

Brooke Crocker: UCSD's Cultural
Illiteracy

Sherry Lawrence: The Pitfalls of
Affirmative Action

California Review

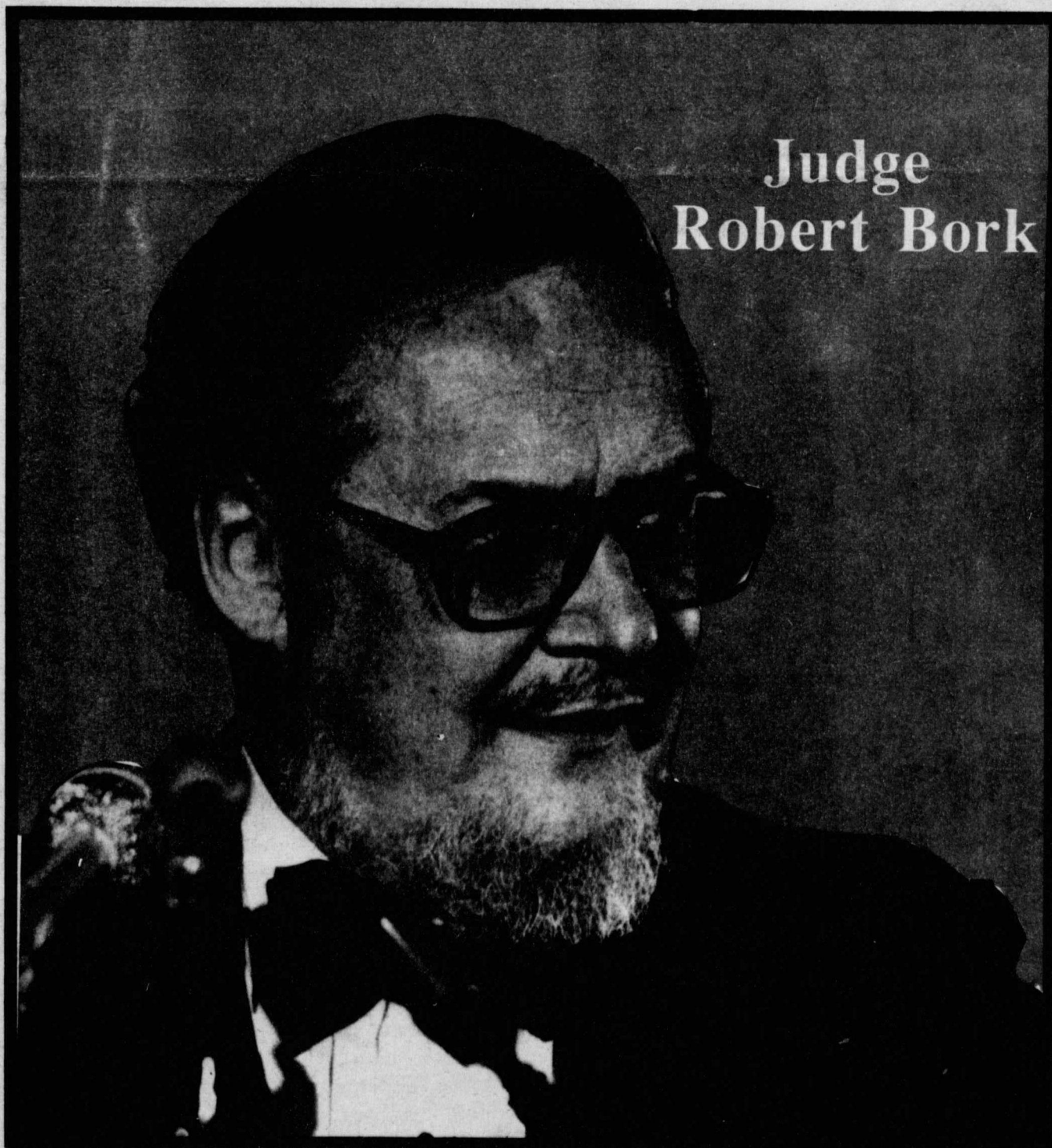
Volume IX, number one
October 1989



Price Center Q-077
La Jolla, CA 92093

Copyright California Review 1989

Weak Link: Women in the Military
Lessons of the French Revolution
Kevin Bell's Summer Vacation
An Exclusive California Review
Interview with...



Judge
Robert Bork

Cultural Literacy: Why UCSD Failed

By Brooke Crocker

In the last issue of *CR* the results of a cultural literacy poll were published which showed UCSD failing miserably. This poor performance by a highly acclaimed university is a shame. Some people have tried to portray the results as unimportant because the poll primarily focused on Western culture and history. This Western bias, however, was very appropriate.

We live in a society whose fundamental values, political theories and ideals come from the Western tradition. It is necessary, important, and indeed should be expected that citizens of this country have a basic knowledge of the concepts and ideals on which their nation was founded, and which are held as important to a significant number of the world's people (witness the student protest in China which centered on that product of Western intellectual thought called representative government). Thus, the fact that the poll dealt with mostly Western cultural questions actually highlights the horror of the findings.

The questions on the test were, for the most part, straight forward and dealt with a wide variety of issues. Questions such as "What is the capital of West Germany?" should have been easily answered from common knowledge. The fact that only 52% of those polled answered correctly is ridiculous and shameful. Other questions dealing with world awareness such as "Which Islamic sect is in power in Iran?" received a even worse showing with only 18.7% answering correctly. These results show a lack of basic knowledge which is distressing, but other results are even more troubling. Only 24% of those polled could name three of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.



The studying of other cultures is a valuable academic pursuit; it broadens one's view of the world and provides insights into one's own culture. But given the tremendous world-wide impact of Western culture, and the widely acknowledged value of many of its teachings, it is academic fraud to devalue the importance of knowledge of the great works of Western thought.

Third College does not take this view. The atmosphere at Third that has been cultivated by both student leaders and the administration, is actually hostile to the

study of Western culture (except for Marxism, that is). Not surprisingly, therefore, Third finished last in the poll with Third's students only answering 15% of the questions correctly.

Revelle College has a required humanities sequence which takes five quarters to complete. Revelle had the best results of any UCSD college, answering 38.5% of the questions correctly. This result, however, is nothing to be proud of, especially when compared to other colleges such as Harvard with 70% or Columbia with 68%. How can this result be explained?



When I was a freshman I took History 2A, an overview U.S. history course. During the quarter the professor's main emphasis was the role of blacks and women. There is nothing wrong in studying the lives and accomplishments of blacks and women, but in this course the focus was so heavy that only 5 minutes of the last class was devoted to discussing the Constitution. A fellow student commented to professor Lubov, who taught the course, that he felt cheated on having spent so little time on such a important aspect of American history. Her reply was "I guess we have different priorities." This is ridiculous. Extremely important subject matter was thrust to the side simply because the professor had "different priorities"--namely either to push her political agenda or to stay on her topic of specialty to avoid having to work. Either case is intolerable in an institution devoted to higher learning.

Even with such abuses one might expect students to have learned much of what was asked in the poll in high school or by merely reading the newspaper. For people who had U.S. history teachers in high school like the one I had, however, it probably was no surprise that only 29.3% could name which president initiated U.S. involvement in the Korean War. My teacher in high school rarely ever got past the Civil War because she was attempting to "re-educate" us by preaching leftist dogma.

Herein lies the great problem of modern education. Our classrooms on all levels are more and more being used for political rather than educational purposes. Examples can be found all over the country (perhaps most outlandishly at Stanford

recently) where the decision of what subject matter is taught is not based on the intrinsic worth of the subject, but on the political demands of professors and students.

Anyone who is truly interested in quality education should be deeply disturbed by this. We cannot stand by while professors and other teachers use their classrooms to push their own political agendas rather than to pass on a core body of knowledge to their students. The first (and perhaps only) step is to complain--to the professor, the department head, the administration, the government (if it holds the purse strings), and to alumni. If money stops coming in from the government and alumni, school administrators might find the backbone to stand up against the more



outlandish demands of students and professors.

It is a disgrace that institutions such as UCSD and other respected universities have allowed their educational functions to be undermined by self-serving professors. Higher education needs to regard the educational process as a sacred trust, guarding what is worthy of study free from political trendiness. Until this issue is addressed and resolved, more and more students will receive college diplomas and yet be uneducated.

Brooke Crocker is a Junior at UCSD.

Advertise in
California Review

Only \$4.50 Per Column Inch

Call 534-6881

Letters

As most Americans are now aware, extraordinary changes are taking place in Poland. What many Americans do not realize is the fact that opposition to the Communist Party is not limited to Solidarity. Some opposition groups, in an American context, would fall under the rubric of "conservative." One of these groups, the Union of Real Politics, recently forwarded their statement of goals, values, and principles to our office. In an effort to expand American knowledge of the current state of political dialogue among the non-Communist opposition, we reprint that statement here. (Note: We have made alterations to the original English translation to correct for errors of spelling, grammar, and diction). --The Editors

Union of Real Politics - Goals, Values, Principles

Union of Real Politics is a political group whose main goal is to introduce a free market economy in Poland. State property should be transferred to the private sector (by stock sale). Governmental and parliamentary interference in the economy should be forbidden and secured by the Constitution. All governmental subsidies, allocations, etc. should be repealed. The Socialist welfare state which has already failed, should be dismantled. Our ideal is an independent man, not a social welfare payee.

Leftist demagogues, social reformers and planners, and "enlightened" progressives should be fought ideologically and politically. Trade union activity should be allowed only if it is peaceful and if private ownership, and freedom to work are not violated. Taxes should be as low as possible and not be progressive.

The future educational system should be based on private schools (including post-



high schools). Compulsory school attendance should be repealed. People should be free to found schools of all kinds, with different curricula, and with free choice in language of instruction.

A strong, modernized and technically well equipped army with additional military training for men (in the Swiss fashion) is a necessity in our (Polish) geopolitical conditions. This is the best safeguard for our independence (not peace declarations or friendly statements made by other countries).

Religion is the basis for morality.

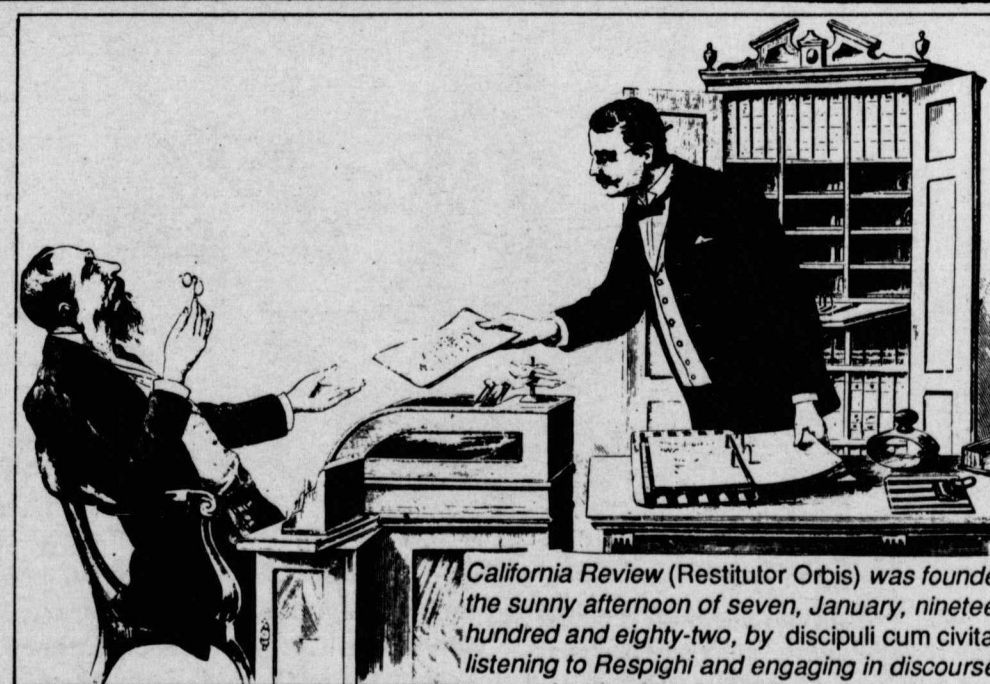
A strong and wholesome family is the basis for the strength of the nation. Inviolability of private property is the basis of liberty. Liberty is the basis for economic development as well as for diversity of social, cultural, and intellectual life.

We are against killing the unborn.

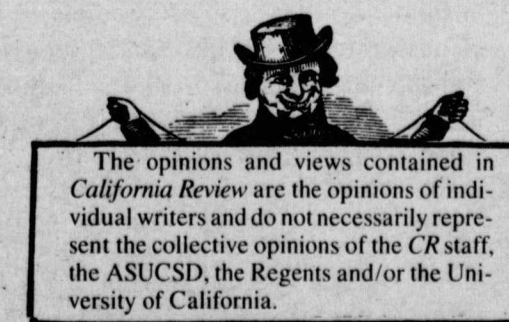
We are for maintenance of capital punishment.

Wroclaw, Poland

Please address letters to
P. O. Box 12286
La Jolla, CA 92037



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



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



California Review

Credo: Imperium et Libertas



Editor-in-Chief

Brooke Crocker

Assistant Editors

Stephanie Putnoky
Sherry Lowrance

Contributors

Jeanne Hammons, Janel Hatton, Rory Cheeney,
P. C. Scipio, Matti Siltanen, Curtis Bowden,
Anthony Davi, Robert Hickey, Eric Jessen

Correspondents

Horatio Galba
Peppin Runcible IV

Europe
Washington D.C.

Ivory Tower Correspondents

Dr. Gary Jason
Dr. Alfred G. Cuzán
Dr. Frederick Lynch
Dr. Patrick Groff

Social Critic

J. Kevin Bell

Photographers

Stephen Durham
Layla Kashani

Founders and Members of the Pantheon

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

Legal Counsel

The Pretorian Guard
and Charles Purdy IV (Pretorian Praefectus)

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

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

■ Yet more controversy in the art world. Stephen Paternite's exhibit "Creature-Nites of Ohio," is coming under fire by those same philistine types who didn't think "Piss Christ" deserved taxpayer dollars. Mr. Paternite's exhibit contains freeze-dried duck, owl, pigeon, and cat parts assembled in different ways to show the endless possibilities of creating new hybrid species.

■ When the circus comes to town it brings more than animals. Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus recently held their "Great Manure Giveaway." It was less than a success as only two people showed up. The circus spends \$900 a week to haul the stuff away, and employs nine full time employees to clean up the almost 10,000 cubic yards of waste produced a year.

■ The defense minister of Liberia, Major General Gray Allisson, his wife, and seven children were arrested in July on charges of slaying a policeman and using his heart and other organs in-black magic rituals. The Major General was probably only trying to find cheaper alternatives to the traditional means of national defense.

■ There is hope for witches in the military. The Air Force has given permission to Airman and witch Patricia Hutchins to observe her faith's ceremonies and holidays. Perhaps witches are the U. S. military's new low cost secret weapon.

■ Students at Berkeley brought back memories of the Sixties when they staged a protest to save "People's Park." In true Sixties form, the protesters went on a two hour rampage, looting stores, burning the Bank of America, and overturning cars. This brings back fond memories for many aging radicals--denying authority, destroying private property, visualizing world peace. What a pity that such idealism is so rare today.

■ The last election in Arlie, Oregon saw five candidates vying for positions on the Jont Creek Water Improvement District Board. The result: a five way tie. It seems as though *no one* cast a vote, not even the five candidates. The *really* strange thing is the same thing happened in the previous election.

■ In Sweden, life is tough if you commit a crime. Eight teenaged criminals were sentenced to an \$80,000, six-month rehabilitation cruise to the Caribbean. Three social workers will go along to teach the youths constructive ways to deal with their aggression.

■ **AGEISM ON THE RAMPAGE:** Feeling that children are underrepresented, Minnesota State Rep. Phyllis Kahn has introduced a bill which would give anyone at least 12 years old the right to vote in Minnesota. Kahn says that critics of her bill displayed an "adult supremacy attitude."

■ Those poor Aussies. It seems a plague of giant toads has fallen upon Brisbane. Plans to kill the amphibians include one in which loudspeakers will sound the male toad's mating call, and when the unsuspecting females arrive, trappers will shove them into plastic bags and freeze them. These toads were first brought to Australia in the early 1930's to combat a beetle plague. Some Australian children, however, have found a silver lining to the toad problem by using the five pound toads as footballs.

■ Mike Dukakis' decision not to run for reelection as Governor of Massachusetts was probably a good one. As the state's financial mess continues to fester, bumper stickers reading "Duke makes me Puke" have become very popular in Boston.



■ Libyan leader Mommar Gadhafi recently announced that William Shakespeare was really an Arab named Shaykh Zubayr Bin William. Gadhafi claims that the Europeans could not pronounce Shaykh Zubayr "so they said Shakespeare." Gadhafi went on to explain that his people were "more refined and have more warmth than [Westerners] therefore we should never have an inferiority complex...they are our disciples." Obviously, Gadhafi would have a bright future as a professor in an ethnic studies department at some major American university.

■ While in his La Jolla bank in February, UCSD medical professor Milos Sovak heard a gunshot. He rushed outside and saw a woman on the ground and another running away. As by-standers screamed and yelled "she's got a gun," the cool headed professor assessed the situation and "went after the mobile problem." After chasing down and helping to disarm the suspect, Dr. Sovak rushed back to help the victim until an ambulance arrived. She has now recovered. As a reward, Dr. Sovak's bank now lets him use the executive wash room.

■ Want to save some money on your next vacation? Eastern Airlines now charges only half price for dead people on their way to funerals.

■ In Palo Alto California an ancient Egyptian god is running for city council. Or at least Ronald Francis Bennet says he is an Egyptian god. If elected, Bennet proposes to dig a tunnel to the coast that would double as a homeless shelter. Considering it is almost 20 miles to the coast, the success of the plan seems unlikely, but then let's not forget who we are dealing with.

■ The new Presbyterian Church (USA) has struck "God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen" from its hymnal because the song has "sexist tones."

The Party Line

By J. Kevin Bell

Playtime's over kiddies--drop your drinks and fight for a place in every huge line/crowded class. Maybe this year we can convince Atkinson/Watson that the 18th Amendment has been repealed.

I don't know about you, but my summer didn't get off to a roaring start. My girlfriend and I broke up, I ran a blatantly red light and totalled my car (which panicked my father who feared/knew he might be held responsible), and then my roommates and I lost the lease to our strategically located (across the street from campus) ant infested house from hell. Not that I would miss the place, but this meant I had to move. Anyway, on

in a nearby alley. Needless to say the Mission Beach police immediately appeared on the scene decked out in riot gear and the outburst was quickly and brutally suppressed.

Then if you were feeling festive enough to force your way joyfully through endless seas of white trash, you would have loved the Del Mar Fair. The \$5 dollar cover was a little steep, but there were some decent bands playing in the grand stands for the early-comers, and for a burst of adrenalin, what could top a ride on one of those shaky, clattering, uninsured thrill rides assembled entirely by uneducated county fair rowdies and drunken vagrants?



the morning of my first official day as tenant, my friend Bill and I took off with our belongings for my new University Woods condo. As we pulled up, it became obvious that my new lawn was overflowing with toys, clothes, and furniture. In absolute disbelief I stepped out of what was left of my car, as the ex-tenant (who resembled a homeless transient, as he now was) told me to browse freely. Bill laughingly pointed out the sign which stated that this impromptu yard sale would be going on "Today and Tomorrow." I pleaded and argued with the ex-tenant, his fiancée and her two obnoxious children until finally, over 12 hours later, they had all their stuff out of my condo, off of my lawn, and haphazardly stowed in their rickety gypsy van and attached U-Haul.

After that, I pulled myself together in anticipation of the 4th of July in Mission Beach. I was ecstatic after hearing that Fishbone would be playing at this phenomenal multi-band beach extravaganza. Unfortunately, Fishbone turned out to be Fishhead, who, in fact, never even got to play because a 25 man fist fight broke out

After a few moments in the refreshment area (Bier Garden) Bill and I took off in search of the safest ride we could find--which turned out to be the bumper boats. Sure, maybe at 23 we were too old to be tooling around in the center of the little putrid pond--especially after the horn sounded, signaling the time for all boats to dock. Bill and I laughed hysterically as the ride crew leapt into pursuit bumper boats. The fun was well worth the momentary embarrassment I felt when I noticed the ogling bystanders.

Back at home, the girl next door occasionally roped me into going out. Since she was from Ohio I spent far too much time under whirling disco lights, rubbing elbows with the hairy armed, gold adorned patrons of the Elephant Bar. There was one funny moment, though, as some throwback to the previous decade showed up wearing a fishnet jersey, corduroy pants and black lounge lizard shoes. The bouncers turned him away for "violating the dress code by looking way too Seventies."

Oh, and then there was the Padres game where we all nearly died. Everything was fine at first--we had a great tailgate with frisbee, barbecue and parking lot football--then around the third inning we decided to go inside, take our usual places in the cheap seats, and cheer for the other team. After a few more innings and a couple of big beers, a midget suddenly stood up about five rows down, at which point my friend Dave turned the entire stadium against us by yelling "Down in Front!" Admittedly, the joke was tasteless, but I wasn't expecting such a hostile reaction from the normally mindless upper decks outfield crowd.

The TKE party on Thursday, September 21st was fairly fun. Personally, I was a little surprised that the TKE's risked throwing a party. Rumors still abound about the administration's less than favorable reaction to last year's TKE-Chippendales night--after which an underage girl was rushed to the hospital. Everyone's favorite fraternity certainly continues to skate the fine line, teetering ever closer to harsh administration action and permanent An-TKE status. But at least they're not going out without a fight. Their first day of school gathering at Black's Beach wasn't bad. The music selection was occasionally ify, but there were 20-something kegs and for the first few hours the beer lines were minuscule. Someone (a TKE) estimated the crowd at 1600 people, but it was more like 400. Evidently Mr. Atkinson peered down from his trillion dollar house on the hill and noticed people having fun, because the police arrived and the last few kegs went untapped.

Finally, there was the Delta Sig party on Saturday, September 24th. We arrived fairly late at the Pick-a-Bagel warehouse, but just in time to witness dozens of people fleeing the storage building with all the bags of bread and bagels they could carry. As the looting continued, we made our way

towards the entrance only to be stopped by a few members of the host fraternity who pointed out that I was totally unwelcome. Many people seem to think that I dislike the Delta Sig fraternity, which is simply not true...as far as you know. Anyway, they let me in, the beer was gone, the music was good, the ratio was acceptable, and those I spoke with gave this party a collective thumbs-up.

J. Kevin Bell is a senior at UCSD and CR's social critic.

The Trouble with A.S. Government

By John Robison

Several students have asked just what exactly did the Associated Student Government at UCSD (A.S.) do for them last year. The students are pretty sure Maynard Dimmesdale didn't do what they wanted. They are kind of unsure as to what exactly John Ramirez has promised. By and large, most students would prefer to eliminate the \$13.50 A.S. fee per quarter and spend it on a concert or a few nights of drinking.

It is important to realize that your \$13.50 amounts to a yearly budget of more than \$600,000. This is allocated to programming student organizations, the media, and several services including the internship office, US Grants, and the Volunteer Connection. Beyond the allocation of this budget, the existence of the A.S. Government could be easily debated. The A.S. Council rarely pursues consistent goals from year to year, and spends most of its time debating allocations of any extra money left unallocated.

Several problems face the A.S.--the primary one being experience. Seldom are people actually "groomed" for the position of A.S. President. Last year a transfer

student unknown to anyone beat an opponent with two years of A.S. experience. Again this year, only three of the 23 elected positions were filled by people with any experience at all. These three people, John Ramirez, Alex Wong, and Rubin Duran, each only have one year of prior A.S. government experience. It is easy to see why the A.S. is largely ineffective in fighting year to year issues. Past experience shows that an A.S. President is likely to pursue an issue already lost during a previous administration. Other times a President will simply ignore the policies of the previous A.S. Council in favor of a personal agenda.

Another problem with the A.S. is its susceptibility to special interest groups. The inexperienced A.S. council can easily be swayed by an influential group for funding or support issues. Although Maynard Dimmesdale had the experience of age, John Ramirez has neither age nor experience. It remains to be seen how impressionable the new A.S. Council will be.

The common goal of the A.S. Council, it is always argued, is to "protect student rights." Votes are based on the argument.

"It is what the students want." It is doubtful the majority of students wanted more than \$4,000 allocated to two Women's Resource Center speakers, and that there was serious concern about alcohol at TGs. These side issues often consume the A.S. Council while such common concerns as parking, high book prices, and inadequate health services are ignored.

Undoubtedly we will see another year of inexperience and private agendas. The new A.S. Council has yet to address the referenda questions, solve the Constitutional Convention problem, and make any significant decisions regarding student life. One thing is inevitable, the A.S. Council will allocate \$600,000 to the various groups it represents, and then Councilmembers will retire to bicker among themselves about such pressing issues as bringing food into A.S. meetings.

John Robison was the Muir Freshman and Sophomore A.S. Senator, and served last year as A.S. Vice President of Administration.

Rev. Stallings vs. The Catholic Church

By Peppin Runcible IV

The defection of the Rev. Charles Stallings from the Roman Catholic Church to set up the Imani Temple in Washington D.C., should be sobering news for the optimists among us. More than one hundred and eighty years after Congress outlawed the slave trade, more than one hundred and twenty years after the abolition of slavery, and two good decades since the main triumphs of the Civil Rights Movement, we have the resurgence of popularity in Malcolm X, of an exclusivist and politically active "African consciousness" among American blacks (exemplified best, perhaps, by the T-shirt with the inscription: "Free South Africa--It's a Black Thing, You Wouldn't Understand"), and of "nationalist" black musicians (that is, rap stars singing paeans to drugs, criminality, and racial hate). We have the children of the sort of upper- and middle-class blacks whose economic position was supposed to bring them into the Republican fold, rhetorically lynching Lee Atwater at Howard University. We have a hit film glorifying the destruction of an Italian pizzeria in a black neighborhood. And we have the Rev. Stallings setting up a breakaway Catholic Church with a Swahili name. (Swahili, incidentally, is the language of East Africa, not West Africa,

from which American blacks trace their ancestry; moreover, it is a language heavily influenced by Arabic, the language of the slaves).

This isn't the way things were supposed to work out in liberal, pluralistic America. Blacks have been on the North American continent longer than many other ethnic groups--such as the Irish, Italians, Germans, Chinese, and Japanese--but they are much less well integrated. Even today,



surveys tell us that blacks are happier if they attend traditionally all-black colleges. Blacks who do attend integrated schools frequently segregate themselves into all-black fraternities, sororities, and clubs.

There are still a wide variety of publications aimed at an exclusively black audience: *Ebony*, *Essence*, *Jet*, and so forth.

Some will argue that the troubles facing blacks are the legacy of slavery. But the social pathologies afflicting blacks that have the attention of policy makers today, are largely a post-World War II phenomenon. Culture is a powerful thing, and with the migration of blacks out of the rural South into the industrial North, blacks took a quick economic step forward, but more importantly, they took a cultural step into disaster--the disaster we see in the inner cities, where the strong black family with a strong sense of community shattered in the atomizing process of an overnight industrial revolution, which has resulted in ghettos full of murder, mayhem, crime, economic dependence, and moral irresponsibility--much of it, of course, sponsored by the welfare state. Out of these burnt-out slums of violence and vice have sprung the rap fascists, of whom Rev. Stallings is perhaps a clerical exemplar.

The unspoken premise of the Rev. Stallings' protestantism is that American blacks--or, at least those who follow the Rev. Stallings--consider themselves a nation within a nation. Insofar as he harks back to a supposed African tradition, he implies

(continued on next page)

Is Sen. Mitchell Economically Illiterate?

By P. C. Scipio

The news is out that American college students are economically illiterate. No one seems particularly surprised that a subject which gets about as much attention as driver education in high school is not understood by our youth--even if it is an immensely practical, as well as an intellectual discipline. One, however, should expect the leaders of the largest political party in the country to have some substantial grasp of economics. But the recent wind coming from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, Senator Edward Kennedy, and others concerning efforts to raise the minimum wage suggests that economics is not a subject which is alien only to our common citizens.



The clamoring for an increase in the minimum wage by Democratic Congressmen is as puzzling as it is ubiquitous. Certainly, a large portion of the Democrats' professed constituency--the poor--is in favor of increasing the minimum wage, but this segment of society is not a fountainhead of economic wisdom. If the

(Continued from page 6)

that the African "race" is a single "nation"--the continuities of which are legitimately frightening. For if there is a single African nation, it is one which all experience shows, lacks the cultural traditions to make good democratic capitalists. The rhetoric of "African consciousness" leads one to believe that there is an international proletariat--not made up of the workers--but by the "African nation."

It is difficult to discover accurately just how widespread such attitudes are among American blacks, but there is reason enough for serious concern about the growth of movements such as the one that is being led by the Rev. Stallings. For even though there is much to be hopeful about in the advancement of blacks within American society, as long as blacks--or any

other ethnic group--are vulnerable to cries of racial pride (most of which is based on myth), dangerous fissures are possible in our society, especially when important institutions, such as Stanford University, lead the way in helping not only blacks, but all students attending classes there, to opt out of Western civilization.

Democrats listened to, and understood, *economists* they would realize that raising the minimum wage is not the anti-poverty weapon they portray it as. Almost all respected economists, regardless of political persuasion, insist that mandated increases in the minimum wage cause unemployment among the working poor. Even the Socialist Gunner Myrdal wrote of the minimum wage's deleterious effects.

The arguments against the minimum wage are as simple as they are persuasive. If you artificially raise wages above their free market levels, it becomes uneconomic to hire employees for some low-skill jobs. Alternatives to hiring workers--mechanization, or doing without--become more attractive to employers. Those employers for whom such options are not practical, either have to eat the increased costs, or raise their prices. The increased purchasing power of the now higher paid laborers (that is, those who kept their jobs) is offset by the decreased purchasing power of the employer and/or his customers. Employment opportunities, therefore, inevitably decrease when the minimum wage rises above normal market levels.

The economic hardship caused by a high minimum wage, moreover, falls disproportionately on blacks and Hispanics. The average age of blacks in this country is 22; 18 for Hispanics. This compares to a national average of about 28. This means that a greater percentage of blacks and Hispanics are teenagers (and hence part of the lower-skilled labor force) which is affected most by the lost job opportunities resulting from an increased minimum wage.

That, indeed, is the road the black population in our country is in danger of taking. One has only to walk the mean streets of Washington D.C., or of Harlem to see the magnitude of the problem that is facing black America, but it is not in any way a problem that can be helped by a false sense of racial pride and a harking back to a mythological Africa. It is imperative that the Catholic Church work to reinstall a sense of discipline, hierarchy, an authority in its constituent parts. Not



for the first time is the Church a fortress in defense of Western civilization. Its role in helping the black community has perhaps never been more important. But it can only execute that role if it defends its principled position and refuses to budge to protestants who would usurp its purpose and meaning.

Peppin Runcible IV is CR's Washington correspondent.

Obviously, much of this is not understood (or ignored for political purposes, some cynics might argue) by many members of the Democratic leadership. Senator Kennedy, while debating the latest attempt to raise the minimum wage a few months ago, argued that as the rate has remained at \$3.35 since 1981, minimum wage workers deserve a raise. Most of the workers earning the minimum wage in 1981, however, probably have received several raises. They have used the experience and skills they learned to move on to higher paying positions.

Senator Mitchell decried President Bush's veto of that proposed increase, stating that Bush wants to give a "tax break to the rich" (lowering the capital gains tax) while "denying" the working poor an extra few cents an hour. Democrats flush with anger when they are accused of not supporting the free enterprise system almost as much as they do when accused of being soft on defense. But what Senator Mitchell is clearly saying is that *the government*, not the labor market, should set wage levels--that *the government*, not employers, should be responsible for bestowing wage increases to workers. The logical extension of Senator Mitchell's (and Kennedy's) rhetoric is that the free market should give way to central planning and control.

The implication that the free market does not work does not match reality. As the labor market has tightened, and as the general price level has risen, the value of low-skill labor has increased. Many jobs normally classified as "minimum wage jobs" are now paying well above \$3.35 an hour. It is common for fast food restaurants to offer new workers more than \$4.00 an hour. Reflecting these *market driven* (i.e. *productivity driven*) wage increases, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the percentage of hourly workers earning minimum wage has fallen from 15% in 1981 to 6.5% in 1988 (the actual number has decreased from 7.8 million to 3.9 million workers). The workings of the market ensure that those jobs and employees *worth* more than \$3.35 an hour *get* more than \$3.35 an hour. Legislating a higher minimum wage would just destroy job opportunities worth less than the new minimum.

The best anti-poverty program (and probably one of the best anti-drug and anti-gang programs as well) is a job. Destroying jobs in order to raise the minimum wage should seem absurd to Democrats (as it does to most Republicans). Perhaps if we start teaching economics in earnest to our high school students now, the next generation of Congressmen will make more sense when they talk about the minimum wage.

P. C. Scipio is a recent graduate of UCSD.

California Review Interviews

Judge Robert Bork was born on March 1, 1927 in Pittsburgh. After schooling at the University of Chicago, he was a professor of law at Yale from 1962 to 1981. During that time he served as Solicitor-General of the United States (1973-77) and as Acting Attorney General (1973-74). Judge Bork was appointed as a Circuit Judge on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in 1982, and retired from this position in 1988 to become a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. In 1987 the Judge was nominated by President Reagan to become a Justice on the Supreme Court. The Senate, however, sided with NOW president Molly Yard, and against former Chief Justice Warren Burger, in believing that Judge Bork was "outside of the mainstream." Judge Bork recently took time to speak with CR's Editor-in-Chief, Brooke Crocker.

CR: Why did you decide to leave private practice for academia?

BORK: Oh, because I was originally drawn to law by intellectual interests. In a case you have a lot of intellectual work to do but the outcome is foreordained; you have to come out where your client needs you. That is fine except for the fact that you don't get a chance to explore the law and its wider ramifications. You can't walk into a court and tell a judge "This is a very interesting problem." You tell him this is open and shut. I wanted to find out what I thought about a number of subjects, and I wanted to write, so I left the private practice. I don't mean to say that I didn't enjoy private practice, but my ambitions lay elsewhere.

CR: As a professor, you were a widely respected legal scholar. Despite this did you encounter much trouble from the liberal and leftist professors and administrators?

BORK: No, not in those days. I went to Yale in 1962 and it was a liberal faculty, certainly, and there were people there who didn't like the idea of having a conservative around. But it was a much less radicalized and a much more civilized atmosphere than I think now exists at universities. I think after the 60's, the student turmoil generation, a lot of the 60's generation joined faculties and became tenured and they are much less tolerant than liberals were back in 1962.

CR: You refused an appointment to the Federal Bench several times before accepting. What were your reasons for refusing and why did you finally accept?

BORK: Well, the reason I refused was that I had left Yale to come back to Washington to join a law firm. The reason for that was my children had left home, my wife had died, my best friend had died. I

did not find New Haven a very pleasant place to be for those reasons. So I went down to a law firm and the Administration came after me about a Federal judgeship at that point. The difficulty was I had just joined the firm. I was approached by a President's counsel and I said no. I was approached by an assistant attorney general and said no. Then the deputy attorney general got on the phone and argued with me for about 45 minutes to an hour, and I said I would think about it. Then the attorney general called. I began to feel that I was being excessively difficult. So I finally said yes. I asked my children what they thought and they were unanimous that I should do it.

CR: We know what the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee thought of you. What did you think of them?

"A restrained Judge ought to confine himself to those principles that are actually to be found in the Constitution or in the law."

BORK: Well, it varied. I liked some of them very much and some of them not so much. That was pretty much, with one exception, a party line vote.

CR: You have been described as a believer in judicial restraint. Could you explain what this means, and how it differs from judicial activism?

BORK: Well, it simply means that a restrained judge ought to confine himself to those principles that are actually to be found in the Constitution or in the law. I say principles, because the law has principles, and whether it's a constitution or a statute, the people who passed them were talking about unforeseen cases, but they wanted a certain value or principle enforced. I think a restrained judge confines himself to enforcing that value or principle that the people who made it law intended. An activist judge is one, I'm afraid, who tends to make up law and puts principles into the Constitution, and sometimes into statutes, that really are not there.

CR: How important is legal precedent, and how important should it be, in determining Constitutional issues?

BORK: Well, the standard answer is that precedent is less important in Constitutional issues than it is elsewhere, because if you've made a wrong Constitutional decision nobody can change it but you; the legislature can't change it. Whereas if you make a wrong statutory decision, at least in most cases, it is theoretically possible that the legislature can change it. So most judges have always taken the position that the important thing was to get the thing right, under the Constitution, rather than adhere to precedent. There are some precedents that have become so embedded in our national life and so many things have been built up around them--institutions, expectations and so forth--that effectively they cannot be over ruled. A lot of the things that this nation has done are inconsistent with the original understanding of the Constitution, but that's just too bad, it's too late to change it, too late to go back.

CR: Now that the political issue of abortion appears to be headed back to the legislative arena (instead of the judicial) do you think the politicization of the Supreme Court will decrease?

"An activist judge tends to make up law and puts principles into the Constitution, and sometimes into statutes, that really are not there."

BORK: No, not necessarily. There are a lot of political decisions the Supreme Court has made over the past forty years. It has made them all the way back. There was a quantum leap forward about 40 years ago or 35 years ago. I think that will continue. I think it really depends more upon the next series of appointments than it does upon the abortion issue going away, and the next series of appointees we don't know about.

CR: The justification of the Majority Opinion of *Roe vs. Wade* was based on a Constitutional "Right to Privacy." Do you believe that this line of reasoning was correct?

BORK: Well, in the first place the right of privacy is one of those principles that is not in the Constitution. The Constitution protects various aspects of privacy but, of course, it can't have a general right to privacy, because you have to ask yourself "the privacy to do what?" Not the privacy to abuse your children, or to sell cocaine in your house. So this general right to privacy, which is not tied to any Constitutional provision, is entirely the product of judicial activism. If you haven't read the *Roe vs. Wade* opinion, you ought to. It's an astounding opinion. It's 51 pages long and it deals with things like the abortion practices of the Persians, and common law of England, and what the opinion of the American Medical Association is -- none of which is obviously relevant to the Constitution. And then it comes to the legal reasoning, and there is no legal reasoning. The Court simply says whether the right of privacy is located in the due process clause of the 14th Amendment as we think, or whether it is in the 9th Amendment as the district courts thought -- and right there you know that they don't really care where they attach it -- it is broad enough to cover a woman's

right to have an abortion, and that is all they say. It's a simple assertion. There is no reasoning from any language or history or anything else in the Constitution.

"This general right to privacy, which is not tied to any Constitutional provision, is entirely the product of judicial activism."

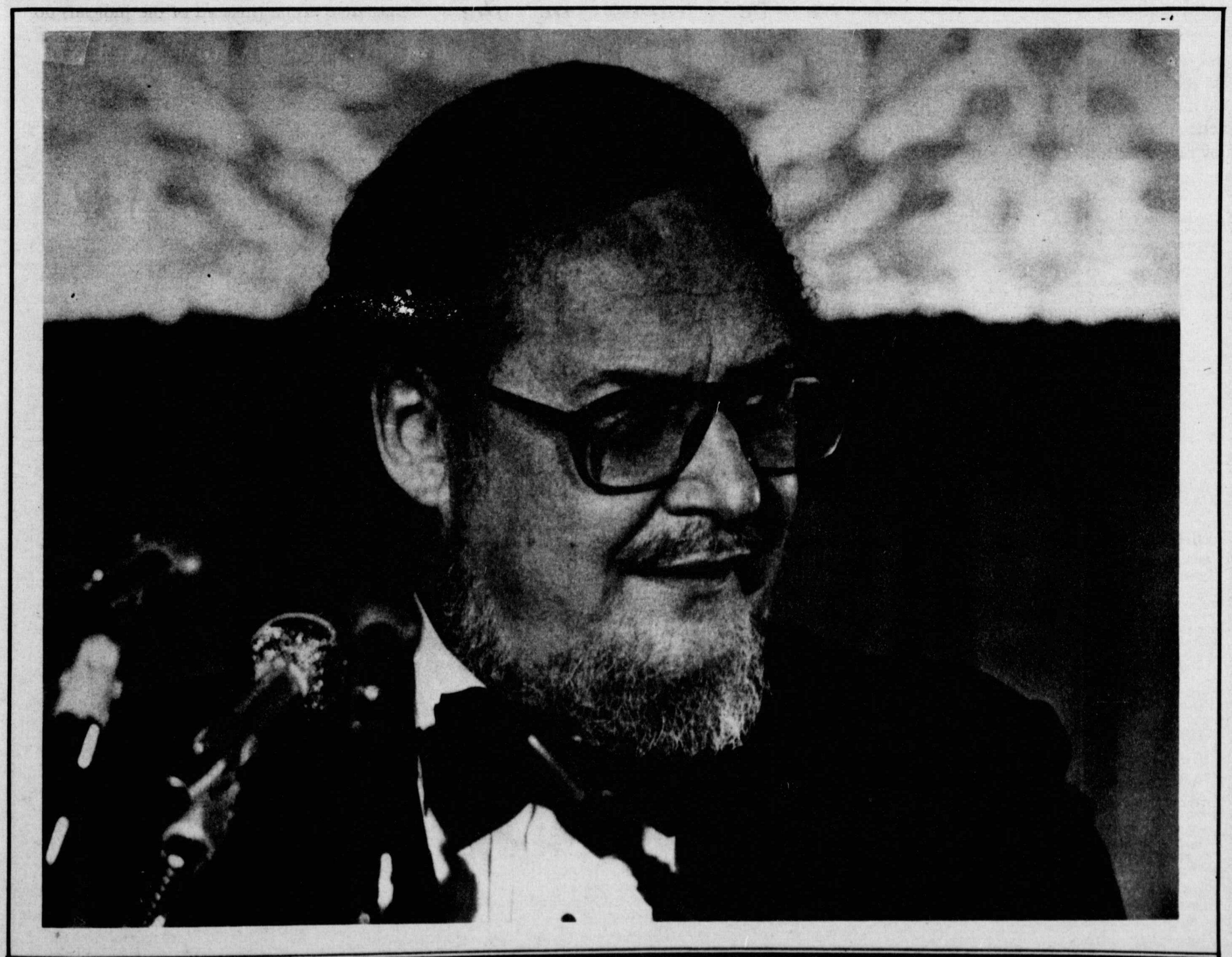
CR: What was your reaction to the recent decision allowing more state regulation of abortion?

BORK: Well, I think it was a move in the right direction, but I really think that Justice Scalia was correct. The Court should have announced there simply isn't any Constitutional right to an abortion; this is a matter for the morality of the American people and they must go out and fight out the moral issue among themselves.

CR: The flag burning issue has brought up the interesting question of where the limits on free speech can and should be drawn. What do you believe is the proper procedure for determining whether some form of expression is Constitutionally guaranteed?

BORK: Well, one of the procedures is to ask yourself whether there are many alternative ways of expressing the same opinion. The Court regularly does that, for example when it says that political speech is the most protected speech; however, you may not engage in it with a sound truck in a residential neighborhood at two o'clock in the morning, or you may not deliver a political speech on television entirely in obscenities, or you may not express a political attitude by indecent exposure if you are protesting the pornography laws. They have typically asked themselves how many alternative ways there are to express that idea and also the degree of offense or outrage given. I can't say that the law is entirely consistent, but that is the kind of way they have gone at it.

(Continued on next page)



(Continued from page 9)

CR: The Constitutionality of the War Powers Act has yet to be challenged. How credible do you think an attack on the War Powers Act would be?

BORK: Well, I don't know whether the Court is ever going to hear such a case. I find it a little hard to understand who would be able to bring such a case. There is in the law a requirement that cases be brought by somebody with standing. It is not clear that anybody could bring a case under the War Powers Act.

CR: Some people have viewed the Supreme Court's recent Civil Rights decrees as rolling back proper civil rights advances, while others see them as rolling back unfair civil rights excesses. What do you see as the effect of these decisions?

BORK: Oh, not a great deal. They were adjustments of doctrine but they were not major adjustments. I think if the Court had upheld, for example, the 30% quota for non-whites in the Richmond Construction Industry case that would have meant that you could impose quotas so, long as they were only against whites, whenever you wanted to, which is a rather odd reading of the Constitution. In the other case people were complaining about, the Alaskan Salmon fisheries case, the Court really just shifted and made an adjustment in burden of proof issues. I don't think it was very significant except for the fact that people will have to show what looks like real discrimination rather than just assuming discrimination. One of the civil rights lawyers who was arguing with me about it on television said that the

terrible thing is that the Supreme Court is treating racial cases like other cases. But in my view, they should treat all cases alike and not make special categories depending on what group is involved.

CR: Finally, do you believe society is moving away from the principle of justice in favor of equality?

BORK: I don't know that justice and equality are necessarily opposed. I think there is heavy pressure in society generally, in certain wings of the society, heavy pressure for an equality of result rather than an equality of opportunity and that is a continuing battle.

By Sherry Lowrance

Today in America, a level of equality of opportunity has been attained that is unsurpassed by previous eras. All forms of racial discrimination are officially outlawed, and we have developed a concerned and informed citizenry. Yet in striving to tear down bigotry, we have encountered a new problem: Reverse discrimination. It originates from a society overzealous to eliminate inequality; thus, it overcompensates to an unacceptable degree and creates injustice and ill feelings on both sides of the issue.

Affirmative action is a blueprint produced in an attempt to rectify the problem of discrimination against minority races and women. In order to eliminate racial bias in the work force and education, advocates argue, affirmative action is needed to create racial balance. The way to do this is to give minorities special consideration when applying to colleges and for jobs. As a result, affirmative action creates a subtle form of injustice by making gender or race a factor in selection for employment, promotion, or entrance into college. To illustrate, suppose affirmative action gave special consideration to Caucasians instead of minorities. Surely it would be branded as a racist policy. However, preferential treatment to minorities is not considered by many to be a form of discrimination, and those that do considerate such are often labeled as bigots or racists. Is it correct to designate one form of preferential treatment racist and another non-racist simply on the basis of the beneficiary's skin color? The affirmative action pushers seem to think so. It is this attitude that prevents us from creating the colorblind society for which we are striving.

Affirmative action not only discriminates against Caucasians, it is also degrading to the minorities themselves. Affirmative action causes both the "beneficiary" and the rest of society to question whether a minority received his position because he was the best qualified or because of affirmative action. This has the potential of causing both anger to those who feel they may have been unjustly refused a position, and destructive self-doubt (even when the candidate is truly the best choice) among successful minorities.

In addition, the notion that minorities need preferential treatment is degrading. Affirmative action implies that minorities need help in order to compete with non-minorities. This is absolutely not true—with recent Vietnamese immigrants providing the most glaring example. It is puzzling why minorities would support this policy in light of its implications of racial inequity (in fact, most minorities do not support quotas).

In response to this, many advocates claim that affirmative action is needed to make up for inequalities in opportunity, namely in education. I fail to understand the rationale behind this argument. If a student attended a predominantly minority high school, for instance, claiming that this student necessarily received a lower quality of education would be a racist remark.

Merely attending a high school that is mostly or completely composed of minorities should not automatically imply a lower quality of education. If the student attended a high school in a slum, then no one can claim that a resulting lower quality of education is because of race. Affirmative action would have no validity unless it was for the poor, instead of for a particular race.

Regardless of the quality of the high school, all teachers are certified by the state as meeting minimum standards. Furthermore, computers and other expensive gimmicks are not what makes for a good basic education. Solving the education problem in our poor neighborhoods rests on finding committed teachers, bringing back discipline and parent involvement, and motivated students. There are plenty of examples of stellar schools located in poor, inner-city environments. But pushing a student who is not prepared into a competitive college atmosphere will likely only result in a waste of that student's time and money, and may destroy his self confidence.

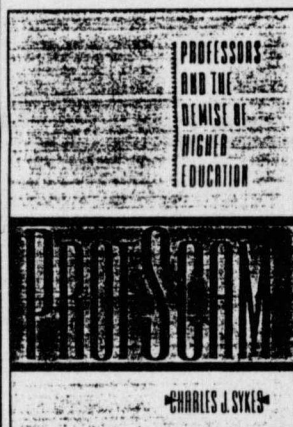
The solution to the problem of prejudice lies not in preferential treatment, but in total impartiality. For instance, college applications could easily be handled with no biographical information such as gender and race. Names and addresses could be handled separately, not a part of the application. Each person would be judged on his own merits, without gender or race becoming a factor. Certainly, most procedures that currently use affirmative action could adopt a similar impartial process. This would insure that prejudice against minorities, or non-minorities, could not exist.

How sad it is that in today's society of openness, people must still guard against discrimination. Racial discrimination is unjust and wastes human resources—whether the victim is a minority or a Caucasian. Affirmative action involves racial discrimination, and can nurture resentment. For these reasons, affirmative action is not the answer to abolishing racial discrimination.

Sherry Lowrance is a sophomore at UCSD.

Three Books That Could Change America

PROFSCAM
Professors and the Demise of Higher Education
CHARLES J. SYKES



"Stupendously provocative and entertaining...an immensely important document."
—The Washington Post

"Profscam is an incisive and convincing indictment."
—The New York Times

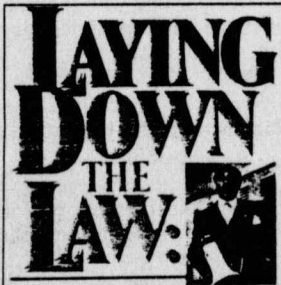
What are students and parents receiving in return for today's high tuition costs? Not much, answers Charles Sykes in his scathing book, *Profscam*.

Profscam documents the collapse of academic standards and the absolute neglect of college students by their professors. "The modern university," says Sykes, "is distinguished by lectures of mind-numbing dullness; teaching assistants who can't speak understandable English; curricula that look like they were designed by a game-show host; costs that are zooming out of control; and a generation of college students who might not be able to locate England on a map."

Included in Sykes' indictment are chapters on "The Rise of the Professor," "The Crucifixion of Teaching," "ProfSpeak," and specific chapters on the humanities, "The Abolition of Man," the social sciences, "The Pseudo-Scientists," the hard sciences "Beyond the Dreams of Avarice," and a call for reform, "Storming the Ivory Tower."

Nonfiction #250 pages #6x9
0-89526-559-1 \$18.95 cloth

LAYING DOWN THE LAW
Joe Clark's Strategy for Saving Our Schools
JOE CLARK WITH JOE PICARD



by JOE CLARK with Joe Picard

"A bare-knuckled principal."
—Newsweek

"If tough love is your thing, you can find a lot to love about Joe Clark."
—Time

"Clark has turned what had been an urban jungle into a disciplined, safe school."
—The Chicago Tribune

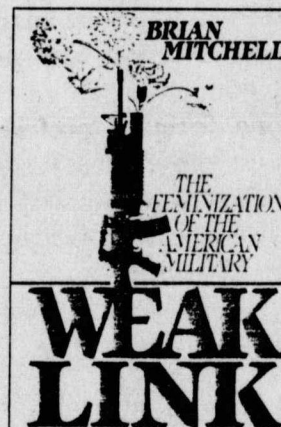
Laying Down the Law is the dramatic story of how Joe Clark cleaned up Eastside High School in Paterson, New Jersey, and how his prescription for reform can be duplicated by parents and principals everywhere.

When Joe Clark became principal of Eastside High in 1980, he was confronted with every form of educational and moral failure imaginable. Crime was rampant in the hallways, and learning was nowhere to be found. Clark decided to clean up the school the only way he knew how—by laying down the law. He began patrolling corridors with a baseball bat and megaphone to protect the weak and discipline the unruly; he chained school doors shut to keep drug pushers out; and he ensured that learning took place in the classrooms.

While Clark's method has been a subject of controversy, no one questions his results. Clark has won praise from former Secretary of Education William Bennett and former president Ronald Reagan. He has appeared on numerous television talk shows and is the subject of the major motion picture, *Lean on Me*. Joe Picard is a freelance writer who lives in Paterson, New Jersey.

Autobiography #208 pages #6x9
0-89526-763-2 \$17.95 cloth

WEAK LINK
The Feminization of the American Military
BRIAN MITCHELL



"Clearly we are moving toward women on the battlefield. As a combat commander in three wars, I can tell you that that would be a serious mistake."
—General Robert H. Barrow, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.) Former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps

The United States now makes greater military use of women than any other country in the world. But has this decision been made with the national defense in mind, or has the incorporation of large numbers of women into the American military been more the result of feminist pressure brought to bear on politically sensitive bureaucrats?

Brian Mitchell argues that women have had a profoundly negative effect on the fighting capabilities of the U.S. armed forces. He demonstrates how the service academies have had their morale, traditions, and standards shattered by women; how the armed forces have been softened by women's participation; and how officers and politicians in positions to know better have capitulated to what is politically expedient, instead of what is right.

Brian Mitchell was commissioned in the Regular Army through the Reserve Officers Training Corps at the University of Cincinnati. He served seven years as an infantry officer and intelligence agent, earning the Ranger tab, the Expert Infantryman Badge, and senior parachutist wings. He is now a journalist for Navy Times, and lives in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife.

Politics #160 pages #6x9
0-89526-555-9 \$17.95 cloth

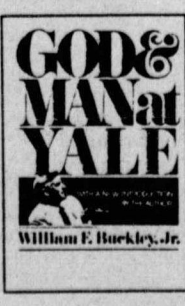
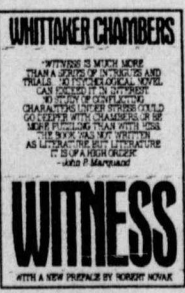
And Two That Already Have

WITNESS
Whittaker Chambers
New Introduction by Robert Novak
This is a book that has changed the lives of its readers since it was first published in 1952. In it, Whittaker Chambers recounts his difficult childhood, his early work with the Communist Party, his later renunciation of that life, the astounding Hiss-Chambers case, and the price he paid for his affiliation with Communism. Whittaker Chambers was posthumously awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Ronald Reagan.

Autobiography #808 pages #6x9
0-89526-571-0 \$21.95 cloth
0-89526-769-6 \$11.95 paper

GOD & MAN AT YALE
The Superstitions of "Academic Freedom"
William F. Buckley, Jr.
A quarter-century has passed since the first appearance of the controversial *God & Man at Yale*. Both Yale University and William F. Buckley, Jr., are still very much around, and the latter at least to judge by his brilliant new introduction (included in this new edition) is as vigorous and irreverent as ever.

Nonfiction #240 pages #5x8
0-89526-697-0 \$12.95 cloth
0-89526-692-X \$6.95 paper



Please include payment with order



SUITE 609
1130 17TH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

Get Yourself the Ammunition To Fight Back!

Whether flowing with the milk of human kindness...

...or burning with the hot passion of Marxism, the liberal left on your campus demands the complete intellectual surrender of anyone who disagrees.

From the faculty member spouting liberal trash who brooks no opposition in the classroom, to the leftist running student government like their own personal charity, using your money to fund their pet projects.

To the radical demonstrators shouting down any conservative speaker they disagree with.

The campus left demands your submission to their ideas.

That's why *Human Events*, The National Conservative Weekly, is vital to your survival in the campus jungle.

In over 44 years of publication, we have earned a reputation for objective reporting of the news from Washington, our nation and around the world. The kind of objectivity sadly lacking in the major daily newspapers, the well-known newsweeklies, and the television and radio networks.

Every week, *Human Events* brings our subscribers stories that others just won't carry, or bury in section 2, page 56.

The kind of news you need to fight back when the left is demanding that you agree with their point of view.

And because the future of America is important to you, you will appreciate a weekly source of objective news so you can make up your mind based on the facts, not some liberal's interpretation of the facts.

And *Human Events* is loaded with pulgular features unavailable anywhere else:

• **Capital Briefs** — inside bits of information on almost any important topic from politics to foreign affairs to legislative initiatives. Probably our best read section, and the kind of information that our subscribers always want more of.

• **Inside Washington** — stories developed from our exclusive network of Washington sources, the kind of news you need to know. Plus analysis you won't see anywhere else. And *Human Events* is often described as being "ahead of the curve" in our coverage of important news. Many stories appear in our pages weeks and even months before the major media pick them up. And we've been told that some reporters from radio, TV and even other pub-

lications read *Human Events* to find out what will be "hot" news in the coming weeks. This is your chance to get it first.

• **Politics '89** — important political races, referendums, and power shifts from all 50 states, *Human Events* gives you the coverage sadly unavailable anywhere else. While not strictly speaking a "political newsletter," our political coverage puts many of the high-priced newsletters to shame.

• **Rollcalls** — complete lists of how your Senators and Congressman vote on all the key issues. An absolute must if you want to tell the true conservatives from the liberals.

• **Conservative Forum** — our "letters to the editor." You'll get opinion from your fellow conservatives, and news of conservative functions and gatherings across our nation. Some of our subscribers have written that this is the one place they can go to find out what other conservatives all across our nation are thinking and doing to further the conservative agenda.

• **Opinion** — absolutely the finest collection of conservative columnists available, you'll get opinions from all the top writers — many exclusive to *Human Events*. And unless you're very lucky, you know how difficult it is to come by good conservative writing on the important issues of the day.

• **Book Reviews** — we give you a close look at the newest books for conservatives, and some that you'll want to stay away from. Don't look for "puff" pieces from us—you know the kind we mean—written so the advertising department can sell an ad for the book. We'll give you the straight story and you can make your own decision.

• **Focus on The Media** — we'll tell you where the other "news" organizations have fallen down on the job and shown their liberal bias. Once you've started reading "Focus" you'll take a much more skeptical look at the evening news or your daily paper. While *Human Events* is dedicated to fighting media bias by bringing you all the facts, in "Focus" we'll tell you exactly where and why that bias occurs.

You'll get all this and more, every week, all year, as a subscriber to *Human*



Human Events, The National Conservative Weekly.

And because we think that once you become a subscriber you'll remain one for years, we are willing to offer you a special Student Introductory Rate of only \$19.95 for a full 40 weeks of *Human Events*, over 50% off our cover price of \$40.

We're so certain that you will find *Human Events* indispensable, both in class and out, that we'll guarantee your satisfaction. If you decide at any time that you don't want to continue reading *Human Events*, just drop us a note. We'll cancel your subscription and refund the cost of your remaining issues.

Take a moment right now and fill out the coupon below. In the battle against the campus left, you need all the ammunition you can get.

Special Student Offer!

Please enter my subscription to *Human Events* at the special Student Introductory Rate of 40 issues for only \$19.95. (Please make checks payable to *Human Events*.)

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
I am a student at _____
Please mail entire coupon to:
HUMAN EVENTS
422 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003 LCAI

Reflections on the Celebrations in France

By Brandon Crocker

French President Francois Mitterrand put on a big (and expensive) show this past July 14 in celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution of 1789. Much of the celebrating, however, had little to do with the Revolution, and for good reason. A lot of French think that the Revolution of 1789, which ushered in the Reign of Terror and finally the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonapart, is a rather ugly chapter in French history.

Many Americans, on the other hand, whose historical knowledge is often wanting, and who have reflexive positive reactions to "democracy" and negative reactions to "monarchy," accept the French Revolution as a good thing. Tom Brokaw, for instance, euphorically (and inaccurately) exclaimed that the French were celebrating 200 years of democracy. Another NBC reporter commented how *surprising* it was that some people did not like the Revolution *even though it brought democracy to all the people*.

Americans wrongly tend to look to the French Revolution as an extension of the American Revolution--both were revolutions against monarchies, and both hailed "Rights" belonging to Mankind. In reality, however, these two revolutions were quite different. The Americans rebelled not to gain greater liberty, but to *regain* and *conserve* their rights under the English Constitution which were being violated by the British government. The new

American government which succeeded the Revolution was built on the framework of that which preceded it: The American Revolution was an act of renovation, not demolition. By contrast, the French revolutionaries were driven, from the start, by ideology ("The Rights of Man") to *destroy* the entire existing order, and all those who stood in the way of this "General Will." With no power to restrain the revolutionaries, (all pre-existing order having been destroyed before any other could take root), the Reign of Terror was only natural.

The French Revolution attacked the very base of all civilized nations--the accumulated wisdom and traditions of the country--without which nations are set adrift, without direction or order, and this is why the French Revolution was catastrophic. A gradual reformation of the political system in France, (which already had the blessing of Louis XVI), would have saved France from the terrible destruction and brutality brought on by the Reign of Terror, while accomplishing the goal of representative government (which the Revolution did not achieve). The revolutionaries, however, would not implement the "Rights of Man" in any piecemeal fashion. Everything that conflicted with their ideas of what constituted the "Rights of Man" had to be torn asunder. In the natural hysteria which accompanies such zealous destruction, the revolution easily turned to slaughtering all people (mostly commoners, as it turned

out) who in any way opposed the implementation of the new revolutionary policies.

The French Revolution remains a prime example of what happens when prudence and justice are sacrificed to ideology. No political principle is universally beneficial, and where it is beneficial should only be applied within the bounds of prudence, and not with blind



ideological abandon. Ideas cannot be judged in their abstract forms; historical circumstance is critical. This profound lesson, so eloquently taught by Edmund Burke 200 years ago, is the one result of the French Revolution worth celebrating.

Brandon Crocker is a real estate executive in San Diego and CR's Emperor Emeritus.

The Demands of Democracy

By Jeanne Hammons

American concern over General Manuel Noriega's administration of Panama has ascended to a remarkable level. After sabotaging the country's recent elections, he proceeded to throw away all pretense of democracy by declaring the results void as the official vote tally was too preposterous for anyone to believe anyway. The American public and Washington were even more enraged by the brutal assaults on the opposition candidates by Noriega's cohorts.

Much of the American public has responded emotionally for the U.S. to take steps to unseat the Panamanian dictator. Many of the same people who were contending that the U.S. should abstain from intervening in the "internal" affairs of Central American countries (most notably Nicaragua) during the past few years are now advocating American action to oust Noriega for the benefit of the Panamanian people. What many once denounced as U.S. "imperialism" is now glorified as the "protection of democratic ideals."

Much of the more militant talk, interestingly, has come from liberals trying to advance their individual images. Those who advocating slicing the defense budget by 70% or so have the problem of being



perceived as wimpy, even "soft on communism." Hence, they are seeking to reassure the public that they *will* defend America by censuring a big bad strongman like Noriega.

A student letter recently printed in the *UCSD Guardian* typifies the emotional response. This individual inquires, "...how can the leaders of the Western world sit and watch the fundamentals of democracy, namely the elections, be treated with such disrespect?" I, however, submit that the "fundamentals of democracy" are equally threatened by communism off the coast of Florida (in Cuba) and by the Stalinist Nicaraguan regime under Daniel Ortega--which, more importantly, endangers the security of other sovereign nations.

The underlying premise here is that democracy must be defended. Yet it is no

more in need of defense in a country in which political violence is prevalent during election time than in a socialist country in which the people are continually oppressed and fundamental rights and freedoms are denied to the population. The writer of the aforementioned letter to the *Guardian* unintentionally underscores the point that selectively defending democracy is both unjust and hypocritical. The individual states, "I believe that military intervention is in order. This is the perfect opportunity to show Noriega, as well as the rest of the world, that democracy is something worth fighting for." Why is democracy worth fighting for in Panama but not in Nicaragua? Why not show Ortega the importance of democracy as well.

The author of the *Guardian* letter writes, "Had the general election not been fraudulent, the U.S. would have had no business interfering with Panama's affairs." But is it the "business" of the United States to take *military* action against every nation which falls short of our ideal of democracy? Most Americans do not favor an invasion of Panama.

(Continued on page 15)

Burke, Paine, and the French Revolution

By William D. Eggers

With the publication of "Reflections on the Revolution in France" in 1790, Edmund Burke ushered in a powerful debate, which to this day stirs violent passions among learned men. A multitude of great thinkers and statesmen, from John Quincy Adams to Woodrow Wilson, have felt compelled to take up the argument and render their views. Burke's spirited denunciation of the revolution has served as a bible of sorts for conservatives, while the themes of Paine's impassioned defense are still echoed by traditional liberals and utopian movements across the globe. The wholly disparate interpretations of the French Revolution proffered by Burke and Paine reflect the distinct philosophical dispositions of each man. The debate hinges on the conception of freedom from which each derived his notions on reform, responsibilities, and the proper form of government.

Burke's virulent opposition to the French Revolution shocked many of his contemporaries in England. This is because Burke, almost alone amongst his peers, comprehended from the outset that the French Revolution was indicative of a very dangerous phenomenon. He believed that this revolution, which was based on abstract principles and transcendental dogma, would, by tearing down all existing order, result in the worst tyranny. Burke understood that with the French Revolution the foundations of the European order were at stake.

Paine's defense of the revolution and rejoinder to Burke is littered with inconsistencies and contradictions in his notions of natural and civil rights, in addition to several misquotations of Burke. Paine's attempt to make Burke understandable to the "common man" ironically falters because it is based largely on a misunderstanding of Burke. Despite this, it is possible to wade through the debris and make out the principle canons upon which Paine constructs his defense of the revolution.

For Paine, the French Revolution was above all a matter of principle. His defense of the Revolution centered on a body of essential freedoms termed the "Rights of Man." The freedom advanced by Paine and the revolutionaries was an abstract freedom of essence, not actuality. He describes these natural rights as follows:

Natural rights are those which appertain to man in rights of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the rights of others.

Paine's contention is that man was given certain natural rights from God, such as liberty, property, security, and protection

from oppression, which are absolute in nature, and which cannot justly be infringed upon by the state. His uneasy distinction between natural and civil rights and the distinction of which "natural rights" are to be deposited into the "common stock of society" is rather problematic, yet this concept serves as the basis for much of Paine's argument.

For Burke, freedom was something clear and concrete. Freedom was an historically grounded entity which was based on the genuine rights a citizen enjoys as a German, Frenchman, or Englishman. He posits that "[natural rights] abstract perfection is their practical defect" and that "the pretended rights of these theorists are all extremes; and in proportion as they are metaphysically true, they are morally and politically false."



Another tenet cardinal to Paine's defense of the revolution concerns the proper form government should take. In short, hereditary government is iniquitous and only a republican form is just. Only when "individuals themselves [...] enter into a compact with each other to produce a government" does the government have the right to exist.

In these abstract terms, partial reform is in all cases insufficient. Paine never even deals with the existent social or economic conditions in France immediately before the Revolution. A complete overhaul can be the only course of action. He goes so far as to proclaim that, "What were formally called Revolutions, were little more than a change of persons, or an alteration of local circumstances." Paine is of the opinion that only by abolishing all history, precedent, and ignoring the wisdom of their ancestors, can the French nation return to its "original character."

Burke, however, recognized that much of what we hold to be good, as well as natural, such as families, are not the result of free choice. This does not make them wrong. Likewise, fully representative government has no claim to be superior to other forms in all cases. The correct form of government for a people depends on the traditions that they have built and which they find to work reasonably well in dispensing justice. To Burke, like Aristotle, the "state of nature" in which man is born

into was, and is, political society, and "as to the share of power, authority, and direction which each individual ought to have in the management of the state, that I must deny to be amongst the direct original rights of man in civil society: for I have in my contemplation the civil social man, and no other. It is a thing to be settled by convention." Burke, instead, believes that among Man's true natural rights are the blessings of good government--which he holds to be in conflict with the unbending "Rights" supported by Paine. He sees in the dogma of the Revolution the inevitable tyranny of the majority and the trampling of the rights of the minority.

Contrary to the accepted wisdom of many historians, Burke was not a reactionary opponent to all change. Rather, Burke's objection to the French Revolution lay in the nature and fashion of the change. "Prescription, conservation, and correction should be the guide-words of change." His famous warning that "people will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors" demonstrates his deep conviction for respecting what is tried and true. Change should be gradual, prudent, and ordered. The violent upheaval of the French Revolution, which left no fiber holding society together unscathed, produced nothing but chaos and anarchy.



Since their writings, history has demonstrated the wisdom of Burke's inveterate warnings and the dangers of Paine's brand of social upheaval and revolution. Paine committed the error which often afflicts those of a more radical political nature. In his unwavering conviction of the justness of the cause, he failed to see the potential perilous consequences. Paine's principles may sound pleasing in the abstract, but they are dubious in actuality because they have little to do with reality. Burke was not prepared to congratulate the French, as Paine had wished, because a country cannot be felicitated on its liberty until it is known just what kind of liberty it is. The spirit of radical change, ignoring all boundaries of prudence, is a very dangerous thing.

William Eggers is a former Editor of CR and is currently a Research Fellow at the Reason Institute.

G.I. Josephine

Weak Link: The Feminization of the American Military
By Brian Mitchell
Regnery Gateway, 160 pp., 17.95

By Brooke Crocker

The American armed forces are around to do those tough, ugly jobs that someone has to do, but don't ask them to do anything too physically demanding - they might not be able to handle it. So warns Brian Mitchell in *Weak Link: The Feminization of the American Military*. Mitchell asserts that the large influx of female recruits has caused disruptive and negative effects on the military. As a woman, it was quite easy for me to take offense at this thesis, and I was dead set against this book from the start, so Mr. Mitchell had his work cut out for him.

The book as a whole is a quite interesting read. Heavily documented and footnoted, Mitchell maps out his argument in a straight forward an effective manner. Mitchell's argument is a disturbing one. Upon the entrance of female recruits into the service, drastic changes began to occur. Under feminist pressure, (and pressure to meet recruiting goals for the all volunteer force) both the Carter and Reagan administrations pushed for more women in the service, but in this dash for equality the standards of the military were left behind. Women were not treated equally, rather they were given special treatment. Women were not subject to the hard brutal vulgarities of a drill sergeant but were given encouraging words, their heads were not shorn, nor did they have to meet the same physical requirements. Standards were lowered so women could pass. Women were given rewards for partial completion of major endurance tests as if they had completed the entire event thus devaluation a formally coveted honor. Male recruits had to enroll in classes designed to weed out "anti-female feelings", taking time away from more valuable training exercises. Women who entered the service upon the banner of equality are not being treated equally.

One could argue, and in fact it struck me, that in a modern army where so much is computerized, physical strength means little; it is intelligence, knowledge, and training that matters. Mitchell points out, however, that as the role of women is constantly being expanded women are entering more and more combat type positions where physical strength does mean a great deal. Women artillery officers had great difficulty changing shells and it took twice as many females that males to complete the job. Women in maintenance positions had trouble merely lifting their tool boxes. It would seem obvious that if women could not meet the physical requirements of the jobs, they would not be assigned to them. This, however, is not the case, for admitting this is to admit that women in the military are unequal to men. Military officials bow to a politically powerful feminist lobby that demands that women play an ever widening roll in the

field of military endeavors. (Since writing the book, Mitchell has been ostracized by his colleagues at *Navy Times* for being "insensitive" to women.) What has fallen by the wayside are the standards that ensured that soldiers/sailors were qualified for their jobs.

Women, besides not being able to do many physical tasks, bring a whole new list of problems into the military. Fraternalization between the ranks becomes a major problem. Relationships often result in pregnancy and pregnancy results in the loss of a soldier/sailor for months if not permanently. Many women recruits quit the military after marriage or upon pregnancy, resulting in a high attrition rate among female troops. Pregnancy used to be a cause of expulsion from the military,

1976, a situation arose in which combat retaliation was being debated. As the troops were put on alert, commanders were flooded with requests by female soldiers asking for transfers to the rear. When the emergency was over, (no violent action was taken) it was found that women had abandoned their posts near the border and headed South. It would seem that female soldiers were not bargaining that a career in the military would ever demand them to be in a combat zone.

But even more important than the desires of women is the question: Is it good policy to employ women in combat areas? Mitchell says no. He turns to the case of Israel as proof. Israel is the only country to have employed women in the front lines. The result was total disaster



after all what can a pregnant soldier do? Now, however, pregnant women can't be removed and the military must foot the bill for all health care costs of a soldier who is not soldiering.

Yet, women never have to soldier, for soldiering is fighting and women don't have to fight. They can attain commanding rank without ever having to face the enemy. How can a fighting man respect a commander who has never and will never face the line of fire? None of the women in the military have to endure the same discomforts as a male soldier would. In Honduras, women had television, hot showers, electricity, post facilities, stereos, and trips to town. None had to suffer through heavy combat training going without sleep, one cold meal a day, and marching with a total of 93 pounds of equipment. If women wish to enter the military as equals, logic demands that they be given combat roles.

The question is do women want them? Half the enlisted women in the service would answer no. In Korea, in August of

and increased casualties. The men risked their lives to protect their female counterparts and the enemy fought harder to avoid the humiliation of being beaten by women. The death of a woman had devastating effects on her male counterparts and morale was destroyed. An essential part of soldier morale was fighting for wife and family back home. With wife, sister, and girlfriend dying next to him, a soldier can be psychologically devastated.

One of the less convincing of Mitchell's arguments is that women's different psychological make-up makes them a mentally ill equipped fighting force. Certainly, it is true that in general males are the more aggressive sex due to biological and hormonal factors. However, the fact that women are less aggressive doesn't mean they are passive. Though women are less prone to violence they are certainly capable of sustained violent anger. Yet, it seems only obvious that he who is more prone to violence makes the better fighter. Though the issue of psychology does not present a strong case against

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from page 14)

women in the military, it is men to whom aggressiveness is more natural and thus it is to men that soldiering is the more natural role.

There are places for women in non-combat roles, and they have held valuable roles in the service for years. The Nursing Corp has had to suffer its share of war horrors and these women's work has been admirable. Their mental toughness allowed them to deal with their close proximity to combat zones and with wars deadly affects. Also, during World War II women rallied to the service, filling clerical positions that freed men for combat. Women excelled in these areas, in the former showing great courage and in the latter showing great patriotism. Yet, in these areas women are part of the military but separate from men. They are not combat soldiers and they do not disturb the male's combat training. Women have separate training and separate goals and their presence is a positive not disruptive one.

Upon finishing Mitchell's book, I found myself troubled by all that I had read. I could not be satisfied with my old position



that women should be allowed in all facets of the military. The military's duty is to protect this nation and its interests, that is all. It is not an instrument to be manipulated and changed by any group's social vision.

Women do not have to, and should not, fight in combat. Then, what are they doing in an institution whose primary function is the waging of war? Women if they are to enter the military must measure up to previous standards, but, in fact, they are lowering the quality of training for all recruits as some tests are being removed so women can pass. Those few women who could enter the military under the former standards, though capable of the job, would cause problems in terms of increased costs - need for separate sleeping, bathing quarters, etc - as well as social problems. Though it saddens me to think it, Brian Mitchell is right: Women don't belong in most aspects of the military - they can't perform their duties and their presence effects the strength and readiness of our military. Women cannot demand placement in the service, for it is not a question of equality but a question of purpose. The military is not a toy to be restructured as politicians think, it is here to defend this country. To degrade this purpose in the vain quest for equality is dangerous folly. In this instance America does not need a few good persons, what she needs are a few good men.

Brooke Crocker is a junior at UCSD.

CALIFORNIA REVIEW Special Intellectual's Rate Only \$15 for the Academic Year

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

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

IF THIS IS A GIFT, PLEASE ADD THE FOLLOWING:

Donor's name

Address

City State Zip

Payment must accompany order

FILL OUT AND MAIL THIS CARD TODAY

California Review
P.O. Box 12286
La Jolla, CA 92037



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



(Continued from page 12)

Military intervention on the part of America will fuel traditional Latin American resentment of U.S. "imperialism" as well. One non-violent alternative that the U.S. has employed in the past is economic sanctions. But the sanctions already imposed during the Reagan Administration do not appear to have dented Noriega's armor--though they have taken a toll on the Panamanian people.

Another alternative is that which Bush is presently pursuing. It hinges on the assumption that Noriega is concerned with "world opinion," or at least it will concern him if the U.S. can entice sympathetic governments to exert enough pressure. Yet such a result appears unlikely; Noriega has not seemed perturbed by any international discontent up to this point. Unless Noriega's domestic adversaries rally against him, the dictator is likely to feel no significant pressure to step down.

Bush, however, is not "all talk, no action." His decision to send thousands of troops to Panama, though mostly symbolic, will give Noriega food for thought. It was also a necessary step to protect U.S. lives and property.

While everyone likes to talk, and all strive to pacify their own consciences, some consequential action altering Panama's situation is inevitable. In the meantime, U.S. policy in dealing with Noriega is ironically epitomized in a line from Van

California Review Classics 1981-82

Neil Reagan/Nathaniel Branden \$1.50

1982-83

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

1983-84

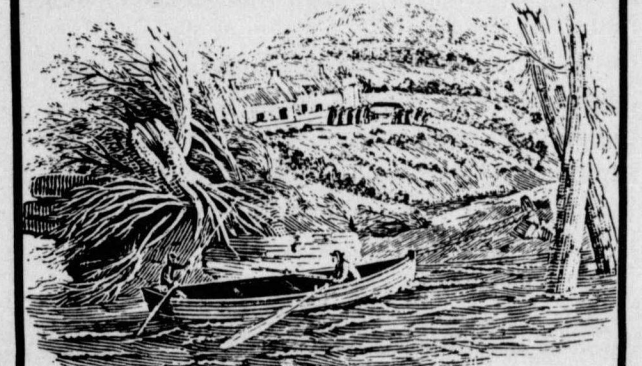
Arthur Laffer/Robert Dornan \$1.50
Jack Kemp \$1.50
Thomas Sowell \$1.50
Pete Wilson \$1.50
George F. Will/Eugene Rostow \$1.50
Bill Lowery \$1.50

1984-85

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

1985-86

Jack Wheeler \$1.50
David Horowitz \$1.50



Halen's non-political song, *Panama:*
Don't you know she's coming home with me,
You'll lose her in my charm...

Such a statement reflects American confidence that it is only a matter of time before Panama "comes home" to democratic leadership, and at present, this end is contingent upon America's ability to "charm" other governments (and dissident forces within Panama) ultimately to pressure Noriega out of power.

Jeanne Hammons is a Junior at UCSD.



<p>"A man who has confidence in the good things inherent in his own self possesses all the necessities for the happy life." --Marcus Tullius Cicero</p>	<p>"Men little think how immorally they act in rashly meddling with what they do not understand." --Edmund Burke</p>	<p>"In order to make every individual feel himself perfectly secure in the possession of every right which belongs him, it is not only necessary that the judicial should be separated from the executive power, but that it should be rendered as much as possible independent of that power." --Adam Smith</p>
<p>"It is part of the failure of the West to understand that it is at grips with an enemy [communism] having no moral viewpoint in common with itself, that two irreconcilable viewpoints and standards of judgment, two irreconcilable moralities, proceeding from two irreconcilable readings of man's fate and future are involved, and, hence, their conflict is irrepressible" --Whittaker Chambers</p>	<p>"We are all subject to the law in order that we may all be free." --Marcus Tullius Cicero</p>	<p>"The knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in the closet." --Philip Dormer Stanhope</p>
<p>"The Purge, like the Communist-Nazi pact later on, was the true measure of Stalin as a revolutionary statesman. That was the horror of the Purge--that acting as a Communist, Stalin had acted rightly. In that fact lay the evidence that Communism is absolutely evil." --Whittaker Chambers</p>	<p>Parting Thoughts</p>	
<p>"The worst thing that can happen to a good cause is not to be skillfully attacked, but ineptly defended." --Frederick Bastiat</p>	<p>"Whilst shame keeps its watch, virtue is not wholly extinguished in the heart, nor will moderation be utterly exiled from the minds of tyrants." --Edmund Burke</p>	<p>"If a man hasn't found something worth dying for, he isn't fit to live." --Martin Luther King, Jr.</p>
	<p>"Do not dismiss the words because of the man." --Confucius</p>	<p>"I am always ready to learn. I'm just not always ready to be taught." --Winston Churchill</p> <p>"Who, if I cried out, would hear me from among the orders of the angels?" [...] The question is as changeless as the voice that asks it. The failure of an age or a man is not to hear it." --Whittaker Chambers</p>

Equality under the Law, Representative Government, Human Rights, Civil Rights, California Review.
...Just a few of the products of Western Civilization.

Today Western Civilization is under attack by students, professors, and politicians, who want to see the rich and diverse teachings of Western Civilization supplanted in our schools with their own narrow and shallow ideologies.

Help Stop the Barbarian Tide
--Join California Review

P.O. Box 12286, La Jolla, CA 92037 Room 213, Second Floor, Student Center
Or Call 534-6881

