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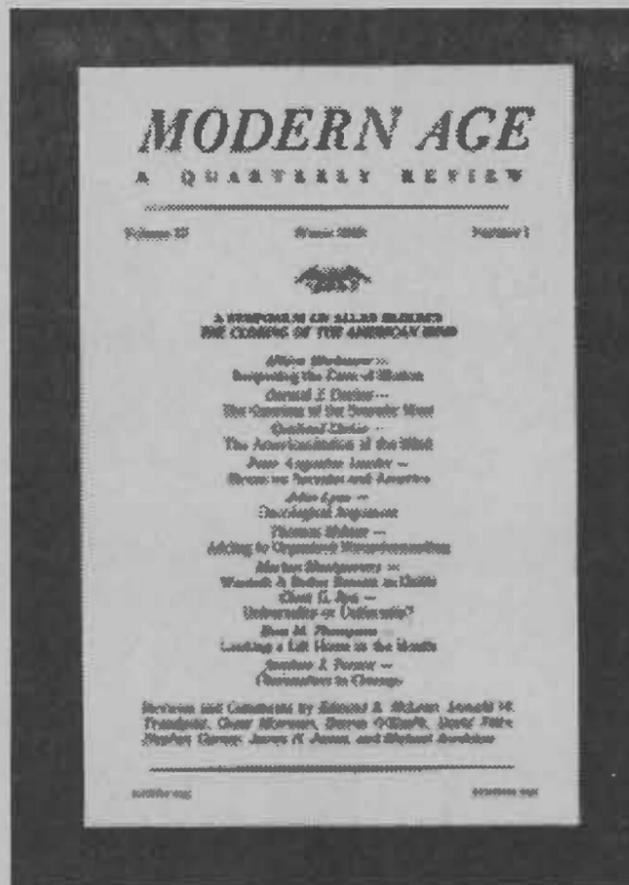
CALIFORNIA REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO VOLUME XIII, No. 3

Politics: In Search of Paper Tigers

ALSO: An Interview With Bob Trettin, A New Conservative Reading List, and Affirmative Action Woes

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CALIFORNIA REVIEW

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"Imperium et Libertas"

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The *California Review* (Restitutor Orbis) was founded on the sunny afternoon of the Seventh day of January, Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Two, by discipuli cum civitas listening to Respighi and engaging in discourse on preserving the American Way.

Please address all letters, manuscripts, and blank checks to: *California Review*, Temple of Mars the Avenger, P.O. Box 12286, La Jolla, CA 92039



FROM THE PEN OF THE EDITOR

Recent conflicts with Japan and China regarding trade and human rights have raised serious questions about Bill Clinton's ability to handle foreign affairs.

A trade dispute between Japan and the United States regarding cellular phones demonstrated this lack of ability. Clinton was wrong to threaten Japan with tariffs on Japanese imports simply because American firms have not been able to penetrate the Japanese market.

Free trade ultimately benefits the consumer. When domestic companies are forced to compete against foreign competitors for market shares, the result is more selection and lower prices for the consumer. By placing tariffs on Japanese goods, Clinton would only be hurting the American consumer.

In 1981, for example, a "Voluntary Export Restraint" was placed on Japanese automobiles. Although this hurt some Japanese automakers who couldn't gain shares of the U.S. auto market, such as Daihatsu and Subaru, the biggest losers were American consumers who faced higher auto prices as a result of the VER.

Perhaps even more damaging is the way that the Clinton Administration has treated China. Clinton has threatened China with the loss of Most Favored Nation status if human

rights are not given to the Chinese people.

Such an ultimatum has put the United States in a quandary. China has shown no interest in adopting a human rights policy that would be acceptable to the United States. The United States must therefore choose between taking MFN status away from China, and angering the most populous nation on earth, or not going through with its threat, and making the United States appear weak and indecisive.

Removing MFN status would hurt both the U.S. and Chinese economies. Chinese exports have helped the Chinese people improve their lives, and Chinese imports provide Americans with high-quality, low-cost goods. With its expanding markets, it would not be wise to risk our access to the growing Chinese markets by angering this economic giant.

Human rights are important, and one of our foreign policy goals should be to encourage nations to give their people human rights. But this goal should not be so important as to make or break our relations with China.

Michael J. Malervy

—Editor-in-Chief

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Letters...

Complaints From Readers

Editor:

Since you are always so eager to reduce everything down to the two-dimensional battle between left and right, I should probably begin by telling you that I am not by any stretch of the imagination a leftist or a liberal.

The *California Review* disgusts me nonetheless. All the Latin phrases and arrogant attitudes in the world won't hide the fact that your logic is as unsound and your difference to liberty as great as that of the maligned *New Indicator*.

Perhaps the most appalling example of the latest *California Review's* lack of journalistic quality and integrity is Ed Wagner's "Ed's Epistles." Wagner's childlike attempts at cleverness reach their pathetic peak with the wry inquiry, "Did you ever notice the word 'mental' in environmentalist?"

Is this what you are trying to pass off as journalism? I can hardly wait for Wagner's next column. Perhaps he will point out that Al Gore has cooties, or that President Clinton, simply because he is from Arkansas, is inbred. Oh, excuse me, he has already used that one in the most recent *California Review*.

While Wagner's column is the most glaring example of the mindless, knee-jerk reactionism that can be found in the *California Review*, it is certainly not the only one. And while I see the word "liberty" sprinkled all over the *California Review's* pages, there is little contained in the *California Review* that would imply that its writers have either understanding of or concern with the concept of liberty.

Rich Toscano
La Jolla, CA

...And Former Editors

Editor:

It was with some surprise and shock that I read the "BroadSides" column in the February/March issue of the *California Review*. In your treatment of last fall's *Momentum* controversy, during which several hundred copies of an issue containing a supposedly offensive

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commentary were destroyed by a small group of indignant male readers. You draw some disturbing conclusions. Rather than condemning those who would stifle unpopular opinion by hook or by crook, you made an astounding concession to the enemies of free speech.

In the piece, you suggest that "sometimes it is better to shy away from satire rather than run an article which might appear racist and sexist." Concluding, quite inconceivably, that "with the campus left always looking for a reason to silence the *California Review*... care must be taken not to offend readers."

This from the *California Review*, self-styled defenders of freedom? If I did not know better, I might have thought the article was your own misbegotten effort at satire. But it is quite apparent that you were serious. And in so doing, you have dealt a serious blow to twelve years of editorial integrity.

The *California Review* has never backed away from controversy in deference to some perceived threat from the more intolerant elements of the campus left. Indeed, as the landmark lawsuit in 1983 against the Associated Students proved, the *California Review* is more than willing to fight for its rights. Over the years, the *Review* has gone head to head with campus liberals and forces of political correctness, and not once has it flinched, until now.

Censorship, whether brought to bear externally by self-styled guardians of the public good or entertained internally by embattled editors, is something I have battled against long and hard at the *Review* and throughout my four years as an editor of the *UCSD Guardian*. Your explicit endorsement of self-censorship is not only personally repugnant, but it opposes everything the *California Review* has stood for more than a decade.

As the inheritors of a long legacy of

defending conservatism on campus, you are charged with leading the intellectual cause against the leftist hordes. The *Review* need not be an organ of persuasion for liberals, Republican fence sitters, and weak-kneed ideologues. That is what the *Guardian* is for.

And if, in the process of telling the truth, someone's fragile sensibilities are offended, too bad for them. This is a culture war we are fighting, ladies and gentlemen. Nobody ever said it was going to be easy.

Ben Boychuk
Editor Emeritus
Glendale, CA

Ammo Against Gun Control

Editor:

After reading the "From the Pen of the Editor" column in your February 1994 issue, I ran across an interesting article about concealed carry permits for handgun owners that would interest you.

A recent story in the Eugene, Oregon *Register-Guard* in November 1993 titled "Thousands Legally Pack Hidden Guns" listed the number of individuals possessing concealed weapon permits. The statistics were as follows: 37,390 permits in Oregon, 241,600 permits in Washington, and 33,345 permits in California. This works out to one in 15 Washingtonians being licensed to carry a concealed firearm, compared to one in 54 Oregonians, and one in 600 Californians.

1989 FBI crime statistics show that these proliferation of these permits does not lead to a rise in the number of murders. In Washington, there were 4.4 murders per 100,000 people, and 4.8 murders per 100,000 Oregonians. In California, meanwhile, there were 10.9 murders per 100,000 people.

Perhaps California should follow Washington's example and make the acquisition of a concealed weapons permit easier for law-abiding citizens. I'm sure criminals would think twice about committing an assault or other violent crime knowing that their victim might be armed.

Lon Nguyen
La Jolla, CA

In Review...

■ **BILL AND HILLARY ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES** failing at their jobs in the White House. Socks, the first cat, apparently is not doing her job either. The White House has a mice problem.

■ **IF UCSD'S PRE-LAW STUDENTS EVER** wonder why lawyers are such a hated group, they need look no further than House Springs, Mo., where a garage dispute has spun out of control. Jim and Gloria Cooksey have paid lawyers more than \$30,000 in a lawsuit that centers around a two-car garage built on their property line nearly 20 years earlier. The Cookseys' legal opponents and neighbor, Rickey Miller, has spent \$20,000 for lawyers in his quest. About 20 lawyers have worked on this case. Besides the Cookseys, three title companies and two real estate companies have been sucked into the case as defendants. Just how insignificant is this matter? Miller no longer lives next to the Cookseys, and the strip of land in question is valued at about \$500.

■ **CONGRATULATIONS TO THE TAXPAYERS OF** New Jersey, where Governor Christie Todd Whitman signed New Jersey's first income tax cut into law. Retroactive to January 1, the Garden State's taxpayers will see a 5% across-the-board reduction in their income taxes. It is good to know that there is at least one state where the government is more interested in lowering taxes than raising them.

■ **DESPITE THE SCRUTINY BILL CLINTON IS** finally receiving in regards to Whitewater, the press continues to neglect much of Clinton's dubious past. For example, former Arkansas state employee Paula Jones has alleged that then-Governor Bill Clinton made unwanted sexual advances against her. When sexual harassment accusations were made against Clarence Thomas, the media assailed Thomas despite the glaring inconsistencies in Anita Hill's testimony. When Senator Bob Packwood was accused of sexual harassment, Packwood became a favorite target of the media. Yet, when a liberal is accused of sexually harassing someone, not a peep is heard from the media. The media's silence on Clinton's

past speaks volumes about the media's true motives and biases.

■ **BEFORE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION** advocates even higher taxes on tobacco, already one of the most heavily taxed products in the United States, perhaps it should consider the actions of the Canadian government. In order to fight rampant cigarette smuggling resulting from Canada's high cigarette taxes, federal tobacco taxes in Canada have been lowered by one-third.

■ **IS GLOBAL WARMING A REALITY? IF THIS** winter was any indication, global warming is a farce. This has been one of the coldest, stormiest winters on record in the Northeastern United States. Perhaps global warming proponents should look at the actual weather, instead of computer models with much room for error, before predicting gloom and doom.

■ **MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TALK ABOUT** balancing the budget, but it appears that some of them are not serious. The House of Representatives recently fell 12 votes short of approving a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget after the turn of the century. After the failure of Gramm-Rudman to reduce the national deficit, and the failure of Congress to enact the Penny-Kasich spending cuts, it is apparent that Congress will need outside help if it is to make any effort to reduce the deficit. A balanced budget amendment may be the only way to get Congress to exercise the fiscal restraint necessary to achieve this goal, and would be a sure sign by Congress that it is indeed concerned about deficit reduction.

■ **PLANS TO REDUCE THE MINIMUM WAGE FOR** new entrants into the job market in France by 20% have been met with riots and protests by French teenagers who claim the new minimum wage discriminates against them. Under France's current minimum wage, no more than one in four graduates leave school with no prospects of finding work. A lower minimum wage would make it more likely for these rioting

graduates to find employment upon leaving school. Economist Thierry Delattre has rightly noted that the main cause of the reaction to this new minimum wage is a mindset that assumes everyone is owed a high standard of living regardless of the economic facts. Hopefully, such an attitude will not develop in the United States, or else the lack of competitiveness and high unemployment found in Europe will plague the United States as well.

■ **ONE OF THE MORE UNBELIEVABLE VERDICTS** handed down recently was the acquittal of Aurelia Macias on charges of felony mayhem and assault. Macias justified the castration of her husband while he was asleep as self defense, and that her husband was domineering and abusive. Although Macias' husband may have been abusive, it is questionable how this attack can be deemed self defense, since Macias' husband was asleep, and not doing anything to her at the time of the attack. A self defense plea would have been reasonable had Macias attacked her husband during any unwanted advances. Revenge, and not self defense, would be a more appropriate way to describe this attack.

■ **THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR** Vehicles is not only home to some of California's longest lines and slowest workers, but incompetency as well. A driver's license was issued to George Lizzaralde, a legally blind man who received a license even though he flunked the vision test. This grave mistake resulted in an accident in which Lizzaralde hit three pedestrians in a crosswalk. Such incompetence on behalf of the DMV is truly outrageous.

■ **THERE IS GOOD NEWS AND BAD NEWS FOR** local fans of G. Gordon Liddy. KSDO, which had been carrying Liddy's talk show, has decided to drop Liddy for Gene Burns' nationally syndicated talk show despite ratings that KSDO characterized as "OK." Liddy is now on KOGO-AM 600, however, which is changing its format to news/talk. Fans of the "G-man" will thus not be deprived of Liddy's show.

Ed's Epistles

Hollywood's single-minded spin on the AIDS epidemic prevalent in movies like the Tom Hanks film "Philadelphia" is tiring. It is hard to feel a moral obligation to view every trite piece of garbage Hollywood calls socially conscious.

I do not practice anal sex or unprotected sex. I have never received a blood transfusion. Let's face it: I am more likely to be struck down by lightning than get AIDS (and if God is a liberal, I will be struck by lightning any day now).

What is the more enlightened, liberal, Hollywood view of AIDS? AIDS is not caused by irresponsible behavior. It is caused by a society that doesn't care. If everyone would just wear a red ribbon to show he cares, and if the government would just spend more money on AIDS research, then the epidemic would end. An HBO documentary, "And the Band Played On," actually blamed Ronald Reagan for the spread of AIDS. Funny, I thought he was too busy making people homeless and destroying the environment to cause AIDS.

If everyone followed my lead, and refrained from risky sex and drug use practices, the spread of AIDS would be stopped dead in its tracks. If, however, everyone followed the liberal prescription, three things would happen. First, people would begin to wear several red ribbons at once to prove that they care more about AIDS than anyone else. Second, taxes and the federal deficit would increase with massive new AIDS spending. Third, people would still be getting AIDS.

Even if we believe the government should spend money on federal research, AIDS gets far more than its fair share. AIDS research garners more government aid than research for either cancer or heart disease, both of which kill far more people than AIDS. In politics, the squeaky wheel gets the oil, and no one can accuse gay activists of not making noise. Taking a cue from advocates of foreign aid to Israel who brand their opponents "anti-Semitic," gay activists label anyone

opposed to more AIDS spending as "homophobic."

Big government fans can make a case for government-financed cancer research, since people are individually helpless to prevent many types of cancer. The same

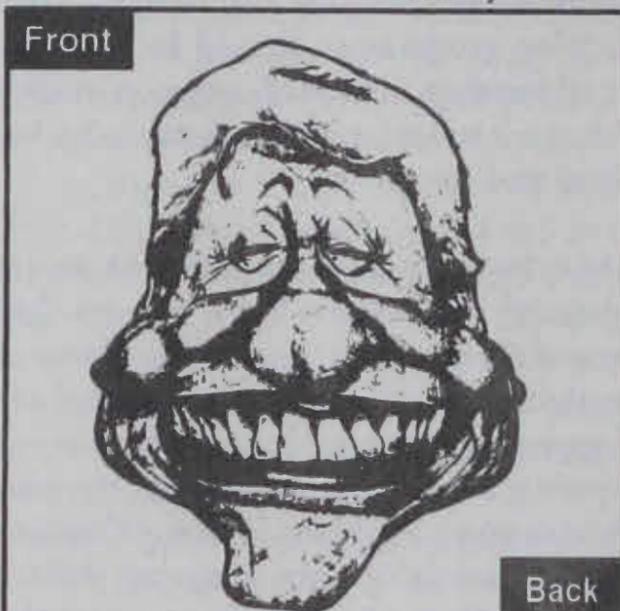
cannot be said of AIDS, however. Individuals have the absolute power to prevent contracting AIDS. If gay activists want to stop AIDS, let them get a grip on their genitals, and not on my tax dollars.

—Ed Wagner

Liberal antidote.

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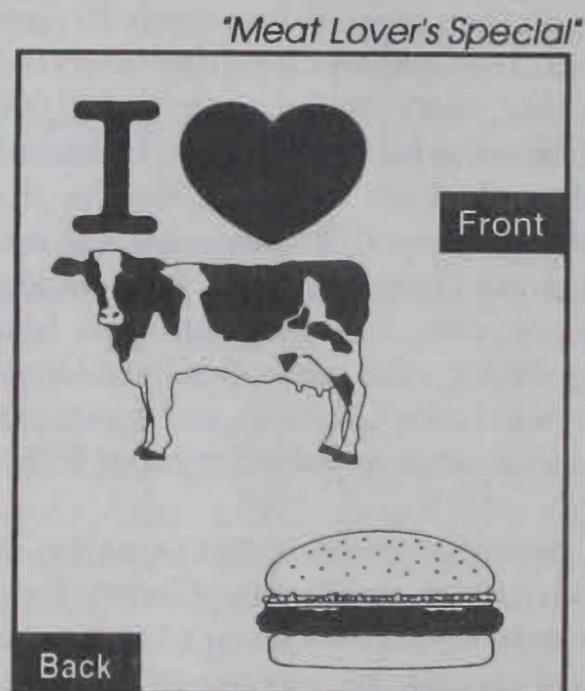
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The California Review

Guide to Conservative Reading

In our November 1993, issue, we published a list of conservative readings for the intellectually hungry conservative. Many wrote to us with their own suggestions for the list. These suggestions, along with other books that were originally left off our first reading guide, comprise this second list. The books here are by no means less important than those from our first list. These books will help give you the facts you need when arguing with your liberal friends about the issues of the day, and will help you cut through the liberal rhetoric heard in lecture halls across the UCSD campus. This list is not conclusive by any stretch of the imagination, and leaves out other books that the conservative would find worth reading. If you are not a conservative now, you should be by the time you finish reading these books.

Adams, Charles

For Good and Evil

Bailey, Ronald

Eco-Scam: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse

Bastiat, Frederic

The Law

Bennett, William

The Book of Virtues

The Index of Leading Cultural Indicators

Our Country and Our Children

Bloom, Allan

The Closing of the American Mind

Bolch, Ben and Harold Lyons

Apocalypse Not: Science, Economics, and Environmentalism

Buckley, William F.

God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of Academic Freedom

Chase, Alston

Playing God in Yellowstone

Clancy, Tom

The Cardinal of the Kremlin

Clear and Present Danger

The Hunt for Red October

Patriot Games

Red Storm Rising

Crane, Phillip M.

Liberal Causes and Conservative Solutions

Davidson, Donald

Regionalism and Nationalism in the United States

Friedman, Milton

Bright Promises, Dismal

Performance

An Economist's Protest

Inflation: Causes and Consequences

A Monetary History of the United

States (with Anna J. Schwartz)

There is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch

Friedman, Milton and Rose

Capitalism and Freedom

Free to Choose

Tyranny of the Status Quo

Fumento, Michael

The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS

Goldwater, Barry

The Conscience of a Conservative

Hazlitt, Henry

Man vs. the Welfare State

The Failure of the "New Economics"; An Analysis of the Keynesian Fallacies

Kemp, Jack

An American Renaissance: A Strategy for the 1980s

Kopel, David B.

The Samurai, The Mountie, and the Cowboy

Kravchenko, Victor A.

I Choose Freedom

I Choose Justice

Limbaugh, Rush

See, I Told You So

Mallock, William Hurrell

A Critical Examination of Socialism

McKenzie, Richard B.

What Went Right in the 1980s

Moser, Edward P.

Willy Nilly: Bill Clinton Speaks Out

Niskanen, William A.

Reaganomics

Ortega y Gasset, Jose

Revolt of the Masses

Orwell, George

Animal Farm

1984

Paterson, Isabel

The God of the Machine

Perelman, Lewis J.

School's Out: A Radical New Formula for the Revitalization of America's Educational System

Podhoretz, John

Hell of a Ride

Rauch, Jonathan

The Kindly Inquisitors: The New Attacks on Free Thought

Ray, Dixie Lee

Environmental Overkill

Trashing the Planet

Roepke, Wilhelm

The Social Crisis of Our Time

Safire, William

Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement

Thatcher, Margaret

The Downing Street Years

Will, George

The Morning After: America's Successes and Excesses, 1981-1986

Restoration: Congress, Term Limits, and the Recovery of Deliberative Democracy

Suddenly: The American Idea Abroad and at Home, 1986-1990

Wilson, Francis Graham

The Case for Conservatism





**AN ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE GIVES
HIS POINT OF VIEW**

.....

An Interview With Bob Trettin

B y M i c h a e l J. M a l e r v y

Bob Trettin is running for the State Assembly in the 76th district, whose area includes the UCSD campus. Trettin recently chatted with *California Review* editor Michael Malervy over sandwiches at Porter's Pub.

CR: How long have you lived in the 76th district?

BT: I have lived in San Diego for 35 years, and have been a homeowner in Rancho Penasquitos for nine years.

CR: What areas are also in the 76th district?

BT: It's a huge district. The 76th takes in most of Mira Mesa, parts of University City, Clairemont, Linda Vista, all of Tierrasanta, Serra Mesa, Del Cerro, and San Carlos. It stretches all the way down to SDSU. It also takes in parts of University Heights and Normal Heights.

CR: Why do you decide to run for the Assembly?

BT: I really believe that the state government right now is in one of the biggest economic and moral downward spirals that it has ever had. Right now, California's economy qualifies as a depression. Our unemployment rate is highest in the nation. With my background in local government, I recognize the economic issues that affect residents, and that the services that the government supplies are funded locally with tax revenues that have been usurped by the state. It's depressing that everyone in a recession tightens their belts except for the state government. In 1994, our state's revenues are projected to be less than for 1991. So obviously all of these tax increases are taxing fewer of us who have employment, are driving many into unemployment, and are causing many jobs to leave the state. This is not the way to create a healthy economy.

This relates to each of us at the local level. People get mad at their city councils and board of supervisors because they are not getting the services they paid for anymore. Well, it is not the local governments' fault as much as it is the state setting an economic

agenda that is sending us down the tubes.

CR: One of the problems with the state budget is that much of the money is already spent or earmarked before the state budget is finalized. Social services have to be paid for before higher education and transportation can be provided. Proposition 98 mandates that over 40% of the state budget is spent on education. What do you think the state should do to provide these services and still maintain a balanced budget?

BT: What needs to be done is to eliminate the unwarranted and unneeded regulation that is creating a high cost to do business in the state of California. We can generate the revenue needed to properly fund primary and secondary education. I don't think Proposition 98 is a problem. In fact, I'd like to go further. I think funds for public safety services should have their share of the general funds as well. Unfortunately, we just can't trust our legislature. It may be decades before we have confidence in them again.

The money for crime, health, education, and the other services the taxpayers care about and expect can be there. California has one of the largest economies in the world. California needs to generate economic growth again. All that means is putting California's 800,000 unemployed people back to work. California needs to create skilled jobs for the state's college graduates. That can be done by convincing employers that California is a good place to plan for relocation or expansion. Right now, the state is telling employers exactly the opposite. We can change this around in a period of two to five years by putting together programs that other states have used to get themselves out of the national recession.

CR: Which programs would you like to implement?

BT: I would like to see a property tax break for those business that wish to expand or relocate and wish to hire managerial and

other skilled workers. I'd like to cut back the sales tax. I'd like to cut out unnecessary regulations and the fees relating to these regulations. I'd like to cut back or eliminate some 200 state agencies that are redundant or that exist at the local level. By placing these changes in a package and presenting them through the California Chamber of Commerce we could tell business within a matter of months that California is open for business. You would see immediate changes in the unemployment rate and in the general revenues that come into the state.

CR: How has your small business background influenced your policies regarding the economy?

BT: For ten years, I did much with regard to land use policy. I've been in the private sector for the last five years. I've owned my own business, The Trettin Company, which basically assists individuals, ranging from homeowners to major corporations, in planning and processing their development projects. So I have first-hand experience at the state and local level with the myriad of regulations from state agencies and commissions. It is a nightmare. The planning process today is horrendous. You basically have to be insane to want to do business in the state of California because you end up spending millions of dollars before you find out if you will be allowed to go into business. Most businesses find that they cannot take that risk with so much money required up front.

The litigation impacts are horrendous as well. We have gotten to the point where we are regulating employment by how much we are protecting endangered species. That places our entire economy at the hands of the horn-toed lizard and the gnat catcher. I have been extremely concerned, given my own company's experience, about what my clients have had to go through in dealing with these regulations.

CR: Unfortunately, it is likely that Democrats will still be in control of the Assembly after the 1994 elections. How will this affect the changes you will try to bring about?

BT: Democrats may be in control of the Assembly and Senate after 1994, but the Republican Party is getting close to gaining control of these bodies. By 1996, Republicans could have control of both the Assembly and the Senate. I want to be in Sacramento during these exciting times. More importantly, term limits have ensured that Democrats are only going to have no more than three two-year terms. You are going to see Democrats who are not liberals entering the legislature. They will want to do something. We won't need many of them, either. With the absence of Willie Brown as Speaker of the Assembly in two years, Democrats will never control the Assembly in the way they have over the last decade. There will never be a speaker with as much power as Brown again. Realistically, people will have six years to make their mark, and I think it will therefore be easier to create consensus proposals for economic vitality.

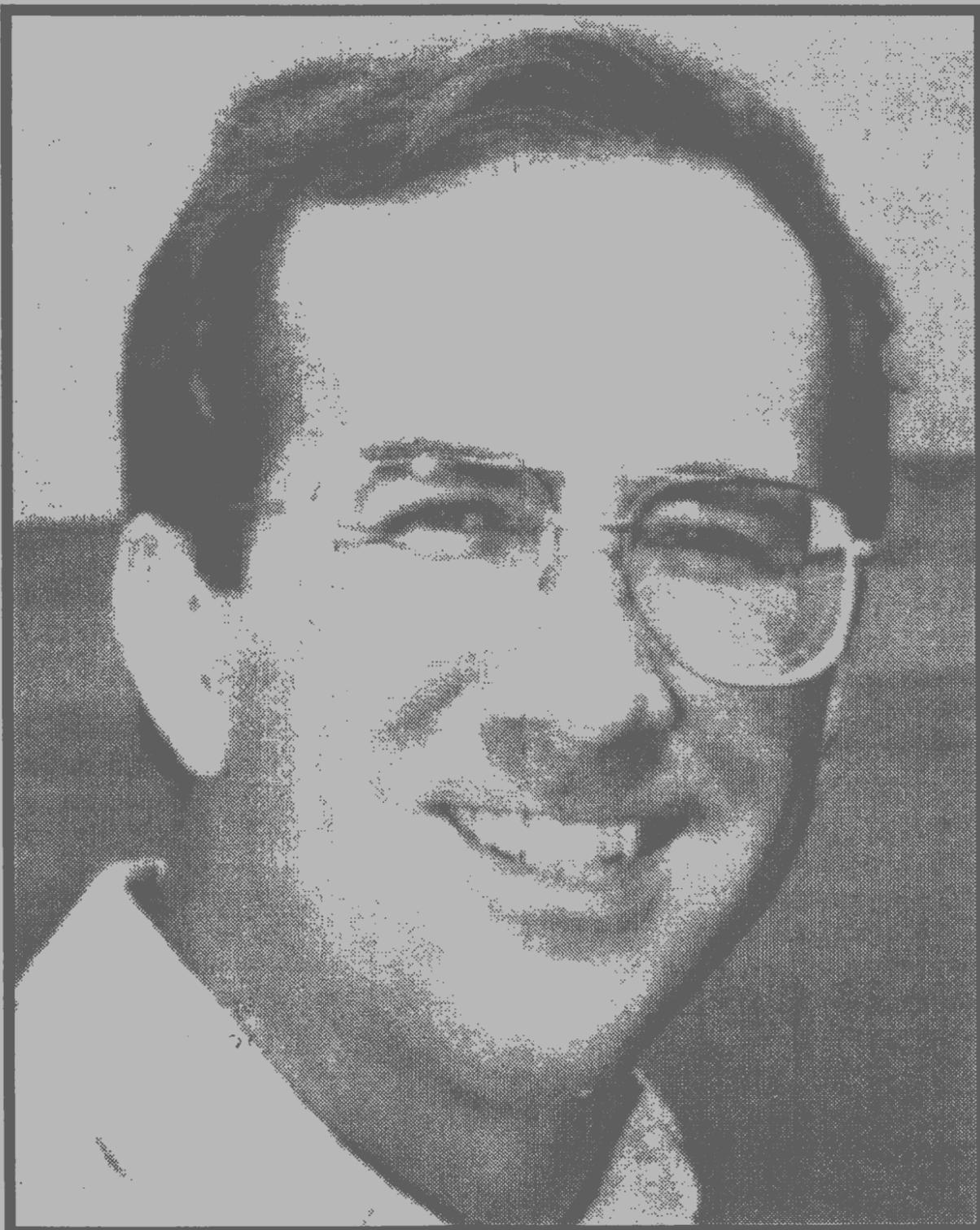
CR: What do you think of Pete Wilson's chances for re-election, and how vital is it that Wilson is re-elected in order for you to pass your legislative agenda?

BT: As a conservative, I haven't been thrilled with

all of Pete Wilson's actions as our governor, but Pete Wilson is ten times the individual that Kathleen Brown or John Garamendi could hope to be. I hope Wilson's chances are good. They seem to be improving. If Wilson's chances are good, this will help other Republicans like myself through a high Republican turnout. If Pete Wilson loses based on what the legislature has done in the midst of a recession, then the voters are making the wrong choice. I have had good conservative friends tell me that they cannot vote for Pete Wilson. The truth is, then, who would you consider voting for? If you throw your vote away, you hurt the GOP statewide.

I don't want to have to go to the legislature and have to deal with Kathleen Brown. As a legislator, I want to effectively do more than make sure a veto is enforced by a Republican governor. Similarly, I don't want to go to the legislature and find out that everything I pass, even if I have a good legislature to work with, is vetoed by a Democratic governor. Certainly, I don't expect in my term tenure to have a two-thirds majority of Republicans in our legislature. I want a Republican governor.

I think Pete Wilson has made many mistakes that he has to make sure he doesn't make again. He also had the pressures of working with a Democratic legislature that proposed much, much worse for the state. I hope that the legislation that conservatives in the Senate and Assembly propose, like the legislation I am proposing, will rebuild the state fiscally and restore economic



growth. I'm confident that Pete Wilson is supportive of this type of legislation. I'm not confident that Kathleen Brown is supportive of this type of legislation. I know Kathleen Brown is a spender, and based on her discussion of what she would do to social programs I know that Brown would like to spend more money.

CR: How do you feel about term limits?

BT: I support term limits, and have supported them in the past. I don't think this nation has a need for professional politicians. I do support term limits for members of Congress, but I don't think they should be implemented for the state's delegation only. I think term limits at the federal level have to be all or nothing. Either all of the states or none of the states should put term limits in place. Otherwise, California loses.

CR: One of the more controversial problems in California is illegal immigration. What do you think the state should do about the illegal immigration problem?

BT: I think illegal aliens in Southern California are an incredible problem and a major financial drain on services that would otherwise be used by legal citizens or legal visitors to the state. The state should pass legislation, and let it be challenged in the courts, prohibiting certain services to illegal immigrants. I am not suggesting that emergency medical care be withheld from illegal aliens, but I am talking about secondary care, secondary education, and many of the other things that are discussed in petitions circulating the state right now. These are good things for the state to do. They don't go anywhere near as far as any other nation in the world with respect to restrictions on borders.

CR: Recently, State Route 52 was finally completed out to Santee. Meanwhile, little progress has been made on completion of State Route 56. What are your feelings on the completion of State Route 56?

BT: I think State Route 52 took too long to complete because of environmental concerns and lawsuits. We have to change this. State Route 56, which was designed to link I-5 and I-15, has been planned since 1958, and it must be completed. I will do everything in my power to complete State Route 56. Whatever state funding from transportation funds that could be assigned to State Route 56 should be.

CR: What would you do to change state environmental regulations?

BT: Before we deal with state environmental regulations, national regulations will have to be addressed. We must deal with U.S. Fish and Game regulations in particular. I am strongly concerned that the human species is no longer considered part of the environment. We are protecting lizards, owls, and gnat catchers to the extent that we are regulating away the rights of the citizens of this state. We are exorbitantly increasing the cost for any resident to own a house, operate a business, or drive on a road to finance extremist protection measures. I think that SEQRA, the State Environmental Quality Act, to whatever extent it can be, should be modified so that we are balancing the human equation into environmental concerns, because we are a part of those concerns.

CR: Recently, the California Coastal Commission said that coastal cities cannot impose curfews on their own beaches. How do you feel about the CCC?

BT: I'd like to simply get rid of the CCC. That is one of the unwarranted agencies that usurps power from local governments. There is no reason why the State Coastal Act, passed by the voters

of California, cannot be enforced by local coastal governments. I think to have any agency where a bureaucratic, not elected, staff usurps power away from local governments is wrong. We have no power over the CCC as voters. We the people have provided power to governments based on federal and state constitutions, and not to the CCC or the 200 to 300 other commissions and agencies that have started to write laws and cost taxpayers money.

CR: This has not been a good year for rainfall, and many are talking of the return of the drought. Meanwhile, many in Northern California would have Southern California die of thirst. Where do you stand on the water issues facing San Diego County?

BT: I believe two things should be done in regards to water policy. First, we have to complete the State Water Act. There is no reason why it can't be completed. It seems like people on both sides of the issue refuse to sit down in good faith. Secondly, we have the opportunity to continually acquire water from the Colorado River, from Arizona, and from the All-American Canal to the east.

We have not taken any long-range steps in San Diego County to preserve ourselves through acquisition rights in the long term. We have placed much too much emphasis on allowing the Metropolitan Water District to control our water rights. Again, this is another agency that is acting de facto without having received the direct vote of the people, and is running up a huge, huge, reserve of funds without committing them for job production and dam construction, or for water expenditures for both the urban population and agriculture.

CR: Crime is an increasingly major problem. In San Diego, many feel the streets are unsafe. What do you think you can do to fight crime at the state level?

BT: First of all, since we are going to talk crime, we might as well start with "Three Strikes" since it seems to be a hot topic. Obviously, "Three Strikes" has bipartisan support in both houses, and politicians are getting in line to support "Three Strikes." We need to look at the economic aspect of "Three Strikes" because I guarantee you that, with "Three Strikes" signed into law, the Democratic majority will next year propose to float several billion dollars in bond measures to help fund putting criminals in prison by building new prisons. This is not necessarily the way we have to fund prison construction if we have proper economic planning and economic stimulus for the state. Residents should not have to be told one year after they pass a law that they need to spend money to make it effective.

I think "Three Strikes" could have been stronger in some areas and better worded in other areas, but measures like "Three Strikes" are absolutely necessary. We need to do away with paroles. There is no reason to reward a convict for his bad behavior by sending him to prison for ten years and letting him out in three just because he behaved in prison. Prison is not a reformatory. It is a penalty. We need to take away criminals' rights. We shouldn't have prisoners having conjugal visits, receiving pornographic material, and earning money for their television sets when they should be making money to pay restitution to the state for their crimes. California, through the Rose Bird years, was very soft on criminals when there was no reason to be soft any longer. If you want to tell people that you are going to send them to jail for life, you need to make sure you get that message out. The first way to get it out is that when you get a first strike for any type of crime,

felony or misdemeanor, you will go to jail for the full time prescribed by the courts. When they come back out, they'll realize jail is not a pleasant thing. I don't believe we are going to have a big increase in prison population growth as opponents to "Three Strikes" are projecting. I really think that, given appropriate warning signals in the criminal justice system, some criminals are going to understand they don't want to spend the rest of their life behind bars.

Now, there are some problems with "Three Strikes" in the sense that a criminal caught taking a stereo out of a car who was caught twice before doing the same thing could be sentenced to life in prison. What people don't know necessarily is that the measure that was passed so far, and I happen to agree with this element of it, lets a judge and jury decide if a strike should be applied or not in this case. There's no discretion allowed for violent crime. That's where I disagree with "Three Strikes" because I don't think you should be allowed three strikes for violent crimes against the individual. I believe that one strike is more than sufficient for a lengthy and unparolable sentence. I think that the second strike should put you away for life. This isn't baseball. It's a catchy phrase, but if you don't learn your lesson after the first time, and society gives you a second chance depending on the severity of the crime, society does not owe you a third chance.

CR: How about more police officers on the streets?

BT: More police on the street would help, but you can't have police at every intersection. About 10 or 12 years ago, as a legislative assistant to city councilman Bill Mitchell, I helped author the 2 police officers per 1000 people goal the city adopted while I was working for a city councilman. This was a goal we had tried to direct to the city council for the years ahead. The city council had to continually address the issue of hiring more police officers, which they weren't doing at the time. The city has not caught up to the 2 per 1000 goal yet, but the city council has had this goal over their heads each year they have added new officers.

The bottom line is, however, that when the state comes in and takes \$2.5 billion away from city and county governments, it is hard to hire new officers. It also does not help when the state calls for voters to pass an additional half-cent sales tax for more officers when the state knows full well that the half-cent won't make up for what was taken away from the cities and counties. That is a deception on the part of the legislature that the citizens are just beginning to understand. Now, we are paying twice: first through property taxes and then again through the sales tax. We are paying more for less police protection and public safety than we had a year ago. I find it frustrating that people don't recognize these things, and instead blame their city council and board of supervisors for the actions of the state. Yet, San Diego's state legislators send home nice press releases with pretty pictures telling voters that they are family people and that they care about their communities when their major economic votes are wiping out communities.

One other item I'd like to mention is that I believe that unless we put some family values back in the homes, and we make parents responsible for some of the things that are happening to their children in the education system, then we are not going to be providing the sense of direction for children to prevent them from having the opportunity to become involved with criminal elements. You'll find that most criminal elements come from

weak family backgrounds. This needs to be, in some cases, legislated. This goes to the heart of certain types of school programs, how the legislature addresses school boards and the funding school boards want the state to provide.

CR: Where do you stand regarding gun control?

BT: I don't believe any honest citizen in this nation should be limited in their opportunity to own weapons. I believe that we should strongly defend all of our constitutional rights, and particularly the Second Amendment. You don't have honest citizens involved in crimes with weapons. You have illegal weapons coming across the border or coming in from other areas. We don't even enforce the laws we have right now. Writing new laws would be ridiculous. In fact, I am opposed to some of the laws we have right now placing limitations on gun ownership.

CR: I understand that you are involved with the Taxpayers Consent Act. How are you involved with this initiative, and what would this initiative do if enacted into law?

BT: The Taxpayers Consent Act is coming out of the Gann Organization, which has had a long held grasp of taxpayer's concerns. I have been designated in San Diego County to be the representative in the 76th Assembly District to help publicize this initiative and to get petitions for the initiative circulating. My volunteers and I will be walking precincts and knocking on doors. We will be distributing petitions. We will be authorizing others to circulate petitions to as many people as would like to. If we can get this on the ballot in November 1994 that would be a major accomplishment. This is something that every Californian should be willing to put their name on. Right now, in San Diego County, we have about 260 taxing agencies. These include water districts, fire districts, sanitation districts, cities, and the county government. These agencies have \$3.7 billion collecting interest in banking accounts. Statewide, \$75 billion has been documented, with a projected \$150 billion sitting in banks. This amounts to well over \$9,000 per Californian.

These monies have come from bonds that have been issued, and fees that have been collected. Given California's continuing budget crises, the need for jobs in California, and the needed projects in California not being undertaken, such as earthquake retrofitting, why is this money sitting in bank accounts? Worse, most of this money is sitting in banks outside of California. Why isn't this money in California banks so it can be used by California businesses to help create economic growth in this state? We have got to find out how to release those monies, return these monies, or at least get those monies into California banks.

In the spirit of Proposition 13, we shouldn't be having any bond measures pass without a two-thirds majority. This includes general bonds, water utility bonds, and fire district bonds. If you have a bond, you will thus have to prove that the bond is necessary to the voters. That is basically what Proposition 13 attempted to do, but didn't spell out in clear specifics. I think we are all tired of seeing bonds pass by small majorities, and are also tired of seeing the state debting itself through general obligation bonds, sometimes without consent depending on the nature of the bond. The Taxpayers Consent Act will ensure that this will not be allowed to happen again.

CR: If people have questions about your campaign or the Taxpayers Consent Act, where can they reach you?

BT: People can call me at 280-9702, or can come to my office at 6171 Mission Gorge Road.



IN REGARDS TO POLITICS, BEING
INTELLECTUAL DOES NOT ALWAYS
MEAN BEING RIGHT

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Intellectuals and the Fallacies of Politics

B Y R O N A L D A N G R E S

Ever wonder how the term bourgeois became such an all purpose political term? Especially since it does not mean anything definite? The short answer is Marxism, but how did such a meaningless category become universally accepted? The cause lies in the term's pre-Marxist history. Reviewing this history helps us to understand the future, whether or not the term "bourgeois" has much of a pro-Marxist history because we now have many political terms that do not define an actual group that can be discussed empirically.

These weasel words result from our present age of social mobility and intellectual confusion. The first such word seems to have expanded from meaning "city-dweller" to "rich city-dweller" to any non-noble who had achieved any degree of wealth, fame or power on the grounds that these advantages had been previously reserved to nobles. It passed from a mildly derisive term in the hands of the nobility to a term of ideological debunking disguised as a term of scientific analysis in the hands of the socialist left. In between, "bourgeois" became a polemical epithet in the hands of the political right opposing either the French Revolution or the gradual process in which "new men" replaced old families. The polemical meaning of "bourgeois" was that these new men were as much of a class as the old: obviously, only a half truth. Edmund Burke's classic *Reflections on the Revolution in France* does not use this term, but it can already be seen how the discussion degenerated from there.

Burke attacked the newly dominant Third Estate as a collection of unqualified and predatory new elites pretending to act in the interest of the country as a whole — aided by renegades from the nobility, who had too much contempt for their own kind to love their nation or humanity: "to love the little platoon we belong to

in society. . . is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love to our country and to mankind."

One of the paradoxes of Burke's attack on the French Revolution was that he had to defend the French nobility and Church to the English, who in form had similar institutions, but in fact had only their shadows. That is, Britain had possessed for years far more social mobility than France. Indeed, it continued to, even after the French had a Revolution that enshrined such mobility as an absolute principle. Burke pointed out mobility is not equality, much less justice, but he obscured some important differences, good and bad, that it created for a class system.

Burke leaves unmentioned that nobles are more likely than others to belong to more than one "platoon." Everyone's ties include neighbors, relatives, and perhaps friends. Except for courtiers, all three are unlikely to belong even mainly to their own class. Thus, the nobility belonged to at least two "subdivisions": usually (for provincials) their fellow villagers, and on to their province; and sometimes (for members of salons) their fellow *philosophes*. Though Burke implicitly treats lawyers as another estate, "another priesthood", he does not treat *philosophes* as such, or, only in the sense of preachers of another religion, not as another estate. In our purely popular form of representation, only geographic groups elect directly. When estates were represented, such as clergy or nobility, it bolstered those groups, but also restrained and often even handicapped its more formidable members. Eloquent and charismatic priests can still claim to speak for Faith, and wealthy and glamorous noblemen can still claim to speak for glory, but their claims must go through the double filter of their reputation with their kind, and of the reputation of their kind with the whole.

Modern politics is complicated by both the fluidity of classes

and by the appearance of the Enlightened: that is, of a class that used to be called *philosophes*, more recently called intellectuals, and that defines itself as being Enlightened, rather than by what it does, who it knows, or from whom it comes. Complicating matters yet further, this class plays a major role in defining other classes. Thus, a key class is not defined as one or often even recognized as a "player" in politics, while other classes are misdefined or conjured up from the imagination because it does so.

Other than intellectuals, no other group has ever achieved so much influence while maintaining virtual invisibility. This is not a conspiracy, however, because they are invisible largely to themselves as well. (Unlike other subcultures, few intellectuals have their own recognizable speech patterns. Only FM radio announcers on fine arts stations come to mind: no politician and few bureaucrats or staffers actually talk that way.)

Intellectuals see all outsiders as unenlightened. That is, they see them not as people who merely see things differently, or even wrongly, but rather as people who fail to see certain things at all — and the most important things to boot. This attitude really does characterize almost the whole class that could be called intellectuals, even though this definition is so broad that most of them have little justification for looking down on anyone. Most of those who define themselves against the sea of the countless ignorant have no real distinction. Most participate in, and many were born in, a subculture of those who consider themselves separated from the unenlightened.

This subculture has practically nothing *intrinsically* intellectual about it. These customs exist only *socially* among the intellectuals, just as other customs define ethnic or regional subcultures. Most of them do not have a particularly intellectual profession, and most may not even participate heavily in volunteer activities that typify more "committed" intellectuals. Hardly any of them are distinctly thoughtful or tasteful. Yet many "discovered" that they were at some turning point in their lives. This conviction reinforces the contempt for outsiders felt by the whole subculture, which includes many who never had that "turning point."

In order to vividly illustrate the distorting effect of ideology on our understanding of practical politics, three groups that both right and left agree have political clout, but which, as communities, *do not actually exist*, can be noted. That is, demographically, they represent no actual voting bloc, and organizationally, they represent no actual faction within the leadership of either party. The impression that they do stems from an "optical illusion" which hides the influence of intellectuals on politics and culture while magnifying their sense of alienation by displacing them upon other groups. These three groups are the Eastern Establishment, the feminists, and the gays.

THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT

The Eastern Establishment is believed in by Rightists as a conspiracy theory and by Leftists in order to flatter themselves that those who appease them form some sort of aristocracy.

Actually, the less-conservative Republicans were never especially either Eastern or established. Horace Greeley and others formed the Liberal Republicans. Called the Mugwumps, they wanted to compromise with Democrats by abandoning such hardline Republican policies as Reconstruction and high tariffs. What made these Republicans "liberal" is that they wanted to accommodate the Democrats. Later, when Ohio had the most powerful state organization of the majority Republicans, the

stronghold of Progressive Republicanism was the West, not the East. Our only "Progressive" Republican president, Teddy Roosevelt, was chosen as Vice President as both an Easterner and a Westerner, and succeeded McKinley after the latter's assassination.

The two World Wars added another twist: Democrats in the Southeast and Republicans in the Northeast supported our entry both times, but our left opposed entering the First World War, then supported entering the Second for the Soviets' sake. Thus, muttering against an Eastern Establishment (whose "internationalism" had got us into war twice) was seen as "rightwing." It often led to allying oneself to Taft and his attempts to win the Republican nomination for President. Both liberals and conservatives often draw a line from the Taft to the Goldwater movements. In fact, many of the leaders of the Draft Goldwater movement had been Eisenhower delegates against Taft, including Goldwater himself, Cliff White, and Clare Booth Luce.

Since the Democrats became more unambiguously the liberal party after F.D.R., Republican appeasers became the "liberal Republicans", but this liberalism changed whenever the real liberals (Democratic ones) changed their emphasis. First, Republicans became more liberal by supporting some New Deal economic measures such as subsidies, regulation, and deficit spending. Now those who call themselves liberal Republican feel less need to accommodate Democrats on economic measures and are death on deficits since Democrats claim to be. When Democrats took up Civil Rights for Blacks, liberal Republicans did, too; while to have done so during the Roosevelt era would probably have been the mark of a confrontational Republican. When the Democrats started to warn that Goldwater and then Reagan would blow up the world, liberal Republicans became the more Dovish faction. Previously, they had been the more Hawkish, if anything. Most recently, the mark of a liberal Republican is to accommodate Liberals on the so-called social issues.

The present notion of an Eastern Establishment derives from combining two very different half-truths: that of a Republican Establishment and that of an Intellectual Establishment. "High Society" supposedly dominates the Republicans in the form of old families, rich old families, rich families, or just rich men. On the other hand, "respectable opinion" supposedly depends on what fashionable intellectuals think. Both "High Society" and fashionable intellectuals can be considered establishments; either might plausibly be considered The Establishment. Apparently, one can even believe that they form the same establishment. Both groups defy clear definition. They may overlap coincidentally, but the flatterers of both overlap more.

The myth of the Eastern Establishment interfered with the ability of conservatives to deal with George Bush. Movement conservatives, being intellectuals, would have had trouble dealing with any "non-movement" successor to Reagan, had he been Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, or even Robert Taft. Moreover, Bush's Connecticut family background, together with his prep-school and ivy league education, made him "E.E.". This made shrewd characterization of his shortcomings rare on the right, while demonization was common.

The main problem that the movement types really had with the Bush Administration was "Darmanism." Unlike Bush himself, who was complacently nonintellectual, Richard Darman was both a lackey to intellectuals, to his left, and an basher of

intellectuals, to his right. Like others in the Bush (and actually in the Reagan) administration, he played up to the press and thus, indirectly, to the pet issues of "bipartisan" liberalism, while despising the "litmus tests" of intellectual conservatives. Thus, Bush broke his "no new taxes" pledge partly because Darman was determined to defeat Bush's speechwriter Peggy Noonan, who wrote the pledge, and determined to let reporters know that he had done so. The Democrats wanted this pledge broken dramatically, and so did Darman. We must remember that such cases of divided loyalty has little to do with social origins. They stem from dislike by non-intellectuals for their own (unfashionable) intellectuals and an attraction to the other side's (fashionable) intellectuals.

Whether defined by wealth, family, or any mixture of the two, "High Society" is not particularly liberal, or even centrist. Their political views, when they have any, range over the spectrum. Fashionable intellectuals do tilt to the left, however. Indeed, they are the left. In a practical sense, radical ideas cease to be leftist (indeed, moderate ideas cease to be liberal) when they cease to be fashionable. Today, those who want to sound like fashionable intellectuals parrot them most about women and gays.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE

If the Eastern Establishment represents an illusory group with no members, so are women and gays. The groups are illusory in the sense that few women or gays consider these groups their primary identity, and even far fewer act as if they were. Thus, they become perfect subjects for the kind of categorical representation favored by such 20th Century critics of democracy such as Communists and Fascists. Both argued that the representatives that people elect tend to come from a small section of the public.

To the Fascists, this dominant few consist mainly of the talkative. This critique of democracy, particularly parliamentary democracy, has some truth — as does, to a lesser extent, the Communist claims that voters choose from the ruling class. The solutions to such oligarchical tendencies of democracy are always bogus. The Fascist solution was to put the representatives of various sectors of the economy into the legislatures. These came from corporations or "syndicates" — that is organizations that included both labor and management. In fact, they tended to represent neither: rather, they were either stooges or partisans of Fascism. In either case, they would not assert legislative power, associated as that must be with legalism and argumentativeness — both Fascist bugaboos.

As for Communists, they stacked their deliberative bodies with (former) "workers" and several other under-represented groups (usually ethnic groups, often women as well — though never homosexuals). Revealingly, feminists complain that the post-Communist democracies elect fewer women representatives. That is, voters, including female voters, do not elect them in as high numbers as the Communist apparatus selected them. It never occurs to them that non-Party women might feel better represented by a non-Party man than by a woman who is a Party apparatchik. More subtly, an average woman has a similar problem in the West: a female politician is by definition unlike her, while a male politician may at least be *married* to someone like her. Thus, the recurrent fantasy that Margaret Thatcher's husband was an ordinary chap.

In the 1970s, the American left (first radicals, then liberals) started to imitate and even go beyond Communist practice by adding new categories alongside ethnic and class categories —

such as women and gays. With them, they improved upon the Communist front groups. Our left now has organizations claiming to represent important and fashionable segments of the population, which cannot contradict them.

Look at those defending a cause that is supposedly demanded by a group: notice how seldom they actually belong to that group. Often they do not even belong to the general category. Overwhelmingly often, they are not those who could claim to directly benefit from the measure in question. Thus, straights champion the cause of gays in the military and men champion women in combat. Further, neither those gays nor those straights are in the military, want to join, or have much use for it. The same usually goes for those men and those women in regard to combat. Similarly, few of those who champion the right of gays to adopt are gay, and far fewer still are gay couples who themselves want to adopt. Few women sports reporters ranked among those who demanded that they be allowed to enter men's locker rooms. Actually, a great many men and women expressed themselves passionately in support of this new right, despite of (or because of?) their lack of use for sports or sports reporters. (A parallel on the right would be nonsmoking conservatives opposing bans on smoking in public places: a passionless triumph of principle over interest.)

This style of politics already existed to some extent in the civil-rights movement, since the number of people, even the number of blacks, who supported busing greatly exceeded the number of blacks who really wanted to be bused. Now the left advocates measures that either have virtually no support among the directly affected, or in which such people are negligible in number.

Though pollsters have no evidence that gays or feminists represent a voting bloc, conservatives content themselves to arguing merely that they represent a *smaller* voting bloc than liberals claim.

The notion that the "gender gap" between the way women vote and the way men do derives from so-called women's issues has been disproven repeatedly, but conservatives have wearied of contradicting the conventional wisdom on this point.

The media campaign after the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings and the subsequently hyped Year of the Woman furthered this weariness. The original feminist issues were causes such as abortion on demand and comparable worth. These had no more support from women than they did from men — less, in the case of abortion. These were the issues on which the left, often in the form of national feminist organizations, opposed first Robert Bork and then Clarence Thomas. On these grounds, they claimed that these two jurists were enemies of women and Senator Ted Kennedy was their champion. After these attacks failed to catch fire in the case of Clarence Thomas, they switched the issue (at the 11th hour) to sexual harassment, an issue that had never before obtained a national profile. Not Thomas's views on the law regarding sexual harassment, but his own alleged harassment of Anita Hill in the form of the most dirty sexual anecdotes and innuendos ever heard on national television. To heighten the disgust, these were supposedly made by a man to a woman — in his employ.

Hill's testimony failed. Most men and women believed Thomas, not her. Yet the constant repetition of the theme "(you men) just don't get it" struck a cord: both men and women tend to miss a great deal about each other's reactions — especially as to what

they regard as sexually offensive or threatening, and to what degree they find it so.

This old and old-fashioned issue was turned into one more injustice destined to fall before the march to a supposedly imminent universal reeducation of mankind. What produced the turn? The practical cause is the inclusion of women in the work force. Almost all previous societies avoided having women work alongside men — much less *for* them. They thought that this compromised women and threatened them — even when women did much of the work and/or held much of the wealth. (Commercial interactions were usually tolerated because it threatened women less, though it also tended to compromise them.) Still, the political movement known as feminism resulted from, rather than caused the movement of women into the work force. Feminist ideas existed since at least the 18th century. They formed a part of many liberal thinkers and most radical movements, but this entrance into the work force allowed them to claim to represent a compact and newly numerous social group: working women.

Further, feminist rhetoric has long given women within radical groups an acceptable jargon with which to resist sexual demands and impositions couched in “free love” rhetoric. Though feminist language resembles other leftwing rhetoric in its vehemence, it had very mild consequences within these radical groups: while they have had vicious splits on the most obscure issues, none has come to daggers over sexual predation within a revolutionary cell. Despite all this, feminists talk as if working women owe their jobs to their movement, though this is true only of a few affirmative-action cases. (Civil rights leaders do not make such exaggerated claims about blacks. However, they underestimate how much commerce, industrialization, and technology would have made integration a fact even had segregation persisted in law: in the face of the most vigorous legal barriers in South Africa, economic integration still grew rapidly.)

To understand feminist ideology, one must distinguish it from two other phenomena, and then distinguish those two from each other. These two phenomena are (1) the resentment and hostility that men and women frequently harbor for the other gender (misogyny and misandry, woman-hating and man-hating), and (2) the social and political disabilities that women endure in various degrees in different communities.

For the most part, male hostility does not cause these disabilities, nor does female resentment result from them. Each society's basic ideas and its hard choices cause its structures and beliefs, which in turn cause its gender-based disabilities. Men and women develop bad attitudes toward each other mainly for personal reasons: to wit, people often have difficulty both getting a mate and living with one. In other words, neither “patriarchy” nor feminism caused the war between the sexes, and this war did not directly cause any of our political, social, or economic problems.

Otherwise, falling in love would greatly change people's attitude toward these problems — as it often drastically changes their attitudes toward the war between the sexes. Aside from a few cases where one of the lovers totally adopts the view of the other, having a child of the opposite sex probably contributes more to moderating people's views on such issues.

Thus, the reasons that people often have for feeling attracted to or repelled by feminism are based on a misconception. Men either reject it in reaction to man-hating women or accept it in order to reject and distinguish themselves from misogynistic men.

Women either accept it in reaction against misogynistic men or reject it in order to reject and distinguish themselves from man-hating women.

The male-bashing rhetoric of feminists creates two related illusions: that feminists represent women who resent men, and that antifeminists represent men who resent women. Those who know a wide range of liberal men or conservative women know examples of resentment against the opposite sex that can match anything.

Thus, the Feminist leadership is actually just the ladies' auxiliary of the left. Their real function is quite traditional: they reassure the men of their “tribe” that they have the right and the duty to defeat the surrounding hordes of barbarians. They remind such a man that, whatever his own lapses, the men from the hordes treat their own women unspeakably, and threaten to extend such outrages to themselves, the women of his own kind, unless he bands with his fellows to overcome them.

THE GAY VOTE

The only thing that conservatives do to counteract liberal claims about the “gay community” is to quibble about its size and to fantasize about its wealth: that is, to replace the “gay vote” with the “gay lobby” pursuing a “gay agenda.”

Those who debate whether homosexuals represent 1% or 10% of the population miss an important point: the more gays there are, the fewer have or want anything to do with the gay movement. That is, “movement gays” apparently represent a small minority of even 1% of the American population. Thus, add another 9% and the minority becomes ten times larger but the minority of the majority becomes ten times smaller. No one cares what the majority of homosexuals want or think: not most gays themselves, not their enemies, not their “friends”, certainly not their self-proclaimed leadership, and not its enemies: no one.

No group has less clout than one about which no one cares what its members actually think or want. Indeed, they would not really exist politically — *especially*, if they really numbered anywhere near 10%. The only *real* communities that are treated this way number very few. The American Indians form such a group — either ignored or else exalted as a blank page upon which radicals read their own dreams — except in a few states where their numbers force both parties to vie for their votes. There, their traditional voting habits are known. True, some politicians now vie for the mirage of the gay vote, but they have no political lore (much less polling data) on gay voting habits: they merely make their rounds to “all the (media-anointed) usual suspects”.

Thus, “gay leaders” have an even better job than “women's leaders”. Not only can they claim tens of millions of hidden followers without having to produce any evidence, but these “followers” can never contradict them.

When confronted by polls showing that many, often most, women disagree with them or by prominent women who do, feminist leaders are forced to suggest that such women are not loyal to other women. Since non-feminist women seldom claim that they give their first loyalty to other women as such, they in effect concede this charge. On the one hand, feminist leaders gain status as leaders of women because of the (unjustified) impression that they do not give such a loyalty to their gender. On the other hand, some sense persists (mostly unarticulated) that maybe other commitments could legitimately come first for women.

Gay “leaders” do not have such problems: anyone identified as

a homosexual becomes in some sense their possession and resource, in both their view and to almost everyone to some extent. If one of them wants to contradict their "leaders", he has to try to do so in the language of gay rights and of gay consciousness.

Thus, the promoters of "gay politics" live in the best of all possible fantasy worlds. Only intimidation prevents tens of millions from revealing themselves and openly supporting them. Rest assured that they are there and that these legions secretly admire this tiny vanguard — an elite that alone has the courage to openly proclaim their homosexuality. All these premises are implied in the now popular and still uncontested terms such as "closet", and "out" (with such various forms as come out, outing, outed, etc.)

Thus, the phrase "out of the closet" is thoroughly ideological — in that you need to assume ideological premises in order to understand the meaning of either term. To be "out" involves a public pronouncement of "homosexuality." "Coming out" has come to have the secularized equivalence of the significance of being "born again." Like all second births, it begs the question of what significance remains of the first birth: that is, the life that the individual has lived (with all its habits, entanglements and loyalties) up until now. The "theologians" of "outness" have no such concerns, however. All agree that "coming out" creates "authenticity", but so can being "outed" by others, some argue, echoing those heavily ideological claims that someone can be "forced to be free."

Such preoccupations betray an ideological fixation with the twin poles of hiddenness and authenticity that has anti-political implications. (In short, if something looks like a duck, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, then it must be hiding its true nature.) Together with the sense that whatever is hidden is wrong — either sinister (witness the phrase "skeleton in the closet") or ludicrous — the term "closet" became a potent symbol — first antihomosexual, and then pro-homosexual. The transformation is not as great as it seems. The modern idea that whatever is shameful is wrong easily transmutes into the attitude that whatever done shamelessly is right or that it is wrong to be ashamed of anything.

Combine those two attitudes and one might conclude that there is nothing wrong with having a skeleton, as long one displays it. Thus, many of the same people who once thought (and often act as if they still think) that hidden homosexuality is deserving of condemnation and/or contempt, easily admire open homosexuality.

THE REASONS

Whatever the merits of such thinking, it leads to nonsensical politics. Insofar as it is ideological, it is intrinsically anti-political. Real politics is never a matter of "finding oneself" and then proclaiming oneself "authentically" to the world. When intellectuals act as if it is, then they cannot understand the thoughts and actions of non-intellectuals, and indeed even most thoughts and actions of their own. The attitude of contempt that intellectuals feel toward non-intellectuals does violence, not only to the majority of the population, but also to the majority of their own thought processes. Just as most people are not intellectuals, no one is an intellectual most of the time. To despise how non-intellectuals think is to delegitimize ordinary speech and thus politics in the ordinary sense.

Even Rush Limbaugh usually satirizes Clinton in his persona as a hillbilly, rather than as an ageing hippy, a policy wonk, yuppy,

or any other persona connected with the intellectual subculture. That subculture has such a low profile that conservatives either attack the groups that liberals or radicals claim to represent or else their pre-intellectual background.

Movement conservatives have a disadvantage in conflicts with liberals. Both are intellectuals. Liberals form the dominant element within that community. Conservatives constitute within it a smaller and less accepted element than even radicals. At least since the New Deal, many of the rich have labeled the leftists among them as class traitors. It occurs to few people that such leftists behave as members of another class: that of the intellectuals. It occurs to even fewer that intellectuals, rich or poor, view non-leftists among *them* as class traitors.

In political practice, some conservatives criticize leftists for being irreligious; however, all conservatives who engage in political theory criticize the various leftist beliefs for being *religions*. That is, they criticize leftists — liberals or radicals — for being religious without knowing it. Conservative theorists always insist that religion is inevitable, but not necessarily good.

In theorizing about politics, American conservative intellectuals often follow either Leo Strauss or Eric Voegelin.

Strauss argued that the crucial difference between philosophy and religion was that philosophy had to remain free of political passions, such as partisanship, ambition, group loyalty, and xenophobia. Religion cannot remain aloof from these passion. People can neither conduct their political lives free of these passions, nor can they soberly reflect on their conduct while in thrall to them. Thus, they need the aid of a philosophy that is neither religious nor antireligious.

Voegelin argued that modern ideologies are a secularization, not only of the religious impulse, but of its least secular aspect. Paradoxically, it expresses an intrinsically otherworldly perspective in naturalistic terms. In other words, modern ideologies are not simply a secularization of morality and religion, but rather a desacralization of the "open society" — the second source described by Henri Bergson in his book *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*. In Bergson's eyes, the open society includes everyone in principle and operates on universal principles. In contrast, closed societies include only a limited group, and operate by valuing people and practices according to the vital needs of that group.

Most religious traditions make this distinction in language less clear than Bergson, but they do make it. Secular intellectuals generally do not. Thus, the paradox that intellectuals are less articulate than most others about this central problem of political community. The religious community that comes closest to the inarticulateness of intellectuals is the Evangelical or Fundamentalist Christians. Starting in 1976 with the Carter campaign and continuing with the rise of the religious right, political analysts have cited the percentage of people who told pollsters that they had experienced a spiritual rebirth as the percentage of people in a real or potential political constituency. This constituency would include Jimmy Carter, but not his brother Billy. Obviously this will not do: spiritual rebirth has social and political relevance only within a specific subculture. Most of the "born again" already come from this subculture. Do all the Reborn not from this subculture become more at home than reprobates who had only their first birth in it?

Whether one defines communities as religious or religions as communal, one contradicts both the purely secularist conception

of politics and the purely transcendental conception of religion. Belief systems that wish to base communities solely on conversion and conviction run up against the political fact that all communities consist of familiarities. Indeed, most of them consist literally of families. Therefore, they give some deference to those raised, if not born, into their belief system over newcomers — even if those newcomers believe more fervently.

Members of belief systems that emphasize conversion frequently feel uncomfortable with each other as members of a shared subculture. Thus, intellectuals hate being identified as Yuppies even more than Evangelical Christians dislike being identified as hicks. The analysis of Strauss and Voegelin outlined above make this political truth plain, about born-again Christians and about secular intellectuals, equally.

Unfortunately, the followers of Strauss and Voegelin have not followed up their theoretical insights by analyzing how those in the grip of ideologies fail to see themselves realistically as social and political groups. From the vantage point of both thinkers, all groups are based partly on ideas and ideals, but no group can be based on either to a degree that would give it a fundamentally different nature from the others.

To Strauss, intellectuals cannot really be a class. That is, their individual and group self-definition does not make sense. One can transcend ordinary concerns only part of the time and hardly at all in concert with others. Social life is largely lower life.

To Voegelin, the class consciousness of the intelligentsia is manichaeic. This class sees its conflicts with other classes as a conflict between good and evil, or rather between spirit (or mind) and matter.

Universalism conflates the attempt to get beyond partisanship with a form of partisan attack on the partisanship of others. Almost all groups have some claims to some version or other of universalism, but our natures allow us to rise above partisanship only fitfully, and then only individually. If the left was consistently universalistic, then it would condemn bigotry on all sides equally, rather than give groups that it decides are oppressed permission or even encouragement to be flagrantly bigoted. However, evenhandedness alone would not solve the problem of trying to make universalism into a dogma. Evenhanded universalists often still fail to distinguish between prejudice (even to the extent of bigotry), on the one hand, and ideologies that turn these sentiments into dogmas, on the other. There is a difference between even the most rabid redneck and a self-conscious white supremacist, such as tend to populate such groups as the Klan or, even more, the Aryan Nation. Likewise, there is a gap between even the most bigoted black and a real black supremacist.

Actually, intellectuals tend to respect dogmatic disparagers of other groups over those that are merely visceral xenophobes — because dogmatists follow a doctrine, and therefore are like themselves. Even if such dogmatists reject universalism in principle, they appear more universalistic to fellow intellectuals because they act according to principle. In short, intellectuals who oppose xenophobia interpret this opposition in a way that excludes all non-intellectuals and so justifies this one form of xenophobia.

Intellectuals divide into at least two subcategories, doctrinaires and aesthetes (in common language, the arts crowd). The two groups overlap. Aesthetes form a larger group, in that most doctrinaires take more interest in the arts than do most aesthetes

take in doctrinal matters. Since taste does more to hold communities together than do doctrines, the aesthetes are more important. Doctrinaires, however, tend to take their conversion experience more seriously and therefore have a greater sense of separation from outsiders. Aesthetes may also have such a sense if they come to see non-aesthetes as non-aesthetic: that is, if they come to see lack of appreciation for art as itself repulsive and low. However, only certain temperaments have the capacity to feel strongly about such matters. Many aesthetes identify partially or even dominantly with their community of origin or with their religious faith.

Instead of trying to study the various groups that intellectuals fabricate or imagine, we should study the intellectuals themselves. How many are there? What are their subdivisions? How do they vote? And how do they influence others to vote?

The major political significance of intellectuals almost certainly resides in the last issue — that of their influence over others. This must be most true of conservative intellectuals, because there are obviously so few of them. This may be least true of centrist intellectuals: centrist political movements often seem to be largely based on voters who resemble the leaders of these same movements. That is, ambivalent intellectuals — torn between left and right — seem to fill, as well as lead, such movements. If they do, then centrist, ambivalent, intellectuals (defined as private mindset, not necessarily occupation or public activity) make up a large percentage of the population: perhaps the 10% John Anderson received in 1980 or the approximately 20% the Liberal/Social Democrat bloc received in Britain throughout the 1980s.

However, the paradox of left intellectuals is the drama of the left itself. It consists of feeling communal loyalty (if any) only to other intellectuals, while constantly searching for *any* identity other than that of intellectual. They yearn for an alternative identity because they experience their identity as intellectuals precisely as opposed to belonging to any real group. It expresses both their sense of personal alienation from everything and their cosmic desire to embrace everything. Thus their need to claim that they represent other groups: groups that have no place in the world as it is or ever has been, but are precursors to a new universal humanity, free of all external divisions and internal hierarchies. The first surrogate for the left intellectual was, of course, the working class.

CLASS TO RACE

Both the left and right used to largely accept the claim that the left represented the working class, or the poor. This, however, has never been more than a half-truth if that.

The media and academia interpret British politics relentlessly according to its “class system.” Thus, the upper classes vote Tory and the lower classes vote Socialist. Whenever the facts speak differently, they are either ignored, psychologized (this cottager thinks that he is posh, that Oxford don thinks he is underprivileged), or else explained away (as lower-class deference or upper-class *noblesse oblige*). All this is nonsense. British workers who vote Tory need not defer to the upper class, any more than poor Americans who vote Republican necessarily believe that they or their children will become rich. As for *noblesse oblige*, it conveniently explains why many intellectuals believe in socialism (indeed, only intellectuals *really* believe in it) when few of them work in factories.

In fact, the chief reason for voting Tory is patriotism — as those Britons who do so would tell you. Voting patterns suggest that the chief reason for voting Socialist is similar: regional patriotism, in that case, rather than national patriotism. For the stronghold of the Labour party is the urban lower classes of the north and the west, rather than those of Great Britain as a whole. That is, it is at least as much a party of Welshmen, Scotsmen, and Yorkshires as it is a party of trade unionists. In contrast, the Conservative party strongholds are the so-called home counties: the counties near London, which include a row of counties along both the south and east coasts.

Thus, the conflict between the parties reflects one between metropolitans and provincials. It is a class conflict mainly in the sense that the lower classes in the provinces tend to be less assimilated into the metropolitan system — linguistically and socially, as well as economically. One can speak of this as a cultural conflict, but that depoliticizes it. As Voegelin once pointed out, the move from the city-state to the nation-state created a conflict between the capital and the hinterland that supplemented and to some extent supplanted class conflicts. (See his essay “Industrial Society in Search of Reason”, in *World Technology and Human Destiny*, edited by Raymond Aron, 1963.) Yet, instead of expanding Aristotle’s notion of class to take such things into account, we have contracted it to fit a Marxoid economic reductionism.

Obviously, this political sense of alienation parallels the spiritual alienation of the intellectual better than does any economic sense of alienation. Indeed, “provincial” alienation may sometimes help lead to spiritual alienation. Thus, it may help make someone into an intellectual in this modern sense. Political (in the broad sense that includes cultural) alienation derives from a sense of being colonized. This comes from being a provincial or, in a multi-ethnic society, from being of a non-dominant ethnic background even if one is a metropolitan geographically. Thus, colonial consciousness replaced class consciousness as the intellectuals’ surrogate for their own alienation because it better reflected their own subjective consciousness. Still, they could identify only with the political alienation of the colonized, not with their politics — that is, not with their real sense of communal loyalty.

While rightwing intellectuals also have a tendency toward manicheism, leftwing intellectuals reinforce it. They themselves call this reinforcement being progressive (meaning a belief in Progress). Straussians call it historicism. Voegelinians call it secular millennialism (or millenarianism).

Both historicism and millennialism as concepts supply unique help in understanding the ideology of Progress. To illustrate, take the ideology of racial progress. The left does not see the descendants of black Africans as one among many peoples that has had their ups and downs throughout time, but as victims of inequality, the ending of which means that we are now approaching a final harmony. Historicism explains why the left regards the civil-rights movement as the most important racial event since the end of slavery, if not of all time. Millennialism explains why the ultimate end that the left envisions for this movement has no realistic destination. Historicism replaces permanent moral standards, and disagreements, with a moral evolution, a morality of history. Millennialism creates utopian goals that have so little relation to experience that they are at once extravagant and vague. The left is not clear whether the civil-rights movement

overshadows all other historical events in its importance for blacks or whether blacks themselves did not become as important to history until the civil-rights movement.

Without some such ideology of progress, the imposition of legal segregation at the turn of the century would overshadow the civil-rights movement for sheer impact. The Civil War would overshadow both. The Democratic party was the enemy of blacks in both those eras. The first national icon of liberalism, President Woodrow Wilson, was the prime mover in imposing extreme segregation on the national level.

RACE TO SEX

Ever since the 1960s, intellectuals have believed that blacks and the young had become part of the liberal/left coalition. On the evidence that they continued to vote for the Democratic party (upwards of 80%), only the blacks stayed in this coalition. Perhaps the young were never really in it, either in the sense of those who were young at any given time or in the sense of the generation which was young in the 1960’s — the so-called baby boomers. While many (maybe even a majority) of that generation were flattered into liberalism or radicalism at the time, only a few of them are tiresome enough to still hold onto some sort of leftist generational identity out of “‘60’s” nostalgia. Those who do so have to misremember what happened, in a sort of willful naivete. That is, those whom the media quoted as saying “don’t trust anyone over 30”, were being manipulated by people who were over 50 — by journalists, professors, and professional agitators.

Such incongruity is typical of left intellectuals. They seldom really act as members of the groups with whom they claim to identify. Rather, the group in question performs two functions. First it functions as a “persecuted minority”, and thus a symbol of personal alienation. Second, it functions as a false flag” for a commitment to a community of intellectuals. Thus, black or Jewish intellectuals almost never reflect their ethnic community as much as their, always interethnic, intellectual associates. This is usually true even when they are ethnic militants: they tend to leave off their militancy at the water’s edge of their intellectual allies who have ethnic backgrounds other than their own.

Because of this, Al Sharpton attacks whites, but apparently avoids attacking from pet causes of the left: gun control, punishing criminals, homosexuality, abortion, school prayer, or any of the issues about which many, most or almost all blacks (or black ministers) dissent from the liberal line. Black Muslims such as Farrakhan do express dissent on these issues, but these politically incorrect utterances receive a media blackout. Contrast this with their statements against whites and, especially, their statements against Jews. The media practices this selective blackout because they care more for their class identity as intellectuals and for abstract ideology than either for their own race or for tolerance for other races.

(The left has a shaky hold on the Jewish vote, but a seemingly secure hold on the black vote. There are several reasons for this disparity. First, the black vote is symbolically as well as practically, more important to the left than is the Jewish vote, and so they expend more energy to hang on to it. Second, while most blacks support the left as blacks, most Jews who support the left do so as leftists. Therefore, their voting can alter if their ideology changes and/or if their commitment to the left comes into conflict with other identities and loyalties that they may have — especially Jewishness.)

CONCLUSION

The terms racism and homophobia radicalize a side of the term racism. There is no heterophobia or homosexuality. The term "racism" can mean any of three things: a racial ideology, the racial prejudice common to a specific culture (especially a culture permeated by a racial ideology), or any racial prejudice whatsoever. Only a few people (and no non-intellectuals) have a racial ideology. Only within some cultures are racial prejudices heavily influenced by racial ideologies, but everybody has some sort of racial prejudice. Only among intellectuals does anyone systematically try to counteract all their prejudices on any subject, because only intellectuals have systems. Thus, the attack on prejudice as such is pro-system and so an attack on the way non-intellectuals think. The attack on bigotry against women and gays falls into the category of an attack on prejudice per se, almost completely. Though the balance differs from one culture to another, no culture treats alike the two sexes. Likewise, neither does any treat relations between two people of the same sex the same as those with the other sex. One needs a system, a very self-conscious ideology, to even attempt to do so.

This "politics of sex" is the latest, and perhaps the ultimate, extreme of the "politics of identity" — a kind of anti-politics, as is the "politics of interest": for identity is above politics, as interest

is below it. Both influence politics, but at the core of real politics are real communities. Real communities only partly reflect common identities or interests, and not just because they cannot perfectly reflect both, but also because they have to primarily reflect what is neither.

That is, they have to reflect something that always goes against some of one's immediate interests and fancied identity: loyalties to all too real people who have their own varied interests and identities. As much as communities differ from each other, you can recognize them for their perennial common traits — their bickering, their embarrassed silences, their flamboyant renegades, their weary good soldiers, their big shots, their small fry, their legacy members that everyone wishes would disappear but will not, their honorary members that many wish they could adopt but cannot, their trendsetters and their squares. Women (and, yes, gays) are members of such communities, but these communities do not consist exclusively or even mainly of women or gays. Real communities of Easterners show the traits mentioned above, as do real community establishments, but the "Eastern Establishment" never does. It just acts uniformly glamorous and sinister: too "Hollywood" to really exist. Political realism requires that we finally see that neither wishes nor nightmares are horses, and so both beggars and those they accost must remain on foot.

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FREEDOM AND CAPITALISM ARE
SLOWLY WITHERING AWAY

.....

Can Capitalism Survive?

By C. Brandon Crocker

Over the years, many economists and philosophers have pondered the question posed by Joseph Schumpeter, "Can capitalism survive?" With the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, one would think that the prospects are favorable. Yet, capitalism (at least free market capitalism) is under fresh assault in the United States. And the implications of this assault stretch far beyond our mere economic well-being.

Recently, a good deal of debate has started on such issues as government control over the health-care industry, national industrial policy, and government-mandated employee benefits. Most of the debate centers on questions of efficacy and implementation. While many have argued that a more active government will harm the economy, few Americans are taking issue with the premise that the federal government ought to be authorized to do all of these things.

Freedom has been a hallmark of American nationhood since its founding. Yet today it is difficult to find many people who understand and embrace the concept. As the discussion of federal policy indicates, freedom lags well behind such material

considerations as less expensive health care, job security, and a growing economy in the constellation of concerns of most Americans. What was for a long time the defining word of the American spirit now is freely bargained away by the American spirit now is freely bargained away by the American people in exchange for promises of federal paternalism. Such are

the political dynamics of the modern welfare state.

Since the New Deal programs of the 1930s, Americans have increasingly looked to government to improve or safeguard their economic positions. Every year new legislation reduces the freedom of some in order to provide benefits to others. It is now hardly questioned that wealth should be redistributed from the successful to the unsuccessful, and that the government should have a strong role in the regulation of commerce.

Seemingly paradoxically, however, Americans still guard freedom in their "personal" spheres quite jealously. They still want to be able to "do what they want to" in their private lives. Increasingly, Americans do not even want people to be able to disapprove of their lifestyles, let alone dictate them. (The advocates of this position do not seem to realize the ominous implications to personal freedom implied by this view.) Those who would try to "impose their morality" on others are demonized in the popular culture, and growing numbers of Americans count unrestricted access to abortion, for example, as a fundamental right. Americans, like children, want some benefactor to take care of their needs and problems, but leave them alone to act as they please.

But there really is no paradox demonstrated in demanding that government provide goods while vigorously attacking government intrusion into "personal" matters. Americans are asking for an unhindered road to personal self-fulfillment, and a government

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empowered to step in and help them through any difficulties which may arise. This is the attitude we expect from children and others who have been shielded from the full responsibilities of life, and it is symptomatic of a people with a heritage of freedom who have been corrupted by an expanding welfare state.

When discussing government intervention in the economy, it is prudent to remember that a nation's economy is nothing more than the decisions of individuals as to what to produce and what to consume. Therefore, a government-controlled economy necessarily means government-controlled people. The greater the control the government has in the economy, the smaller the sphere of personal freedom. Whenever we demand that government intervene to give us some benefit, we are simultaneously demanding that government intervene to deprive someone else of their freedom. Even if only the personal freedoms of others are directly affected by our demands, we reduce the barriers of tradition and attitude that protect our own freedoms as well.

Punitive taxes on tobacco and alcohol are an attack on personal freedom disguised by the rhetoric of "solving the health care crisis." These new taxes are being justified on the grounds that smoking and drinking cause health problems which put a strain on health care resources. If we deem this proper justification have we not acquiesced to the proposal that government can and should regulate all sorts of personal choices?

If putting special taxes on (or even outlawing) smoking and drinking is fine, what about other potentially unhealthy activities like hang-gliding, high school football, or eating red meat? Will all our individual rights that could conceivably affect health care costs be subject to majority rule? Or, having turned over to government the power and responsibility to maintain and pay for our health care system, will our individual rights have even that much protection?

Is this far fetched hyperbole? One would like to think so. But then again, how many of the enlightened liberals of the 1930s thought that Mao's "land reforms" would lead to the state dictating (through economic "incentives" and coerced abortions) how many children families could have? How many socialist utopians of the 1960s thought that a People's Republic (with free health care and job security) like Czechoslovakia could forcibly relocate that inhabitants of an entire city so that government-controlled utility providers could have access to coal deposits? And how many of our fathers and mothers would have thought that in the United States of America, small businesses could be sued out of existence because their work forces did not closely enough match the ethnic and sexual makeups of the community? The United States has a long tradition of freedom, as well as some functioning constitutional safeguards. But it is sobering to step back and look at just how far we have traveled over the last 75 years.

Like children, Americans will sooner or later discover that they cannot rely on some authority to take care of them and still be free. It is a truism that with freedom comes responsibility. It is also true that freedom only lasts if people take responsibility for their activities and reject the premise that their lives should be made easier at the expense of other people's freedom.

History clearly shows that it is harder to win back freedoms than to give them away. Governments rarely agree to relinquish power, and groups which have come to depend on government-provided largess will join in opposition to any such movements. So it is important that all who can try to awaken their fellow citizens to their folly, or soon it will not be Schumpeter's question we will be pondering, but rather the one posed by Francis Scott Key: "Oh, say does that star spangled banner yet wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

C. Brandon Crocker is the *California Review's* Emperor Emeritus.

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A NEW SOLUTION IS NEEDED
TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION

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The Failure of Affirmative Action

B y N a t e P i e t i l a

It is sad to note that racism is still very much with us and that it rears its ugly head too often. Recall the 1992 Los Angeles Riots, and especially the horrific instances of racially motivated violence exhibited therein. Recall also the ever-present conflict between Koreans and blacks in inner-city Los Angeles. Lastly, recall the high tension and terrible violence between Jews and blacks in New York City. All this goes to show that America is hardly immune to the universal phenomenon of racial discordancy.

What is even more disturbing than the deplorable nature of this strife is the way in which it colors (pun unavoidable) the politics of our national life. Too many candidates seeking office are all too eager to pander to various racial and ethnic groups to demonstrate their reputed commitments to "racial justice." During his transition to power, Bill Clinton bragged about how his Cabinet "looked like America." The pundits lauded his commitment to "diversity," and the special interests enthusiastically nodded their approval.

It may be of some encouragement to note that the term "affirmative action" has become somewhat of a pariah in the left-liberal political lexicon. After all, when was the last time you heard a politician eagerly bring up the subject of affirmative action? As Cornel West writes in his recently published book *Race Matters*, in some liberal circles affirmative action is "view[ed]...as a redistributive measure whose time is over or whose life is no longer worth preserving." Such evidence of the demise of affirmative action may indicate that liberals have given up some ground in the face of popular distrust of these preferential policies. But the evidence more likely points to a tactical shift by the Left to reframe the arguments upon which affirmative action is based

in loftier terms such as "diversity" and "racial justice." But no matter how hard the Left may try to disguise the more vulgar aspects of the preferential policies they espouse, the socially deleterious effects of these policies still obtain and remain a discouraging obstacle to genuine progress in the area of race relations.

If asked about the underlying justification for their position, advocates of affirmative action will nowadays cite evidence (the incredible nature of which will be dealt with later) that purportedly supports the assertion that racism is an institutionalized feature of American life. This is to say that although there is no such thing as *de jure* discrimination, the fundamental American institutions (e.g. our free market economy, representative democracy, and perhaps even the Constitution itself) turn a blind eye to or perhaps even engender the perpetuation of racism. This change of institutional racism is a great deal more serious than the arguments upon which the civil rights struggle of the 1960s was based, namely, that many Americans are racist and that racist practices should be prescribed and opportunity provided to all regardless of skin color.

The contemporary indictment of the traditionally cherished American institutions is unnecessarily sweeping, and, needless to say, on thin ice, as this charge requires that an unobtainable amount of evidence be amassed. Although the charges of racism in American society have become more serious, the arguments favoring the imposition of far-reaching affirmative action policies are as baseless as ever. The reasoning behind these policies is as specious as it ever was and the nature of the argument is still the same. The conflict is one between those who support a society centered on the ideals of the free market and those who advocate

massive state-sponsored social engineering.

The most commonly cited source of evidence of racism is the disparate levels of minority "representation" in education and employment. As Thomas Sowell writes in his book *Preferential Policies*, "statistical disparities...are often the sole evidence cited as proof of discrimination." By using these statistics in such a way as to "shift the burden of proof to those accused of discrimination," a false dichotomy is created. Either the statistics are purely accidental, which seems highly unlikely, or they do in fact support claims of discrimination.

This line of reasoning ignores any other possible explanation for the "disparity" in the statistic available. To immediately jump to two possible explanations for the disparities shown by the data is absurd. There are many credible socio-economic, cultural, and educational explanations for the lack of representation, but these are dismissed out of hand by this clever line of reasoning. Implicit in this reasoning is the all too familiar dogma of "Don't blame the victim."

Another fact cited as evidence for a lack of social progress among minority groups is the lack of persons of color in politically representative positions in government. Setting aside the specious "representation reasoning inherent in this charge, the first question to ask is whether or not a candidate can be disqualified from representing a constituency based on his race. If we are striving towards the establishment of a truly color-blind society, then the answer is a resounding no. If a representative is elected by a fair electoral process (i.e. one-man-one-vote), the color of his skin is immaterial to his capacity to represent his constituency.

Parallels are sometimes drawn between the lack of minority "representation" in legislative bodies and the issue of virtual representation which created the revolutionary rift in relations between London and the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Minority leaders fume over the fact that they are being represented virtually only by their white representatives. Ingrained in this argument is the contention that minority political views are largely monolithic, and that minorities, on the whole, are pretty much of the same political persuasion.

In response to this clamor for racial justice, Congress drew up racially gerrymandered districts in order to ensure that a select number of seats will be filled by minorities. Thankfully, the Supreme Court threw this radical interpretation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 out the window, but alarmingly this decision did not take race into account. The Court said, in effect, that Congress should take care not to violate the voting rights of whites when it determines electoral reapportionment. It is sadly ironic that in ending these racially biased electoral power games the Court resorted to the selfsame calculus which created these districts in the first place.

Very few supporters of affirmative action policies would say that these policies are, in principle, something to be applauded.

Cornel West writes, "We should see [affirmative action] as primarily playing a negative role—namely, to ensure that discriminatory practices are abated." Affirmative action goes against many fundamental American ideals. Arguments in favor of affirmative action must necessarily vilify and debunk the efficacy of the free market to provide decent living standards for all. In arguing for affirmative action, the free market must be shown to have caused or encouraged the current racial inequalities. This is quite a blow to an institution so fundamental as to have been presupposed by the framers of the Constitution. Hard work and rugged individualism take on much diminished value when one asserts that governmental coercion is the only way for minorities to meet with success.

But partisans of preferential policies still claim that affirmative action is necessary. Cornel West writes, "Even if affirmative action fails significantly to reduce black poverty or contributes to racist perceptions in the workplace, without affirmative actions black access to America's prosperity would be even more difficult to obtain and racism in the workplace would persist anyway." In other words, two decades of affirmative action have failed to improve the lot of working minorities and aspersions continue to be cast upon the qualifications and talents of black Americans who have succeeded professionally, yet we should still support these policies because they combat racism.

Is progress really being made when affirmative action "contributes to racist perceptions in the workplace?" Is racism really being combated by these policies? It is apparent that affirmative action is totally unnecessary and an evil to be abhorred.

It is important that we identify constructive replacements for affirmative action. These replacements should really benefit minorities and agree with the goals of market capitalism. Affirmative action disproportionately benefits the elite members of minority groups and fails to address the plight of minorities as a whole. It seems that the fundamental flaw of affirmative action is that it is a top-down rather than a bottom-up approach to minority advancement.

Instead of offering misplaced opportunities, we should provide an environment in which everyone can succeed. This environment must include quality primary and secondary education, streets safe from crime, a culture that values hard work and thrift, and a flourishing market economy. Thomas Sowell writes, "The scope and pace of genuine advancement for less fortunate masses cannot produce as dramatic results as a doubling or tripling of group members in a few elite positions within a few years under preferential policies." Fundamental progress in the aforementioned areas is being made. Michigan recently enacted a revolutionary way of funding education which will ensure that all have access to the same quality of education. Let us see affirmative action for what it is, an unnecessary evil, and let us go back to the basics for a real change.

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Parting Thoughts...

I find television very educating. Every time somebody turns on the set I go into the other room and read a book.

—Groucho Marx



Those who apply themselves too closely to little things often become incapable of great things.

—Francois de la Rochefoucauld



The single most exciting thing you encounter in government is competence because it is so rare.

—Daniel Patrick Moynihan



To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to create a menace to society.

—Theodore Roosevelt



No one can possibly achieve any real and lasting success or "get rich" in business by being a conformist.

—J. Paul Getty



They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

—Benjamin Franklin



There's a mighty big difference between good, sound reasons and reasons that sound good.

—Burton Hillis

Giving money and power to government is like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys.

—P. J. O'Rourke



Three out of four doctors recommend another doctor.

—Graffito



University politics are vicious precisely because the stakes are so small.

—Henry Kissinger



Covenants without swords are but words.

—Thomas Hobbes



An honest politician is one who, when he is bought, will stay bought.

—Simon Cameron



The greatest tragedy is indifference.

—Red Cross Slogan



The best mind are not in government. If any were, business would hire them away.

—Ronald Reagan



There are no limits on our future if we don't put limits on our people.

—Jack Kemp



Liberty is the bread of man's spirit.

—Salvador de Madariaga

Dictators always look good until the last minutes.

—Tomas G. Masaryk



One of the greatest delusions in the world is the hope that the evils in this world are to be cured by legislation.

—Thomas Brackett Reed



Health nuts and going to feel stupid someday, lying in hospitals dying of nothing.

—Redd Foxx



There is nothing in the world like a persuasive speech to fuddle the mental apparatus.

—Mark Twain



A man lives by believing something; not by debating and arguing many things.

—Thomas Carlyle



I do not suggest that you shouldn't have an open mind, particularly as you approach college. But don't keep your mind so open that your brains fall out.

—William J. Bennett



Nine times out of ten, in the arts as in life, there is actually nothing to be discovered; There is only error to be exposed.

—H. L. Mencken



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