Professor, "I agree with Schiller." *Note: a vote for Michael Cole will presuppose a vote for Michael Cole's Hollywood Ten father, Lester Cole, as worst guest lecturer; "First came hunting and gathering, then feudalism, and then capitalism, and if we're going to advance any farther we must have communism."
- 6) ?

You tell us. All entries must be between one paragraph and five pages, double spaced, and on the subject of **Who Is the Worst Professor at UCSD**. All entries must be received no later than Monday, November 1st. The winner will have his essay published and is entitled to his choice of ten free lessons in either elocution or croquet. Send all entries to:

California Review
4846 Rancho Grande
Del Mar, CA 92014

California Review Interviews Clarence Pendleton, Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Clarence Pendleton is an anomaly among civil rights activists—he is a free thinker. Mr. Pendleton is also a busy man. Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, President of The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change, President of the San Diego County Local Development Corporation, Chairman of the San Diego Transit Corporation, and trustee of the Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation, he also serves on the boards of the Great American Federal Savings and Loan Association, and the San Diego Coalition for Economic and Environmental Balance. In addition, he is a member of the Committee for Area-wide Involvement in Redevelopment, Center City Charity Committee. Mr. Pendleton received a bachelor of science degree in 1954 and a master of arts degree in 1962 from Howard University. He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and is on the UCSD Board of Overseers. Mr. Pendleton is a soft spoken man; and he shared his thoughts with CR's Brigadier Editor, Harry Crocker.

CR: What is your position in the Reagan administration, and what are your responsibilities?

PENDLETON: I am the Chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Though I am a Reagan appointee, technically a part of the Reagan administration, it's an independent agency, so I don't take orders from the White House. It means that the President has confidence that I will do the right things; I'm glad he feels this way.

CR: Will you tell us a little bit about your background in the civil rights movement?

PENDLETON: I guess when you're black, you're in the civil rights movement all your life. But professionally, it goes back to my coaching days at Howard. My primary coaching responsibility was swimming. Three-fourths of our competition were non-black institutions. That does provide you with an avenue for understanding who other people are, and the like. My work in the model cities program in Baltimore certainly brought me into the arena a little closer. The work at the National Park and Recreation as Urban Affairs Director tends to buttress that, as well as the work in San Diego with another model cities program. Then, certainly, becoming President of the local branch of the Urban League which has been in the forefront of the civil rights movement from the beginning.

CR: Give a thumbnail sketch of the history and aims of the New Coalition.

PENDLETON: The New Coalition was formally founded in Chicago on May 9, 1981. The idea behind the coalition was that there was a lot of us who understood the black agenda, and we decided that it was time to talk about another kind of agenda, one that was much, much less government, much more self-reliance, much more independence—promoting the ideals of a free enterprise system in this country. Explaining that those opportunities were available to blacks, like anyone else. And that every time there was a problem with equal access to the system, it did not mean that one was the subject of racism. We're very much concerned with skill development and the preparation of black youngsters, as well as all youngsters, and would like to see much better preparation. We would like to see more self-reliance and much more independence. I think, in general, a reduction in a lot of the regulatory, occupational, licensing, and tax policy lead not to an egalitarian society in the sense of appropriation of federal dollars, but certainly to the kind of society where one can understand that his country does provide opportunity. That is not to say there is not racism. The fact is we should concentrate more on opportunities. We can stand a little bit of racism. I don't think we gain anything by saying all white people are evil and all black people are good. I think that that is just not so. One has to look at it a lot differently. One more point in examining past public policy that clearly indicates that what we thought were public policies to promote access and equality certainly have put us much further behind.

CR: Then would you agree with George Gilder that the programs of the "Great Society" have actually helped to keep black people poor?

PENDLETON: Yes. But in many cases, there have been beneficiaries of those policies. Black people that were going to make it anyway were going to make it. But the idea that all blacks are poor and that policies have kept black people poor is not as accurate as Gilder puts it. What I think he's really trying to say is that poor black people have been prostituted in the process of trying to develop an egalitarian society.

CR: Are blacks poorer than whites primarily because of discrimination?

PENDLETON: I think in some cases, discrimination may be a factor, but I don't think it is the only factor. I have been reading some figures by Walter Williams recently and what is strange is that black male college graduates make less money than white male college graduates. That's because of different occupations. You can't take median salaries just coldly as absolute, universal things. What people don't really understand is that black female college graduates have earned as much as 120% more than white female college graduates for the last thirty or forty years. That says, in a sense, that racism is not a factor in employment. But, I do think, from my experiences, that there are those instances where racism does play a factor, and I think where cases have gone to court, they have been resolved. But you never know if there's going to be racism until you are prepared to take advantage of the opportunities that are there. To say that it's racism, when you're not prepared, is another issue.

"Do you think that black men who work on Wall Street buy their clothes in Harlem? The Wall Street uniform is Brooks Brothers and Paul Stewart. So you cannot walk in there looking like Superfly and expect to sell IBM computers."

CR: Do you believe that many of your compatriots in the civil rights movement have allowed their own political ambitions to supersede the interests of the black community?

PENDLETON: Well, I said to my colleagues in 1980 at the Urban League convention that we made a classic entrepreneurial mistake in the 1960's. We made an industry out of race and we have only one customer to buy our product and that's the federal government. In 1980, the corporation's leadership changed hands and this corporation wasn't ready to buy the race product anymore. Therefore, the contracting process that an Urban League or an Operation Push gets to be the intermediary to help people is no longer there. I did meet with my colleagues this year, the Urban League executives, I was not part of the Urban League conference as was indicated in the papers here, but my colleagues invited me up and I told them that it is clear that you are no longer the gatekeeper, that this President is very clear about where he wants to go, and because he does not give you money to provide services to people does not mean that he does not care. What it really means is that an Urban League, if it has value to black people, must get more than two to five percent of its operating budget from the black community. Which

means that dependency upon the federal dollar and the contributory dollar, which is primarily a white dollar, can't be looked to for salvation. You can't say you need me to help black people, or that what we want to do you must pay for. I called myself at the Fairmont Conference a "supply-side social programmer." You can't ask white folks to give you their revenue side to make your supply side so that you can do something else. It just doesn't quite work out that way.

CR: Do you support tuition tax credits?

PENDLETON: Yes. But not for schools that racially segregate. The President and I discussed the Bob Jones University thing after enough of us raised hell about it. But I support tuition tax credits, yes. You want to know why I support them?

CR: I sure do.

PENDLETON: Because the public education system is not making us read, write, and count any better than it did twenty-five years ago. And that is not just for black youngsters. That is for all youngsters. I don't think we should wait for another generation for the public education system to get itself together to be able to educate youngsters. I think parents should have the option. A lot of black parents, especially in the Newark area, have sent the kids to the Catholic schools. There's a cost to that which means what? It means that black people who send their kids to Catholic schools, private schools, who are poor, pay a disproportionate amount of their income for education. They're going to be taxed and then they've got to pay for the other school. So when people tell me that black people don't understand and are not willing to make the sacrifice that is simply folly. There's too much evidence—The Marva Collins school in Chicago and the Catholic schools, the movement of middle class blacks to suburbia, as indicated by the 1980 census, to take advantage of the cultural position of schools. That is, people of a similar kind of middle class culture flock together regardless of color, and they understand each other, and therefore, those schools might be better. But, when you go back to the comprehensive high schools, advocated by Coleman some time ago, it doesn't work.

CR: Do you favor affirmative action?

PENDLETON: Affirmative action needs to be limited to recruitment and training. I think there's still room for that. But, I am opposed, unalterably, to quotas, set-asides, and proportional representation. I believe that people should be prepared to get to their goal. But once the door is open, I don't think anyone has to take them by the hand, and take them in. I think that was the original intent of the affirmative action law. Like Tom Sowell, I question: "Did a guy who finished first in his class at Harvard get there because of affirmative action?" We need to have some way to legitimize minority success so that people can't say you finished number one and you've got a job because of affirmative action. You got that because you worked your ass off to make it. As long as we keep these policies around, I think we're in trouble. Affirmative action is bankrupt. We've used it up. It could never be a permanent strategy anyway.

CR: What is your stand on forced busing?

PENDLETON: I'm opposed to forced busing.

CR: Do you think it is ineffective?

PENDLETON: Yes.

CR: Do you believe that it's incorrect to force people to go to a school they do not wish to attend?

PENDLETON: I think that is true. I think that the public education system now needs to be much more attractive. I'm really big on the magnet schools. I went to one. I don't think we knew it was called a magnet then. I went to Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C. There aren't that many people who are forced into the busing process. I am certain that it does not work and a lot of money has been spent that could have been spent differently by upgrading the program in such that could attract students. Here, the voluntary program does not work, in San Diego. Not the way it could have worked, except in the performing arts high schools.

CR: Do you support voluntary busing?

PENDLETON: If people want to volunteer that's fine with me.

CR: Even if it is not effective in integrating the schools?

PENDLETON: That's another question. If it's not effective, then let's talk about how we can change the school system and not put the burden on the backs of the students. If that's the question you're asking me. It's clear in this case here that there was a difference in the provisional educational services to minority kids who were isolated, versus nonminority youngsters. The problem is minority youngsters bused themselves out of the minority neighborhood on a ratio of 4,000 to 36 for a lot of years. That's 4,000 blacks and about 36 whites who bused themselves into another neighborhood. That was the extent of the voluntary program as far as I would want to measure it. Nobody really wanted to volunteer. What you do is cream the best of the black students out of the minority schools and into the majority schools. When those test results go up in the nonminority schools and you say those other schools, the minority schools are bad schools. They're only bad because the best has already gone.

"Black Studies is for white people."

CR: Should integration even be a responsibility of the schools? Shouldn't it be their responsibility to provide the best education that will attract a wide variety of people?

PENDLETON: Well, that's the ideal way to go. I think we have court cases to the contrary. We did have separate but equal and Brown v. The Board overturned separate but equal Plessy v. Ferguson. I think it is clear that we had separate schools that weren't equal and that we weren't doing much with that. But now we find, in Little Rock, Arkansas, that black parents don't want integrated schools. They don't want to be bused. They want separate but equal if they can get it. I would not go that far. But I do think it is incumbent upon the public school system to attract students the same as the Catholic schools and some of the private schools are doing.

CR: Is the "black leadership" out of touch with the black community?

PENDLETON: I think the black leadership is looking for a constituency. I don't think there is such a thing as the black community. I think it's a myth. When people say "the black community" they are saying that all blacks think alike, live alike, and walk alike—that is simply not the case at all. There is no monolithic thought within the black community. But, there is a black community in a sense, and that is the inner city neighborhoods of America's larger metropolitan areas, but that is probably the most conservative environment in America. Market forces prevail.

CR: Should university programs be ethnicized, as in Black Studies, Chicano Studies, etc.?

PENDLETON: Well, I think that Black Studies is for white people. I mean, I pretty much know who I am. I learned that at home. I've taught some Black Studies courses. Black people need to be busy with those areas that are going to be productive areas in this country's future. That's, I guess, what's primarily being taught at UCSD. That is, micro-electronics and biotechnology. Those are the avenues of the future for everybody. I don't know of anything called a black computer, or black money, or black electronics. In view, you get rid of all that and the culture comes some place else. The Africans who want you to go over and help their country, the black Africans, they want the doctors, the dentists, the engineers, the metallurgists, the computer people, the road builders. They want people who can build a country. When you see a guy walking around in Africa wearing rubber tire shoes, that's not because that's culture, that's because that's all he can wear right now.

CR: Do you fear that a new segregation is emerging, this time instituted by minority groups?

PENDLETON: No. I think much of this talk about minority leadership puts us in a schizoid position. We promote all of this blackness, we talk about it, yet we want some other people to pay for it. That's never going to happen. We can look right here in San Diego. A lot of black people who are middle class do not live in southeast San Diego. A lot of them do. There are people who live there, own their own homes, and see that as a productive community for them. There are other blacks who live in La Jolla, Rancho Bernardo, Del Mar, Point Loma—anyplace they want to live. Certainly, that includes me. I live in La Jolla. I don't make any apologies for being middle class and black. I make no apologies at all. So, I don't see that emerging. What I see is more integration than segregation. But some of the so-called civil rights leadership saying we've got to have black supermarkets, black stores, and what have you. I asked them the other day: Do you think that the black men who work on Wall Street buy their clothes in Harlem? The Wall Street uniform is Brooks Brothers and Paul Stewart. So, you cannot walk in there looking like Superfly and expect to sell IBM computers." So what are we talking about? We're talking about creating something that's never going to exist. I don't see resegregation. I see that as a figment of someone's imagination. If the civil rights

organizations don't get on the stick and understand where things really are in this country, then I think they do the black community a great disservice.

CR: Do blacks have a foreign policy separate from the nation as a whole? Should they?

PENDLETON: No.

CR: I am referring specifically to Jesse Jackson's hob-nobbing with the PLO and with regard to South Africa.

PENDLETON: No. If we had one what could we do with it? I mean, we don't have a black State Department, so to have a black foreign policy would not make sense. But what is clear, is that a lot of black people don't understand that this administration has more black ambassadors than any other administration has had. I thought it was different but I found out that I was wrong. We've got a lot of blacks in the State Department. Now, when we talk about that whole issue of Jesse and the PLO, I went to Israel and I worked in Egypt and I'll tell you very frankly I have a hard time understanding what's going on right now. When I went to Gaza—and that picture up there, that is the town of Yamit in Gaza—that is a whole community built up with shopping centers, banks, schools, and the whole bit that the Israelis had to give up. They blew that town up.



(continued from p. 9)

Now, I have a hard time understanding that. I have a hard time understanding why you have to give up the West Bank. If you compare San Diego to Israel, the West Bank would be all those mountains around El Cajon and El Cajon would be Jerusalem. When you go up to the Golan, that's just like going to Riverside from here. All of those mountains up there at the Cleveland National Park, that is the Golan. When you give your enemy the high ground...

CR: You're in bad shape.

PENDELTON: What do you expect? I'm not saying who's right and who's wrong, but I guess I would go out on a limb and I would say that if I had my way about it there would not be a West Bank, there would be an East Bank and we would flip it over on the other side of the Jordan River. I'm not a foreign policy expert, but I have a difficult time understanding that. If I let you occupy the high ground around me, I expect that in many cases you really want to kick my ass. No matter that you agree that you're not, you're going to do it over and over and over again. I think that we have to understand the totality of the foreign policy issues. I think that American blacks need to be a part of the existing foreign policy and not be a part of something else. You can't have the State Department doing one thing and the blacks in the State Department saying "We're going to do something different. We love the PLO." It is nonsense.

CR: What about South Africa?

PENDELTON: If American corporations were not in South Africa the blacks would be in much worse shape than they are now. I even heard Vernon Jordan say in one of his visits that people criticize him for going to South Africa as part of the Xerox contingent, because he's on the board of Xerox. If Xerox did not provide the training opportunities for blacks in South Africa there wouldn't be any training opportunities. American business has done a hell of a job over there in trying to bring blacks into the mainstream. It isn't happening to everybody, and it won't happen tomorrow. What I really sense happening is that many black spokespeople would like for there to be a surge of blackness where everybody is equally prepared to go someplace in the mainstream at the same time. That doesn't happen, regardless of one's race or sex. You don't get that massive egalitarian surge.

CR: Has the politicization of America's churches hurt black Americans by putting more stress on social action and less on charity for the poor?

PENDELTON: Without the black church, the black community wouldn't be anyplace. I mean, the colleges it started, the various clubs within churches, the tithing, the charity, and those kind of things are, I think, critical. Here, in this town, in San Diego, if you want to call a black community a black community, it is a community of church-goers. It is the individual churches and the collective of churches that bring people together. I don't know of a better black youth program in San Diego than the choir at Calvary Baptist Church. If you go there on Sunday you get the little ones, four or five years old, doing a little entertaining and singing for you there before the church service starts. The youth choir people cannot sing on Sunday, but they practice on Saturday and they've got over a hundred kids in that youth choir. Then you've got the adult choir. Well, something good has happened in that process. I think we need to think of the role of that black church and not to put it down. I think that the church is right when it begins to expand its boundaries and own land if it wants to develop that land into housing, stores, or whatever. That's just an extension of the free enterprise system and its own self-reliance. There are some fantastic black ministers in this town who will never get credit.

CR: Has Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. been unduly canonized?

PENDELTON: What do you mean unduly canonized?

CR: As in wanting to make his birthday a national holiday, for example.

PENDELTON: No. I think Martin was probably the greatest of modern times and I think that there is no more fitting memorial to the kind of things he stood for than to have that holiday. I think that it is important. Martin wasn't asking for a hand-out. Martin said in one of his speeches "If you can only be a street sweeper, be the best street sweeper there is." He said that there was dignity in work and people kind of fool around with that. Martin was good. He was a very sincere person. I think the holiday is okay. I think we need it.

CR: Do you think he is a better representative than say, Frederick Douglass?

PENDELTON: Well, you can't say. It's different periods of time.

CR: Right.

PENDELTON: Certainly. Fred Douglass and Martin did their bit, and I think that their messages were more free enterprise messages than they were liberal rhetoric. Of course, Fred Douglass said, "You can't get the crops unless you plow the field."

"I don't think there is such a thing as the black community. I think it's a myth. When people say 'the black community' they are saying that all blacks think alike, live alike, and walk alike—that is simply not the case at all."

CR: Which would be better for black America in 1984: The election of a liberal or a conservative President?

PENDELTON: Well, since I don't believe there is a black America, I believe in what is best for the country and I think what is best for the country is a conservative President, not a liberal President. There is no way we can continue to tax and spend, borrow and spend, and print and spend our way into prosperity. We've got to work our way into it. I think conservative policies that promote self-worth are more important than anything else we can get into right now. To slip backward into what I call "the Pridelful Past" would be a mistake. On the other hand, I think that liberals have learned a lot from conservatives. If that were not true, why would there be the coalition of votes we have in the Congress for this President. This President has done a fantastic job in trying to turn this economy around. There are those who disagree, but I don't know what else we can do. You just can't take a trillion dollar debt and write it off. When I met with the President of June 28th, I indicated to him that I thought his economic recovery program was as much of a civil rights policy as it was an economic policy.

CR: Did you support the recent tax hike?

PENDELTON: Yeah. I think that we had to do that to get ourselves out of trouble. I'm sure that he didn't

want to do it that way but there was nothing else to do. If you look at it, it isn't hurting poor folks that much. Poor folks don't have any savings, so how can you tax their savings? So to say it puts a burden on black people just isn't so. By the way, I did tell the President that the only dollar worth its weight in gold was one made of it. He agreed.

CR: So, you support a gold standard?

PENDELTON: Why yeah. We got into trouble in 1971 when Nixon took us off the gold standard and put us on a monetary standard. We've been in trouble ever since.

CR: What do you see as the future for black conservatives?

PENDELTON: It's like someone asking me if I'm a part of the black Republicans. No, I'm not. I am a Republican who happens to be black. So, I don't want to get on this whole black thing again. So, we're Republicans, but we're black ones. So, I'm trying to figure out what we do that's different from what the white ones do? I don't know what that really is. I think that there are more black conservatives in this country than there are black liberals, but the media gives attention to those that are liberal. There are papers that promote that.

CR: How do you explain the overwhelming support they give to the Democratic Party?

PENDELTON: I think that's because we haven't gone after them. Ninety percent of the black vote went for Carter. What did Carter do for black people? Absolutely nothing.

CR: Overall, do you see the decade ahead as one of increased racial strife or of increased economic, political, and social opportunities for black Americans?

PENDELTON: Increased opportunities.

CR: No question about it?

PENDELTON: A lot of the black leadership predicted a long, hot summer, and that white folks would riot because everybody would be out of work. But I think that black people have seen that the nation's economic woes are not racial. What advantage is it to burn every goddam thing up? Nothing. What I am saying is that many black people are painfully participating in the process of recovery. They're out of work. I went out on a limb and said that I thought the unions and labor should get together and suspend the minimum wage for six months and give black kids a chance to go to work at sub-minimum wage jobs. I got a letter back from an AFL-CIO economist that said, "That does not make any sense. I cannot in good conscience support that because we have thirty people apply for every one minimum wage job." If ever there was an argument to reduce it somewhat and create a new job environment for sub-minimum wage with teenagers to give them some experience to take a minimum wage job, it is now. It is now. As long as you hold on to the minimum wage there are going to be more people out of work and more underground economy.

CR: Which isn't taxed, of course.

PENDELTON: Of course not. Are you the one they call "the Brigadier?"

CR: Yes sir, I am.

PENDELTON: I like that.



Regulation vs. Innovation and Progress

by Charles Brandon Crocker

Most U.S. government officials, economists and consumer groups recognize a free economy as predominantly good but they have tried to smooth out some of its rough spots with regulations. Often these regulations are set up to protect the buyer from the avarice of the seller (vica versa for labor) and the seller from the sometimes harsh realities of the profit and loss system. The effects of such governmental actions, though, have tended to be detrimental to the welfare of our society.

Although government regulation to protect consumers and producers from the hazards of a free economy does often produce benefits it also produces costs which are sometimes far greater. Probably the biggest cost of such government regulation is what it prevents from happening—innovation and progress. Since this cost is hidden (it is hard to recognize the loss of not receiving something that is never contemplated or offered) it is often overlooked.

Minimum wage laws, subsidies to industry and make-work programs, and regulation of product safety and efficacy are all examples of such insidious regulation. All three impede innovation and progress and therefore impede both individual and societal advancement. This cost must be recognized and considered when analyzing the effects of proposed and enacted regulations.

Minimum Wage Laws

Minimum wages were first legislated in the Wages and Hours Act of 1938. This act provisioned a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour for one year, 30 cents for the following six years and 40 cents for the year after that. These rates were so low that they had little effect on most business activity in America. Puerto Rico's low-skill labor force was, however, very dense and therefore very cheap. The minimum wage did cause real wages to rise there, but it also caused employment to fall as many Puerto Rican businesses could not afford to hire labor at the minimum wage rate.

Economists with as different points of view as Milton Friedman and Paul Samuelson find common ground in the belief that artificially high wage rates prevent underskilled people from gaining employment and thus act as barriers to upward economic movement. Nevertheless, dismantling the minimum wage laws seems politically unfeasible as they are still perceived by many as helping the poor and underskilled. Consequently, the minimum wage has risen dramatically since the early 1950s and its effects are felt all over the country. The minimum wage has decreased the demand for unskilled labor by raising its price without any corresponding rise in its productivity. Many jobs not requiring any skills such as light custodial work and theater ushering have virtually disappeared from the job market as employers do not find it cost effective to pay the minimum wage for such tasks. Teenagers compose a great part of the unskilled labor force. Therefore teenagers are hardest hit by a reduction in low-skill job opportunities. The minimum wage denies many teenagers both a chance to acquire income and work experience. The more experienced a worker is the more skilled and efficient he tends to be. Skilled and efficient employees are more valuable to employers and hence have lower unemployment rates and command higher wages. Thus, by limiting the work experience of those not able to provide work worth the minimum wage, the minimum wage has to a great extent lowered the wages earned by many young people.

The minimum wage hurts the people that it is designed to help—the poor and the underskilled. The minimum wage has increased the pay of some workers, but how many workers have lost their jobs and how many jobs have never become available due to the minimum wage? What the minimum wage has done is to raise the pay of some by denying the right of others to work legally. The minimum wage has hardly been a victory for the working class but rather a restraint on the economic upward mobility of the underskilled.

Subsidies and Make-Work

While minimum wages are seen by many as being beneficial to workers, subsidizing faltering businesses and make-work programs are also perceived by many as smoothing out the harshness of a free market by "saving" or "creating" jobs. What they save, however, are jobs in industries producing lesser desired products and create an unproductive economy and thus retard innovation and progress. Government subsidies and make-work programs prevent more productive jobs from coming into the market than they supposedly create or save. But many people think of the number of jobs saved in industry A because of a federal subsidy rather than thinking of how many jobs would have been created

in industries B and C if the capital markets were not drained by either government taxation or borrowing to bail out A.

By thinking about subsidies as taxing the productive industries of a society to support the lesser productive industries of a society the destructive effects of subsidies become glaring. Jobs are not saved or created by reallocating resources from productive to unproductive industries. What this does is prevent jobs from being created in the productive industries where expansion is natural and desirable, by removing the capital needed to do so.

Subsidies are a classic case of the seen benefits vs. the unseen costs. Naturally people give much more consideration to the seen than the unseen. As George Gilder has written,

Because the costs of letting a large firm fail are essentially measurable and obvious, while the cost of saving it are initially small—and because federal job-creation programs always seem preferable to the tortures of joblessness—in every instance an analysis of evident costs and benefits will tend to favor action by the government... But as productivity in U.S. industry declines there arises the danger that all this job creation and development will result in an uncreative and undeveloping economy.

Besides subsidizing business to "preserve" jobs, government has also set up make-work jobs such as those administered under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. CETA jobs each cost more than twenty thousand dollars a year to maintain. This is about twice what it costs a small business to maintain a job for a year. The unemployed would be much better served if the capital taken to create CETA jobs were returned to the private sector to create real jobs offering real work experience and real opportunities for advancement.

Instead, the maintenance of CETA jobs limits employment opportunities in the private sector and thus serves to maintain the status quo in the ranks of the under and unemployed.



Adam Smith stated the consequences of subsidies quite succinctly back in 1776.

Every system which endeavours, either by extraordinary encouragements to draw towards a particular species of industry a greater share of the capital of the society than would naturally go to it, or, by extraordinary restraints, force from a particular species of industry some share of the capital which would otherwise be employed in it, is in reality subversive of the great purpose which it means to promote. It retards, instead of accelerating, the progress of the society towards real wealth and greatness; and diminishes, instead of increasing, the real value of the annual produce of its land and labor.

Subsidies are no different today.

Regulation of Product Safety and Efficacy

Regulation of product safety and efficacy with the aim of protecting consumers has been one of the prime detriments to new product development and therefore to societal progress. Surely such government regulations have benefited society but they have also been accompanied by great costs—most of which are less discernible than the 120 billion dollars it costs industry yearly to comply with the regulations. Former Secretary of the Treasury William Simon has stated that "the bureaucrat's standard of efficacy is obedience to the rules and respect for the vested interests of the hierarchy, however unyielding of a solution". "Respect for the vested interests" is manifest in almost every regulatory agency's history. The Interstate Commerce Commission is perhaps the classic example. The ICC, set up to protect consumers from the railroad industry, was quickly controlled by railroad leaders and used as an instrument to limit competition. But regardless of who controls the regulatory agency, innovation in the regulated industry is suppressed because of the regulator's "obedience to the rules"—rules that must be based on known technologies. Innovation is something that cannot be predicted by regulators and is therefore hindered by regulation. Continuing with the railroad industry, for instance, the Federal Railroad Administration in 1976 refused to allow the use of a cost saving and tested safe new freight car which could easily be converted into a truck trailer, because it did not conform to the specifications of the Rail Safety Act. It took a special act of Congress to amend the act and finally permit the use of the new car.

The Federal Drug Administration is often credited with saving lives by banning the sale of certain drugs. This credit is rightly deserved, but how many deaths is the FDA responsible for by delaying or preventing life saving drugs from coming to market or by raising the cost of such drugs, by means of the expensive and elaborate testing procedure it requires before any new drug can be marketed, out of the reach of those who need them?

In 1962 it was discovered that a drug in wide use in Europe called thalidomide caused birth defects. Thalidomide had been banned in the United States by the FDA. The thalidomide incident prompted Congress to widen the powers of the FDA. Before the strengthening of the FDA in 1962 it took a half million dollars and 25 months to develop and market a new drug. By 1978 it cost 54 million dollars and took eight years. Since 1962 "the rate of introduction of new therapeutic drugs in the United States has been cut in half, and the United States, once a leader in this field, now brings up the rear." Dr. William Wardell of the Center for the Study of Drug Development of the University of Rochester has estimated that 10,000 American lives are lost every year because drugs used for treatment of heart disease in other countries have not yet been approved by the FDA for use in this country.

Before you lay the blame of the suppression of new useful drugs on FDA officials, take Milton Friedman's advice.

Put yourself in the position of an FDA official charged with approving or disapproving a new drug. You can make two very different mistakes:

1. Approve a drug that turns out to have unanticipated side effects resulting in the death or serious impairment of a sizable number of persons.
2. Refuse approval of a drug that is capable of saving many lives or relieving great distress and that has no untoward side effects.

If you make the first mistake—approve another thalidomide—your name will be spread over the front page of every newspaper. You will be in deep disgrace. If you make the second mistake, who will know it?

In a free market a company has no incentive to make the second mistake, but neither does it have any incentive to make the first mistake, especially with today's multi-million dollar lawsuits. Without the FDA drug companies could develop drugs faster and sell them cheaper. No doubt without the FDA some drugs will be sold that are ineffective or have unforeseen side effects. If the drug is ineffective its sales will soon drop and it will soon perish from the market. Dangerous drugs, though, are a greater problem but some products with unforeseen side effects will get by even regulatory officials. The cost brought about by the FDA of raising the price and delaying the introduction of beneficial products most probably, as Professor Sam Peltzman of UCLA asserts, far outweighs the cost of detrimental products that the FDA would prevent from coming to market.

(continued on next page)

California Review Visits The Chicago Mercantile Exchange

By Michael C. Litt

Futures contracting arose out of business agreements which called for the actual cash transaction at a future date. The contract was an assurance that the goods would be delivered at an agreed upon price at a specified date. Today futures contracts are traded for an array of purposes, from insuring foreign transactions against currency exchange fluctuations to the opportunity for speculative profits. The list of businesses trading in the futures market is a long and varied one.

For instance, a farmer could participate in the futures market to insure himself a profit at harvest time. Say that it cost him \$2.50 per bushel to plant corn. And the market is currently bringing \$3.00 per bushel of corn. But he notices that futures contracts on corn are currently selling for \$2.75 per bushel, and is showing a confirmed downtrend. If he thinks the downward trend will continue then he can sell futures contracts on his corn for \$2.75 per bushel. September rolls around and as it turns out the farmer was correct; the cash markets are currently paying \$2.25 per bushel. He can buy back his contracts for \$2.25 per bushel, thus realizing a 50¢ profit on every contract bushel he originally sold. When he sells his corn on the cash market he loses 25¢ per bushel due to the depressed price of corn. But he has netted a 25¢ per bushel profit when he includes his profits from futures contracting. This type of producer speculation is known as hedging. It is a simplified example, yet it typifies the nature of the futures market itself.

Contracts are bought and sold at a futures exchange. These exchanges are located throughout the world. One of the largest in the world is the Chicago Mercantile Exchange (CME). The list of available futures includes: currencies, such as pounds, pesos, francs, deutsche marks, and euro-dollars, commodities such as live cattle, live hogs, potatoes, soy beans, and gasoline, government backed bonds such as T-bills and Ginny may, bank backed certificates of deposits (CD's), and even a Standard & Poors future.

From an observation both the market floor looks to be about the same size as a football field. A number of platforms evenly spaced around the floor. People wearing red, blue, and orange coats standing in the center of the platforms, some are shouting at one another, others are talking. People in yellow coats surround the platforms and other stations which are stocked with telephones. There are at least three thousand people on the floor at any given time of the trading day. Each of the futures are listed on electronic boards at each end of the room. The high, low, and last five transaction prices are listed and continuously updated. We move down to the floor level and sign it at the registration desk. Our guide, a local broker named Aron, escorts us onto the trading floor.

We move between the raised platforms and eventually stop at the edge of one. The noise and bustle is confusing and even a little intimidating. The floor

between the two platforms is littered with paper. Aron explains that the platforms are referred to as pits. One item is traded in each pit. The one we are standing next to is used for trading CD's, the pit next to us is for T-bills. Those wearing yellow coats are flipping hand signals back and forth to one another between the two pits. There is shouting from both pits but nobody acts as if it is important.

It turns out that the yellow coats are either phone clerks or runners. They do not trade. Their job is to run paper from the brokerage houses at the end of the room to the pits, and relay information from the phones into the pits. Orange, red, blue, and most any other color signify a broker or floor trader. They are authorized to trade contracts while in the pit, and are referred to as local brokers. It is their activity in the pit which determines market price and volume.



To be a trader it is necessary to own a "seat" on the exchange. There are a limited number of seats and a full CME seat recently changed hands for slightly more than a quarter of a million dollars. Inside the pit brokers buy and sell cards representing one million dollar certificates of deposit, but they are only paper CD's because they won't actually be delivered for three, six or even twelve months.

The local broker trades for himself and for large brokerage houses like Shearson American Express or Paine Webber. Banks, investors, and farmers all trade through one of the many brokerage houses. So if a bank calls Shearson with an order for three million dollars worth of futures CD's, Shearson sends a runner to the pit and gives Aron or another local broker the order. If the order is for the market price then the broker walks into the pit and offers the going rate on three cards. If someone wants to sell, then the deal is made and recorded by each of the brokers. There might be no sellers and the broker will be forced to offer a higher price so that he can fill the order. Now if the order were for a lower price than the market is supporting then the broker will have to hold it until the price goes down or the trading day ends, whichever comes first.

There are five numbers below CD's on the big board: 8718, 17, 16, 17, 16. They change and it reads: 8717, 16, 17, 16, 17. Aron explains that nothing is happening right now. He shows us orders from different brokerage houses, buy orders below the market price, and sell orders above the market price. He cannot make these trades until the market moves either up or down.

trade, as it is the only effectual preventative of the miseries of a famine, so it is the best palliative of the inconveniences of a dearth.

A free economy encourages people to produce products that are desired by society. Those who produce useless or undesirable items will not be rewarded with profit. Trying to develop and produce goods that other people will freely pay for has historically been the most effective process of societal progress. Not by the benevolence of government action to protect consumers was new clothing put in the reach of the poorest people but by the unexpressed creativity of Isaac Singer. It was not by government programs to protect people from the "harshness" of free trade that caused the agricultural miracle in the United States but by individuals allowed to remain dependent on their own creative resources.

Even if one thinks that unskilled labor is exploited in a free market, minimum wage laws do a worse job of helping the worker. Even if one thinks that a free market is cruel because it allows companies to fail, government bailouts have a crueler effect on the society. Even if one thinks that without governmental regulations to protect consumers people would be exposed to dangerous products, governmental efforts at consumer protection have caused beneficial and life saving products to not be produced. The free market is not perfect but it handles these problems better than the alternative.

As far as his own trading is concerned Aron is walking for price movements. He makes \$25 per card per tick. So if he buys ten cards at 17 and the market goes to 27 then he makes \$2500. If the market goes to 7 he loses that same amount. He explains that it is a gamble, but good gamblers learn to win more than they lose. It's a matter of getting in and out at the right time.

In the distance shouting begins and rises quickly. The noise is coming from one of the platforms to our left. Aron says that it is the pesos pit. People wanting to sell contracts for the future purchase of pesos far outnumber the buyers. When there is a buy order fifty people want to sell on that one order. The buyer bids low and, in the case of the peso, sellers come down to his price. The futures market is based on supply and demand, if there is no demand for a contract its price in the future is going to be down, and vice versa.

Between the CD pit and the T-bill pit traders are running back and forth. The runners signal one another constantly between the two pits. What is happening is referred to as spreading. In this case it is T-bills against CD's. Theoretically the two move in the same direction, with T-bills moving more dramatically than CD's. So a spreader who thinks bond prices are headed up buys T-bills and sells CD's. When they go up he makes more on the T-bills than he loses on the CD's. If he is wrong and the two go down his loss on T-bills is softened by his profit on CD's. These two are just one type of spread. Currencies are often spread against one another as well. Or, if an investor is bullish in the stock market he can protect his investment by selling the Standard and Poors future. Spreading is extremely difficult, but done correctly can be extremely profitable.

Suddenly there is a general panic on the floor. Aron darts into the pit. Phone clerks are screaming to runners who are shoving their way between the pits. The shouting increases and seems to spread to every pit. Paper flies in and out of the pits. The noise and confusion become incredibly loud. The numbers on the board change rapidly. The current trading price of CD's can hardly be seen as it changes on the board above the market floor, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 28. The phone clerks are desperately signaling and shouting to the runners. One phone clerk rips a cord out of its socket as he tries to summon a runner. A broker emerges from the pit and throws his stack of cards to the ground, swearing. The numbers under CD's continue to increase, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37. They begin to slow in their progression and the shouting subsides a bit. The numbers change less quickly, 39, 40, 41, 42, 41, 42. The market has found a new equilibrium price. Fifteen minutes after he has left Aron returns, his tie has been ripped.

The Federal Reserve Board had announced a money supply (M1) which was higher than anyone expected. Part of the M1 is the total amount of savings being kept in banks. Since the amount of money being kept in savings was up the value of Certificates of deposit in the future went up. It is impossible to predict what is going to be announced by the federal reserve board, their statistics are secret information. The day before they sold T-bills, and the increased bond supply brought futures prices down.

The broker who had angrily emerged from the pit at the height of trading turned out to be a spreader. He had just sold his T-bills, but hadn't yet bought back his CD's when the Fed's made their announcement. In this he was unprotected, or, as the trader says, had a leg up. He had to buy them back at a higher price and probably took a sizeable loss. But the trader has to come back and do it again, hoping that next time he'll be in the right place at the right time. By 3:00 most of the trading had ended and the pits cleared out. Paper almost completely covered the floor. But within the pile of clutter were stories of fortunes made, fortunes lost, and trades which might have been. The trading floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange represents one of the many pulses of our great free market system.

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McCarthyism From The Left

Holy Terror

By Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman
Doubleday and Co., 347 pps.
Hardcover \$17.95

Remember McCarthyism? Oh, it was a rough time for all. The far-right was making absurd accusations, inventing communist conspiracies, sitting innocents on the procrustean bed and lopping off their limbs if they didn't conform to waspish ideals.

Well, McCarthyism is back. Only this time from the left. The scapegoat is not some pinkish rag out in California, but the New Right, the fundamentalist Christians, who, we hear, "are waging a guerilla war, a systematic communications assault, on America's freedoms in religion, politics, and our private lives."

The only difference between the McCarthyism of the fifties and that of the eighties is: the former was, at least in part, justified. There were "real witches" in the fifties. Allen Weinstein has, in my view, established the guilt of Alger Hiss, and Jeffrey Hart's new book *When the Going Was Good* treats in detail communist plots. True, McCarthy made some exaggerated claims, which is why Eisenhower snuffed him out politically.

But what we have now, directed at the religious right, is a virulent attempt at censorship and suppression. It is an attempt to portray America as "two cultures—one fundamentalist, one secular, and of a declared holy war for the soul of America" being waged by the former. (This you versus the rest-of-us attitude is very reminiscent of McCarthyism.) It is an effort to blunt the political whack of the New Right, not democratically, but by totalitarian means: closing down the "electronic church," revoking the tax exempt status of fundamentalist prayer groups, etc., etc.

These drastic proposals, which reflect left-wing frustration at the successes of the Christian Right, have been stirring in liberal canisters for a while now. They find their latest—and most picric—expression in Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman's new book, timidly titled *Holy Terror*.

Holy Terror is hailed by publisher Doubleday as a stunning expose of the Christian Right. But its case against the fundamentalists seems to be less investigative than ethical. The data used is taken mostly from *The New York Times* and other declassified sources; nothing new there. But the authors attempt to synthesize this data into a frightening whole, and raise all sorts of personal objections to the *modus operandi* of the New Right.

How do they do this, in a tract that is supposed to be objective research? Well, by quoting unnamed sources. You know, people the authors bump into at rallies, on the street, while buying candy, that sort of thing. All the people berating the New Right request anonymity, for reasons unclear. (Are we to presume for fear of reprisal?) All those defending fundamentalism are given anonymity, probably because the authors are afraid of lawsuits; the Christians are made to look really foolish.

Conway and Siegelman use these unnamed speakers to ventilate their own views about the New Right, their own deductions from the available data. In this sense *Holy Terror* is a kind of interior monolog, with the authors thinking through issues, raising problems and answering them via a repertoire of fictional characters.

The characters treated most benignly represent the authors' perspective; it is secular, enlightened, witty. The characters who sweat and stutter are the fundamentalists; they have all crawled out of Southern waterholes and their understanding of the issues is simplistic, "paper thin" in the authors's words.

The reason I question the legitimacy of these sources is that their narratives, which are supposed to be convincing, are often unbelievably corny. One former fundamentalist, for example, describes willy nilly her trauma upon being born again ("I was supposed to give up thinking and feeling") and finally her recuperation. The lass one day stumbles upon constitutional documents in a dusty bookcase. She says, "Gee, this Declaration of Independence seems so much more Christian than all the churches I've been going to." It dawned on her, and the authors intend it to dawn on us, that: "My God! Our government is more Christian, more loving, more forgiving, and more free than God's government." H'm.

What first strikes the reader about *Holy Terror* is the authors' gross exaggeration of the "threat" of the New Right. "Fundamentalist right organizations may be engaged in fuelling world tensions, and quite possibly fomenting high-level international intrigue," we hear. Oh my, it sounds Orwellian. But how is this cosmic control exercised? Through mis-

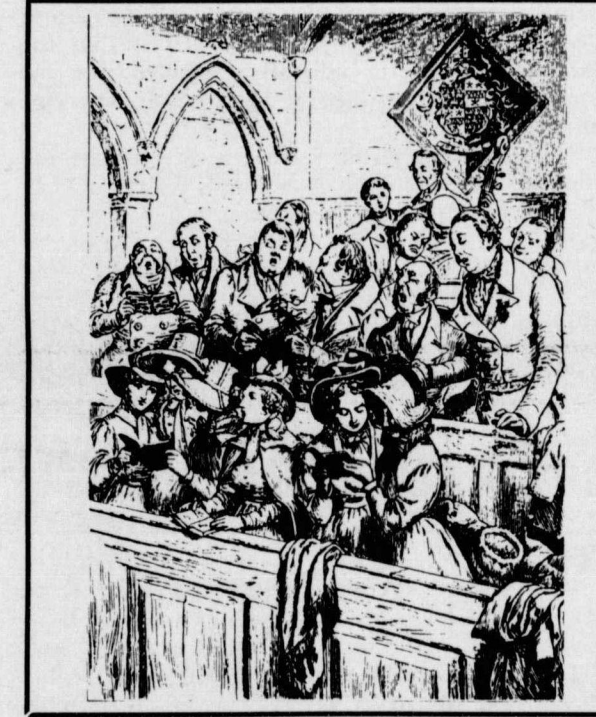
sionaries, we find out. Fundamentalist zeal to "convert the world" is "spiritual imperialism" and an affront to other cultures, Conway and Siegelman announce, as usual via some pleasant, anonymous source.

Also: the New Right is accused of a plot to "take over" the institutions of America. Plot, as in 'conspiracy.' "Master plots of this scale are outside our American experience," the authors opine, no doubt to overcome our original guffaws at their theory. But... "Holy Terror is not a shooting war but a new kind of communication warfare, a guerilla war on our private thoughts, feelings, and beliefs."

Come now. The New Right is a potent political force, but whoever heard of it invading private thoughts? And doesn't this all sound a little like those old McCarthyist slogans, "guerilla war," "communist conspiracy," and so on?

Conway and Siegelman comb through the mailings of the New Right and find them "lacking in ethical standards." They also locate "factual errors." Such as? Well, Richard Viguerie raises money from the pro-life constituency by calling abortion "baby killing." This Conway and Siegelman think is "distorting the issue."

"The issue" is open to debate, but that is precisely the point. Calling abortion baby killing (or thrilling liberation, for that matter) is a rhetorical claim, not a factual error. Yet Conway and Siegelman equate it with lying. They have obviously not seen some of the Democratic Party fundraisers, which present Reagan as a lip-licking sado-masochist who despises the aged and wants to cut off their only means of sustenance.



Holy Terror also reveals some astonishing ignorance about Christianity, which for the authors is some with-it gimmick, to be eclectically employed in the service of "feelings." Conway and Siegelman think the fundamentalist right is dogmatically literalist, and the rest of Christianity open and, well, heretical. This leads to such absurd statements as: "It is in their unquestioning adoration of the Scriptures that fundamentalists part company with other Christians."

And this, a truly humorous passage: "The fundamentalists dare Christians to accept the entire Bible as literal fact: to grant the literal existence of Jesus Christ as an eternal living being, to believe in the literal reality of heaven and hell, to fear the literal temptation of the person of Satan, to embrace the literal account of creation, and to wait for the literal end of the world." Don't Conway and Siegelman know that—with the exception of the creation bit—most Christians, fundamentalist or otherwise, believe this fervently?

While treating abortion, the authors claim that Catholics are split right down the middle over the issue, which shows how far from church realities Conway and Siegelman are. Now Catholics are most definitely not in two minds about abortion. They, like everybody else, must contend with the realities of teenage and unplanned pregnancies, and some do have abortions, but by and large Catholics are resolutely opposed to abortion. Even in liberal Massachusetts. To nourish their down-the-middle hypothesis, however, the authors interview the head of Catholics For a Free Choice, to whom they give much ink. This outfit, I know from experience as a correspondent for the *National Catholic Register*, is considered an oxymoron, a madcap group masquerading as papist, by the entire Catholic community and bishopric.

The authors also try and show the New Right as anti-Semites. It's an old liberal gag; apparently racism and sexism are not enough, conservatives must have all the evils. Conway and Siegelman point to some wacky California organization which denies the holocaust and ally the group with Jerry Falwell. They make no mention of the fact that Moral Majority has a large constituent of Jews, nor do they contend with Falwell's close friendship with Begin. As for the New Right press's fierce pro-Israel stance, that doesn't fit the theory and hence is omitted.

Now I must not be understood as claiming that there is no room to impugn the New Right. It can probably be argued (although I have not seen a convincing case) that the Christian fundamentalists confound the distance between the sacred and the secular. Christianity cannot be divorced from politics, yes, but there is the domain of Caesar and the domain of God. This became embarrassingly obvious in 1980 when Catholic priest Robert Drinan scored zero on a New Right "morality index" and Abscam crook Rep. Kelly scored full marks.

But Conway and Siegelman are so bogged down in factual error and personal bigotry that they never probe these issues. Instead they make fantastic charges like Jerry Falwell's personal security force "is larger than the Lynchburg Police Department." They attribute this information to one of Falwell's aides, simply called "Rick." Well, I called up Falwell, and I called up the Lynchburg Police Department. The former has 10 guards, maybe 15 if you count his aides. The Lynchburg Police Force has 140 security personnel.

And if the New Right is so fanatical, what do our two feisty whim-whams think about the "Old Right?" Well, from the modern resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the twenties to the birth of the anti-Communist John Birch Society in the fifties, the Old Right remained a marginal, or at most a regional, threat to American life, a bristling of the lunatic fringe. Its organizations were primitive, its leaders frenzies. The point about the Old Right being politically gauche is correct, but where, I wonder, would William F. Buckley fit into this KKK-Birch bracket?

Finally, I must register a protest for the hatred and fury Conway and Siegelman level at the Christian Right, and all in the name of "objectivity." The New Right too plays hardball, but it doesn't cower behind the garb of impartiality. The epithets used by Conway and Siegelman to describe New Right clerics and strategists are simply shameful, worse than the most zealous NCPAC characterization. Jerry Falwell is "the supreme religious huckster of the era," the people in his church are "stiff and mean." Richard Viguerie is a "male chauvinist" (that may be a compliment). Rep. Phil Crane is a "core New Right zealot." James Robison "snarls, spumes, slashes, and twists" on TV. Jesse Helms and his aides are "bloodthirsty."

On the other hand, Pat Gavett of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights is "an attractive woman in her fifties, with light fluffy hair, and a cheery smile." Lowell Weicker is "independent-minded" and "deeply committed to the American experiment...and the spirit of the Founders." Ruth Carter Stapleton is "fresh," "innovative" and "positive" in her outlook.

After all this, it should come as no surprise what Conway and Siegelman think about President Reagan. "Ronald Reagan's election was a triumph of propaganda over democratic process," the authors observe, somewhat sour-grapishly. Although Reagan has been politicking since the middle of this century, the authors make him no more than an invention of the New Right. They say: "In his own way and from the nation's highest office, working in concert with the entire fundamentalist right network, in our view President Reagan is conducting a flagrant campaign of Holy Terror against the American people."

It goes on, but I won't. I wonder a little what could have led Doubleday to publish this sloppy book, and after publishing it to hype it with advertising, but I guess it is cleverly written, and will bamboozle some readers. Somehow I don't think it will go down in history as the definitive refutation of the Christian Right. As the authors have given you their view of President Reagan, let me give you my view of them: basically two sixties-style protestors, who feel left behind by it all, and are trying to crawl out of the trash cans of history.

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Ignorance In The Name Of Justice

The American Civil Liberties Union has been wrong all along. The most fundamental civil liberty of each individual citizen is the assurance that society will protect him from lawbreakers—not, as progressives would have us believe, to slither around the law. The so-called "exclusionary rule," first warranted under the auspices of the late machinist Earl Warren, suppresses illegally-obtained material evidence and reverses decisions reached in court, placing jurisdiction back into a lower court without the use of that evidence. Working as a legal hoodwink for criminals and their heroes in Washington, the exclusionary rule perverts a Fourth Amendment guarantee against "unreasonable" search and seizure, preventing society from protecting itself. When the constable blunders—the criminal goes free, Rosie Bird chalks one up for her scold-the-police liberalism and a mockery is made of the law. With intelligent Congressional action, that is, conformance to the "reasonableness" standard of the Fourth Amendment and establishing a "rules of evidence" writ, this buffoonery might cease.

In 1971, the Supreme Court reversed a conviction for an aggravated murder (*Coolidge v. New Hampshire*) committed seven years earlier. The reason: a search warrant, that had enabled law enforcement officers to find incriminatory material evidence, had not been issued by a sufficiently "neutral and detached" judicial officer. The search was illegal by state law, therefore the evidence was deemed "unacceptable" by interjection of the exclusionary rule.

Evidence on hand pointed the finger at the accused, yet the Supreme Court reversed the conviction and returned the case to the State of New Hampshire, without the admission of the illegally summoned evidence. The murderer received his "due process" and escaped legal "guilt."

Chief Justice Warren Burger did, however, express his distaste:

This Court's decision...dramatically represents a mechanically inflexible response to widely varying degrees of police error and the resulting high price that society pays...A fair trial by jury has resolved doubts about Coolidge's guilt. But now his conviction on retrial is placed in serious question by the demand for a new trial—years after the

crime—in which evidence found evident and reliable will be withheld from the jury's consideration.

Unfortunately, the Honorable Justice Burger's egregious predecessor, Earl Warren, wasn't so querulous.



The trashing of evidence by Warrenite law-jugglers through the use of the exclusionary rule is being excused for what they are incorrectly calling "constitutional origins." The truth is that the exclusionary rule is judicially "implied"; i.e. for each given case, the judge presiding employs the rule as he sees fit.

Other luminaries tell us that such a rule is "the only way to deter illegal invasion of privacy," that is, the rule has some kind of magnanimous "deterrent value." Of course pigeon-brows, most crooks intend to keep their dealings as private as possible, while most law enforcement officials seek to catch them red-handed. In spite of this, the exclusionary rule's deterrent value is neap. Even Bradley Cannon, a proponent of the rule, admits it. "Existing data," he

says, "make it impossible to establish empirically a universal 'yes it works' or a 'no, it doesn't work' conclusion—or even approximation of such a conclusion."

Search and seizure laws are confusing, especially when an officer of the law is required to make an on-the-spot decision. Is the suspect hiding a gun? A loaded gun? Will he destroy material evidence that may be needed to prove his guilt?

In 1980, the Supreme Court ruled that it was legal for a police officer to search the zippered pocket of a suspect's jacket found inside the passenger compartment of a car. Yet it was illegal for him to open an opaque, plastic-wrapped package in the trunk. The officer in this case had done the latter; the incriminating evidence he found was thrown out of court.

An end to this kind of silliness might come about if Congress were to act cleverly. A "rules of evidence" writ could be established in order to differentiate between "reasonable" and "unreasonable" means of obtaining evidence, rather than relying solely on statutes and the liberal caprice of a "compassionate" judge. Included would be the use of a monetary-damages remedy—detached from regular court proceedings, to serve in "detering" the police from unnecessary search and seizure and, hopefully, putting the lid over mouthy policephobes. Illegally seized evidence would continue to be inadmissible, but only in the case that the constable is unable to prove his belief that he was searching and seizing in accordance with the law. Trusting a policeman's integrity is safer for society than trusting that of a scoundrel.

Such Congressional action would result in fewer criminals escaping trial, conviction, the calaboose and the guillotine. Evidence would not be suppressed nor crooks released. Society has the responsibility of trying suspected villains, and if found guilty, removing their example and their threat of danger from the streets.

The progressives continue to whine. The exclusionary rule, they say, "is the price we must pay for the Fourth Amendment." But in the cases in which the rule operates, evidence wouldn't exist without the prior illegal act. And commiseration for criminals is hogwash.

An Even Dozen
by Ellen Wilson

The Human Life Press
181 pp., \$10.00

.....Notes from the Brigadier..... H.W. Crocker III.....

ABORTION SHOULD BE EXCITING



...they (Miss Wilson's essays) are so cool, so clear, and despite their evident maturity, in the very best sense, youthful and fresh and pleasing. It is as though Jane Austen were to be reincarnated to expound the pros and cons of contraception, the case for and against euthanasia, the future of marriage and the family, in the style and temper of her incomparable novels."

—Malcolm Muggeridge

"Ellen Wilson's freshness, her sophisticated simplicity, reflect—when you think of it—the purity of her position. A pleasure to read, and an inducement to docility."

—William F. Buckley, Jr.

"Reading Ellen Wilson, one finds oneself alone, away from the hurly-burly of fashion, and in the presence of a timeless and precious sanity. The eye is cool. The voice is quiet. It compels without hectoring. And the gentle smile is irresistible."

—Joseph Sobran

Who is going to contradict the opinions of these three brilliant and admirable men? Guess. All I can say is that I read this book while battling a cold; and the disease may have made me more disagreeable than usual. Whatever the reason, Ellen Wilson's twelve essays fail to move me to panegyrics.

This is not to say that I think Ellen Wilson is not a good writer. Quite the contrary. Her essay, "The Perpetual Performer", printed in the Fall 1981 issue of *The Hillsdale Review*, is a marvelous work. Its thesis, strangely enough, is that we, as a society, take sex too casually. Sex "is treated seriously precisely because it isn't considered significant in and of itself. Perhaps the analogy with professional sports is a good one. A professional sport is an activity lacking inherent significance, but invested with meaning by the disposition of the players—their dedication and willingness to train, their attention to strategy and the perfection of technique." This is the sound of a great writer. The wit, the intelligence, the bizarre but accurate analogy, these all augur well; and the essay is very successful. Those in *An Even Dozen* are not.

First of all, to start with my pettiest cavils, the idea of a book put out by The Human Life Press with a baby blue dust jacket is, to me, nauseating. Also, the book has the large and amateurish looking typesetting that one associates with small Tucson based publishing houses. The editing leaves something to be desired, too. There are several obvious typos, (i.e. "hair" for "heir"), and the editors can't decide whether parentheses belong inside or outside periods—so they, like *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, do it both ways.

On to more substantial issues. Miss Wilson employs logic relentlessly and to excess. Her essays in this book are more than twice the length of her *Hillsdale Review* piece and they suffer for it. These essays were first printed in *The Human Life Review*, (of which she is an editor), and that may be part of the problem. It is hard for life to be totally logical and to ask it to be is to put too great a burden on it. Especially when the conversation turns, as in "Seeing through the Glass", to the subject of abortion in

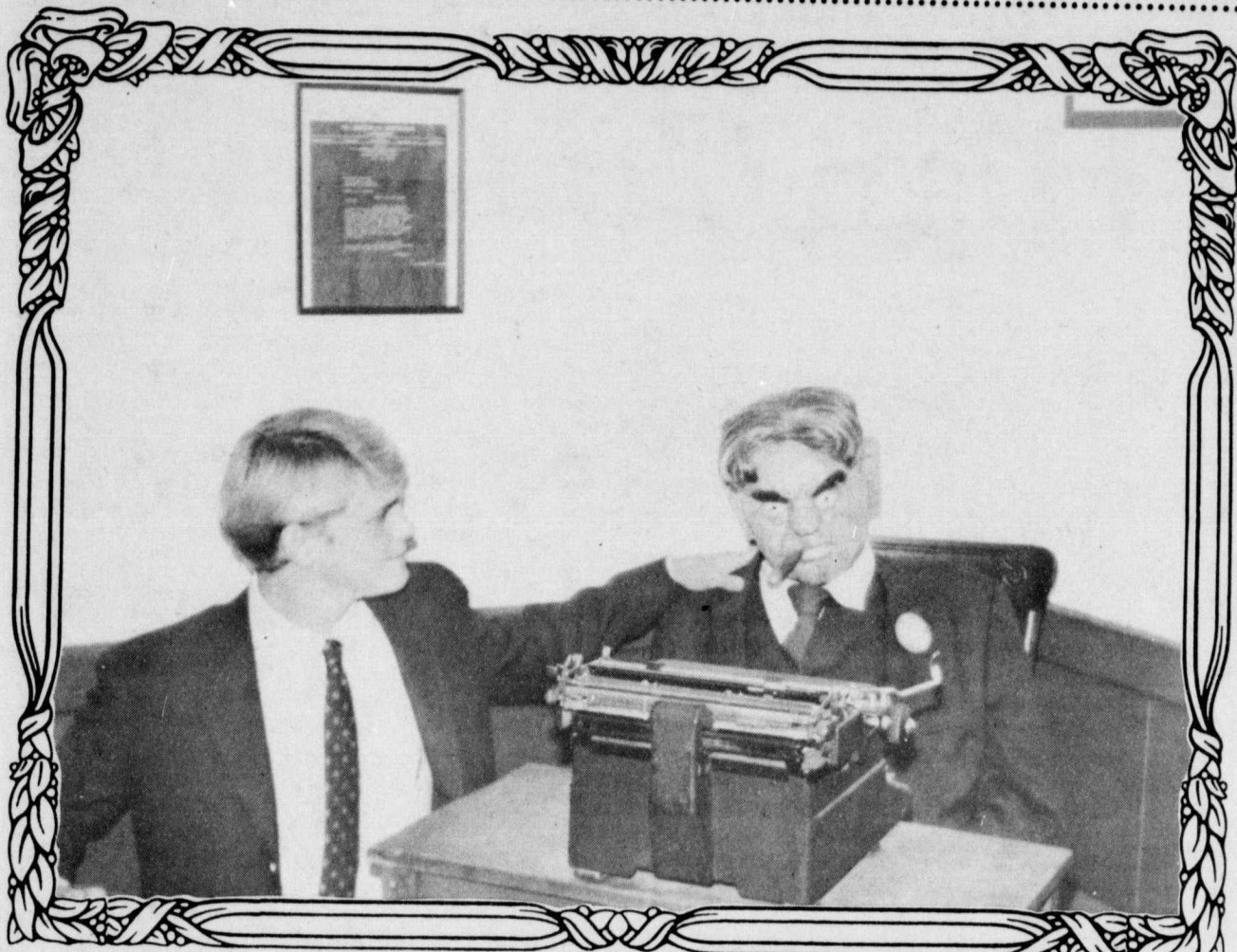
relation to *in vitro* fertilization. Such an esoteric subject is not treated as such. Instead, we are given an intensive logical argument on why it is wrong to abort petri dish babies. I guess, to put it bluntly, most of these essays bore me.

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr. finds in Miss Wilson an inducement to docility. So do I, but it seems to me that this is entirely the wrong approach. Social issues should be made compelling. One should be made to see their importance for the sake of the individual and for society as a whole. Alternatively, one should surrender the essay and employ fiction a la Tolstoy or Jane Austen. If a writer is going to argue with us, he's going to have to engage our attention. Miss Wilson seems more or less oblivious to her audience, (hence her coolness), and is content to prove her rightness even while the reader drifts away to sleep.

It also bothers me that Miss Wilson does not make greater use of facts and figures. Her logic is sweeping and impressive, but some of her generalizations beg for documentation. Just some representative quotes would be fine.

An Even Dozen is not a total loss. It does have its moments. For example, "Mother Didn't Know", is excellent. Her examination of the conflict between parents and states over who knows what is better for children is perceptive. Her observation that the influx of young people into higher education, along with a great many other factors, has resulted in a more immature populace appeals to me. These moments, however, do not a book make.

Joseph Sobran says that Ellen Wilson's "gentle smile is irresistible." I find it quite resistable. Ellen Wilson offers a sophisticated and logical (always logical) mother-knows-best position. It does not set well with my rebellious nature and I seriously doubt if it will attract her many readers or converts. One wonders, while reading these essays, whether he should politely depart and let Miss Wilson address the audience of biologists and theologians she seems to be writing for. If they can put a man on the moon, why can't a talented writer like Ellen Wilson make abortion exciting.



E. Clasen Young and the late H.L. Mencken — Defenders of Freedom.

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