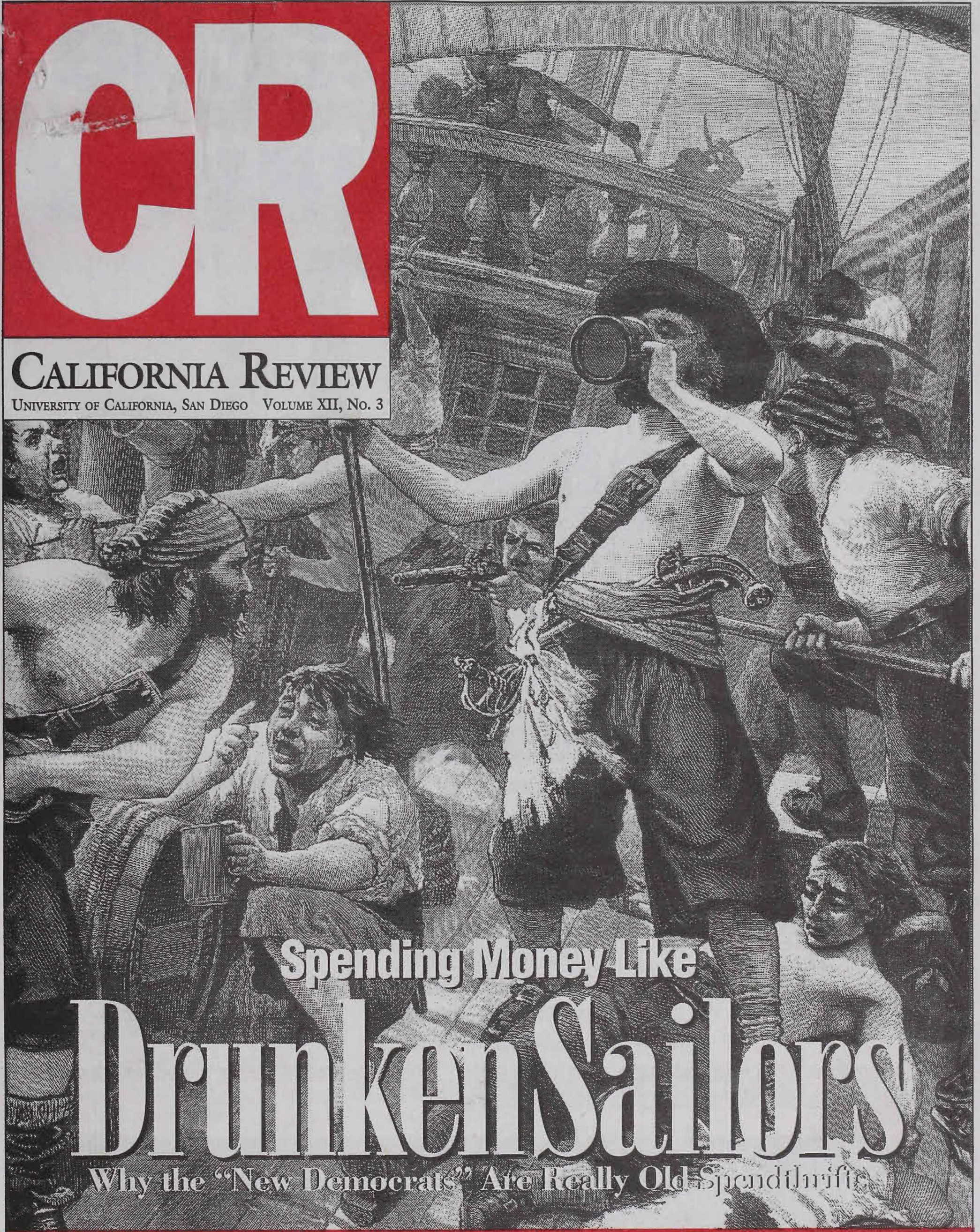


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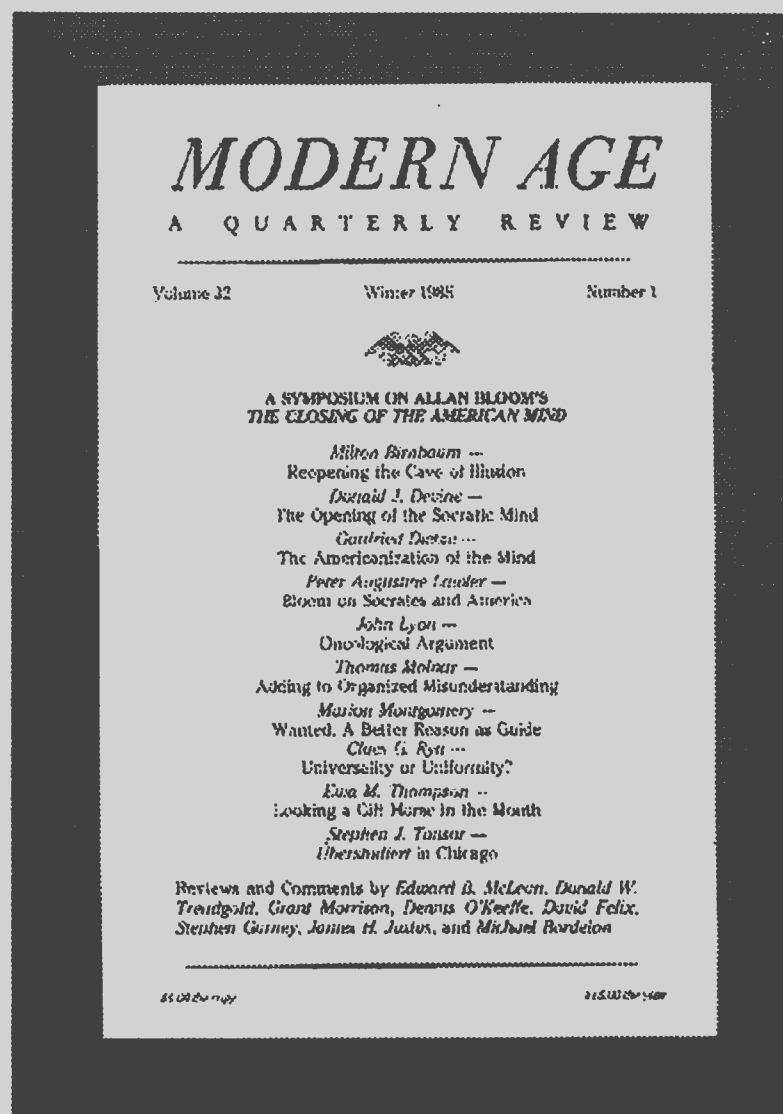
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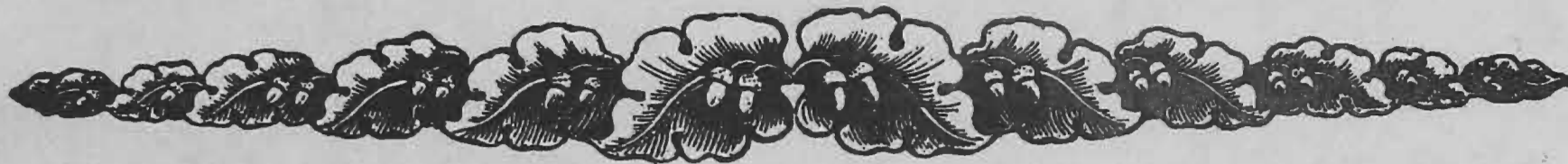
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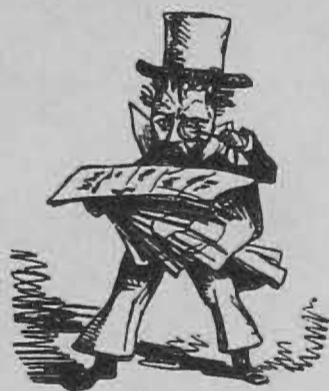
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Our essay winner describes the future of America and the nature of freedom in three futuristic novels. According to Mr. Dingleline, the Orwellian state is not as far away as we might like to think. But he has some suggestions on how to avoid such a grim future.

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From the Pen of the Editor:

This issue of the *California Review* is dedicated to the *Prospectus*, one of the other student publications at UCSD. Or rather, it is dedicated to clearing up some of the claims and clichés of UCSD's newest campus political magazine.

For those who attend UCSD, the *Prospectus* will already be known to them. For those who read these pages regularly, the dedication of an issue of the *Review* to another campus publication will require some explanation.

The *Prospectus* is published by the College Democrats, who in euphoria after Mr. Clinton's win diverted their energies to furthering The Cause at UCSD. We have no complaint about the magazine except that it accepts much of the common wisdom about conservatism and the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

It is clear that the campaign of 1992 ended not with a mandate, but with a repudiation of those policies enacted by George Bush in the economic realm. Congress had free reign during the Bush presidency and, as any member of the Right will tell you, the policies that issued forth did not represent the ideas and optimism of American conservatism.

It has become almost an irrefutable myth, however, that the last 12 years were the source of America's economic woes. The *Prospectus* represents the small arm of the administration that now perpetuates this propaganda without pause for air.

We are informed, for instance, that during the last 12 years American social spending was gutted while defense spending was increased to the point that the deficit was transmogrified into a behemoth of truly mythical proportions. Social spending was not cut and only the most ardent of Democrats will suggest that defense *alone* created the deficit.

Such untruths and political propaganda further contend that American "government is not doing enough," e.g. we need national health insurance.

Thus, we inaugurate in this issue Right Data, which will attempt to dispel the smoke and mirror ideas of the Left. Certain statistics it is believed belie the assertions of Democrats. For instance, since the 1960s the money spent on welfare has been nothing less than \$3.5 trillion — and one must eventually wonder where this money has gone.

We hear little about the actual requests of Ronald Reagan's budgets — as if every move

by the Great Communicator was passed over a reluctant Congress cringing at the thought of deficits. And we hear even less about the one great constant in America's ever rising debt: the United States Congress.

George Bush, whose presidency really ended with the budget agreement of 1990, was more a primer for the Clinton administration than the reign of any true believer conservative. Under Bush, spending for children's programs increased 67 percent. Federal aid to states and cities increased 60 percent. Spending on education and training was increased by 16 percent. Nutrition funding increased 72 percent. And research and development funding was increased 20 percent.

This would make even the most bloated Keynesian say, "Enough!" These higher taxes and spendthrift policies by Congress are the cause of our increased debt and sluggish economy. And it also marked the beginning of the Bush-Clinton era.

For this reason, we interview in this issue Marlo Lewis of Citizens Against Government Waste. It is hoped that readers of the *Prospectus* and any other thoughtful citizen who wishes to discover the facts will read the conversation with Mr. Lewis. It is loaded with engaging and relevant information.

I counsel the reader to persevere in what looks like a dauntingly informed and lengthy interview for the rewards are worthwhile.

Mr. Lewis is a gifted speaker on the subjects of the deficit and government waste. With the continued growth of the deficit, there seems implicit in the Democratic jeremiads, the unavoidable suggestion of more taxes. Clearly this is not our problem, and real change will eventually have to come in the form of spending cuts and reforms in Congress.

And I mean by this real spending cuts not fee increases, sur taxes, or new taxes masked as government cuts. But all of this will become all too real in the next few months as Mr. Clinton's policies take their grim affect on the United States.

With Mr. Lewis loyal Review readers will see conservatism at its best: optimistic, informed, and hoping for the best for all America. It is not the small, bigoted, or selfish caricatures as most of the media portrays conservatism.

— Matthew S. Robinson
Editor-in-Chief



CALIFORNIA REVIEW

"Imperium et Libertas"

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

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Broadsides...

■ The self-laceration award this quarter goes to the magazine *Alternative Visions*. Instead of giving coherent and intelligent exposition of the challenges to the distaff side, AV wallows in contempt, self-loathing, and vague criticisms of the patriarchy.

• In this year's issue (Spring 93), the magazine featured graphic photographs of mastectomies. The explanation given by Ms. Deborah Wain represents a new and creative non-sequitur even for radical feminists. She writes, "The traumatic bodily experience of mastectomy is matched by the stripping away of a women's sexuality before patriarchy's distorted look" (pp.16-17). What is before the patriarchy's "distorted look"? Movies, of course. But instead of substantive criticism of the filth in Hollywood the reader is left wondering what it is exactly that bothers Ms. Wain.

• Ms. Suzanne Scarboro, "After all, I am here, reaping the cream of my parents' white suburban middle-class ideologies and being white-educated so I can be well equipped to exploit people if need be. I don't even know where to start about how it fits into all the contradictions I am now recognizing in my life" (p.12). One wonders why she even gets up in the morning to protest.

AV is concerned more with feeling than thought. What are serious questions do not have any serious suggestions except implicitly flirting with revolution and outbursts of rage and hatred. It really gives girl talk a bad name.

■ Bad philosophy raging in the *new indicator!*

• It seems that one Mr. Stephen De Voy has decided to make the sophisticatedly inane a modus operandi. In "Celebrating Meaningless: The Beauty of Nihilism" (vol. 18, no. 4) he writes, "So, God's dead. The stench of His rotten body wafts northward from the Tijuana River Basin. The evidence of His departure abounds.



Without His holy presence, the lights of Heaven have dimmed.... Without an external arbiter of Truth, where do we turn? Do we turn to science? Do we turn inward? Without God, can we find meaning?"

"Ultimately, there is no meaning to find. Even if it had an objective existence, we could never verify it. Our only hope is to construct it" (p.14).

Stop. Please stop! Well, Mr. De Voy is wrong. There is certainly a world independent of the mind — not just its subjective constructions—because many times before I have wished Mr. De Voy would prove the possibility of his non-being, or at least cease completely these puerile and shallow truncations he thinks is philosophizing. And yet he continues.

Mr. De Voy is what Plato warned against in the *Republic*. Give philosophy to boys when they are too young and they will gnaw everything like puppy dogs. He glibly elides the great dilemma of nihilism, proving he is less philosopher than street mountebank who happens to sit in on an occasional philosophy class.

■ A new magazine has begun at UCSD, known as the *Prospectus*. It is published by

the College Democrats. Among the notable entries is Mr. Kevin Bernston elevating the level of political debate everywhere with "What's in a name?" (Vol. 1, no. 2, p.20):

• "The point I'm futilely trying to convey is how utterly pointless it is to ridicule other labels. What's the point. I, for one, get little joy out of calling a conservative a 'fascist scumbag,' with the possible exception of Bruce Herschensohn." That wasn't very nice.

• Then Mr. Bernston gets a thinkin': "In fact, I'm personally convinced that each of us has a little of every political upbringing, and therefor [sic] we're only putting ourselves down by ridiculing others." Well, now that was much more civilized — albeit a little Shirley MacClainish.

• But then why does he conclude his article with the following?

"All you bleeding hears [sic], all you whining liberals, all you pinkos and communist pigs, fear not. Ignore the name calling. History places the Pat Buchanans and the Dan Quayles and the Rushheads in the proper perspective. We must resolve to rise above, so we too will be judged in a proper light. After all, we're right and they're wrong. Damn fascists."

Perhaps, this is Mr. Bernston's attempt at satire. (And we are being very understanding.) Satire is probably the hardest form of writing to master. It takes skill, knowledge of one's readers, tact, and most of all subtle intelligence or it fails miserably. QED.

• Another favorite author of ours is Mr. Fred Rogers who is no doubt competing for the coveted title of Clinton Apologist of the Year. You have our vote, Fred. Mr. Rogers has much in common with his television namesake, the beloved host of a children's program.

Both Mr. Rogers and his television counterpart use simple words and spend far too much time in the Land of Make Believe.

Right Data...

Editor's Note: This new section is dedicated to clearing up some statistics misused by the Clinton administration. We do not apologize for being right.

■ **Squeezing the Rich** — President Clinton recently promised to sock it to the richest Americans before he socks it to the middle class, because they were the ones who benefited the most from the profligate 1980s. Contrary to popular belief, however, the rich were paying more in federal taxes in 1990 than in 1980, measured as a percentage of federal individual income taxes. In 1990, the richest 5% of Americans (adjusted gross income of \$80,867 or more) paid 42.9% of all federal individual income taxes, compared with 36.4% in 1980. The richest 10% (adjusted gross income of \$63,818 or more) paid 53.9%, compared with 48.6% in 1980. Contrasting this is the tax burden of the poorest 50% of Americans, which decreases from 7.4% in 1980 to 6.2% in 1990.

■ **Squeezing the Rest** — The combined federal, state, and local tax bite has increased 85% over the past ten years, to an estimated \$1.781 trillion for 1992. This works out to a 6.4% average annual growth, or put another way, 2.6 times faster than real personal income, 1.6 times faster than the Consumer Price Index, and 2.4 times faster than the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Who saw their taxes increase the most over this period? Greedy corporations, who saw their taxes increase 126.1% over the same ten year period. Next in line are Social Security taxes (up 103.4%), property and estate taxes (up 97.5%), sales and indirect business taxes (up 93.5%), state taxes (up 93.2%), and federal taxes (up 80.8%).

■ **Completely Wrong** — Reports of the decline in American productivity



have been greatly exaggerated. When adjusted for differences in purchasing power, the value-added per hour worked in the business sector as a whole in the US is the highest in the world, with French and German productivity at 15% below America's. British productivity is 27% lower, and Japanese productivity is a whopping 42% lower. While factory workers in Germany and Japan are 80% as productive as their US counterparts, Americans employed in the service sector are twice as productive as anyone else. This is especially important since the service sector employs 75% of the labor force. And why is America so far ahead in service productivity?

According to the McKinsey study, government deregulation, strong competition, and flexible labor markets were cited as the primary reasons, with investment in high technology having only a minor effect. As usual, the federal government has swung into action in hopes of reversing the trend. The Office of Management and Budget estimates that the private sector spent five billion hours in 1990 to comply with government paperwork requirements, nine billion if you include tax

compliance. At an estimated \$20 an hour, this works out to an extra \$180 billion in indirect taxes on business that year.

■ **Wrong Again** — The myth of declining US productivity goes hand in hand with the myth of declining US manufacturing. When adjusted for inflation, manufacturing output increased by 40% during the 1980s, with manufacturing's share of GNP increasing from 21% to 22.6%. True, the number of manufacturing jobs fell, but this was due to greater worker productivity. In fact, productivity growth during the '80s was almost twice that of the '70s. Maybe the Democrats shouldn't be as keen for increasing productivity as they seem to be.

■ **Deficits, Spending, and Congress, Oh My!** — Official Democratic Reality maintains that the large deficits of the '80s were caused by the Reagan tax cuts. Looking at federal revenues and expenditures as a percentage of GDP however, indicates that the increasing deficit is due almost entirely to the rise in spending. Since 1964, revenues have averaged 18.6% of GDP, with the annual figures ranging from a low of 17.4% to a high of 20.1%. After the '83 tax cuts, revenue held at 18.1%, and was equal to the historical average (18.6%) in 1992. Spending, on the other hand, has increased from 17.6% of GDP in 1965, to a high of 24.3% in 1983, dropped to 21.7% in 1989, and then moved back up to 23.5% for 1992. Conclusion: over the past 28 years, revenues have remained essentially constant as a share of GDP, but spending has increased by over a third. Incidentally, after the 1990 budget deal (which the Clinton plan is frightfully similar to), the deficit increased from 3.1% of GDP in 1990, to 5% in 1992.

— Compiled by Mike Nolte

ESSAY WINNER



THE DRUG CULTURE, THE MODERN MEDIA,
AND HUMAN DIGNITY

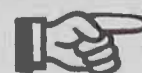
Huxley's Prophecy And The Future Of Man

B y B r i a n D i n g l e d i n e

Last issue, the California Review sponsored an essay contest with the question: Do any of these novels — Fahrenheit 451, 1984, Brave New World — portray an accurate picture of man's future? Why or Why not? Here is our winner.

The nature of government and society itself is inevitably dictated by the character of the people. Just as a totalitarian government will not hold its grip for long over a cohesive and freedom-loving people, as the American Revolution demonstrated, a democratic government will not last when the people governed are desperate and disorganized - as in Germany after the first world war - or apathetic and disinterested. Therefore the question of man's future is not so much a political one as a social one; our future will resemble the dehumanized world of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* only if we dehumanize ourselves. Today this seems like a realistic possibility, in light of our increasingly prevalent flight from the hard decisions of real life into the cheap pleasures of drugs and the vicarious existence of media addiction.

The sense of right and wrong is a fundamental part of humanity. As human beings we are equipped to determine right from wrong from our experiences, and once our personal ethics are established we feel good when we do right and bad when we do wrong. Thus we as humans have traditionally spent a great deal of energy struggling against adversity in order to do right and feel good about ourselves. But with the progress of technology it has become easier and easier to





feel good with little or even no struggle involved. This easy pleasure is taking away from us our dignity and our willingness to strive for success.

There have always been drugs of some sort in our communities, but never before have they been so potent or so widely available in different varieties. Today it is easier than ever to flee from reality by the abuse of drugs, and this ease of escape is reflected in a rising use of drugs over the past few decades. Aldous Huxley demonstrates the effects of widespread drug abuse in his novel *Brave New World*: the denizens of his world are able to be happy in any situation by the use of the fictional drug "soma", and so they have no impetus to strive for or be concerned about anything at all. The drug user can make himself feel good without doing anything besides using drugs; he is thus dehumanized by his lack of use for right and wrong. And the drug addict, furthermore, is forced to completely abandon right and wrong to serve his addiction. This is going on today across our nation, in our ghettos, corporate washrooms, and universities alike, and it does not bode well for our future.

More pervasive yet than drug use in our nation is reliance on the media. The modern-day media provides us with entertainment that can replace real-life struggle in our lives. Today's media is more available and easier to access than it has ever been before; and it requires less thought on the part of the individual. Watching soap operas has replaced the more interactive pastime of book reading, and more importantly

gives people something to do instead of striving for lofty goals; by watching a feel-good comedy sitcom they may be able to feel good without ever making a decision or even taking right or wrong into consideration. The other effect of the mass media is that it controls the views of the viewers themselves, who are given a certain presentation of the facts by the general media and no alternative perspectives for comparison. The floor to ceiling television walls in Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* are an example taken to an extreme of the way the media can come to dominate the life of individuals — it dictates how they spend their time and how they see the world.

Aside from the dehumanization people bring upon themselves with drugs and media addiction, people in this nation seem less and less interested in going to any trouble to even decide on ethics of their own. Perhaps convenience in the material world makes one come to expect easier answers in matters of morality.

Certainly college students today are less concerned with ideas and ethics than they were in the sixties. If we continue down this road, becoming less and less individual or motivated as technology progresses further, we definitely will have a "brave new world" to look forward to.

Perhaps on the way to this future we will make life hard enough for ourselves that we will be forced to put aside our excuses and sedatives and once again confront adversity with human dignity. Otherwise we face the grim prospect of proving Huxley, Bradbury, and Orwell correct in their predictions.

CALIFORNIA SHOULD BE SPLIT IN HALF...

Welcome To California, Now Leave

By Michael J. Malerby

It's time to add a fifty-first star to the U.S. Flag.

No, I am not proposing statehood for the District of Columbia. Nor am I proposing statehood for the people of Puerto Rico. It is time to split the state of California into two halves, and make Southern California the fifty-first state. The reasons for such a split are manifold. For starters, the two halves of the state are different. Southern California tends to be conservative while Northern California is more liberal. Southern California's economy relies on the defense and entertainment industries, while Northern California has the wine and logging

industries. Northern and Southern Californians enjoy different lifestyles. As a result of these differences, people in both halves of the state look negatively upon the other half. For example, how many times have Californians up north complained about Southern California stealing their water? Likewise, how many Southern Californians have griped at repeatedly paying for Northern California's earthquakes?

The negative feelings each half feels for the other was demonstrated in the June, 1992, elections. A large number of counties north of San Francisco had non-binding referendums

on their ballots asking voters if they approved of efforts to split California. For the most part, these referendums passed. These feelings, however, are not found solely in Northern California.

Last December, while hosting for Rush Limbaugh on his radio show, Rep. Bob Dornan responded enthusiastically to a question about splitting the state, going so far as to suggest Santa Ana as the capital for Southern California. Just as it would be immoral to force an unhappily married couple to stay together, it is wrong to force unhappy Californians who supported these referendums to remain together if they would rather secede from the Golden State.

A split would mean more representation in the U.S. Senate for the people of California. Instead of two U.S. Senators, California would have four. In addition, these senators would more realistically represent the viewpoints of their respective states.

While liberal Democrats Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein represent Northern California, conservative Republicans like Chris Cox and Dana Rorabacher could represent Southern California in the Senate. When one looks at the conservative beliefs held by most Southern Californians, and the tenets held by our two new women Senators, one can only conclude that Boxer and Feinstein represent the interests of Bay Area liberals while neglecting the concerns of more conservative counties, like Orange, San Diego, and Riverside, in the southern half of the state.

Likewise, the delegation that Northern and Southern Californians send to the House of Representatives would be able to work more closely as a team for their respective states. As it is, California's delegation rarely works together. As a result of this lack of unity, California has lost out to Texas, Florida, and other states with well-organized congressional delegations in the dispersion of federal dollars.

This should come as no surprise, as it is hard to imagine radical leftists like Rep. Ron Dellums of the People's Republic of Berkeley and right-wingers like Rep. "B-1" Bob Dornan of Garden Grove agreeing on anything other than the weather. If there were two separate states, the two state delegations would be able to accrue more money from the federal government. Southern Californians in Congress would be able to work together in Washington for programs that benefit Southern California, while Northern Californians in Congress would be able to team up in support for their home state.

The men and women representing Northern and Southern Californians in Congress would not be working together as a team, but, with the large sizes of the two delegations, both factions would be able to exert enough influence to enact their legislative agendas, and benefit their respective states.

California should also be split up because of the inordinate control California now has over the Electoral College. With fifty-four electoral votes, forty percent of the electoral votes needed to be elected president, it is now almost impossible to become president without California's consent. It is doubtful

that our nation's founding fathers envisioned one state holding this much power over the election of the president. Although this is a benefit California enjoys because of its size, this is grossly unfair to the other forty-nine states. If split, the two new states would continue to be important prizes in the eyes of presidential candidates, so Californians would continue to be considered important by these aspiring politicians, while other states would not be as neglected as they are now.

The partitioning of California would be a triumph for the idea of self-determination. Just as Northern and Southern California could elect Senators that more closely represent their political temperaments, the two states could also elect governors and state legislatures that represent their viewpoints.

Citizens of Northern and Southern California would feel like they have more control over their government. How can voters in Imperial County feel their concerns are appreciated by California's legislators way up North in Sacramento? Likewise, how can voters in Humboldt County feel in control of their destiny when a former mayor of San Diego is governor?

Likewise, citizens of the two states could be sure that their tax dollars collected by the state would be spent locally. Just as a citizen of Atlanta should not see his state taxes spent in Cincinnati, San Diegans should not see their state taxes spent in Eureka.

Opponents of splitting the state argue that water would become a major problem for Southern California. This is not necessarily the case. With the two new states sharing a boundary in what is now Central California, the political clout farmers currently enjoy in Sacramento would be diluted.

In the water wars common throughout California's History, farmers would be at a disadvantage. More water would be going to the more productive, and more populous, cities and suburbs that drive California's economy, while less would go to the farms of the Central Valley. Southern Californians need not worry that they would be left thirsty if separated from Northern California.

Still others complain that the two new states might not be able to provide services, like the University of California, of the same quality that citizens now enjoy. There is no evidence to back such a claim up. If anything, services would be improved, as the two states would be able to tailor these programs to more closely meet the needs of their citizens.

Splitting up California would not be an easy task. It would take much time and effort to agree on a state line, as well as the fate of such institutions as the University of California. Other considerations, such as the choice of a state capital, must also be dealt with.

Yet, these obstacles are not insurmountable. In 1820, the state of Maine broke off from Massachusetts, and West Virginia separated from Virginia in 1861. It is time for history to repeat itself.

It is time for Southern California to break off from the rest of California and become the fifty-first state.

INTERVIEW WITH MARLO LEWIS

CLINTON, & THE DEFICIT

NOTHING
LIKE A LITTLE

AFTER TWELVE YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS, THE DEMOCRATS come to power with the intent of changing the way things are done in Washington. Optimistic about the government and prepared to turn the tide of Republican misrule, Bill Clinton and the New Democrats are going to reduce a deficit racked up by Reagan and Bush, end gridlock, and politics as usual.

For this reason, *California Review* Editor-in-Chief Matthew Robinson interviewed Marlo Lewis of Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW). Mr. Lewis is Research Director at CAGW, a



non-partisan taxpayer advocacy group. Mr. Lewis speaks frequently on Congressional reform and government waste. He has been a staff consultant to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, and a Public Affairs Fellow at the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace. He has also taught political philosophy and American politics at both

Claremont Graduate School and California State Polytechnic University at Pomona. He has written numerous articles which have appeared in journals such as *Midstream*, *Policy Review*, *Interpretation*, *Military History Review*, and *National Review*.



In your opinion is the Clinton administration really serious about changing government judging by what you've seen so far?

No. Not by what I've seen so far.

Why is that?

Well, for example, the General Accounting Office, which is Congress' investigative arm, has issued two very important series of reports. One is called a transition series, which identifies the major management tasks confronting the new administration and also the fiscal problems confronting the new administration and also what is called a high risk series. This more specifically looks at waste, fraud, and abuse in federal programs and agencies and the specific vulnerabilities that different agencies have to waste, fraud, and abuse. There has been no public statement, as far as I know, from the Clinton administration about either series of reports. He certainly has not announced that a major goal of his administration is to correct the known problems in federal management that have been identified at considerable effort and expense by the GAO. I'd also add to that a number of other points. Raising taxes, certainly, is not a way to change our government.

Why is that?

Our government already consumes too much taxes. This is an interesting fact that I just figured out looking at the historical tables of the last Office of Management and Budget document: federal tax revenues, annually, since 1980 have increased 111%. The federal tax take in 1992 was 111% higher than it was in 1980 and that's after you adjust for inflation. It was 466% higher than in 1970 and about 1050% higher than it was in 1950. So those who say we are having fiscal problems now because Americans are undertaxed have not taken into account the fact that taxes are about ten times as high, even adjusting for inflation, then they were in 1950. Yet Clinton wants to increase taxes, which means he wants to do more of the same. He still hasn't come out in favor of a Balanced Budget Amendment, which experience has proven a

hundred times over is necessary to impose some kind of fiscal discipline on the federal government. He has endorsed the line-item veto but he hasn't made an issue of it. He hasn't said the line-item veto must be included in any budget package that he will sign, otherwise he won't sign it. His deficit reduction plan contains no budget process reforms. What he's calling "stimulus" and "investment" is really very hard to distinguish from what I would call "pork". In other words, what Clinton is offering us is more of the same and it's really politics as usual, although dressed up with a lot of fancy rhetoric to make us feel that things are changing.

“
What Clinton is offering us is more of the same and it's really politics as usual, although dressed up with a lot of fancy rhetoric to make us feel that things are changing.
”

Why do you think he's spending so much time going to the American people on this. Is it perhaps because Congress is part of the problem and he's afraid that this program will explode or be exploded by Congress?

It's not so much that he wants the American people to put pressure on Congress to do the right thing. I think he wants the American people to swallow the line that we need to raise taxes in order to do something about our central problems.

Well, why is the government so wasteful?

There are a number of reasons. One is that government has no bottom line. The government, unlike a business or a household, doesn't absorb the costs that it generates, rather it passes those costs on to the taxpayer. So, a perfect example is the contracts that were used for years and are still used to some extent throughout the federal government in order to buy fuel supplies or weapons systems or whatever. They were called "cost plus" contracts, which meant that the contractor was assured that he would be paid his costs plus a profit. So that meant the contractor had no incentive whatsoever to control costs. In fact, it meant he actually had an incentive to inflate his costs because he would be reimbursed for all of them, plus a percentage which would be his guaranteed profit. Now, the reason the government can buy things on that basis and did generally, and still does to some extent, is because those higher costs are just passed on to you and me.

Hence the genesis of the nine hundred and ninety-nine dollar plier set.

That's a perfect example. I'll tell you another reason government is so wasteful. It's too big. There are simply too many programs. In the domestic area alone there are something like 1032 separate programs and there are limits to government, to government competence, because there are limits to human intelligence. I would contend as an almost metaphysical proposition, that no merely human authority can efficiently and wisely spend a trillion plus dollars a year. It's just too much. I mean, to count a trillion dollars, by counting one dollar at a time, takes something like 312 centuries. So the sums that government deals with today are simple mind boggling and surpass the human capacity to comprehend. Back in John F. Kennedy's day, adjusting for inflation again, the federal government's budget was something like \$2.5 billion. That's already an almost incomprehensible sum, but I can envision the government spending that much money wisely. But I can't envision the government spending an excess of a trillion dollars wisely. It's simply too much. So you have to expect that a lot of money will be spent without a great deal of forethought being given to how its spent and without enough adequate controls being established to make sure that it isn't wasted or that it isn't subject to fraud and abuse. There are diseconomies of scale to all human things, including government.

Why is that so hard to impress upon people? You spend a lot of your time doing this. What are some of the difficulties you run into?

I think one difficulty is simply that this expansion of government is incremental. If you compare 1960 to 1992 or 1993 the difference is an order of magnitude. The federal government is literally more than ten times bigger today in terms of the amount of resources that it controls, than it was in 1960. But, if you just go year by year, it all seems very natural and people get used to it. What people get used to, they tend not to see a problem with. So we have become habituated to living with a monster, so we no longer recognize it as a monster.

How much of our tax money is wasted, in your opinion?

Well, at Citizens Against Government Waste, we are now in the process of taking an inventory of every waste-cutting proposal that has been made in recent years by any reputable source, which includes the Congressional Budget Office, the General Accounting Office, the Office of Management of Budget, private sector groups like the Heritage Foundation, old Grace Commission recommendations that were not adopted, and then adding them all up. We went through an exercise like this last year and we identified in excess of a \$166 billion of opportunity to streamline the government and cut waste. We think that's a rather conservative figure because there were a lot of recommendations that we did not include simply because it was not possible to assign a dollar value to them, although some savings would accrue from them if they were implemented.

Now these were just examples of blatant waste or duplicate and outdated programs. Does that include some of the problems with mandatory government spending on things like entitlements and so forth?

Interestingly enough, there was very little in the way of across the board reductions in mandatory programs, although we simply advocated that some mandatory programs be abolished. Not all mandatory programs, as people sometimes think, are poverty programs or welfare programs. The farm programs for example, which mostly benefit millionaire or wealthy farmers, are all mandatory programs in the precise sense, which is that the funding levels are not up to the discretion of Congress from year to year, but are determined in advance by a formula. That's what makes them mandatory. So we have recommended reducing what are called deficiency payments to farmers by 3% a year, which has been recommended by the Congressional Budget Office. Over five years that would save anywhere from \$11 to 13 billion. Or we have recommended terminating the dairy subsidy price support program. That's another mandatory program. Ending that would save one billion dollars. Or as we have said, as have many

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other people working in this area have argued, that farmers who are earning more than a \$100,000 a year in personal income, or who farms are generating in excess of \$500,000 a year not received any farm payments in excess of \$50,000 a year. That would also be a change in a mandatory program. So there are some mandatory program reforms that we have recommended, but I would say most of the cuts are not in that area.

What would be the most egregious example of government waste that you have seen in going over these numbers?

The biggest example of government waste in history, of course, was the Savings & Loan debacle. Which some people estimate will cost anywhere from \$200 billion to \$500 billion dollars when we're all done with it, when the bailout is complete.

Or we're done?

Yes, or we're done. Now, a lot of people think the Savings & Loan crisis was simply due to the greed that was unleashed by the wicked Ronald Reagan. Actually, there was a great deal of greed unleashed, but it was unleashed not by cutting taxes, but in the case of the Savings & Loan industry, by the expansion of the taxpayer safety net. What Congress did over the years is it said, "If the Savings & Loan institution that you have your account in goes belly up, we will reimburse up to \$5,000 per depositor." That's what they said back in the 1930's. Then they increased that over the years to \$40,000 per account. So someone could have several accounts in an S&L and each of those would be backed up by the taxpayers to the tune of forty thousand dollars. Then, in the early 1980's Congress said, "O.K., we will now raise it to \$100,000 per account." Then the federal regulators adopted a policy known as 'Too Big To Fail' which means that with a big institution you can't let it fail no matter how much it has messed up its finances. So, what it really meant that any account of any size would be insured by the taxpayer. What did that do? That meant if a manager at a Savings & Loan institution rolled the financial dice and he got lucky, then he kept all the profits. But, if all his investments went sour, the taxpayer got stuck with the bill. It also meant that people were actually encouraged to put their money in

Saving & Loan institutions that were going under or had gone under. It produced reverse bank runs because the insolvent institutions were offering the highest interest rates. Why? Because they wanted to attract more money and they had nothing to lose because no matter what happened the taxpayer would pick up the tab. There's a case where the expansion of the federal subsidy to the Savings & Loan ignited a conflagration of greed both by Savings & Loan depositors and Savings & Loan managers.

The ultimate victim, of course, was the taxpayer and it was a horrendous waste of money because not only does it cost the taxpayer dearly, and those tax dollars could be used for more productive purposes, but it lets all kinds of misinvestment and malinvestment in the financial industry. So I would say that's the biggest example of government waste, but there are some smaller ones that are more comprehensible as waste. For example, here's a few that come from a book by George Young, which I highly recommend, called *Vote To Kill*. The National Endowment for the Humanities shelled out \$74,814 to research the concept of the 'northern barbarian'. How about that? The government spent \$36,900 to study whether the urban baseball park will last into the 21st century. Those are just a few, I could name many more.

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You've mentioned a little bit about Bill Clinton's

'investment' and the difficulty in distinguishing between it and some of the pork you've seen. How much is going to turn out to be waste in your opinion?

I would say a great deal of it. I can't give you a percentage. But, you see, a lot of this spending in the stimulus package is for 'infrastructure' which has become almost an incantatory term that people chant when they want to convince taxpayers that they have to pony up more money. Somehow 'infrastructure' has become an almost transcendent mission. The problem is, that the budget agreement of 1990, which was a debacle and helped precipitate the recession and also vastly increased the amount of domestic spending, thereby pushing the deficit to new heights even though the agreement was billed as a deficit reduction plan, this agreement envisions already \$151 billion in federal infrastructure spending over the years that it would be covered by Bill Clinton's four year

plan. So, in other words, the federal government is already geared up to spend \$151 billion on infrastructure over the next four years and if you again adjust for inflation find that this is roughly equivalent to the amount of money we were spending back in the 1950's and 1960's when we were building the national highway system. So, given the fact that infrastructure projects require a great deal of time and trouble to plan, so that they will actually serve a public purpose and given the amount of money we are already spending on infrastructure, I would bet that most of the \$16 billion that Clinton wants to spend in addition on infrastructure will be rapidly dispersed, which means it will be spent without much thought given where the money is really needed and that it will turn into a vast pork barrel project. Where will the money go if it has to be spent rapidly? You can bet it will be gobbled up by the politically strongest interests. So I don't have much confidence that this money is going to be well spent.

The Clinton administration has set up 800 numbers for bureaucrats to call to report waste. What are the chances of this program working to change the way that government works? Will it discover anything new beyond what the Grace commission found or the CBO and GAO recommendations?

It will discover some new things. I do think it's important to encourage reporting by people who are on the line, who are in a position to see the waste up close and personal. Many of the front line people in the bureaucracies are terribly frustrated because they see wastefulness every day and they are not in a position to do anything about it or tell anyone about it. This may give them the opportunity and encouragement they need. However, I doubt that in the aggregate what they will find will be very much different from what the GAO has already found. Yet there are something like 2,300 open recommendations that the GAO has published in the last three years. An open recommendation is one which the GAO has published after conducting an audit and action either hasn't been taken or hasn't been or hasn't been completed. I think that before Clinton goes hunting for new instances of waste, I think that what he ought to do is focus on those that have already been identified at taxpayer expense by the GAO.

So I think this can help but I have to assume that since all the publicity has been directed towards this new initiative, rather than to the vast mass of waste that has already been documented, that this is very much a publicity stunt.

Why aren't these recommendations being implemented?

Well, I think it goes back to some extent to what I said earlier about why government is so wasteful. One reason it's hard to do something about waste is that there is a profit in it. If money is being spent that doesn't need to be spent then somebody is getting money or controlling a resource that he doesn't deserve. Either he doesn't deserve to get the money or he doesn't deserve to control the resource. Whenever you make things more efficient, you always upset the status quo. So all the vested interests that profit from the status quo are usually adverse to the proposed changes.

In your opinion, what is the most important procedural or structural change that needs to be made in Washington to cut waste and the deficit?

I would say there are several things. One is definitely a line item veto because right now the President is put in a position where he cannot oppose waste in any bill without vetoing the entire bill and since Congress now funds the government through thirteen major discretionary programs bills, it means that if he opposes just one of the bills because of the waste within it he risks shutting down an entire agency or branch of the government. This really stacks the deck against the exercise of Presidential responsibility for safeguarding the taxpayer's money. A line item veto would allow the president to focus like a laser beam on the waste in a spending bill, but more than that, it would also allow him to remove policy language that Congress often inserts into these bills, designed for one purpose: to restrict the President's flexibility in managing his own executive departments. For example there has been language inserted in the Department of Veterans' Affairs spending bill which prohibits the President from consolidating, not terminating, but consolidating more than three positions anywhere in the Veterans' administration system without obtaining specific approval from Congress after a six month period. When you consider the President is charged

with managing an entity which is bigger than the biggest corporation in the United States, I mean imagine if the CEO of General Motors could not shift even three people from one division to another without getting prior approval from some board that was set up and only after six months. Pretty soon General Motors would be totally uncompetitive and go out of business. That's the kind of straightjacket that Congress has always put the President in by inserting policy language into spending bills and if the president could remove those impediments to good management if he had a line item veto. I also think the budget process in general must be changed so that Congress and the President are forced to set binding ceilings on the budget each year and on every major program category within the budget before any particular spending bill is even considered by a committee let alone voted on by the entire House or Senate or by the entire Congress. Right now, Congress spends first and calls whatever results from that spending the budget. That's a complete distortion of terminology. A budget is supposed to be a financial plan which disciplines and controls how much you can spend and for what purposes, prior to any active spending. But our government does things completely backwards. It uses the term 'budget' to describe, inappropriately, whatever it ends up spending. That's one reason why spending is out of control because in truth, there is no federal budget, there's only federal spending which is mistakenly called the budget.

One of the things you mentioned when we spoke before is establishing measurable performance goals for federal programs. Can you explain a little bit about that and why this would make a difference in what's being done today?

This has been a proposal that has been introduced in a legislative vehicle by Sen. William Ross of Delaware. Basically it is just designed to insure government has some clue as to what it is actually accomplishing or failing to accomplish with our tax dollars. So often the debates in Congress are framed over how much money a program should get without any real discussion about what its objectives are and how you measure achievement in relation to those objectives. One of the problems we have now is that we don't really know whether programs are

effective or ineffective, wasteful or economical because their objectives haven't been clearly specified and they haven't been defined in measurable terms. For example, what is the objectives of the poverty program? Is it just to keep people alive who would otherwise starve? Well, maybe that's one objective and so if you look at how many people are eating because of the food stamp program, for example, that might be one measure of performance. Or on the other hand, maybe an

important measure is how many people are graduated from a condition of dependency to self-sufficiency. If you look at that I think what you'll find is that the programs are not working because more people are becoming dependent rather than independent. So whether a program is working or not working and whether one program is better than another at accomplishing the same purpose can only be known if you first define the purpose clearly and then set some kind of benchmarks or measurable standards for judging them. Until you do that, it's an open invitation to waste, duplication, and the squandering of taxpayer resources. Bill Ross's proposal was an attempt to make it at least possible to know what the heck we're talking about.

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We definitely need a Balanced Budget Admendment. You know the old joke, 'Where does a five hundred pound gorilla sleep? Anywhere it wants.'
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Do you think Congress needs a Balanced Budget Admendment to keep it under control? Why is there so much opposition to this Admendment, even among people who are outside of Congress who align themselves more or less on the left side?

We definitely need a Balanced Budget Admendment. Because, you know the old joke, "Where does a five hundred pound gorilla sleep? Anywhere it wants." Similarly, why do we have three hundred billion dollars plus deficits every year, why has the national debt grown from under a trillion to more than four trillion in eleven years? The reason is that there is nothing in the Constitution that prevents it. The explanation is largely a negative one because it's always fun to spend money especially if you're spending other people's money. It is always profitable for politicians to spend other people's money if they can channel funds, and they often do, to their friends, their campaign contributors, and powerful interests in their districts and their states. so, unless you impose some external discipline on them, they will

continue to abuse the power of the purse. The reason why a lot of liberals in Congress don't want a Balanced Budget Admendment is that it would spoil their fun. It would prevent them from overconsuming and mismanaging our resources for their own political gain.

Ross Perot is in the spotlight again and he's not for a Balanced Budget Admendment, I don't think, but how serious are his recommendations, or does he even have any that are substantive? Do you think he's having a positive effect on the system?

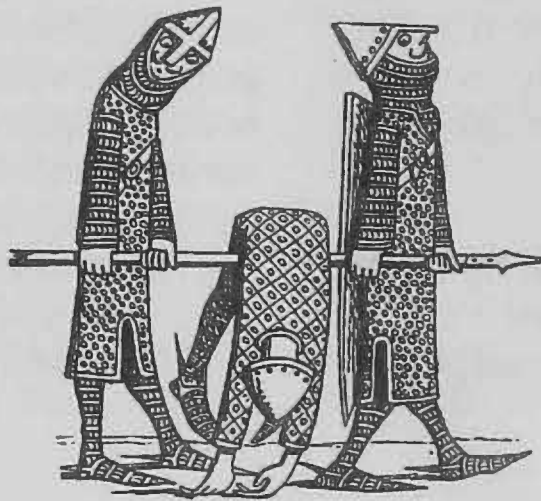
I hate to say this because there are so many people that have their heart in the right place who like him, and I certainly harbor no ill will toward him, but I don't think he understands the real problem, and to the extent that he attracts public support to himself as a political leader I think he diverts public attention from the real problem. Now, what do I mean by that. He says that he the people to take their country back and I think that is the proper objective of every well intentioned public figure. He's right when he says that he wants the people to take their country back, but if that means anything, it means taking back the economic and political power that government, through its unchecked expansion, has taken from the people. That's the first order of business in taking back our country. it taking back power that Washington and Sacramento and other state capitals have taken from us through the unchecked expansion of their own budgets. How do you do that? One thing that it is absolutely necessary to limit the ability of Washington and Sacramento and other state capitals to shift more resources from our family budgets into their own government budgets. In other words, what it requires at a very minimum, is no new taxes. What it requires at a maximum is tax relief combined with spending restraint. Perot wants to raise taxes and raising taxes can only strengthen Washington in relation to the citizen and the family, it can only strengthen Sacramento in relation to the citizen and the family. I think that Perot simply does not understand the problem that he professes to want to solve.

Can you explain a little bit more the idea of tax relief for the citizen and the family?

Yes. Our fiscal problems, the fact that we have these spiraling deficits and the fact that the national debt is growing to such an extent where national bankruptcy becomes a possibility in a few years out, those problems are at bottom a political problem. They result from the fact that the people who profit, the interests that profit from government spending are politically stronger than the people who foot the bill for government spending, mainly the taxpayers. So if you really want to fix our nation's fiscal problems so that we are assured of having an economic and financial future for our children and grandchildren, what you have to do is strengthen the taxpayer in relation to the tax consumer. You have to make taxpayers politically stronger than the tax consumer. how do you do that? There seems to me only one way that you can mobilize taxpayers so as to make them an active constituency for spending restraint and spending control, and that is to give them a concentrated benefit, every time spending is cut, so that they are motivated just as the recipients of federal spending are motivated because they receive a concentrated benefit. Government spending provided concentrated benefits to a great many organized interests groups. Typical examples might include: federally funded research grants, farm subsidies, or a defense contract. Because these various beneficiaries receive these

concentrated benefits, they have a strong incentive to organize and lobby the government for higher and higher spending. What we have to do is give taxpayers to organize and put pressure on the government to cut spending. The only way I can see to do that is to give them some direct benefit every time spending is cut. for example, if you had a bill that would abolish a one billion dollar boondoggle, dedicate half the savings to deficit reduction and half the savings to family tax relief. if you did that you could give five hundred dollars in tax relief to half a million needy families. If you cut one hundred billion dollars in spending, you could give five hundred dollars in tax relief to fifty million families. In other words, most of American families and you would cut the deficit by fifty million dollars annually. So it seems to me that the only way that we can turn things around is by making taxpayers politically stronger than they are now and the only way to do that is to make them the direct beneficiaries of spending restraint.

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The reason why a lot of liberals in Congress don't want a Balanced Budget Admendment is that it would spoil their fun.
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How to Win Again: Stick to the Basics

B y R o d e r i c k L e e

California will be a battleground to decide whether we will be a Goldwater-Reagan party or a Rockefeller-Bush-Wilson party.

—Patrick Buchanan

California has long been known to be a trend-setter for the rest of the nation. With an eighth of the population and its own mouthpiece in the form of Hollywood, it is no surprise that a large segment of our contemporary culture can trace its roots to California.

This maxim often holds true for our politics as well.

California is the coveted trophy in the electoral college. As a result, we have been represented on the national ticket of one of the two major parties for seven of the past eleven elections. The passage of Proposition 13 helped fuel an anti-tax spirit that influenced several other states and later helped sweep Ronald Reagan into office.

The outcomes of Propositions 140 and 164, both term-limit initiatives, were carefully watched by both sides of this national debate. Failure could have buried the movement whereas last year's success has spurred supporters to push for congressional action and a possible constitutional amendment.

As anyone who follows politics knows, a year is forever in

politics. In 1991, George Bush was unbeatable and the Democrats might as well have packed their bags, stayed home, and waited till 1996. As recently as June of last year, epitaphs were being written for the Democrats and possibly their entire party.

But, now it is 1993 and it is the Republicans, not the Democrats, who face growing factionalization and an uncertain future.

It is with this idea haunting them, and, in the aftermath of the "Great California Republican Massacre of 1992," that state party leaders met in Sacramento this February, under a simple theme: "Unity".

And once again, the national party apparatus would do well in following this California trend as well.

California is a large and diverse state; it spans the political spectrum from extreme left Marin County to ultra-conservative Orange County and everything in between. Consequently, the state GOP has been accustomed to dealing with a little conflict between its moderate and conservative

wings.

But, by 1992, "a little conflict" had mushroomed into an internecine war. To add fuel to the fire, the party's nominal leader was on the frontlines, leading the charge in purging the

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party of conservatives. It also didn't help that the Bush-Quayle campaign had written off the state.

The 1990 election was a crucial one to the future of the party. Wilson's narrow victory helped insure that Republicans would have a say in reapportionment. In the best interests of the party, Wilson steadfastly rejected the Democrat legislatures' minimal concessions, resulting in the decision being transferred to an independent commission. And when that commission returned districts favorable to the GOP, state party leaders predicted a prodigious 1992.

But, instead of uniting to seize the Assembly away from the clutches of Willie Brown, the June primary saw Wilson and the conservatives battling in fifteen different districts considered safe or Republican-leaning. At the same time, these battles mirrored the two U.S. Senate races. As a result, precious resources were expended early in the year, and the state party was in for a nasty surprise come November.

Thus, we saw the "Great California Republican Massacre of 1992". The top of the ticket was trounced by thirteen points. Two northern liberals received passes to the U.S. Senate. Democrats overcame voter registration deficits in some districts, while in other close legislative races, Republican candidates were dragged down by Bush's negative coattails.

And in the cruelest irony, and perhaps as a lesson for their behavior in the primaries, the net Republican gain in the Assembly, the body expected to be under their control by the end of the year, was not a gain, but, in fact, a loss of one seat.

Before the results of some of the close races were confirmed, the two wings were at each others throats again. Former representative Tom Campbell, who lost to Bruce Herschensohn in the primary and then refused to endorse him at first, helped form the Republican Majority Coalition on the moderate side, while outspoken members of the conservative California Republican Assembly vowed to defeat Pete Wilson in 1994.

But, that is hopefully in the past, and in the spirit of the "Unity" conference, there will be no savaging of the moderate position here.

Nevertheless, it is important to address some of the myths concerning the conservatives' role in last years' defeat.

Myth One: The Republican convention was both divisive and exclusive.

Despite what the national media would like us to believe, last year's GOP convention was neither divisive nor exclusive. Bush jumped fifteen points after an opening night which included Pat Buchanan's "mean-spirited, intolerant" endorsement.

As for being "exclusive," in reference to the abortion question, of course, this is pure distortion. It is true that there were no

speakers representing Republicans for Choice. However, it is patently false that the pro-choice side was shut out from the convention completely. Massachusetts Governor William Weld, a pro-choice moderate, had his turn at the podium. And Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, also pro-choice, gave the nominating speech.

Contrast this to the Democrats where pro-life Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey was denied a chance to speak while at the same time, pro-life delegates were shielded from television cameras.

Myth Two: The party was too conservative for the American people.

Although the numbers have changed since last November (with more people moving toward the center), as of summer 1992, Americans calling themselves "conservative" held a narrow lead over "liberal," 28—23. And in a shock to most liberals out there, this plurality extends to both blacks and Hispanics.

History has also shown that in national elections, conservative Republicans tend to do better than their moderate counterparts. Nixon, Reagan, and the Reaganite Bush of '88 were landslides while Ford and the flip-flop Bush of '92 were losses.

Myth Three: The party lost because of its stance on the abortion issue.

Much as Mary Dent Crisp, Ann Stone, and the rest of Republicans for Choice

would like us to believe, the abortion issue did not defeat the ticket. In a Wirthlin poll after the election, 28 percent of the voters admitted to being single-issue voters on abortion. Of these 28 percent, over 80 percent voted for Bush. Thus, contrary to other claims, the party did not scare away pro-choice moderates and Republican women.

In legislative races, pro-life Republicans fared well against pro-choice Democrats as did pro-life Democrats against pro-choice Republicans. While it is true that not every pro-lifer won, it is clear that abortion is not the automatic "loser issue" that some have painted it to be.



History has also shown that in national elections, conservative Republicans tend to do better than their moderate counterparts. Nixon, Reagan, and the Reaganite Bush of '88 were landslides while Ford and the flip-flop Bush of '92 were losses.



As one final example closer to home, staunch conservative and pro-life Bruce Herschensohn gave Barbara Boxer a run for her money while pro-choice John Seymour was trounced by equally pro-choice Dianne Feinstein.

Last year's election was very much a focus on the economy and the side issue of abortion, if anything, served to help, not hinder, the Republican ticket.

Which brings us to this year's state "Unity" convention. The two warring sects each came to make peace and unite against a greater threat, prolonged rule under the so-called "New Democrats".

Moderates agreed to leave alone the party platform's pro-life language while delegates helped to defeat a conservative resolution calling for an anti-Wilson candidate in 1994.

With the two battling wings of the largest state party apparatus agreeing to a cease-fire, hope springs up that national party figures will follow this lead.

We already know what a unified party can do, as is evident in the landslide victories of 1972, 1984, and 1988. Moreover, conservatives and moderates, in what is hopefully a portent for 1994, together helped deal the Slick Ticket its first defeat, only three weeks after their supposedly resounding victory.

On Election Day, Clinton's narrow victory in Georgia was unable to prevent a runoff between incumbent senator Wyche Fowler and Republican Paul Coverdell. Naturally, both parties sent in their big guns for the runoff, including one president-elect, who asked Georgia voters to re-elect Fowler and "help break the gridlock".

The result is a testament to the power of the united Republican party as well as Richard Nixon's "silent majority" of conservative voters.

Coverdell, despite being pro-choice, overcame a one point deficit from Election Day by picking up the endorsements of both wings of the party, including the Religious Right, as well as the crucial three percent from the Libertarian candidate to best Fowler.

But, unlike 1990, when conservatives held their noses in supporting Wilson over Feinstein, the Christian Right enthusiastically campaigned for Coverdell, in spite of his stance on abortion as well as a history of bad blood between them.

Like it or not, the absence of a Reagan conservative in the Oval Office spells the eventual passage of the insidious Freedom of Choice Act.

Just as the 1990 *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision re-energized the pro-choicers, the imminent reality of the Freedom of Choice Act, has opened a new era for the pro-life movement by forcing it to temper its position.

During the Reagan years, the ultimate test of pro-life was the Human Life Amendment: candidates opposed to a Human Life Amendment were often branded marginally pro-choice even if

they opposed abortion in most circumstances. But, the imminent reality of one-party pro-choice government has suspended this stringent litmus test.

Coverdell is vocally pro-choice; he defeated two pro-lifers in his quest to unseat Fowler. But, he also supports parental notification laws and opposes sex-selection abortions. Faced with a hostile White House, the pro-lifers pragmatically accepted Coverdell.

Additionally, in every other respect, Coverdell is a solid conservative: anti-tax, anti-big government, pro-gun, anti-union; thus, it is not unexpected that the Religious Right should side with him.

Now, some may say (particularly those more vehement on the pro-choice side) that the pro-lifers have abandoned their principles. Nonsense.

The right-to-life movement is still committed to protect the rights of the unborn. It's just that now it has extended its sphere to include those who oppose complete, unrestricted abortion, but still support the right to choose. A logical extension, since unborn lives are still being saved, albeit not as many.

And this new definition will win elections. Bush may have lost by 100 electoral votes and five percent of the national vote, but a shift of one percent in several key states would have sent the Slick Ticket packing.

It is easy to see how the absorption of candidates opposed to the Freedom of Choice Act could help to provide that one percent. In the same poll that revealed most single-issue abortion voters sided with Bush, only 13 percent opposed abortion in all circumstances.

But, when the question expanded to allow abortions in some circumstances (the customary rape, incest, and life of the mother exceptions), this number ballooned to 55 percent. Furthermore, adding those opposing late-term abortion boosts the numbers up to 60 percent.

Thus, out of every five people concerned with abortion, a pro-choice Republican candidate could garner the support of three of them, including the Christian Right.

The lessons of California and Georgia reveal that the conservatives still pose a powerful fighting force for the party. But, we cannot be sidetracked from our kernel issue. As Jack Kemp says, it is time to focus on the issues that won us three elections: lower taxes, lower spending, less government, and economic empowerment.

Does that mean we should discard "family values"? Of course not, Clinton's homosexuals in the military flop shows not. But in the words of William Weld, "[W]e should not let this issue divide us. We should focus on uniting and on winning." The Democrats squabbled for 24 years and have one election victory to show for it. We need not repeat their error.

"We should not let this issue divide us. We should focus on uniting and on winning."

—Massachusetts Governor
William Weld

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Parting Thoughts...

A government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have".

—Gerald Ford



I know of no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution.

—Ulysses S. Grant



A university is what a college becomes when the faculty loses interest in its students.

—John Ciardi



The Democratic Party can always be relied on to make a damn fool of itself at the critical time.

—Ben "Pitchfork" Tillman



The cynics are right nine times out of ten.

—H. L. Mencken



An economist's guess is liable to be as good as anybody else's.

—Will Rogers



There is no distinctly American

criminal class—except Congress.

—Mark Twain



In America, anyone can become president. That's one of the risks you take.

—Adlai Stevenson



It is dangerous to be right when the government is wrong.

—Voltaire



We live in a Newtonian world of Einsteinian physics ruled by Frankenstein logic.

—David Russell



Justice without force is powerless; force without justice is tyrannical.

—Blaise Pascal



Ideas shape the course of history.

—John Maynard Keynes



Blessed are the young, for they shall inherit the national debt.

—Herbert Hoover



If Patrick Henry thought that taxation without representation was bad, he

should see how bad it is with representation.

—*The Old Farmer's Almanac*



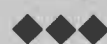
Talk is cheap because supply exceeds demand.

—Unknown



Politicians make strange bedfellows, but they all share the same bunk.

—Edgar A. Shoaff



The principle of majority rule is the mildest form in which force of numbers can be exercised. It is a pacific substitute for civil war.

—Walter Lippmann



A good catchword can obscure analysis for fifty years.

—Wendell L. Willkie



Computers are useless. They can only give you answers.

—Pablo Picasso



We would often be ashamed of our finest actions if the world understood all the motives which produced them.

—Duc de la Rochefoucauld



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