

John S. Cleaves with a stereotypical radical

Liberty is not a means to a higher political end.
It is itself the highest political end.

-Lord Acton

California Review

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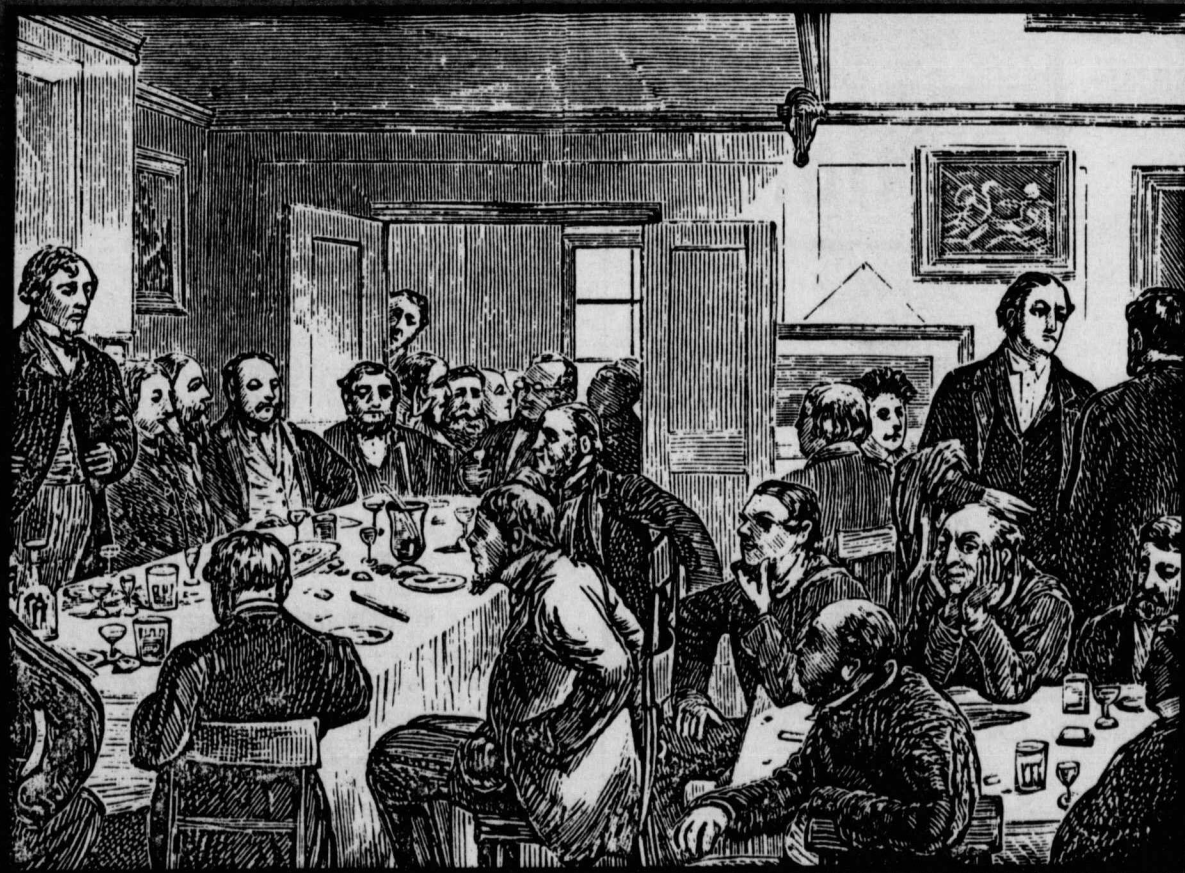
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**Secretary of Education W. J. Bennett on
Minority Enrollment**

C. Brandon Crocker on the Third World

Marty Zupan: a Contra Alternative

Deroy Murdock derides George Bush



**plus: Student Poll #2, the Comics page,
In Reviews, etc.**

Civil Rights In Our Time

by Secretary of Education
William J. Bennett

Recently I addressed the annual meeting of the American Council on Education, where there was much talk about a crisis in minority, and especially black, enrollments in our colleges and universities. Blame was assigned liberally. It was argued that colleges and universities aren't doing enough to recruit and graduate minority students; that society as a whole has permitted the existence of an impoverished underclass; and that the Reagan Administration has allegedly cut student aid. The Council has appointed a 34-person commission, including former Presidents Ford and Carter, to study the problem. I'd like to bring some salient facts to bear on the discussion.

The facts are these: minority enrollments in colleges and universities (including Asian, Hispanics, and blacks) are up 20 percent during the 1980's, to an all-time high of 2.34 million in 1986. Asian enrollments are up 50 percent in the 1980's, and Hispanics are up 58 percent. All of this has occurred during the period in which college enrollment has been virtually steady.

During this period, black enrollments have been steady as well. After

rising steeply in the 1960's and 1970's they dipped slightly in the early 1980's, then rose after 1984. But if we include black enrollments in for-profit career schools, postsecondary black enrollment too stands at an all-time high. It is true that blacks' share of the total college population has declined slightly during the 1980's, but so has that of white students. The reason: increased attendance by Asians, Hispanics, and other minorities.



There is no disagreement over the goal of providing all students, including minorities, with opportunities to better themselves through higher education. You should be skeptical, however, of two false arguments for why minority enrollments are not higher.

Alleged student aid cuts are mentioned by some. In truth, there is no villain here. Federal aid awarded to students on the basis of financial need, principally grants and highly subsidized loans, has grown by 76 percent since 1980—or about twice the growth of the Consumer Price Index. The Administration will seek increases in student aid in next year's budget, including an increase in Pell grants to the most needy students. The American taxpayer has been generous and will continue to be generous in making college education available to all students, but increased student aid is not the key to increasing black and minority enrollments.

Nor is the principal solution a more aggressive recruiting effort by colleges and universities. I believe most institutions are now doing a conscientious job of recruiting. Increasingly, however, institutions—and particularly the best institutions—are aggressively competing against each other for minority high school graduates who have demonstrated, through grades and test scores, the ability to do college level work. For these students there are plenty of interested colleges.

The most serious underlying barrier to greater black college enrollment is the need to enlarge the pool of black students who have the right preparation. This pool has been limited because too often we have not provided black students with the first-class academic elementary and secondary education they deserve. Indeed, in a way the overriding civil rights challenge for our time is this: to ensure responsible, serious education reform of elementary and secondary education, to promote equal intellectual opportunity for all our young people.

Students, all students, learn best when they are offered the best—clear standards of behavior, a curriculum that is rich and challenging, and vigorous teaching. I have seen this proved at extraordinary elementary and secondary schools in disadvantaged communities across the country, from Garfield High in Los Angeles to Garrison Elementary in the Bronx. To offer students anything less is to relegate them to second-class intellectual and academic status.

But in addition to good teaching and a sound curriculum, important structural reforms of the education system are needed. Let me mention only four.

First, permit the alternative certification of teachers and principals. We have many excellent teachers and principals, but we need more. We can attract them by opening up the profession, by removing regulatory barriers that exclude from the classroom all but those who have been education majors in college. Governor Thomas Kean has done this in New Jersey with great success—and with the unexpected benefit that alternative certification has raised the number of minority teachers in New Jersey significantly.

Second, demand accountability. Unfortunately, in most localities today there is a greater penalty for serving up



a single rotten hamburger than for providing a rotten education to a class full of children. We must reward success and penalize failure. Give principals the authority and the autonomy to get results; make their jobs contingent upon success. Similarly, provide merit pay for teachers.

Third, insist upon assessment. We must devise more and better ways to measure performance of schools and school districts. The Education Department has, for example, proposed expansion of one important measure of student performance, the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Without clear assessment, increased accountability is not possible.

Finally, increase choice. We need a system of public education in which parents have greater flexibility to select the schools that best suit their children. Plans that increase choice, such as the plan tried with great success in Harlem's District 4, introduce a healthy dose of competition and excellence into public education. The successes of magnet schools, which draw students voluntarily to unique curricula, are now widely recognized.

We have made great progress in civil rights in the last two decades, yet we have reached an impasse from which it is necessary to look beyond the civil rights agenda. To increase minority enrollments in higher education, we must stop accepting excuses for educational failures in elementary and secondary education. We should begin to act on what works. We should insist on substantive education reform as the civil rights imperative for our time.

This article was distributed by the Collegiate Network.

Letters to the Editor

Letters should be addressed to the editor, typed double-spaced, and either dropped off at our office, Room 212, Student Center, or sent through intra-campus mail: B-023-005.

Dear Editor,

After watching Michael Tuck's deplorable commentary on the 9th Circuit Court nomination of USD law professor Bernie Siegan, I have a better understanding of why KGTV channel 10 does not allow rebuttals to Tuck's invective.

I too would be embarrassed by Tuck's description of Prof. Siegan as being "to the right of Heinrich Himmler," the head of the Nazi Gestapo. Reasonable men may differ with aspects of Prof. Siegan's principled free market philosophy, but to equate such a viewpoint with the murderous, racist, fascist Nazi regime is to leave the world of reason altogether. Fortunately for Tuck, reason has never clouded his socialist viewpoint of the world. How else could he attack Prof. Siegan's misgivings about antitrust legislation by citing the problems of monopoly evident in dealings with a local cable TV operation. Doesn't Tuck realize that the reason there is only one cable company is that government forbids competition?

I defy Mr. Tuck to name a single monopoly in this country (aside from temporary patent protection) that is not protected by government from competition. The post office, utilities, cable companies, and other monopolies are

all given exclusive franchises by government agencies. Try to compete and you could go to jail. Prof. Siegan's free market philosophy would oppose such monopolies.

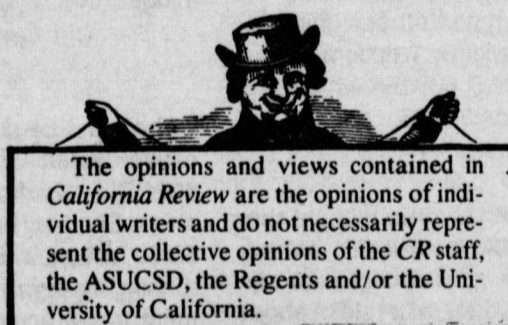
Channel 10 would be wise to continue its policy of forbidding rebuttals. Exposure of Tuck's dearth of reasoning and/or his mindless ad hominem strategy of debate would only further damage the reputation of the station.
Sincerely,

Mr. Dick Rider
Vice-Chair, Libertarian Party of San Diego

Dear Editor,

You all are doing a wonderful thing over there! A few more papers like *Cal. Review* and college grads might (even!) know something about life as it really is when they emerge into the big bad world of everyday existence.

Best wishes,
Mrs. Elaine Brantingham



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

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Imperium et Libertas.



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In Review

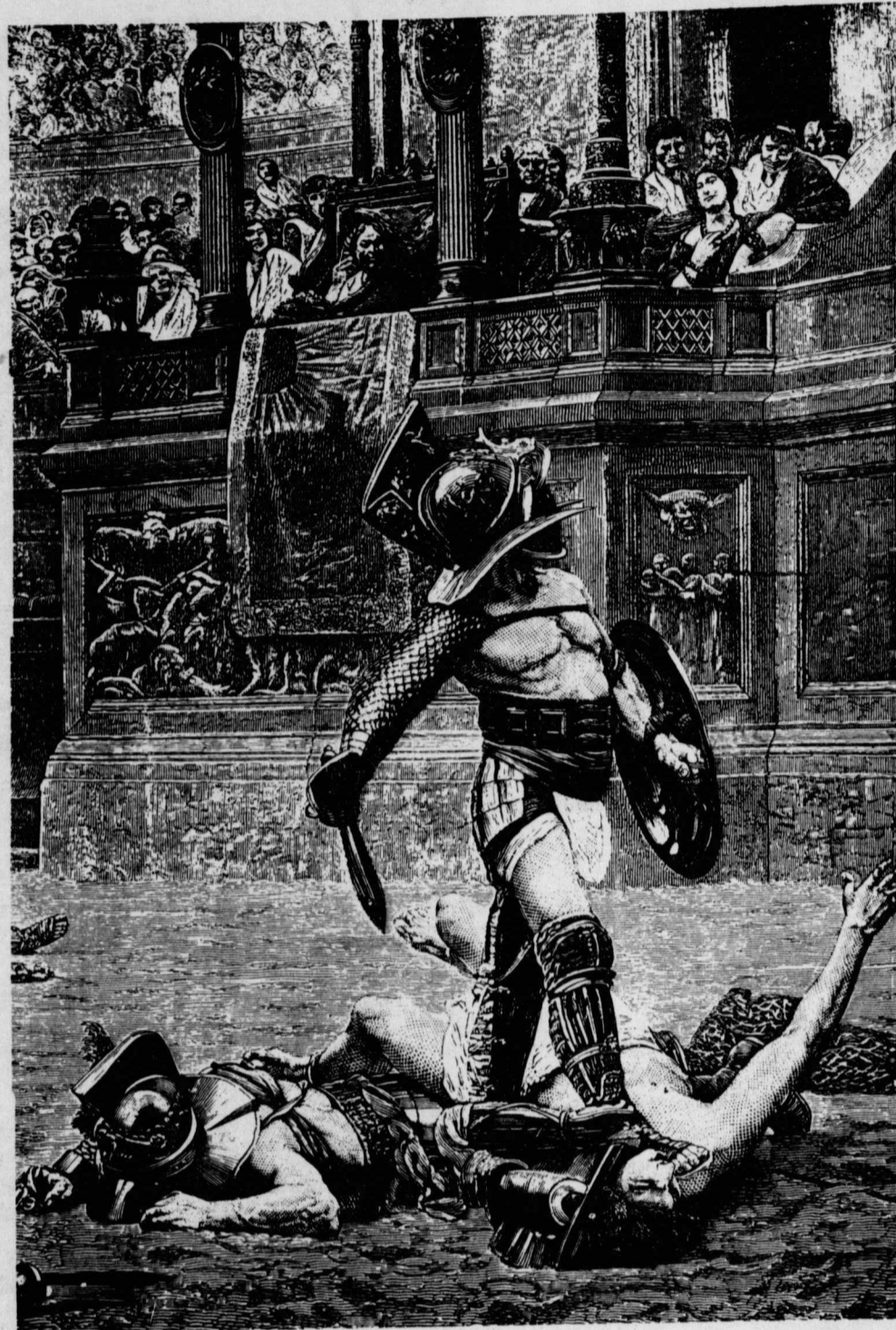
• Some fashions sure to appear on *Miami Vice* in the near future were on display at a Miami gun show two weeks ago. They included hair bows, purses, and even bras in which small guns could be concealed. The event promoter said the purpose of the show was to "show the contemporary woman that she can carry a concealed weapon and still look good."

• From the 'because it was there' department: four men rowed a 28-foot boat 600 miles from South America to Antarctica, braving 100 foot swells, flooded cabins, and even being tossed from the boat (too which they were tethered so that they wouldn't float away in the stormy seas).

• Texas smugglers have put out \$30,000 contracts on Rocky and Barco, a pair of Belgian malinois dogs who are very good at sniffing out drugs and illegal aliens for the Border Patrol. Over the last year they have single-nosedly found over \$130 million worth of illegal substances.

• A bill has been put forward by California state legislators to make the lowly Banana Slug the official state mollusk.

• British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has begun a program which American bureaucrats should take heed of. Tired of hearing all the double-speak and meaningless and pointlessly long sentences bureaucrats are always so fond of, Thatcher's office issued a short handbook instructing civil servants to use simple English and short sentences. The book concludes with a quote from Winnie the Pooh: "Long words bother me."



• University Professors for Academic Order serves as a conservative presence on college campuses. Membership is open to academics and all individuals who subscribe to the goal of

promoting objectivity, the ideals of freedom to learn and other legitimate aspects of academic freedom. For information: UPAO, 635 SW 4th Street, Corvallis, Oregon 97333.

• Historians are not being well-received in Nottingham, England right now. A few of them put together a pamphlet to dispel the myths about Robin Hood, proclaiming Robin to be a common Highwayman, Maid Marian to be from a 13th century poet's imagination, and Friar Tuck to be based upon an English folk tale. Nottingham locals responded by saying the historians should be "locked in the dungeons of Nottingham Castle."

• Representative Robert Dornan from nearby Garden Grove lost his voice recently while addressing Congress. Well, actually the microphone he was using was cut off by a Democratic Congressman who, as acting Speaker, didn't want to hear any more of Dornan's speech against opponents of Contra-aid. Rep. Dornan must have been talking about the lack of free speech in Nicaragua.

• *CR* often presents articles involving major Republican and Democratic figures. Here's something a little different from our normal fare. From the Ron Paul, Libertarian for President campaign, came this news release: Ron Paul, the Libertarian candidate for president, and former four-term Republican Congressman is running a hard-hitting campaign. Ron intends to "challenge big-bank privilege and the Federal Reserve; wipe out the federal deficit by slashing spending in all areas, from social welfare to the Pentagon and corporate welfare; abolish the un-American IRS which is destroying free-enterprise; and privatize 90% of the U.S. Government", among other things.

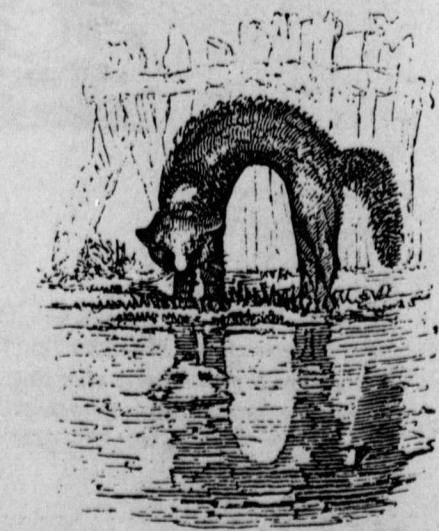
• She must be doing a good job, because Queen Elizabeth II received a \$321,715 raise from the British government. She now has a yearly income of \$8.32 million, which is used to pay for running the royal household, entertainment, travel, and other expenses. One member of the family who did not fare as well was Prince Edward, who dropped out of the Royal Marines a while back and joined an acting company. He will get only \$37,000 in 1988.

• Seen recently on a t-shirt here at UCSD: "He's tanned, He's rested, He's ready: Nixon in 1988!" At least it would make it interesting.

• To all those of you who thought the Sandinistas could be trusted: When the Nicaraguan government recently revalued its currency, at a rate of about 1000 old cordobas to one new one, the U.S. Embassy converted its currency, turning in 208 million cordobas, worth about \$20,800. The Nicaraguans, however, returned only about \$1000 of the new cordobas to the embassy, freezing the rest into a bank account.

• From our Student Poll #1, it is interesting to note that we received the most responses from Liberal Democrats. We here at the *Review* are taking into account all of the suggestions we were given. A thanks to everyone who took the time to return poll#1.

• Here's a real 'eye-opener'. A burglar broke into a hotel room in North Dakota not too long ago, stealing a number of articles, including a briefcase. Imagine his, or her, surprise upon opening the briefcase to find six artificial eyes. We can only guess that they had a look of accusation about them.



Robbie the Radical, Revisited

by John S. Cleaves

"Robbie. Robbie, wake up." The words pulled him from his dreams into the land of wakefulness that he considered such a non-utopian hell. Groggily, he turned to the source of the words.

"What is it now, Angela? You ruined the coolest dream. I was standing in a long line to get my food ration, loudspeakers were blaring praises to Lenin, and I knew that everybody else thought the same way I did. It was great! It was kind of weird though, 'cause I usually dream in color, but this time everything was in different shades of grey. But it was so cool, so real, ya' know?"

"Get up, Robbie! We gotta go protest. You know what happened? We invaded Nicaragua!"

"We did?"

"No! No, not us, the United Fascist States did!"



"Really! That's so cool! They invaded Nicaragua. We'll be able to yell, and protest, and do sit-ins, and burn cars, and . . . and . . ." Robbie stuttered out as he tried to remember all the things protesters did during Vietnam. He so wanted to be just like them, to do the things they did, live their lives, and especially chant their slogans.

"Well, no," Angela admitted, "The U.S. didn't actually invade. They're just in Honduras right now, but it's really obvious that they're gonna do it. I mean, they sent, like, 500 soldiers down there, and, well, you know!"

"Yeah, I know what ya' mean. Lets go."

With that, Robbie rolled off his mattress onto the floor, where he found the t-shirt he had worn the last three days, the tattered jeans, and a pair of tire-rubber sandals that he had gotten at a Sixties revival up at Berkeley. Always the slave to left-wing fashion, he knew that shaving or bathing would be a major faux pas, and so did neither as he headed out the door with Angela in tow.

He tossed Angela the keys to his '68 VW van and jumped in the back, in search of his tools of protest. Rummaging through the garbage collected on the floor he found his bongo drums, a couple of cans of red paint to throw on the Imperialist ROTC-cies, and a hammer and sickle flag. Suddenly his eyes grew wide in shock. There, on the floor of his anti-establishment auto was one of the most prolific symbols of capitalist decadence: a can of Coors.

"Oh, Geez. How could this have happened. I'm always so careful."

"What's wrong, Robbie?"

"This!" he said as he lifted the

can off the floor. "A piece of the opiate used by the rich to control the freedom-loving masses. I can't understand how it got here."

"Silly! Coors caved in to the demands of the unions. It's okay to drink it now, I mean, it's not like it's a styrofoam container or something."

"What's wrong with styrofoam?"

"It's destroying the ozone, of course. Socially conscious people only buy things that come in paper containers."

"But I thought we were supposed to buy styrofoam to protest the cutting down of trees to make paper?"

Angela turned to look at him, a glint in her eyes. "The people have always said that styrofoam is bad and that paper is good."

"Oh. I guess you're right. I must have been confused." Robbie replied meekly as he hurriedly readjusted his beliefs so as not to be socially unconscious.

They soon got to student parking, grabbed the paint, drums, and flag, and went to wait for the shuttle bus to take them to campus. Other students, already there, tried their hardest to ignore the odoriferous duo.

"I hate this place. Nobody's nice here, people never say 'hi' to us. Santa Cruz is way cooler." Angela said just loud enough so that everyone could hear her.

"Ya' know, I kinda like Berkeley more. It's more confrontational, more radical, and most of the people there like my opinions," replied Robbie.

The shuttle soon took them to campus, and they made their way over to the gym steps, where the others of their kind were congregating. A loud-speaker was being set up, and banners with the slogans "Nicaragua is Spanish for El Salvador", "Nuke the Contras", and "America out of America" were being painted. Some people were already playing bongo-drums, and students walking by were being harassed by a couple of guys passing out protest leaflets. It was definitely becoming the kind of protest that Robbie lived for.

"Aren't you supposed to be in class right now?" a familiar voice questioned Robbie from behind. He turned to find his political science professor, who fit right in with his tie-dyed shirt, long hair, and goatee.

"Hi, professor, how're ya' doing?"

"I let class out early today, I wouldn't miss this for anything, especially something as dull as teaching a bunch of pro-establishment kids about hegemony. This is gonna be just like when I was going to college back in the early seventies. Maybe we'll even get in a fight with the cops."

The professor turned to leave, but before he did he looked back at Robbie, raised two fingers, and said to him: "Peace!"

Robbie never had to worry about going to class. He only took the ones taught by left-wing professors, the ones who passed him no matter what he turned in because they knew he was too busy fighting for the people to concentrate on class work. As a result he took lots of political science and

communications classes, some of them more than once.

Suddenly the loudspeaker came on, and an anti-bourgeois diatribe spewed forth. The crowd greeted it with a roar of approval and raised fists. Others made their way up the steps to yell their thoughts, or lack thereof. The speeches continued throughout the day, and eventually even Robbie got up in front of the boisterous crowd of twenty or twenty-five people, and he yelled some things he heard someone else say about an hour earlier, and some other things one of his professors had said in class, and when he finished, people applauded him as the original wit he was. After him, others continued on, yelling the same things Robbie had, until finally the hour grew late and voices tired.

But just when the rally seemed to be ending, one member of the crowd jumped to her feet and started yelling, for she had brought a portable TV in the hopes that the news would cover the protest and she would see herself there. The newscaster was saying that the U.S. forces had been withdrawn from Honduras, that the crisis was over.

A great yell rose from the crowd, and Robbie grabbed Angela and started dancing about, for they knew that through their efforts they personally had forced the evil imperialist U.S.

military to back down. They had single-handedly saved the world from North American domination, and so they partied and rejoiced.

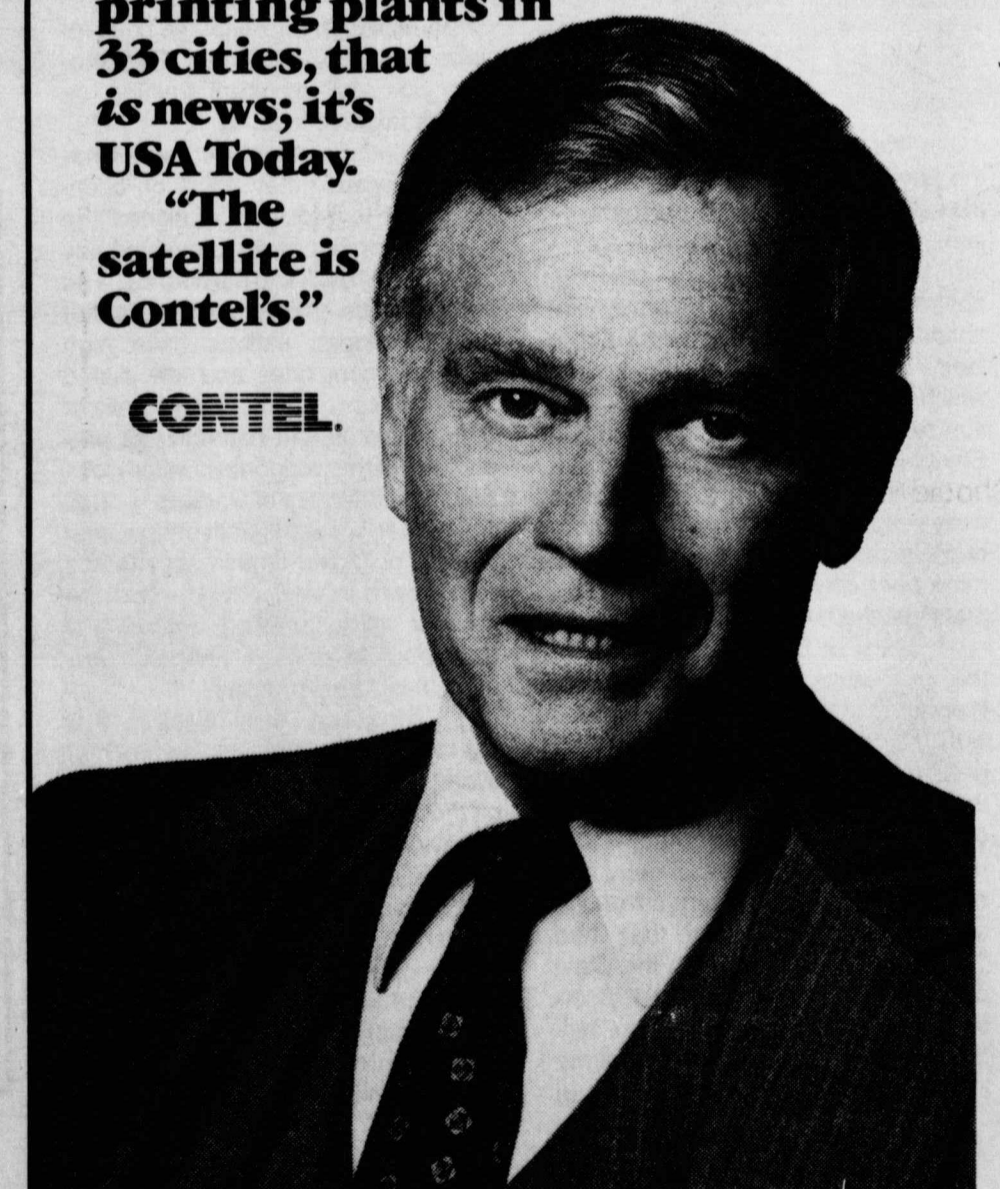
And eventually, late in the night, when they grew tired of being around the others, Robbie and Angela headed home in the van, secure in the knowledge that they had, once again, made the world a better place.



John S. Cleaves is a senior at UCSD and is Editor-in-Chief of *CR*. He also met Robbie once at a party in Mira Mesa.

"To have data bouncing off a satellite isn't exactly news. But when it's headlines and stories and color photos going to printing plants in 33 cities, that is news; it's USA Today. The satellite is Contel's."

CONTEL.



California Review Student Poll No.2:

Fill out and send via Intra-Campus mail or drop off at the office, Room 212, Student Center. Please use an envelope. Thank you.

California Review
Intra-Campus mail
B-023-005

Should UCSD have a football team?

Yes No Don't Care

How do you feel about UCSD's Alternative Media?

- 1) In selection: Too much Not Enough Just Right
- 2) In the spectrum covered by the Alternative Media in general: Broad Narrow Other

3) What type of Alternative Media are you most interested in?
News Humor Political Religious

Comments: _____

Third World Poverty and The West

by C. Brandon Crocker

It is a favorite pastime of Third World politicians to make indignant speeches blaming their woes upon the West yet also demanding of more Western economic aid. It is, they claim, only by reason of exploitation, particularly the ravages of past colonialism by the developed West, that their nations are trapped in poverty. Given that virtually all the Third and Fourth World leaders who dish up these anti-Western fulminations have not extended to their citizens even the most basic political and economic rights, one might think that these outbursts of moral indignation would have little credibility in the West. Most Western leaders, however, bow their heads in shame when reminded of their countries' colonial pasts, and accept the guilt heaped upon them. Though past colonial actions are indeed hard to defend, the developed West is not responsible for poverty in underdeveloped countries. That guilt lies squarely on the shoulders of Third and Fourth World governments which follow destructive Leftist economic and political policies

development in the poorer countries of the world.

As repugnant as colonialism may have been, one aspect of colonialism in most places was the introduction of a modern economy. Rather than "stealing" rubber from Malaysia, the British introduced this resource to the area. The West brought great technological advances to many backward areas (such as the wheel to black Africa). Major investments in economic infrastructures, such as in transportation and communication systems, many of which are still in important use, were made by the colonial powers. Medicines introduced by the West greatly decreased mortality rates and improved the quality of life.

Raptorial colonialism is not responsible for poverty in West Africa where the major cash crops were not controlled by Europeans but by the West Africans. Colonialism certainly has not caused poverty in Hong Kong, the last remaining Western colony of significance, which never had any important natural resources, and which carries the burden of penniless immigrants and the heaviest population density in the world.

Since the end of Western colonialism, Western corporations have received much blame for keeping underdeveloped countries underdeveloped. But Western corporations are an even less convincing villain than is past colonialism. Certainly, large corporations pose some problems to Third World nations, probably the most important of which is how to keep talented business minds at home (but the quality of Western schooling presents the same problem). The pros of multinational corporations far outweigh the cons for underdeveloped countries. They provide jobs and important training, as well as tax revenues.

Some people object to multinationals because they have, on occasion, gone to a country, "exploited" the cheap labor, but never reinvested any of the profits back into the country. The first point this objection misses is that underdeveloped nations have high unemployment rates and low skilled labor forces. Multinationals relieve both problems, but naturally, as productivity of the workforce is initially low, and the availability of workers is high, wage rates will start relatively low, and will rise only over time in accordance with growth in productivity and in the number of competing employers. Development doesn't happen overnight, it is a long process.

The second point missed is that the lack of reinvestment in some Third World countries is the result of policies of those governments, not diabolical behavior on the part of corporations. Policies such as expropriation, import and export restrictions, as well as the existence of political instability, are commonplace in the underdeveloped world and make large economic investments unattractive risks.

The true cause of underdevelopment is ignored by many leaders of

underdeveloped countries and Leftist intellectuals because it is politically and ideologically unacceptable to them. It is no coincidence that the highly controlled centrally planned economic systems employed by underdeveloped countries perform just as miserably as they do in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (or worse due to the strength in many underdeveloped countries of tradition bound or non-material-based cultures, which are not conducive to economic progress). But centrally planned economies have not just failed to bring economic progress; they have led in many cases to economic decline. For instance, Cuba fell from having the fourth largest per capita GNP in Latin America to fourteenth, and the standard of living in Vietnam is now lower than it was during the height of the Vietnam War. On the other hand, it is also no coincidence that countries, and even colonies, which foster relatively free market economies, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and the Ivory Coast, are now advancing well. The governments of these areas have recognized that the secret to wealth and development is unleashing the resource of their people, allowing them to work and invest where they see personal and economic returns—not where government bureaucrats believe would be best for the "social good". They have realized that encouraging foreign direct investment is essential in the process of development, and that development can only be accomplished through the workings of the market and not overnight by government decree.

The plight of underdeveloped nations will not be solved with further handouts from the West. What underdeveloped nations need is to follow the example set by the successful coun-



tries formerly among their ranks. That means breaking away from centrally planned economic systems, opening up their economies, allowing their people to use their knowledge and skills to their full advantage, and fostering a feeling of trust between government and both foreign and domestic businesses. Such changes may not be sufficient for significant development in all countries, as cultures, attitudes, geography, and other factors also play important roles, but they are necessary for it to occur.

C. Brandon Crocker is CR's Emperor Emeritus.

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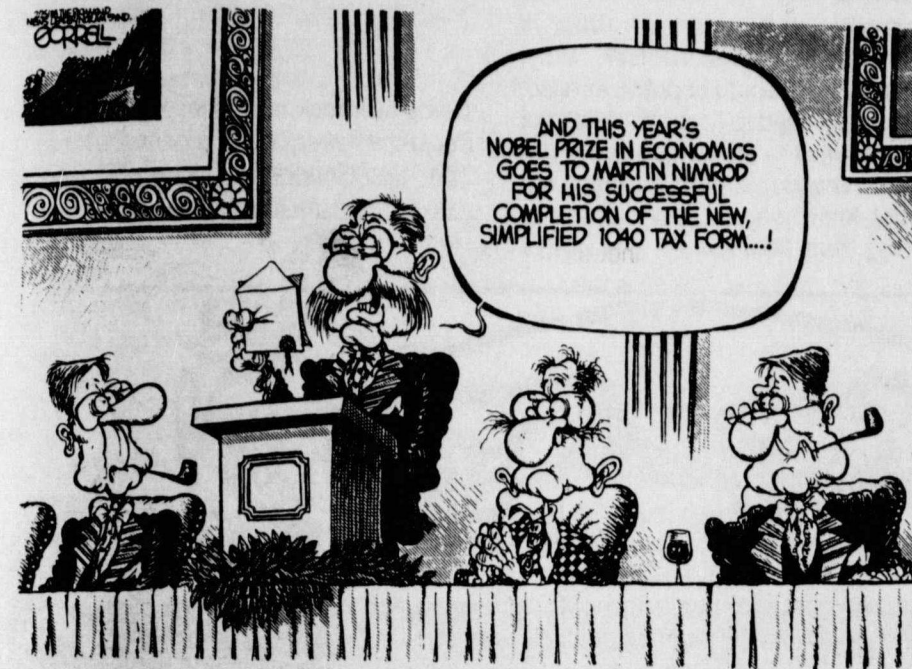
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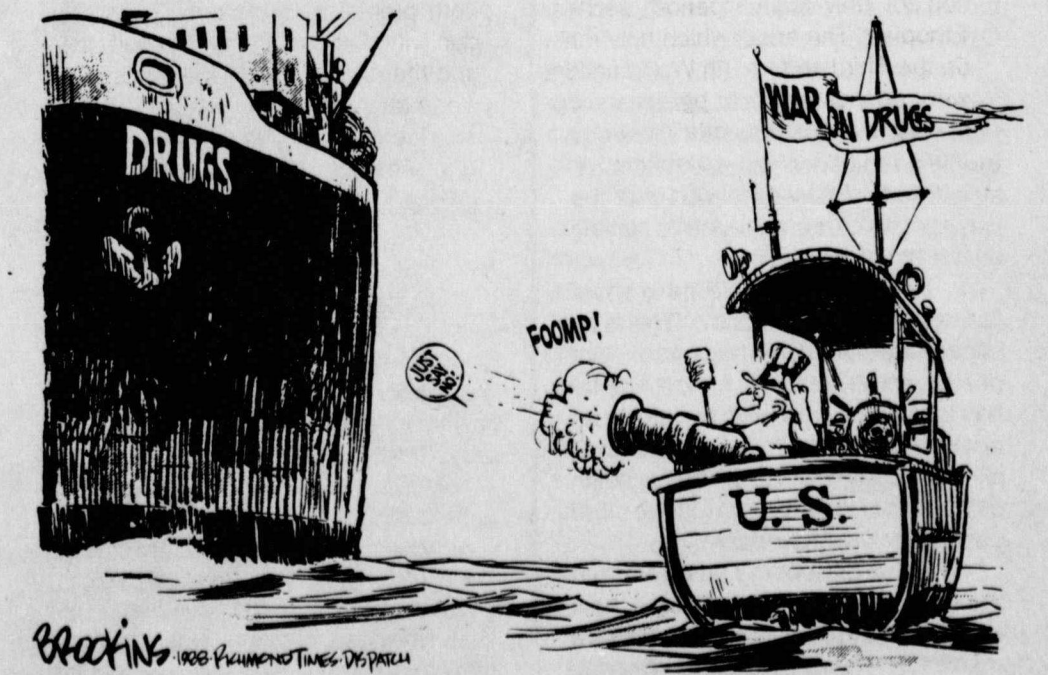
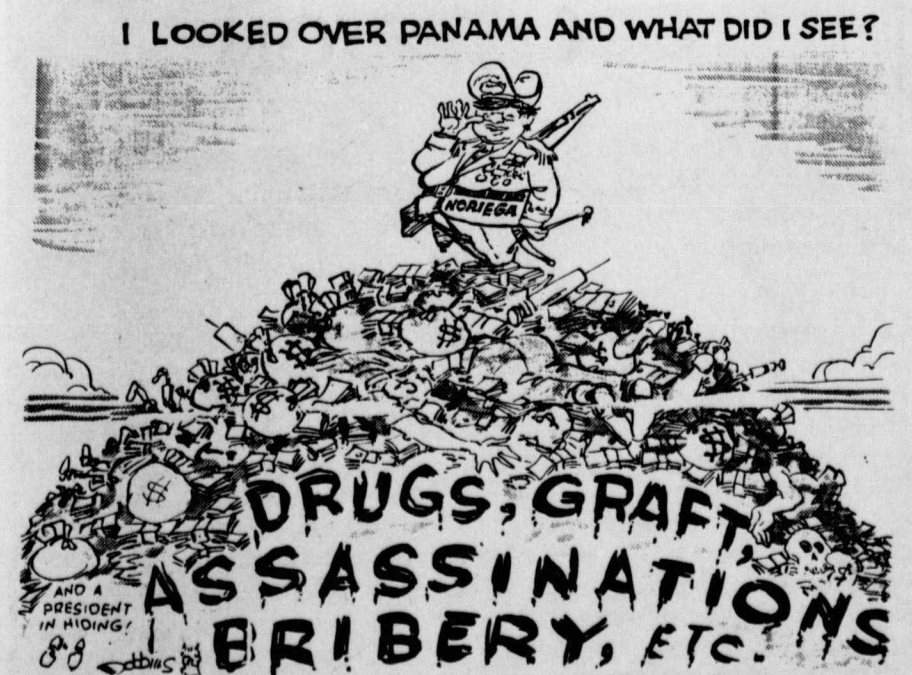
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"IT'S A CONSPIRACY, I TELL YOU... FIRST THEY CENSOR OUR SCHOOL PAPER, THEN THEY'LL COME AFTER OUR BOYS ROOM WALLI..."



Who is the Real George Bush?

by Deroy Murdock

Who is the real George Bush? The Vice President and Republican presidential hopeful claims to be a Texan, yet his private home is in Kennebunkport, Maine. Adding to the confusion, Bush was born in Massachusetts and raised in Greenwich, Connecticut.

Finding milestones in George Bush's professional life is as difficult as pinpointing his home town. His career has been marked by a long series of jobs in which he served respectably but left no discernible legacy of his tenure. Even Bush's supporters find it difficult to name any significant achievements he has accomplished as a two term congressman, United Nations Ambassador, Republican National Chairman, CIA director, Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, or Vice President. Like a glorified Kelly Girl, Bush has had virtually no lasting impact in any of these offices.

Even Bush's personal life is a mystery. His tax returns since 1974 list seven different home addresses including the Houston Club Building in Texas. When he was Chairman of the GOP, he listed his home as the Republican party's Capitol Hill headquarters. Bush's campaign office admits that he and Mrs. Bush have lived in 28 residences in 17 cities. "I'm glad to be here in Texas," presidential aspirant Bob Dole told a crowd last fall. "I understand it is one of George Bush's home states."

"To [Bush], coming 'home' means coming back to Houston," Harold De Moss, a friend of the Vice-President, told *The Wall Street Journal*. Where does Bush live in Houston? The *Journal* sent a reporter to investigate last December.

George and Barbara Bush's Texas home turns out to be Suite 271 of the Houstonian Hotel. When the Bushes are away, which is most of the time, the hotel rents the suite out to other guests. You can stay there for \$403 a night.

The hotel suite, which allows Bush to vote in Texas and tap into that state's huge base of campaign donor dollars, "is an apt symbol of a man with a hazy public identity," according to the *Journal*'s Dennis Farney. He stayed in the Bush suite and found it "blandly impersonal" and filled with hotel furniture and 101 volumes of the Reader's Digest condensed books.

Farney invited Billy Carr, a Texas civil rights activist, to give her opinion on the Bush "home." "How can this be a 'residence' without a kitchen?" she asked. She speculated that the Bushes prefer room service to slaving over a hot stove.

What does the suite imply about George Bush as a person? "This is so impersonal," Ms. Carr remarked. "Not one personal item...It's almost like he has to validate who he is by having an apartment here in Texas. It's kind of like he needs it to validate him, politically and personally. And maybe more personally than politically."

Short of sending reporters into the vice president's Maine home, how will voters learn more about this elusive man? Don't count on Bush to offer any

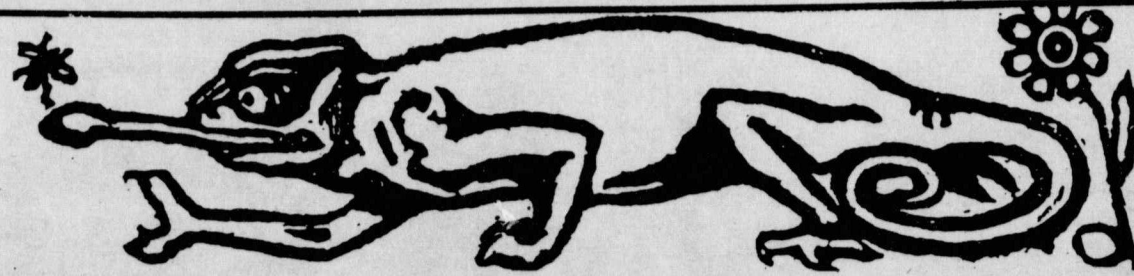
details of his identity. He told *The Wall Street Journal* in another story that he is uncomfortable talking about "all that personal stuff." He says, "It's like being stretched out on a psychiatrist's couch. It's exhausting."

Well, exhausting or not, Americans deserve to know more about George Bush. There are fundamental

questions about the man which must be answered: Who is he? What, if anything, does he stand for? Why, given his long record of public service, has he managed to accomplish little of consequence? These questions demand answers because if Americans do not know where George Bush is coming from, how will we ever guess

where he wants this country to go?

Deroy Murdock is a New York-based freelance writer. He is a contributor to The Third Generation: Young Conservatives look to the Future (Regnery Gateway, 1987).



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by Marty Zupan

Congress's stalemate over funding for the Contras is but the latest indication that we are long overdue for a credible alternative policy toward Nicaragua. Six years of on-again, off-again funding has satisfied no one—not conservatives who worry about Nicaragua becoming another Cuba nor liberals who are upset about our attempting to overthrow an admittedly undemocratic government.

We need an alternative that Americans can unite behind. While such a plan would not attempt to topple the regime in Nicaragua, neither would it rely on "defending our country only at the Mexican border."

1. First of all, tell Daniel Ortega exactly what we view as a clear and present danger to our national security interests in Central America. Examples probably include the introduction of high performance MiG aircraft, invasion of another country, attempts to jeopardize the Panama Canal, and surely Soviet basing of missiles and submarines. Make the list specific and the items verifiable. Be prepared to use U.S. air and naval power to enforce the limits.

2. Make Soviet military aid to the Sandinistas a priority issue in negotiations with the Soviets. Moscow is providing about \$1.5 billion a year in aid to Nicaragua—over 90 percent of it military. Our method of dealing with this has been to raise the cost of Soviet assistance via the Contras—an indirect strategy paid for not only in U.S. tax dollars but in Nicaraguan lives.

This is not a dispute between the United States and Nicaragua. It is between the U.S. and the Soviets. So let's force their hand on this item as a condition of our even coming to the

bargaining table on strategic nuclear forces or whatever.

3. Discontinue all government assistance to the Contras. Aid to resistance movements is fraught with difficulties: the government risks creating permanent dependents, and it has no

same footing as the Sandinistas, who are beneficiaries of U.S. citizens' donation of funds, medicine, and other goods, including their own labor (and for all we know, arms).

At the same time, establish a clear, well-publicized, and enforce-



special ability to pick winners. Success probably requires secrecy, inimical to a free society. And if the movement appears successful, as we're discovering now in Afghanistan, there are intractable problems with when to cut off aid and what responsibility we bear for the regime that comes to power.

In addition, our history of intervention in Central America gives someone like Ortega a rhetorical edge. Cutting off government funding for the Contras would remove this excuse for the Sandinistas' military buildup and insistence on dictatorial powers.

4. Allow any and all private aid to the Contras. This will put them on the

able prohibition on any government officials soliciting money for the Contras or funneling arms to them. Americans should be free to express moral outrage over the Sandinistas' oppressive regime, but the U.S. government should be kept out of this effort.

5. Clean up our foreign aid act. We worry that the poverty of neighboring countries provides fertile soil in which the Sandinistas can sow seeds of leftist revolution. But we help create the condition by backing socialistic "reforms" with technical and financial assistance.

As David Asman recently reported in the *Wall Street Journal*, U.S.

aid to El Salvador since 1980 has made a shambles of their economy. "It's bad enough [to] be guinea pigs in a U.S. social experiment," complained one opposition leader there. "But at least it could have been a free-market experiment instead of a socialist one."

6. Without throwing our weight around, use liberally the force of rhetoric and diplomacy to support regional efforts toward peace and freedom. Central Americans have a direct incentive to see to it that the Sandinistas don't "export their revolution." That is clearly one objective of the Arias plan, hence the accord's provisions for signatory nations eventually to negotiate troop and armament levels.

This program focuses cleanly on the primary duty of government in a free society: defending the nation. Even though it pains us to see in Nicaragua an all-powerful state more oppressive than its Somocista predecessor, we cannot hope to solve this problem for the Nicaraguan people by the coercive power of our state and still remain true to our principles of liberty and democracy.

And to the extent that Nicaragua is our problem—that is, to the extent the Marxist Sandinista regime poses a potential threat to the security of the United States—we must address that problem directly at its source, by drawing a line which the Soviets and the Sandinistas must not cross.

Marty Zupan is editor-in-chief of Reason magazine, from which this article is adapted.

The Only Real Revolution

by Dr. Bryce Buchanan

Happily for America, happily we trust for the whole human race, they pursued a new and more noble course. They accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of human society. - James Madison

Throughout history, a few men with political power have controlled the mass of men by force. These rulers, who considered themselves significant, told the "insignificant" people what to do with their lives. The mass of people generally obeyed their rulers for two reasons. First, they feared punishment for disobedience. Second, they believed the ruler's when they claimed that God had specifically sanctioned their power. They came to believe that it was all part of God's plan that the pharaoh, or the king, or the ayatollah should control their lives. They accepted what has been called the Egyptian principle: that man exists to serve the state (or church). That whatever freedoms a man had were gifts from the state.

Then, in eighteenth century

America, a group of enlightened men turned the world upside down. They made a government which was subordinate to the people. They said that whatever powers a government had

sole purpose of a moral government was to secure these rights, and they wrote a constitution which was intended to strictly limit the power of government over the lives of free men.



were granted by the people, not the other way around. The government exists to serve the people; the people do not exist to serve the government.

They said that each man owned his own life and could act freely (with liberty) in peaceful pursuit of his own happiness. They called the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness "unalienable" to indicate that they are not gifts from government and may not be taken away. They said that the

This was the only political revolution which was truly revolutionary. It was a total break with the universally practiced Egyptian principle. It offered a radical new political system where other so-called revolutions had merely produced a change in tyrants. What significance is there in going from a Tsar to a Commisar, or from a Somoza to an Ortega? What difference does it make who is pointing the gun? The real revolution was the one which ques-

tioned the legitimacy of the gun.

There have been many two-bit tyrants in modern history posing as revolutionary leaders who in fact offered men nothing but a giant step backward into the role of insignificant people serving the state. Some have been called right-wing and some left-wing, but their political theories are all alike in practice, and the only thing they have to do with wings is that they cut the wings of the spirit of man.

The great men who founded our country over two hundred years ago removed the shackles from our wings and let us fly as high as our effort would take us. That accomplishment was one of the most significant in the history of man.



Dr. Buchanan is an independent contributor to CR.

How Our Economic Constitution has Changed

by Robert Higgs

Today's Constitution bears little resemblance to that of 1787 in its relation to the economy. The Constitution once promoted economic growth and protected economic liberties, but having been formally amended and reinterpreted by the Supreme Court, it now has almost the opposite effect. Besides many incremental changes, two constitutional revolutions occurred, in the 1860's and the 1930's.

The original Constitution promoted the nation's economic development in many ways. By providing for the admission of new states on equal terms with the old, it helped to resolve the disputes over the West and fostered the settlement of the vast interior. Its provisions for security against foreign and domestic threats, for post offices and roads, for duty-free interstate commerce, and for uniform bankruptcy laws encouraged specialization and trade and hence raised the national income. The Constitution made state governments less intrusive by prohibiting their issuance of paper money and their passage of laws impairing the obligation of contracts.

By the mid-19th century rapid economic growth had become the normal condition of the U.S. economy. But under the surface an irresolvable contradiction was growing. The lump that would not digest was slavery.

Considering its importance to the South's economy and the deep disagreements between northerners and southerners about it, slavery received scant attention in the original Constitution. (The words "slave" and "slavery" did not appear at all.) It stipulated that Congress could not interfere with the importation of slaves for 20 years, that slaves who escaped into free states had to be returned, and that



three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in determining states' representation in Congress. The Constitution otherwise left slavery to be dealt with by the states.

A succession of political compromises kept the conflict between North and South from boiling over for seven decades, but finally either the will or the ability to fashion mutually acceptable policies ran out, and the Civil War ensued.

In the war's aftermath the original Constitution was fundamentally altered. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed all Americans, including the freed slaves, protection from state government acts that

would abridge their privileges and immunities as citizens, deprive them of life, liberty, or property without due process, or deny them equal protection of the laws. The Fifteenth Amendment gave the freed men the right to vote. The amendments of the 1860's transferred power from the states to the national government. Though disputes over states' rights persisted, claims of dual sovereignty lost most of their force.

During the post-Civil War era America enjoyed unprecedented economic growth, an achievement fostered by the Supreme Court's insistence that due process included the protection of economic liberties—private property rights and freedom of

contract. Then, in the early 1930's, the U.S. economy plunged into a deep depression. Governments at all levels responded by expanding their power over economic affairs.

At first the Supreme Court tended to resist such measures. Starting in 1937, though, the Court reversed so many important decisions on economic liberties that its turnabout must be considered a constitutional revolution. The heart of the court's new position was a broad reading of the commerce clause. Practically every transaction, no matter how manifestly local, was viewed as being part of interstate commerce and therefore subject to regulation by Congress and its agencies.

During the past 50 years economic affairs, once overwhelmingly private, have become thoroughly politicized. Much of the economic freedom our ancestors esteemed has been lost. Although American traditions and political pressures have kept the government from totally destroying private property rights, the Constitution no longer serves to guarantee economic liberties. Under this highly regulated regime, economic progress has become erratic and uncertain.

The time has come for new constitutional changes. In the 1860's amendments to the Constitution gave the slaves freedom from their masters and the rights of citizenship. New amendments to the Constitution should give all Americans freedom from economically oppressive government.

Robert Higgs is the William E. Simon Professor of Political Economy at Lafayette College and an adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute.

What's the Difference?

by John Sloan

How much is that TV in the window? It all depends on which street you're standing. If you're gazing into the GUM department store just off Red Square in Moscow, it'll cost you 669 hours of work. Just around the corner from the Champs Elysees in Paris, a comparable TV will set you back the equivalent of 106 hours. But on Main Street America, that television will require just 30 hours of your labor.

So, while you're zipping through the channels searching vainly for something more interesting than presidential debates or last winter's re-runs, pause a moment to consider the difference.

The NFIB (National Federation of Independent Business) Foundation will soon release a comparative standard of living chart based on 1986 retail prices in Moscow and four western cities. Entitled "What's the Difference," the chart shows the approximate worktime required for an average manufacturing employee to buy se-

lected commodities in Washington, D.C., London, Paris and Munich and at state-fixed prices in the Soviet capitol.

If it's frozen cod you fancy, then you'll love Moscow. There it costs less than half what it would in Washington. But if you want chicken or hamburger or ice cream, you'd better stay in America. As a matter of fact, frozen cod is about the only food that is cheaper in the Soviet Union than in the U.S. Transportation, clothing, household items and services also cost less in the U.S.

Communist economics aside, let's look at capitalism. Western Europe does fare better, but still lags far behind the U.S. A sirloin steak, for example, means 83 minutes of work for the average American. But in London, it is equal to 123 minutes, 109 in Paris, 93 in Munich and 145 in Moscow.

Time to buy a new car? That medium-sized buggy costs you nine months at your job in the U.S., a year in Munich, 15 months each in Paris and

London. Pity the poor Soviets. It will take the average citizen in Moscow seven years to earn that much.

What's the difference? It's a lot more than dollars and rubles, shillings and francs. The difference is economic policy.

In the past decade, the U.S. has seen unprecedented economic growth. Why? Because American small businesses have been popping up like daisies on a spring day, filling unmet business needs, creating jobs and generating new sources of wealth.

But across the Atlantic Ocean, an economic malaise has set in. High unemployment and low productivity have become the curses of Western European businesses. The cause: economic policies which require heavy loads of employee benefits such as mandatory parental leave, health insurance, plant closure notices, severance pay and extended unemployment insurance.

Is it any wonder that European

employers are reluctant to expand their workforce? There is a clear message for the U.S. Congress here too, as they rush pell-mell to enact similar mandates to appease voters during an election year. The message: learn from the lessons of a failed experiment, don't kill the entrepreneurial spirit for the sake of political expediency.

Ever wonder why you rarely see photos of Russians wearing blue jeans? For a copy of the chart, send one dollar to the NFIB Foundation, P.O. Box 7515, San Mateo, CA 94403.

John Sloan is President of the National Federation of Independent Business. ©NFIB 1988.



James Andrews - Defender of Freedom

Darwin Socialism

by Kerry J. Joyce

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And Russia's Pepsi free will evolve
Into our more equivalent

While those that thought what was needed
For the USSR to be free
Was the Warren Court there to be heeded
With their state run economy

Think oppression with privatization
Is a great leap sideways to praise
Though Glasnost means revitalization
Through a junta like Paraguay's

But don't daily confuse them with facts
The appease movement won't be assuaged
At all costs tensions must be relaxed
People's fascism is all the rage

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Kerry J. Joyce is an independent contributor.



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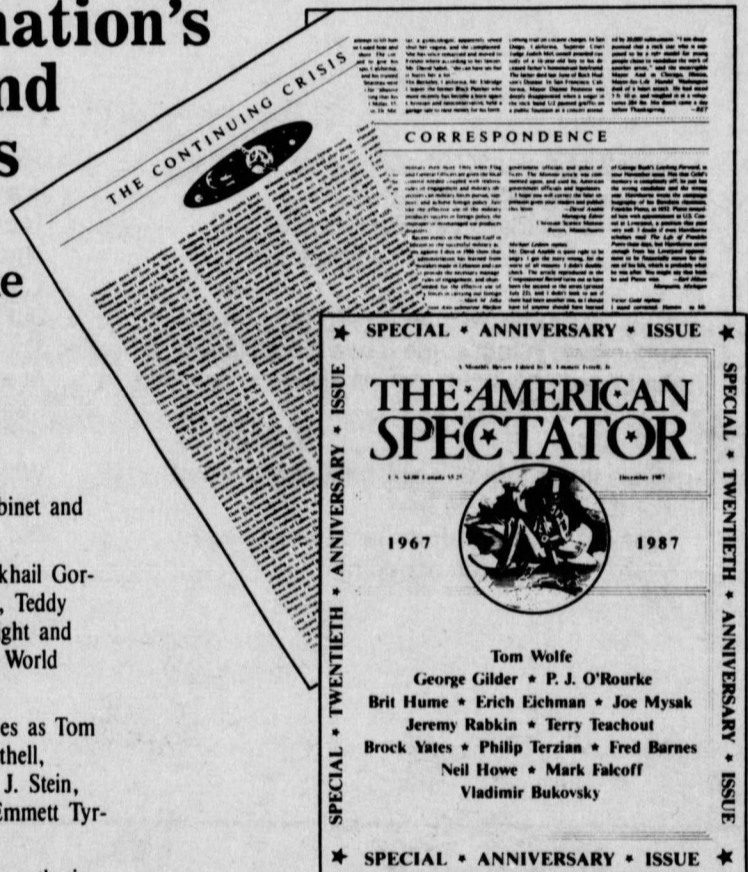
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