# California Review

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1983 California Review

Molly DeBeers: The Media Funding

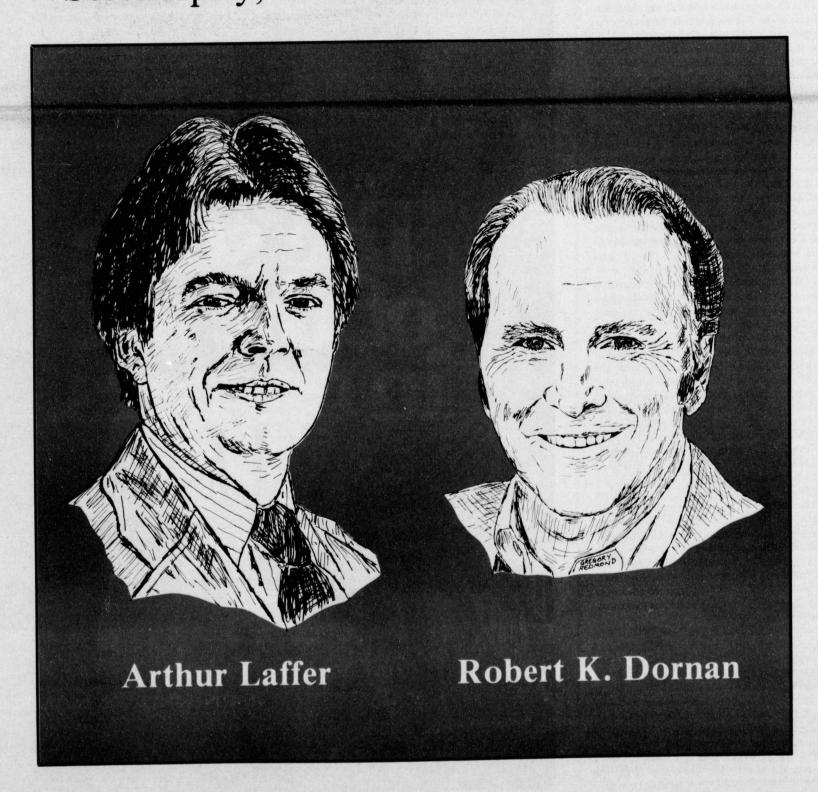
Controversy

Laura Ingraham: Russian Holiday

Ralph Rainwater on Kurt Vonnegut

Also: G. James Jason, Professor

Serendipity, H.W. Crocker III...



### A Menagerie of Goons

#### by Molly DeBeers

It was a hell of a week. The societal otiosities who find refuge at UCSD had their issue on simmer, ready to manifest their solidarity with the retarded. It was as if the campus progressives planned a contest to see how little gray matter a collective could use during a given period of time. The judgment came. California Review met the Associated Students, and the paltry Left suffered defeat. But defeat cannot be accepted by

But fresh on the scene is the limpy Allan Colley, the Bergman Film Festival.



those lacking in manners and clear thinking. Through chants of "Don't Fund The Fascists," the progressives stormed out of the meeting along with their tools on the A.S. Board, disrupting all other business on the evening's agenda. Then came the petition — many signatures solicited at the following T.G. on a quid pro quo: no signature, no beer — and ultimately came the great example of democracy at UCSD, the campus referendum, where every fruitcake, gnostic, and champion of compassion came out to vote for pluralism and freedom of expression by shutting down UCSD's spearhead of meaness and elitism, the California

But then what do progressives know about pluralism. While the editors of the Review and their heterogeneous staff of faithfulls sat before the firing line of the A.S.. the progressives divided themselves into their respective hate-groups. The Chicanos took up the opposite corner — far enough to avoid conflict; close enough to brandish sneers and minacity. On another side were the feminists, the homosexuals, et. al. And opposite the twisted appeared to be the tortured — a seedy looking bunch of orange-haired, black-lipsticked puds of the New Age. These moderns made up the largest anti constituency. And with a little speculation one could estimate that the moderns have the strongest hold on the A.S. and the campus politique at large. Their symbol, anarchy. Their hero, Sid Vicious. Their fiber, weakness. Future doctors and lawyers of America? Doubtful. But mixed with the contempt of the Chicano raza, and the frustration (and embarrassment, for us ladies) of the feminists, one has quite the colorful menagerie of baboons.

Seemingly clad for combat, Jean Dangler readjusts her hornrims as she looks over her constituency. Funny is that out of the entire A.S., there are only three moderns — each of whom ran veritably unopposed in the election of UCSD's student representatives. Dangler is worth noting; she is a modern, a feminist, sexually disoriented (my editor refuses me the privilege of saying "homo"); and most important, one of the greatest public fools in UCSD history. she is the creator of the rape issue, surprisingly coinciding with the Review's first-time application for a piece of the "Alternative Media" budget. As everyone knows, the issue was arbitrary. Victorians do not support rape. Deviants do. The modern's envy bred hatred. Little chance of breeding anything else.

But Dangler is only one dolt among many. Jon Bekken, not even a student, continues to agitate for the parietal progressives. He's been hanging around campus for over ten years. Though he has held a few odd jobs, he refuses to work fall time. He tells us that it's because there are not enough opportunities that meet his specific requirements in terms of salary and conditions. Although he would have us believe that his situation was caused by the evil occupant of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Jonny is merely an elitist.

Jonny put together his masterpiece, the Left side of a two-page Guardian point-counterpoint. He labored hard to include every imperious argument, possible. He even went so far as to create a committee which met on two different days (Eric and Harry on the other hand spent about two minutes and said something, intelligible. Look it up.) The crux of Jonny's miniscul cogency is his arrogation that the Review has proven that it can survive, hence it shouldn't have access to funds. Or simply that it takes more low blows to sweep the Review out the door. The economy is getting better, so I think America will soon be able to afford

Jonny, and he'll be gone.

chum who lead the petition drive for the referendum. He is a little more articulate than Jonny; he did mention that his efforts against the Review were made "for fun." There may be hope for him. But I think more fun is to be had with an ugly blind date at an Ingmar

Colley was successful with his pernicious project (though not by the wide margin the pundits predicted). And the \$50,000 alternative media budget remains a subsidy for the Left on campus. Ironic is that this type of thing will not enhance Mr. Colley's resume enough to ever impress an employer. Such wasted energy. We may see Colley, sometime down the road, groveling for employment from California Review's editors, or even from elitist Jon Bekken.

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Colley's campaign lost a great deal of credibility when he allowed some of the more zealous progressives (ostensibly Third World students) to circulate a flyer entitled "Crush the California Review" which went on to say that "we won't accet these views [...] our practical aim is to put these ideas into a museum." How wonderfully practical! I suppose that if the progressives get the revolution they work so diligently for, they'll be the first to go. Robespierre was shut down quickly.

So where does this leave the state of the academy? The homosexuals will surely continue to liberate themselves from consistency; the oppressed will celebrate in the whoop whoop of more affirmative action, foodstamps, and bilingualism - policies that ensure the continuity of the inequality they so revere. And the moderns? Carpe Diem; they don't keep track, nor have the ability to do so.

On a positive note, the body of thinking students has become more aware. The mainstream of UCSD is reexamining the hitherto accepted yawps from the

Are those people - the moderns - who claim to stand so vehemently for fundamental liberties now suppressing those of people with differing views? The

experience of Jean Kirkpatrick is becoming a symbol. The students of UCSD have been forced to think. California Review has fulfilled its duty. It's time for the others to fulfill theirs.

Molly De Beers is a senior at UCSD.



### ...... etters



Dear Mr. Young:

Congratulations on your continued good work. The Review looks terrific.

Yours faithfully, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. New York

Dear Sirs:

Please renew my subscription to your capitalist, imperialist, militarist, racist, ageist (is that really a word?), sexist, elitist, war-mongering, red-baiting

Keep up the good work! Cordially, Wayne J. Warf Philadelphia

Dear Young Crock; [sic]

In response to your article in your May edition [in review section] I feel that a sexist statement like your, could of [sic] only come from a perverted, sick mind. I will continue to encourage my fellow students not to patronize your terrible newspaper, which doesn't [sic] even deserve the title newspaper. Perhaps we should all take up a collection to send your mother, sister, or better yet your girlfriend on the back page of your paper to New Bedford, Massachusetts, to stike [sic] up another score for sexual liberation. I am sure they [sic] would enjoy it termendously [sic].

Discustedly [sic] J. Brescia UCSD, Third College La Jolla

Editor's Note: Dear. J. Brescia:

We sincerely hope that you learn to read, write and speak English before you graduate from Third College. To interpret the piece as you did you must think the sexual liberation movement to be more sancrosanct than rape is deplorable. The judgment is yours, not ours. And thanks for the comment about our mothers, sisters and girlfriends. Your moral authority is beyond question. -CBC

Dear Mr. Crocker:

Thanks for keeping me posted on the progess of the California Review . I'm happy to renew my subscription early and wish you well in your future issues. Obviously, the vote to deny the Review AS funding is another example of the almost reflexive repression demonstrated again and again by the radical left.

> Best Wishes Charlton Heston Beverly Hills

Keep up the good work. I really enjoy your paper as it is like a breath of fresh air. Let your unwashed vocal opposition get busy and raise their own funds to support their viewpoint. That's the American

> Mrs. Charles R. Young Rancho Bernardo

Gentlemen:

I am overwhelmed, and so appreciative of the articles Here at Westside Prep, we may not have the way, but

we have a way and it works. God's peace, my love, Sincerely, Marva N. Collins

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your recent letter, outlining the recent controversy over the California Review. Keep giving "them" hell.

Chicago

Regards, Johnnie R. Crean Chino

Dear Editor:

In picking up your paper and reading the "The Professorial Deception," my condition was hardly gentled. This article would be more appropriately retitled "Editorial Deception." You undeniably prefer to concoct the ugliest portrayal of Sandra Dijsktra from fragments and false assumptions than to illustrate our Women and Literature course accurately. Your exposure of the course is so absurd and distorted that it simply cannot be taken seriously.

Contrary to what "The Professorial Deception," projects, high marks of achievement (grades, I presume) are not awarded liberally and there are not two, but three men officially enrolled in the class. To state that hating men is a prerequisite is absolutely ludicrous. Did your reporter bother to interview or simply talk with any of the students to possibly substantiate this rash claim? The assigned readings mentioned are positively accessory in addition to the approximate 1,980 pages (eight novels) to be read thoroughly within a ten week quarter. Dijkstra is presenting a well-rounded view of the Woman's Movement for open-minded students of all political beliefs. We are not rewriting history.

We all share the rights to freedom of the press, speech, and education. You are as welcome to explore our class as students (and everyone) is welcome to explore the evolution of women writers and feminism. Only you abuse the rights you so strongly profess to uphold. Your article is frustration indeed. I suggest you apologize to Mrs. Dijkstra. Her efforts to preserve human rights are most respectfully supported.

Cheryl M. Sawyer

Young replies: My Dear Miss Sawyer:

The wool is not over your eyes, it's in them. I attended Sandy Dijkstra's class at the request of an outraged student-a registered Democrat, pro-ERA, woman. It seems that she was upset with the smut being passed off as intellectual fodder. The class itself was repulsive. But of course that isn't the point of the

"The Professorial Deception" (CR, May 1983), is a noble effort at delineating just what academic freedom is. And it boils down basically to freedom, as Sidney Hook puts it, with the "mutuality of respect." Dijkstra is not very careful in this area.

Another point is that "Women's Studies" is a waste of time. In a great manifestation of (as you put it) "openmindedness," I enrolled in Linda Harris Mehr's "Images of Women in American Film," and learned that "hating men" is indeed a prerequisite for this type of pursuit. One of the local libs mentioned to me that "if you write the correct [her emphasis] way, these Women's courses are a piece of cake." also came home every evening with the feeling that my feminist prof was a racist and a sexist; I would sit in the front row, and every second phrase Mehr barked out was "Wasp-Male."

As for apologies, I believe that Dijkstra is working on that. I urge you to take a break. Go back to your mountain retreat in Idyllwild, talk with the birdies, sniff some pine needles, and get this feminist crapola out of your system. Make your mother proud.

Cordially,

Dear Editor:

Having stumbled upon a stack of California Reviews in the San Diego State corridors last May, I stuffed one in my pack of books, wondering what kind of new, radical publication this was and doubting if I'd really ever take the time to open it again, much less read it.

A couple of months later, after school had recessed, I found the front page picture of Marva Collins still staring me in the face. I decided that I was either going to read this paper on the spot or else throw it away. Am I ever glad I chose the former.

Your straightforwardness and candor in reporting on sobering, relevant issues is a welcome change of reading pace. Additionally, your touches of cynical humor throughout your publication I find to be most palatable.

Thank you especially for C.K. Littlewood's well thought-out, profoundly stated article on the pleasant necessity of gender roles. Though I personally subscribe to the theological creationist "hypothesis," I have long searched for a good, sound, secular argument against the shallow premise and tactics of the ERA and its vengeful promoters.

You've won my mind's heart, and also my year's subscription. I do look forward to someday getting a promotion to at least blue-collar imperialist status. For now, I'm glad to have folks like you help fight the

> Gratefully, Richard G. Kaiser La Mesa

### California Review

Credo: Imperium et libertas.



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urisconsulti:

The Praetorian Guard and John Almquist (Praetorian Praefectus)

Please address all letters, manuscripts, and blank checks to: The Temple of Mars the Avenger

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



A conservative journal is a terrible thing to waste. Give to the California Review, a not-for-profit organization. All contributions are tax-deductible.

### In Review

■ Summer just isn't so great, especially if you lived through the summer of '83, according to Review manifesto The Wall Street Journal, "crucified on a daily cross of hot, humid, dead, disgusting air. You'd have to be a Democrat not to agree with the truth of that statement, so obvious and widespread are the manifestations of this pestilent summer." And with its end, the Philistines returned to UCSD. Meanwhile, in Fairmont, North Carolina, disgruntled parents sued officials of the Middle School for subjecting their offspring to "emotional trauma, ridicule, slanderous epithets and ostracism" in suspending the little rugrats for playing strip-poker on the school bus. Playing catch in the outfield in Toronto, Dave Winfield hit a seagull, which died, and the city arrested him. And, in Washington, Reagan was hosed for the caveman joke, which, had it been offered by Mondale or Glenn, might have marked a milestone in recognition of the importance of women.

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- In Boston, a self-proclaimed "witch" has filed a \$25,000 slander suit against a radio station for allegedly making comments that have "blackened and injured her honesty and integrity." We hear Boston was hot, too.
- The Soviet Union expressed its principles of disarmament on August 30, 1983 when an armed Soviet jet shot down an unarmed civilian Korean jetliner.
- Jambo jet, killing 269 people, including U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald (D-Georgia), the Soviets proclaimed that if any more civilian aircraft entered Soviet airspace they would not hesitate to shoot them down too. A few days after the Soviets made that statement, Soviet MiGs came within 186 miles of Tokyo. Japanese aircraft turned the Soviet MiGs back miraculously without firing a shot.
- writing President Reagan to protest his desire for more homework in the public schools wrote that making school harder would mean "the people that get jobs will want more money because they know more." That's right. Not only can we prevent nuclear war by listening to school children, but we can also save our economy!
- The university has put yet another elitist on the payroll. According to Christopher Leland, a visiting lecturer on writing, "...people who have chosen not to register [for the draft] are likely to be more thoughtful and conscientious group than the average student."
- We have discovered some people who are actually helped by the International Monetary Fund. 20% of the 1525 IMF employees make over \$100,000 a year. Last year the IMF spent \$20.4 million on travel of which only \$11.4 million was considered business expense. IMF staff members are also offered loans at 5%-8% below the going mortgage rates to buy homes in the Washington area.
- Demagogic presidential candidate, Walter Mondale, has promised that if elected he will appoint more women to Cabinet positions than has any other president. Why settle for promises? Reagan has already done it.
- Another presidential hopeful, Alan "Loose Tongue" Cranston, called the government of El Salvador, which was elected with an 80% voter turnout, a "dictatorship." Now there's responsible rhetoric.
- Speaking of responsibility, Secretary General Edem Kodjo of the Organization of African Unity has urged African nations to develop nuclear arms.

- Martial law authorities in Turkey have demonstrated that they are more liberal than the student body at UCSD by lifting a ban on the leading Turkish conservative newspaper which had been shut down for criticising Turkey's military government.
- In another incident concerning freedom of speech, Stanford University has apologized to Pete McCloskey because students who had invited him to teach a seminar threatened to cut his salary or discharge him if he did not change the reading materials and guest lecturers more to their liking. We at California Review are waiting patiently.



■ A racist and sexist Superior Court Judge ruled against a black woman patrol officer who claimed she was fired because of discrimination. The reasons given for her termination were merely that she did not know how to load a shotgun and could not write adequate reports.

(Note to the educationally deprived: This is an example of satire. If you would like to learn more about satire, contact your local high school English teacher.)

- In Takoma Park, Maryland, the newly established Fruitarian Network says that mowing the lawn is cruel and inhumane. Fruitarian, Nellie Shriver says grass suffers horribly when mowed. She calls for defending plants' rights.
- Robert Kennedy, Jr. was arrested for possession of heroin en route to a rehabilitation clinic in South Dakota.
- In Raleigh, North Carolina, Police Detective R.T. Justice says that prison parolee Johnnie Lee Anderson stabbed Mary Anne Daskal fourteen times and raped her, and then bandaged her, put her into her car for a drive to the hospital and at her home awaited her return. He was still there when police arrived. Detective Justice says that Anderson had "fallen in love with his victim."
- And in Munich, Germany, a herd of heavyweight women took beautician Karl Heinz to court. The women claimed he said they would lose weight by having sex with him. It didn't work, they said. Heinz told the court that the women were willing bed partners and rushed to shed their clothes as well as weight. The justice through them out of court.
- So you think Western culture isn't dead? To induce tourism the Greek government has moved to permit nudist centers.

- Stanton Powers who was arrested when his bank account mysteriously grew by \$4.4 million over several days has changed his explanation. He no longer alleges that it was a prayer to God which transferred the money into his account but that he really tapped the energy of the sun and turned up the dial of his imaginary happiness machine as he stood in front of the automatic teller. The prayer to God story, he says, was a silly concoction of his lawyer.
- Lidija Doronina, in whose home Soviet police found documents of a Moscow based peace movement, was sentenced by a Soviet court to 5 years in prison for anti-state activities.
- Since 1979 the number of women employed has grown 3.1 million while the number of men employed rose just 200,000. Over the last two years self-employed women have increased 10% while their male counterparts have increased 1%. The number of women in professional and technical fields has increased 8.3% compared to 4.5% for men. The number of women in managerial and administrative jobs has increased 10.2% while the number of men increased by less than 1%. Reagan's "crusade against women" just hasn't been strong enough.
- But has all this advancement calmed the savage nature of women? Not a bit. Using the Pentagon's computerized war games, women, it has been found, advance quicker to total war than men do.
- Representative Gary Studds (D-Massachusetts) stated that his little habit of getting male pages drunk and then seducing them wasn't really bad. After being censored by the House he proclaimed that everyone needs to be humiliated every so often. (Is Studds into humiliation as well as homosexuality?) The problems of Daniel Crane (R-Illinois), however, continued to mount. A week after being censored for allowing himself to be seduced by a female page (who was trying to close the gender gap), he struck-out during the Congressional Baseball Game.



- And in West Germany the back to nature ethos chalked up a loss when Klaus Hecker, a member of West Germany's environmentalist, anti-nuclear Green Party, resigned his seat in the Bundestag. Hecker admitted he had made indecent advances toward wood nymphs, uh, we mean, female bureaucrats.
- Soccer players in Swaziland will henceforth suffer fines of \$450 for placing magic charms ("muti") on rival teams, say government officials. "The sight of fans urinating in their opponents' goal to negate a charm is very embarrassing to Swaziland," says soccer official Joel Nhleko.
- Dean Haas, a former UCSD student and the first person to call *California Review* "elitist," has taken a job with his father at \$22,800 a year.

#### Dear Yuri by John D. Kubeck

While the Moscow News, a weekly newspaper of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries may not be on every American's required reading list, it does seem to be interested in our views. The May 29-June 5, 1983 paper had a headline story on "Americans' letters to Yuri Andropov." Imagine that! Yuri Andropov taking time off from repressing dissidents and fomenting revolution in order to sincerely consider the opinions of concerned American citizens.

And what opinions they were! Melissa Glassman, a 14 year old from Massachusetts had this to say to Yuri: "...Remember what happened in Hiroshima, in Japan; this was before I was born. Hundreds of thousands of people died, do you think they wanted to die? No! The U.S. dropped the bomb, I think that was wrong!"

Melissa, an obvious mental giant, was not the only one to write. Gayla Marty, of Minneapolis, in naivete characteristic of pro-freeze activists, said "...Our nuclear freeze activists are looking to you, sir, for assurance and evidence that your country is willing and anxious to freeze production of nuclear weapons...We need this from you to support our movement."

Mark Mironov told his good friend Andropov "I appreciate all you have already done and want you to know you have my full support in creating a world at peace." Kind of makes you wonder what they are smoking up in Highland Park, New Jersey, where Mark hails from.

Fr. George B. Dyer of Brownsville, Texas, even found it necessary to apologize to Yuri: "I wish to tell you and your people that many of here in the U.S. are not in accord with our president, Mr. Reagan, when he denouces the Russian people and yourself as the embodiment of evil in our world. We do not believe this to be so, and I have written to Mr. Reagan of my strong disagreement with his slanderous statement."

There was even a beautiful reply to a little American girl from Andropov himself which read "We want very much to live in peace, to trade and cooperate with all our neighbors around the globe, no matter how close or far away they are, and, certainly, with such a great country as the United States of America."

The Americans who wrote with such hope need to be reminded of Yuri Andropov's actions, and true feelings, as evidenced in this quote of his when he was in the KGB (which he has never left), "The arena of historic confrontation between socialism and capitalism is the whole world, all spheres of social life, economics, ideology, politics....Cheka authorities [the KGB] operate in an area where there are not, nor can there be, truces and breathing spaces." (Quoted from KGB Today: The Hidden Hand, by John Barron, which I highly recommend.)

Americans and other free peoples cannot allow "truces or breathing spaces" with this man and his society which is so dedicated to burying us, no matter how naively we hope to talk them out of it.

John D. Kubeck is a student at Cal St., Long Beach and is CR's Long Beach praefectus.

#### Lethargy, Escapism, and the Deteriorating Moral Fabric by C.K. Littlewood

An insidious thing, this malignant deterioration of the moral infrastructure — the very essence of a nation. Just as the incredibly powerful Roman empire of a previous century succumbed to international pressures and eventually lay castrated upon the face of the globe, so too is the United States prey to the deceptively appealing offspring of Strength and Securiuty. A veritable modern-day Sodom and Gommorah.

Human nature has determined that the path most often chosen is that of least resistence – the "easiest" route, in other words. And, certainly no one in the world may be punished for desiring a trouble-free and painless path in life. But a secure, unharried lifestyle all too often breeds a certain complacent lethargy. It is the trials and hurdles thrust into one's everyday path which provoke clear thought and determination. It is the enigmatic nature of these obstacles which enhances life by constantly providing the individual with divergent psychological stimuli — necessitating the use of reason and an analytical train of thought.



Simply, the United States is becoming "fat and happy" — an alarming reflection of the integral, prototypical businessman who helped forge the nation. Behind the protective wall of Democracy, many Americans feel compelled to experiment with a variety of new (often destructive) pursuits, determined to squander "leisure" time upon hedonistic endeavor. Constructive, socially and personally satisfying pastimes are rapidly being displaced by senseless, mind-numbing activities. Inevitably, many of these activities represent a danger to the society in which they are tolerated. The very fact that one might actually find time for relaxation testifies to the freedoms enjoyed by a citizen of the U.S.

Like a slap in the face of a beloved parent, the skulking minority of spineless neurotics seek sanctuary in any number of drug-related, escapist, self-centered routines. This feculent cesspool is stealthily seeping to the very foundations of the nation, as drug related accidents and business losses continue to escalate.

The "sleeping giant" which was awakened on that fateful December 7, 1941 is apparently once again lying down to rest. The lethargy consuming the populace, like a cancer, wrests the breath from the veins of the junkies, her defenses barely visible through the marijuana smoke and Monday-morning

hangovers. Even the television, the bastion of American relaxation, sedates the cerebum with its constant outflow of intellectually stagnant material.

Fascination and experimentation with drugs has begun to permeate all levels of society. Losses in job-productivity due to drug use are estimated to be in the billions of dollars. When our statesmen whose decisions determine the course of future events, begin to submit to the weaknesses and temptations of modern society, it is time for a serious evaluation of the moral/ethical dilema

What happened to the bright-eyed, freckle-faced kid from Kansas who once dreamt of becoming an astronaut? Today, it appears that being the biggest cocaine distributor on the East Coast is an accepted adolescent goal. Red meat, early mornings and hard work paved the road for contemporary America. It is asinine to stray from the basic, tried and true lifestyles which have so effectively brought us this distance.

Far from being an indictment of cultural diversity, this essay seeks to identify the pitfalls into which the acquiescent individual might fall. Freedom of choice is in all probability the finest asset enjoyed by citizens of the United States; yet it cannot be allowed to interfere with the machinations of the country which is its very life's blood. The cohesiveness of the nation, as a nation, is the premise upon which individual freedom are based.

Stagnation is inexorably linked to a lethargic existence. Countless brilliant minds are being sequestered behind the doors of a drug-induced stupor. There is nothing more pitiful than watching an intelligent mind and healthy body mercilessly wasted by overindulgence and sloth.

The recent rekindling of interest in health and general overall physical conditioning is a positive sign; for a strong country can be a free country. But psychological — physical energy requires mental alertness as well as physical prowess; the machine won't function well with inferior fuel. The challenge now lies within the individual conscience; it is up to the escapists to decide whether the power of their personalities can pull them up from their crippling vices.

As previously mentioned, the guilt lies not with any one particular socioeconomic group. Each class has its own forms and manifestations of "Lethargic Escapism." The percentages may differ, but each rung on the proverbial hierarchical ladder is frought with free-loaders who are drowning in a sea of complacent bliss. And, rather than confront idiosyncratic faults, aforesaid persons opt for the path of least resistance. The devices of distraction, too, vary from group to group, though drugs appear to be the most prevalent.

For over two hundred years the American citizen has had to uphold an image—patterned after our forefathers—of the stereo-typical American. Respected (if not loved) the world over, an "American" has historically been represented as the lean, honest and chivalrous gentleman who puts God and country before himself: an ally to be trusted and an enemy to be feared. This image was forged in the heat of war, and polished in times of peace—paid for by American blood in faraway lands. It is a proud image, representing a proud country. Let us not lose sight of where the United States of America has been, where it is going, and what it takes to remain the greatest nation on earth.

#### A Soviet Dissident Speaks by Carmelita Rosal

It's an old refrain: "If you're not a socialist by the age of twenty, you have no heart, but if you're not a conservative by the age of forty, you have no brains." Yet, the realization of a similar ideological transition can be potentially dangerous if one's lifetime is spent under a communist umbrella; it is feasible only if one has available a means of escape.

Dr. Joseph Ioffe, a former high-ranking Kremlin official bearing the titles of National Party Consultant and National Public Speaker, renounced his Soviet citizenship five years ago and now resides in the United States. Accepting public speaking engagements nationwide, Dr. Ioffe vigorously promotes American patriotism and strongly denounces Soviet imperialism.

"It's very simple. It took me more than twenty years to realize that I didn't belong in Russia. If you have eyes to see, if you are honest enough to learn from life, and if you are willing to find the truth, you will always find the truth.

"I had my eyes opened. Socialism will never work. Marxism is a lie. All the promises of the Soviet leaders are never fulfilled," Ioffe said. During his heyday as a Marxist advocate, Ioffe was a strong critic of American "imperialism." Now, he points to Soviet imperialism as the root cause of international political unrest. Ioffe has become a visionary of a "Free Russia" that will base itself on U.S.-style democracy and believes that is the only way to eradicate nuclear weapons and obviate the arms race. The Russian people accept the Soviet regime, he contends, only because they fear it and its secret police.

"Communism is dead as a philosophy, although the Soviet military force is strong. But 65 years of the Soviet regime has proved that Communism is bankrupt."

According to Ioffe, the typical Russian response to "How are you today?" is "I'm poorer and worse today than yesterday, but better than tommorow."

The Soviets wich to avoid nuclear war, according to Ioffe, not because they care about the Russian people, but because they care about their own lives in the Kremlin, and they believe it's possible to seize the entire world without commencing a nuclear war. Ioffe reminds us that the Soviet strategy has always been world domination through nuclear blackmail.

The Soviets, Ioffe asserts, believe Americans are easily manipulated. In 1962, Kruschev and his comrades, including Ioffe, privately proposed a

toast: "To the head [of state] of these American simpletons whom we can cheat as much as we like."

Ioffe recalls two former U.S. Senators, Frank Church and George McGovern, who convinced the Congress to carry out massive cuts in the defense budget and to weaken the CIA using the pretense of invasion of freedom. Hence, the two Senators' actions increased the Soviet Union's ability to accelerate the production of its military arsenal into an intimidating force and allowed the KGB to continue its intelligence gathering operations worldwide. A high level communist official once told loffe "Church and McGovern are truly wonderful guys because they are doing our job for nothing!"

Ioffe says liberals continue to "inflict serious damage on American military defense by supporting defense budget cuts and by selling U.S. defense technology to the Soviets. 99% of the Soviet military machine is based on the advances of American technology."

He has a strong aversion to the so-called "nuclear peace activists." Ioffe concludes that peace is achieved neither by nuclear freeze rallies nor by undermining U.S. defense, but by supporting the "freedom fighters" in Poland, Central America and Afghanistan.

Carmelita Rosal is a senior at UCSD.

#### By Laura Ingraham

For almost seven hours we passed through beautiful countryside dotted with quaint little farms and villages. Thirty Dartmouth students were singing, laughing, and just chatting about the term ahead. Our usual thoughts of summer centered around the beach, barbeques, and the fourth of July. But for the moment all that was pushed aside. We were to spend our summer in the Soviet Union, studying at Leningrad University. I found the thought romantic, and just a little bit frightening.

We were approaching the border and joking about how the sunny sky would suddenly turn grey as we chugged into Russian territory. I popped my head out the train window. The sky was still blue but there were also uniformed guards sporting sub-machine guns alongside the track to greet me. They waved heads back into the compartments while they searched underneath the train for stowaways. "You mean someone would actually want to sneak into this country?" one student said.

A few Soviet soldiers jumped on the train "All printed material on the table," one of them said. Although none of us were trying to smuggle in Solzhenitsyn's best, tensions ran high. I could picture Judy Garland saying, "Toto, I don't think we're in the free world anymore." Somehow I couldn't bring myself to laugh.



Our group was comprised of 140 students from across the United States. The primary purpose of our trip was educational. We had the equivalent of two years of college Russian and hoped to speak a lot better after two months of studying and living the Russian language in Leningrad. Classes at Leningrad University were taught by Russian professors and conducted in Russian for the most part. We were required to attend 25 hours of phonetics, grammar, and conversation classes each week and to speak only Russian except when in our hotel rooms.

Our program began with our meeting in Helsinki, Finland, for four days of orientation and placement testing. Our directors warned us against everything from dealing in the Black Market to engaging in homosexual relations there. We were told not to drink the water; not to bring Soviet friends to our hotel; not to snap photos of bridges, airplanes, boats, power plants, or men in uniform, etc, etc. But no matter how much instruction we received, we could not understand the reality of life in the Soviet Union until we began to experience it.

We arrived at the Vyborgskaya Hotel in Leningrad on June 19, around 10:30 p.m. The hotel we were scheduled to live in had not hot water so we were diverted to the Vyborgskaya by the Soviet student travel bureau anxious to impress its American visitors. But we had to wait an hour to get authorization to enter our rooms, which time we spent singing, while the hotel guards stood sullenly by.

The seven-floor hotel was drab, but better than we expected. We found the beds short, and there were no screens on the windows, so the mosquitos droped by in droves. The Americans got the rooms with adjoining

### A Journey To Russia

bathrooms, whereas most Russians clustered into small rooms with only a sink. We were privileged to receive rolls of waxy toilet paper, a rarity in Russia, where people often use *Pravda* for sanitary purposes.

Hotel food was bland and consisted mainly of carbohydrates. Russians eat plenty of bread and potatoes, and not much meat. The meat served was of amorphous variety; no one could identify it. We learned that superior Russian foods—poultry, and fruit grown in Georgia—are exported to other countries, or served on the tables of high party members.

Our comings and goings from the hotel were monitored by a *djornays*, our floor attendants, who held onto our keys when we left the hotel. No one was allowed to leave the hotel without handing keys over to the attendants, which was a convenient way to keep track of when students came and went. Not that these women were sourpusses; they were plump, cherry types, who sold Pepsi Cola and gossipped to each other on their desk telephones.

We never figured out for sure if our rooms were being bugged. But some students with our group did notice that when they complained about things—no bug spray, no toilet paper—they found their rooms drenched in disinfectant and teeming with bathroom rolls

University classes began at 9 each morning. Unfortunately, there were no Russian students studying during the summer. Our classrooms were small and beige, and overlooked a courtyard in which trucks were repaired. So our phonetics course was often interrupted by the roaring and whirring of heavy equipment, which left our instructor livid, but made the students laugh.

Soviet defense technology may be far developed, but the schools are still without electric bells. We knew our hour was up when a funny little lady with a hunchback hobbled down the corridors tinkling a bell in her hand. She was a character out of Victor Hugo, but she smiled a lot.

While travelling in the Soviet Union, I found the Metro railway to be efficient. Trains thundered in every two minutes or so, the fare was five kopeks (or seven cents) and the place was impeccably clean. The Metro was also the unlikely location for exquisite sculptures and mosaics, and glittering chandeliers.

But the Soviet economy, in general, is in shambles. Even basic goods are scarce in major cities. In the Leningrad shopping mall it takes a while to find a polyester shirt, or a pair of plastic shoes and either would take two weeks pay off an average worker. I came across fake Levis jeans, called "Lenis," which were costly and too poorly replicated to fool many Russian consumers.

I saw the famous bread lines in Leningrad, although it is not true that Russians must stand in line for every food. But when special breads and meats are announced, the people gather at early hours in the morning. Once our group saw myasa (meat) advertised in bold letters in a butcher shop, but the sample share shown behind the glass was a nodule of meat enveloped in a wriggling wad of fat.

The black marketeers are everywhere. In fact the first Russian I met, outside the hotel, was a black marketeer. The second day I was in Leningrad he came up to me and asked me to sell him my frisbee. It was fun to get to know him because he took a friend and me out for ice-cream and champagne, to induce us to sell him goods.

The black marketeers want everything Western: jeans, lacoste shirts, American records and tapes, cigarettes, copies of *Playboy* or *Penthouse*, drugs, even prophylactics. But many students were afraid to deal with the black marketeers, because it is said that one out of every 10 of them is a KGB agent.

I found media coverage of world events in the Soviet Union to be flabbergasting. Our only sources of information were state-run television, newspapers like *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, although we could get the International *Herald Tribune* at the American consulate

Pravda covered the issue of "Debategate" as if it was another Watergate. "President Reagan is going to be impeached next week," one story said. Another featured pictures of Nixon and Reagan side by side, with the cutline, "similar." This exaggeration was carried on from day to day until even I was worried, despite my skepticism, and I wrote home asking if Reagan's presidency was still intact. I was reassured to discover that it was

About 75 percent of Soviet television news is devoted to denouncing the United States. The U.S. is

portrayed as a corrupt, evil empire, where the youth are gangling, uncontrolled and drug crazed. And if the Russians don't have facts they make them up. So when they are through quoting advocates of the Western peace movement, who are big hits in Leningrad, they cite fictitious polls.

Once a Soviet broadcast showed a cartoon showing Reagan with one leg in the Middle East and one in Central America, wondering where he could find a third leg to place on some other part of the world. "According to polls 80 percent of Americans agree with this cartoon," the TV reported. I had to leave the room frustrated.

After returning from Russia I saw a TV show in Russian. The foreign press in Moscow were interviewing Soviet officials about the Korean airlines incident. One of them shrewdly asked the Russian minister: If the Soviet Union is so correct in this affair, why haven't the official newspapers reported to the Russian people that 269 people died? The official news agency TASS merely noted that s spy plane was downed.) The minister said that since the U.S. had provoked the incident in the first place, the Soviet people should not be burdened with the results of that provocation.

One lie after another. It came as no surprise when a Russian friend told me that, in Soviet schools, children are taught that it was Russian people who invented electricity the telephone, etc. Although the Russian people are cynical and suspicious about their government, they do not discount it entirely; they have to believe something.

So many ironies come to mind when I remember the Soviet Union. Although the Russians denounce Western materialism—most are committed socialists—they covet foreign goods. Russian youngsters, in particular, have an unquenchable thirst for Western music and clothes.

Although the Soviets themselves have hundreds of dissidents in concentration camps, they took us to see a Nazi concentration camp from World War II and lamented the gallant Russians who were incarcerated in it.

Although official state propaganda decries religion as a crutch and an opiate, the Russians proudly escort tourists to the grand old cathedrals and religious monuments left over from czarist days. Nothing like St. Basil's Cathedral being built or used today. Fortunately, even the oafish Party members aren't crazy enough to raze the ancient churches and edifices.

I returned from Russia with deeply mixed feelings. It is a complicated country—that is clear. In many ways I found it odious—the suppression of freedom, the encroaching state—but I also found it intriguing.



The Soviet people are, of course, like people everywhere. They may even be more hospitable than most. When we visited Russian homes the woman of the house would, even late at night, wake and fix dinner over our protests. The Russians are also generous with their vodka, which they themselves consume in large quantities, less for enjoyment than for oblivion.

Someday I hope to return to the Soviet Union to learn more about it. And other Americans should do, too. For all its inconveniencies and frustrations, the Soviet Union is a fascinating and worthwhile place to visit. At the very least visitors return home with a newfound appreciation of their guaranteed freedoms.

Laura Ingraham is a junior at Dartmouth, managing editor of The Dartmouth Review, and CR's Darmouth

### No Free Lunch for James Watt

by Thomas J. Edwards

Not since Franklin K. Lane was Secretary of the Interior under President Woodrow Wilson has an Interior Secretary come under so much constant fire, It appears as though the now outgoing Secretary of the Interior, James G. Watt, could do no right in the eyes of some.

The clamor this time, as many are aware, was purportedly over a remark which the Secretary made during a breakfast speech before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in commenting on a commission just appointed to study the federal government's coalleasing program. With a smile on his face, and in a tone of levity, Mr. Watt made a mocking stab at affirmative action policies and the quota rationale by saying that the panel he had selected had "three Democrats, two Republicans—every kind of mix you can have. I have a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple. And do we have talent."

A somewhat brash statement, admittedly, but certainly not a statement deserving of the uproar

Believe? by Hank Cox, provide fascinating analyses showing that opposition to Secretary Watt was over more than his environmental policies.

Arnold points out, "Jim Watt's conservative politics clash mightily with the liberal philosophy of most environmentalists". For the past 20 years environmental organizations have fought successfully for their environmental goals and for more concentrated federal power (it is in their own self-interest to have policy making concentrated in Washington for they can exert greater influence—with the help of the some \$92 million dollars a year in corporate contributions to environmental groups based in Washington). "Watt's belief in reduced and decentralized federal power and in the private enterprise system automatically sets him at odds with large environmentalists organizations," says Arnold. With their tremendous successes and a Secretary who has finally said enough, the more militant preservationists have taken over from conservationists, and have introduced a new era of



which resulted. And, more importantly, clearly not a statement meant to be insulting or in anyway derogatory when examined in the context it was said and considering the fact that it is the Secretary's own commission

Shortly after making that statement the Secretary apologized privately to the members of the commission, the Congress, and the President; he then apologized publicly to any and all who would listen. Mr. Watt admitted making a mistake in his choice of words and the President accepted his apology. Subsequently, President Reagan has said he knows Jim Watt is no bigot and that "if he were he would not be in [the] administration." Thinking Americans will come to understand the Secretary's mistake in his choice of words; they will understand that this comment did not-nor did other past "blunders"-warrant his resignation or impeachment. Those who have continued to vocalize calls for the Secretary's resignation had other reasons for doing so and they should be more honest to the people of this country about those reasons.

Most outspoken in calling for Mr. Watt to resign were various environmental groups made up of individuals who are overwhelmingly middle or upperclass, highly educated, with a great deal of leisure time, and decidedly liberal in their political orientation. Their organizations include almost no ethnic minorities, those of low income or from the goods producing sector. These people, because of their own elite status, are unconcerned about the effects their goals have on jobs or on the performance of the economy; they treat most employers and blue-collar employees with indifference and contempt, and they balk at groups such as the elderly who advocate better access to our parks (which they would really like to see as their own private domains). Near Santa Fe New Mexico in the Pecos Wilderness one hiker was so angered when he encountered another walking his dog on the trial that he slit the puppy's throat. There are even environmental groups, such as Earth First, who advocate sabotage in the name of preservation—these people are serious about their environmental commitments and they are not at all understanding of those who differ with them.

"The implicit goals of environmentalism—to drastically reduce or dismantle industrial civilization and to impose a fundamentally coercive form of government on America—are real." So says Ron Arnold, a former environmental activist, in his recent book At the Eye of the Storm—James Watt and the Environmentalists. This book and another recent study, The Politics of Broken Faith—Whom Do We

Elated over a mad frenzy of additional federal land acquisition (which made it necessary for the maintenance budget of the National Park Service to be reduced by 100%), and other policies of the Carter Administration, environmentalists filed into the Rose Garden in September of 1980, endorsed Jimmy Carter and fought hard to see that Governor Reagan was defeated. The Secretary has been criticized for much, but it has all been petty when compared to the criticism he received for "his massive land sell-off plan." Since appointed, approximately 4,812 of some 750 million acres under Interior's jurisdiction have been sold, and the Secretary was quoted as referring to the land sell-off plan as "stupid" (a quote most reporters conven-

iently missed). Sounds as though he was really out

hustling tracts doesn't it?

Reminiscent of the McCarthy era, environmentalists charge that anyone opposing their work is out to destroy America's heritage and the beauty of our country. These types of statements are ludricrous, of course, for who is against clean air, clean water or the splendor of these United States? The question is a matter of the degree people are willing to sacrifice to ensure these things, and upon one's outlook of our responsibilities. Environmentalists generally believe that "humans should somehow apologize for being the dominant species," and that "Man's basic nature is thwarted by the constraints of civilized living" says Arnold. Secretary Watt, on the other hand, subscribes to the biblical perspective that man is to subdue and have dominion over the earth while maintaining an attitude of good stewardship. It is doubtful that many environmentalists would sacrifice much, including their redwood decks or hot tubs, to ensure that which they strive for through government mandate and

Furthermore, while this writer is as much a fan of the Beach Boys as of J.F. Handel (both in classes by themselves), the fact remains that with similar size crowds there were substantially fewer arrests (40 in 1982 to 27 in 1983), personal injuries (617—mostly drug related—in 1982 to 61—mostly from heat exhaustion—in 1983), assaults, drug overdoses (100 had to be hospitalized in 1982 and none in 1983) and robberies at the fourth of July concert which the Secretary had responsibility for in our Nation's Capitol.

The question of whether or not Jim Watt was an asset to this country is an easy one to answer, for environmentalists will tell you they have never had it so good in terms of funding, national media attention and general public awareness of environmental issues. For other Americans Mr. Watt provided a glimmer of hope that some badly needed balance was being returned to the shaping of environmental policy.

James Watt knew when he was tapped for the job that he would have a cross to bear serving as Secretary of the Interior under Ronald Reagan and that it would be no free lunch.

He must also have known that so long as he continued to oppose demands made by environmental extremists, so long as millions of dollars, as he putit, were "spent in preaching hatred and abusive and untrue statements," and so long as he continued to speak-out for what he believes to be the truth—life as Secretary of the Interior was not going to become any easier. Being aware of all this, Mr. Watt has decidedrather than to compromise principle or chance the possibility of hurting the President politically; rather than continue to live with death threats and harsh criticism, or to continue to subject his family to the constant harassment only for him to be raked through the coals repeatedly by selfish members of Congress that it is time to step down. It is a regretable but understandable decision. America should hope that Mr. Watt will not fade completely from the picture and that the new Secretary, whom ever he or she may be, will have as much vision, talent, forbearing and committment to this country as this Secretary has.

Thomas J. Edwards is a Sophomore at UCSD.

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### A California Review Conversation

Dr. Arthur Laffer is Charles B. Thornton Professor of Business Economics at the University of Southern California. He earned his B.A. degree in economics at Yale and went on to earn his M.A. and Ph.D. at Stanford. From 1967 to 1970 Dr. Laffer taught economics at the University of Chicago. He served as economist at the Office of Management and Budget from 1970 to 1974 and, after a brief return to the University of Chicago, joined the faculty of U.S.C. in

Arthur Laffer is most famous for his "Laffer Curve" which illustrates the theory that when tax rates rise above a certain level tax revenues decrease. A leading proponent of supply-side economics, he travels some 8,000 miles a week and delivers about 40 lectures a year. But he has not let his busy schedule interfere with his teaching and was awarded the 1980 University of Southern California Associates Award for teaching excellence. Among the recipients of Arthur Laffer's advice have been Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and former California Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr.. Dr. Laffer also maintains a collection of tropical birds, turtles, ferrets, weasels and over 300 varieties of cacti. Dr. Laffer graciously took time out of his schedule to talk with CR's Optimo Princeps, C. Brandon Crocker.

CR: Would you explain when and why lowering tax rates would lead to an increase in tax revenue?

LAFFER: The question of when is a difficult question, but I'll tell you why. There are two effects that tax rates have on total revenues. One effect which we call the arithmetic effect is that when you raise the tax rate it is unambiguously true that you raise more revenue per dollar of tax base and when you lower the tax rate you raise less revenue per dollar of tax base. But there is also an economic effect which is if you raise tax rates you reduce the incentive for people to do the activities that create the tax base, thus reducing it. When you lower the tax rates you increase the incentive to do those activities, which increases the tax base. These two effects always work in the opposite direction. But the economic effect, more often than not, will outweigh the arithmatic effect and that's why you get an increase in revenue. With regards to the timing, if you announce

tax cuts ahead of time people can prepare for them. So what happens is they will try to shift income out of the current high tax period and into the future tax period. Intuitively, how much would you shop at a store a week before that store has a big discount sale? Not very much. So what you would expect to see is a major shortfall in revenues in the years preceding the tax cut but once the tax cut takes place a huge resurgence of economic activity causing an increase in revenues.

CR: What makes you think we have reached that level of taxation where tax reductions would increase the incentive to produce?

LAFFER: It depends what kind of tax you are talking about. There are certain taxes that if we cut them we would lose revenue and taxes that if we cut we would clearly gain revenue. It all depends on the sensitivity of the factors of production. Now let me ask your next question. How can I be so sure that an across-theboard income tax reduction will increase revenue? Is that your next one?

LAFFER: No one can be sure that it will increase tax

CR: That's it.

revenues. The one thing we have is research on previous periods when tax rates were reduced in a similar fashion. For example, the Kennedy tax cuts in the 1960's. Take a look at the Mellon tax cuts in the 1920's. What you'll find in both of those cases are very sharp increases in revenue. I'd like to refer you to a study by professors Canto, Joyce and Webb. They did a very thorough study on the Kennedy tax cuts using multi-varying time series analysis and they found an enormous increase in tax revenues in the 1960's from the tax cuts themselves. Michael Evans also did a study on the effects of tax rate cuts on upper income people in both the 1920's and 1960's. He found that the amount collected from the upper income groups went way, way up. There is also a study by Manny Johnson of the Treasury which shows the revenue effect of the capital gains tax cut showing that revenues went up enormously just from the capital gains tax cut itself, not even considering all the side effects which would all also increase tax revenues. Looking at all this evidence has led me to believe that after a few years

CR: Has lowering the top tax bracket from 70% to 50% led to the rich paying more taxes?

LAFFER: That's what they say. Manny Johnson shows that the revenues collected from that category have increased quite sharply when they were expected to go way down. In 1982 the 70% to 50% bracket is one of the few brackets in which tax payments went way

CR: Milton Friedman says that if lower tax rates increase tax payments then taxes should be lowered again until tax payments drop. How do you feel about

LAFFER: He's right. You should never be taxing at a rate where a lowering of taxes would increase tax revenue. Therefore you should keep lowering taxes until tax revenues start falling.

CR: Do you think that reducing tax revenues is the only way to cut government spending?

"In 1982 the 70% to 50% bracket is one of the few brackets in which tax payments went way up."

LAFFER: No I don't. Now that's where Milton Friedman and I would disagree. Not that it might not lower government spending, but that's not why I support tax cuts. Government spending is very important. Too much government spending can be a real drag on the economy. There is no question that

> Free To Choose by Milton & Rose Friedman Avon Books 330 pp., \$2.95

### Marketing the Free Market

by Victoria Sellers

In the cloistered world of liberal academia, selfriteousness is exceeded only by naivete. Many in such a community have been blessed with a vague, yet unerring, sense of good and evil, which they rarely hesitate to express. Miraculously, these individuals are able to observe the bounty of resources and opportunities in this nation, yet still penetrate this veneer and publicly disclose the capitalist hell in which we exist. To each of these insightful prophets I offer my most sincere sympathy and timidly recommend that they slither off their soap boxes and into the library. A panacea awaits in the form of Milton and Rose Friedmans' volume entitled Free To Choose.

Published almost two decades after their first book Capitalism and Freedom, Free To Choose is a landmark work. While extending the theoretical and ideological credenda proposed in their earlier book, Free To Choose concentrates on economic, political, and social dilemmas in a more concrete manner. Written in layman's terms and free of economists' jargon, the work is intellectually accessible to many.

The Friedmans' basic concepts are hardly novel, dating from the doctrines of Adam Smith and Thomas Jefferson. A free market system is the foundation of a healthy national economy. Permitting untrammelled interaction between economic spheres lessens the call for political intervention and its ubiquitous social programs.

As Adam Smith wryly observes, "I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good." The present applicability of this notable dictum is undeniably substantiated through references to such imbroglios as the state of Social Security and the public assistance programs. The notion held by our nation's founders, that "government's role is to serve as a referee to prevent individuals from coercing one another has been replaced by the view that government's role is to serve as a parent, charged with the duty of coercing some to aid others." This convoluted Robin Hood interpretation of equality and justice is not only irremisible, it has lead to an increasingly centralized government

- stuffed with a veritable plethora of bureaucrats and the accompanying charms of a hierarchical power. Half-baked liberal rhetoric aside, cooperation is infinitely preferable to governmental coercion.



Government intervention has increased approximately tenfold during the past half century. Such expansion has resulted, oddly, in both public dissatisfaction with burgeoning welfare activity, and a push for more of the same. The number of governmental agencies serving special interest groups is so unmanageable that frequently, the taxpayers support both sides of an issue, for instance, subsidies to tobacco farmers and federally funded anti-smoking campaigns. While the effects of such implemented programs often cancel one another out, the costs do

Free To Choose systematically invalidates traditional economic myths favoring protectionist policies. The Friedmans extol the virtues of an economic order emerging from the free market. Unilateral fee trade is preferable to the throng of programs which allegedly protect the nation's workforce, but which instead serve only to increase unemployment and international bad feelings as did the Smoot-Hawley tariff in 1930. On the international level, such a policy of free trade would

promote democratic governments, as the Friedmans assert that "voluntary exchange is a necessary condition for both prosperity and freedom"—an assertion that is bolstered by the historical record. Free trade, as opposed to free-aid, is a mode of self-help for underdeveloped nations. Sharp increases in our national income, accompanied

by an increased standard of living, have rendered poor areas proportionately more visible. Public assistance programs now in effect were drafted, presumably, with good intentions. But as we are advised, "sincerity is a much overrated virtue." The use of poor means to achieve beneficent objectives has come to be an integral element in social planning. Current welfare programs hurt the poor by putting a cost on finding employment; subsidized urban renewal programs have replaced slums with middle class housing that the slum dwellers cannot afford. But what makes it so difficult to change these well intentioned but desultory policies is that they do benefit some people; bureaucrats employed to administer welfare programs; construction firms and people seeking middle class housing. These and like consequences of government do-gooding have induced the Friedmans to offer a companion to Adam Smith's famous axom: "An individual who intends only to serve the public interest by fostering government intervention is 'led by an invisible hand to promote' private interests, 'which was no part of his

Cures for the Republic's economic ills are proffered frequently. They reiterate constitutional truisms limited governmental power with an emphasis on individual and states' rights. The so-called "public interest" is revealed to be a doublespeak nonentity.

The Republic's over-eager faith in New Deal liberalism has crested. We must now elect either the "deadening effects of government control on private ingenuity or the dependence on collaboration among private individuals to realize a growth in productivity. The solution is self-evident. And for those in doubt, a perusal of Free To Choose should be convincing.

Victoria Sellers is a junior at UCSD.

#### Arthur Laffer with

Milton Friedman's focus on that is totally correct. But independent of government spending, the constellation of taxes matter. How you collect your tax receipts is as equally important as the total volume of government spending. And what I try to do with these tax reforms is look exclusively at the constellation of the tax rate as opposed to looking at the total volume of government spending. I would like to see people deal with government spending in a direct fashion. If you want to cut government spending go in there and cut government spending. But don't surreptitiously cut tax rates hoping to starve the government of tax revenues. My view is that you want to have an efficient tax collection system and you want to have an efficient spending system. And that should be done thru a democratic process.

CR: Dr. Robert Russell has said that the 1981 changes in the depreciation allowances have created a distortio in the investment market. Do you agree?

LAFFER: It sure did. Especially if you take the safe harbor provision. Companies that have losses can sell their investment tax credit to profitable companies. What this means is that a company with tax liabilities would be willing to pay a company with no tax liability up to the full amount of the tax credit. So they pay these companies that have losses, and the government looses the revenue. All it's doing is subsidizing losing corporations. From my point of view, this is nothing more than a corporate welfare bailout. I think it changes the structure of investments in America very much for the worse.

CR: Do you see trouble in the future with structural deficits, that is, deficits we would incur at full employ-

LAFFER: No. Not at all. Our deficit right now and all the projected deficits I see are all due exclusively to the depth of the recession. Whenever you have high unemployment people don't pay much taxes because they don't have income and people receive a lot of welfare, food stamps and unemployment compensation. Unemployment and inflation are the biggest spenders of them all. My view is if we lowered the unemployment rate to the 4% or 5% level, reduced inflation and interest rates, then we would have a balanced budget in

CR: Would you describe the policies of President Reagan as "supply-side economics?"

LAFFER: Sure. It's obviously not pure supply-side economics, but what politician is pure anything? What you've got with Ronald Reagan is a lot of good focus on supply-side issues. He's a heck of a lot more supplyside than Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon or Lyndon Johnson. I would have never delayed the tax cuts. He delayed them so we finally got our tax cut this year. But he's dealing with Congress and he's under a lot of political pressure. But over all you have to give Ronald Reagan awfully good marks.

CR: Would you advocate an additional tax cut right

LAFFER: Oh yes. In fact what I think we should do right now, all things considered, is get rid of three federal taxes. The payroll tax is a terribly regressive, unfair tax. The personal income tax is, of course, a farse. I mean it's the lawyers' and accountants' employment act. The corporate profits tax is a disaster. It bails out bad companies and taxes good ones, which makes no sense. I'd get rid of all three of those taxes and in their stead put two flat-rate taxes. A flat-rate value-added tax and a flat-rate personal unadjusted gross income tax. If you did that you could have a rate of about 11% and still collect as much revenue as we do from those three taxes. Those three taxes currently constitute over 90% of current federal receipts.

CR: Do you think there is any realistic possibility that we could get a flat-rate tax?

LAFFER: Sure. People deserve the governments they have. If people want one bad enough they will get it. We wanted that tax cut bad enough and we got it. And here in California we wanted to get rid of our inheritance tax and we got rid of it. We had Proposition 13 for property tax and we took care of that too.

CR: Do you believe protecting U.S. industries from foreign competition through tariffs, quotas, subsidies, etc., to be beneficial to our economy?

LAFFER: It's a disaster. It prevents Americans from getting higher wages. Americans work to buy Toyotas, Mazdas, Volkswagans, BMWs, and so on. By increasing the price Americans have to pay for these products you are literally lowering the income of people who are working. So it's the equivalent of an across-theboard tax increase with no corresponding spending. It's a tax you pay with no one getting the money.

CR: Do you think a significant slow-down in money supply growth was necessary to bring down inflation?

"We used to call the minimum wage the black teenage unemployment act."

LAFFER: No. In fact it didn't. Take a look at last year when inflation went way down. The money supply went way up and velocity tumbled.

CR: Then what brought down the inflation rate?

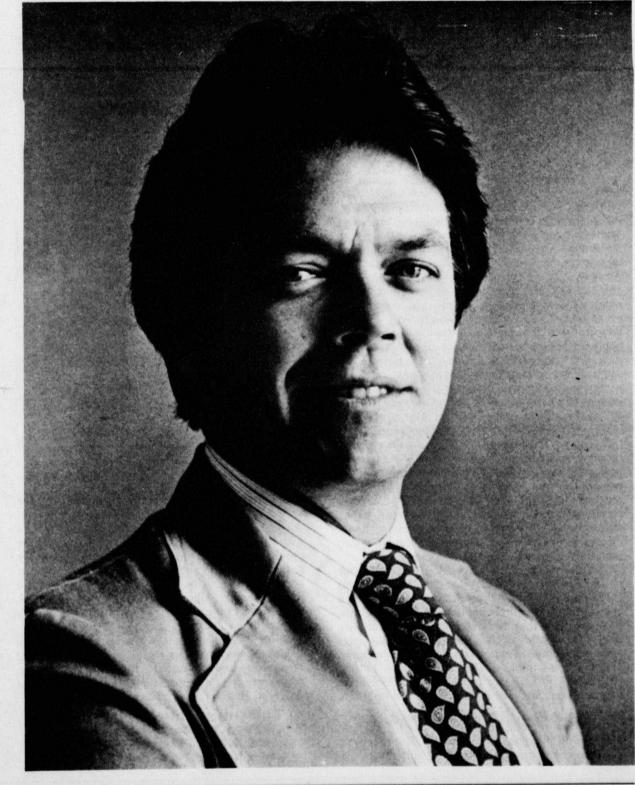
LAFFER: The change in the Fed's policy to go back to the price rule. They're starting to make a quality money again by intervening in the foreign exchanges, stabilizing interest rates, stabilizing spot commodity prices and gold prices. When you make a good dollar people are willing to hold more of it. I think they've shifted the demand for money way up.

CR: Since the recovery has started, the savings rate in the U.S. has fallen to very low levels. Is this a problem? LAFFER: That's the National Income and Product Account savings rate. You have to ask yourself the question: "Why do people save?" Don't they save to augment their wealth? Over the past year you've had a huge increase in private wealth by the appreciation of existing assets—equities, stocks, bonds, assets of all sorts. If you measured savings as being the increase in wealth, then you'd have had a huge increase in savings in this past year. To see this intuitively, let me ask you this. If I gave you \$15 million today, how much of yournext pay check would you save? Not very much would you. In the National Income and Product Account they don't measure the increase in wealth-they measure the increase in the units turned into wealth. They've missed the whole point of savings. Savings have increased dramatically.

CR: You've talked about high tax rates reducing the incentive to work. Do you think welfare payments have reached the point where they act as a disincentive for the poor to find work?

LAFFER: Yes. Taking a family of four in Los Angeles and assuming one of the adults to be disabled or unable to work, with no earnings the maximum legally available social welfare benefits this family can acquire is \$50 more per month than what the spending power of the family would be if it earned an additional \$100 per month. This is because of that \$100 you have to take out the employers payroll tax, the employees payroll tax, and then you have to take into account needs tests, means tests, and income tests, since as the earnings of the family increases their welfare gets cutoff. So that corresponds to an average tax on the inner-city poor of only 103%. How much would you work if everytime you went to the office instead of getting a check you got a bill? So it's not so surprising that black unemployment rates have increased as

(continued next page)



(continued from page 9)

much as they have, why black participation in the labor force has fallen so sharply, and why the earnings of fully employed black males have not increased dramatically relative to white males. You've got a huge disincentive trap in the inner cities—what we call a "poverty trap."

CR: So would you support dismantling much of our welfare system and replacing it with a negative income tax?

LAFFER: I don't know about that. What I have proposed myself are enterprise zones. The proposal I made eight or nine years ago was that every firm located in the enterprise zone would pay a maximum tax of 10% on profits. Also a firm located in an enterprise zone and hiring a person residing in the enterprise zone would pay no payroll tax for that person and that person would also not pay any payroll tax up to \$10,000 of earnings. (By the way, you don't lose any tax revenue from that. They aren't paying any taxes now.) In addition, the teenage minimum wage has got to be eliminated. This is the only way those kids can get the skills to earn more than the minimum wage. We used to call the minimum wage the black teenage unemployment act. And the last part is, being an active environmentalist, that all government money directed to the inner cities must come with a thorough

review of building codes, regulations, and restrictions.

CR: Do you think labor unions cause much unemploy-

LAFFER: Well, I'm not an expert on that. I'm not really down on labor unions. In a couple of industries I think they've caused some bad problems. Right now in the airline industry they're not doing a heck of a lot of

CR: Do you think economics should be stressed more at the university and high school levels?

LAFFER: Well, it depends who's teaching it. The basic macroeconomics text is Samuelson. Is that what you want them to learn in high school and college?

CR: Well, could you write something for us?

LAFFER: Sure. Do you know how long it takes to write one of those?

CR: Is it true that you first sketched the "Laffer Curve" on a napkin at the Two Continents restaurant in Washington?

LAFFER: I have no idea. Have you ever doodled? Do you remember what you doodled two and a half years ago? There was a reporter there from the Wall Street

Journal who claimed two and a half years later that I doodled that on a napkin. He said it was a paper napkin. I would never doodle on a cloth napkin. But I love the story don't you?

CR: Do you have any new books coming out that you'd like us to plug for you?

LAFFER: I don't think anyone wants to read them. The Mathematical Foundations of Supply-Side Economics just came out, by Academic Press. It's just 450 pages of proofs and theorems. And my other one, International Economics in an Integrated World was out last year. It's really a summation of my life's work in international economics. It's not for people to read normally. It's a professor type book.

CR: I understand you're building a house down here over in Rancho Santa Fe.

LAFFER: No, I've already got one there. My mom and dad built it. We come down all the time. We just adore it down there.

CR: Well if you're ever in the area, feel free to drop by.

LAFFER: Are you in on Saturdays?

R: Usually.

LAFFER: Great! Well I'll stop on by and we'll have a beer or something.

## Notes from the Brigadier

GEORGE WILL: VIRTUOUS BAD BOY



best conservative columnist extant. That's what makes

this book so disappointing. Statecraft is Soulcraft,

Will's first extended foray into political philosophy,

suffers from his Matthew Arnoldian ivory towerism.

Matthew Arnold wanted a powerful state to act as a

Dr. Thomas Arnold for the citizens of Britian, educating

them in the qualities of sweetness and light. Matthew

Arnold's state was supposed to be an incarnation of

our best self. The people, he believed, would put

nothing less than their best foot forward when the

whole world was watching. George Will wants a

powerful state too. He tells us that government is a

noble profession, a vocation not an avocation, and

increasingly too complex for the layman to serve. He

wants a powerful state that stands in opposition to our

present ethos of self-interest. His state aims to

encourage what is best in us. Which is to say, George

the Manchester school and F.D.R.'s mild and improvised social-democratic program are both honorable persuasions. But they should not march under borrowed banners. They are versions of the basic program of the liberal-democratic political impulse that was born with Machiavelli and Hobbes.

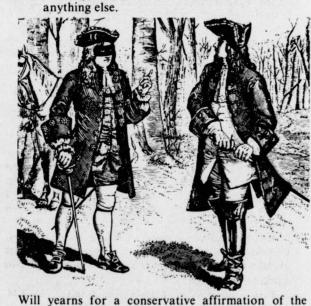
But Reagan is "fierce and ideological" whereas F.D.R. is "mild" because Reagan employs rhetoric against big government, and George Will is the sainted protector

Reagan's fierce and ideological liberalism of

of government's dignity.

This national service leads him to do battle with Milton Friedman.

A famous economist, who has a Nobel Prize and (what is almost as much fun) a regular column in *Newsweek*, recently became so exasperated with me (for some deviation from *laissez-faire* orthodoxy) that he wrote a stiff note. He said that he likes what I write—except when I write about economics. I am too exquisitely polite to have replied that I like what he writes—except when he writes about politics, and he rarely writes about



Will is chasing after moonbeams.

Conservatism, as it is practiced in the United States today, stands for limited state action, but it supports the same sort of state action George Will supports: protection of the right to life, utilization of military conscription, enforcement of obscenity laws, and so on. Will is really not so different from the average conservative. He just wants to be. He wants to be the virtuous bad boy of the Right, prophesying doom unless we think more of virtue and less of self-interest. Statecraft, he says, is soulcraft.

Will takes great pains to prove that his is the lineage of a true, blue-blooded conservatism. Burke was no libertarian. Plato and Aristotle thought of citizens in a context that was entirely political. These are truisms, no doubt about that. But since the eighteenth century least in the non-Marxist democratic West, as spheres separate from and in many ways superior to the claims of politics. Will thinks this was a wrong turn. Indeed, he thinks Ronald Reagan and F.D.R., different as they may seem, are men of the same flawed tradition.

I will do many things for my country, but I will not pretend that the careers of, say, Ronald Reagan and Franklin Roosevelt involved serious philosophical differences.

welfare state. Yet, like Matthew Arnold, he seems more concerned with aesthetics and philosophy than with nuts and bolts politics. His answer to the welfare problem is, in fact, a product of the enemy. "A welfare state run on conservative principles will provide the poor with cash to buy necessities from the private sector, thereby reducing the need for an enormous social-service bureaucracy." Meet Milton Friedman's negative income tax.

Will's attempt to distance himself from the crowd (which is odd given his rhetoric about the joys of community and collective action) is a mania that sometimes gets the better of his prose. George Will is different. He is an intellectual who likes baseball.

Baseball (to put first things first) and politics are two activities about which I spend a lot of my life thinking. Naturally ("the natural" is a concept to which I shall recur), I have a strong

Statecraft as Soulcraft:
What Government Does
by George F. Will
Simon and Schuster
186pp., \$13.75

desire to justify this investment of time. If you accept the premise of our political system, you accept the fact that it is natural that my reason should serve my desire by devising a rationalization for my preoccupation with baseball and politics. So I begin this book with a confession of self-interestedness (another subject to which I shall recur). According to some cynics who masquerade as philosophers, and some philosophers whose philosophy conduces to cynicism, philosophy is generally a rationalization of desires. I disagree, but I admit that my aim is to explain why politics and baseball are more noble undertakings than is generally understood. Asserting the nobility of baseball may seem merely peculiar, but asserting the nobility of the political vocation may seem perverse.

Baseball is never mentioned again and the subject of sports is dropped after the next paragraph. Nor are we told what Burke thought of cricket. Self-denial is a conservative virtue. This self-indulgent paragraph should have been denied.

One of the ways Will really is different is in his eggheadedness. Conservatives are, by and large, a clear thinking breed. Will claims that unless conservatives come forth with a large and muscular government program to uplift and enlighten our citizens we will lose elections and lose the West. The conservatives whom Will dubs "today's soi-disant conservatives" have a more lucid vision of reality. It is difficult to admire state power when in the East it is equivalent with totalitarianism and in the West it is equivalent with bankrupt treasuries and dependent citizens. While one may agree that the decline of organized religion necessitates an increase in republican civitas, it should be recognized that a failure to meet religious, artistic, and social liberalisms on their home turf in the hope that a government based on conservative principles will supersede these struggles is not only dangerous, but poor strategy. A better response would be to retrench government, keep it limited to its seminal functions, and meet leftist insurgents wherever they spring up, pastor for pastor, artist for artist, politician for politician. The Victorian Age and the British spirit during the First World War should dispel the notion that a laissez-faire society is a consumptive one. A limited government based on liberal democratic principles is a conservative government and one that is saleable. A liberal, democratic, laissez-faire society facilitates the advancement of oneself, one's family, and one's country; it is just and is concerned with justice; and it does not interfere with (and by not interfering, strengthens) the transmission of traditional values from the family and the community. That's the historical record. If this soi-disant conservatism is not ideologically pure we may recur to Mr. Will's dictum that "conservatism is political biology" and the consolation that a hybrid is stronger than an inbred species.

H.W. Crocker III is a founder, a member of the Pantheon, and the Brigadier Editor Emeritus of the California Review. He is currently working as an intern for the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C.

### Vonnegut and the Literature of Pity

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by Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., is not a happy man. He was not happy in 1952, when his first novel, *Player Piano*, was published. Despite his eminent status as a recurrently popular writer, a man whose fans should actually be labelled "devotees," whose effect on the new literature (i.e., John Irving) is enormous, it is unlikely KV will ever be happy. Why?

Because people are suffering.

And because people are suffering, KV suffers too. He has characterized artists as being "super sensitive," their roles that of "canarics in a coal mine." Writers smell danger before it is noticed by others, and try to warn society to watch out. Here is what KV has smelled his entire career, his continuous and unchanging warning for our generation: "THE WINNERS ARE AT WAR WITH THE LOSERS, AND THE FIX IS ON. THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE ARE AWFUL." Needless to say, his sympathy lies with the losers. Who are the losers? Everybody who lacks control over others.

What KV epitomizes so charmingly in his writing is the literature of pity, where life is faulted for not behaving nicely to one and all. KV despairs for the bottom layer of society. As he says, "I think there are some people who really need a lot of help. I worry about stupid people, dumb people. Somebody has to take care of them, because they can't hack it." Life is upsetting in that it steps on absolutely worthless individuals like Diana Moon Glampers, who "by almost anybody's standards [is] to dumb to live."

KV's books are for all those tired of competition, of striving to beat anybody at anything. Having grown up during the Depression, he claims this imparted a nearly permanent "envying, life-hating mood." People are too good for this universe, since thinking should be a wonderful thing, yet seemingly has no impact on life's events. As he says in the *Playboy* interview, "I'm very tired of thinking. It doesn't seem to help very much. The human brain is too high-powered to have many practical uses in this particular universe, in my opinion." To speak in Nietzchean terms, KV is a profound "no-sayer" to life.

KV continues to think though, but has succeeded in creating fictional characters who do not. In nearly every novel, the lead character merely stumbles from one situation to another, bouncing around with no more control than a pinball in a machine. For all of them, life is only marginally attractive. Billy Pilgrim, the most insipid pinball KV ever created, lacks any will to live. His father uses the "sink or swim" method on Billy by throwing him into the deep end of the pool. Predictably, Billy sinks. And he vaguely resents being rescued, at being forced to react to life. Others must repeatedly persuade him to live. Billy Pilgrim is not a hero, nor even an anti-hero. He's a non-entity who wishes a return to the womb, a wisp of nothingness whose wistful epitaph (and KV's, too) would read "Everything was beautiful, and nothing hurt." Although most of KV's characters at least pretend to have more zest than Billy, all would prefer an existence free of challenge, of turmoil, of effort.

Not only does KV reject life itself, he seems to reject those who would say "yes" to life, too. If the weak are victimized, who are the exploiters? The unabashedly strong, of course. In real life, KV is most disturbed by those who refuse to be embarrassed or denigrating about their above-average traits. Take William Buckley, for example.

KV acknowledges Buckley's various accomplishments, describing him as a "man who has won the decathalon of human existence." What makes KV uncomfortable, however, is that Buckley employs his considerable talents in pushing conservative ideas. It seems to irk him that Buckley is a superb debater, someone who can argue genially and well over issues that strike at the core of KV's sympathy for the losers.

Intelligent conservatives always irritate liberals in this fashion. To their ears, it is similar to hearing someone argue we should return to horse travel—and winning. Buckley, George Gilder, and Alvin Toffler are shocking anomalies to liberals, for their claim to virtue lies in having a monopoly on intellect.

Though KV admits in the *Playboy* interview that mankind's one constant goal is to improve itself in a Darwinian sense, he doesn't like this because "it makes people crueler." What Buckley does, to his mind, is rationalize cruelty, to render it more acceptable. As he says, sarcastically, in *Palm Sunday*,

"If we did not have such an intelligent and genial man...to argue in favor of social Darwinism, some of us might be too appalled and confused to listen, to learn for our own good how uncharitable we had better be."

If KV resents the presence of unabashedly heroic men in the non-fiction world, he can simply not allow them to exist in his fictional one. Look carefully through his works, and you'll not find a single successful individual worthy of our unambiguous respect. Noel Constant, in The Sirens of Titan, won his fortune through dumb luck. His son, Malachi, loses that fortune through sheer stupidity. In Mother Night, Howard Campbell, Jr., makes an excellent spy for the Americans. Unfortunately, he was even better at imitating a Nazi, which was the wrong thing to be good at. In Cat's Cradle, Dr. Felix Hoenikker is a bona fide genius. He playfully created Ice-nine, which eventually destroys the world. Jumping forward to Deadeye Dick, Rudy Waltz rivals Billy in his ineptnessd at life. He did write a play, but it's Moon Glampers be materially helped?
She can't.

Nor can any of the chronic losers that KV worries about. As he admits, the best such a scheme offers is a sense of community. Or, to put it tritely, "misery loves company." There will forever be victims of society, so the best we can do is help them commiserate with one another.

The other solution KV offers is, by his own admission, not much of a solution at all. We can empathize with the suffering, feel their pain, and do whatever possible to lift a bit of it from their shoulders. This is a very Christian idea and despite being an atheist, KV identifies with Christ in this sense. Billy Pilgrim is symbolically crucified during the worst of his troubles, while traveling to a camp as a prisoner of war. While traveling in a boxcar as a prisoner of war, Billy Pilgrim lies at an angle on a corner brace, "self-crucified." Eliot Rosewater's whole personality is directed at imitating Christ. He tries to feel love for everyone indiscriminately, to be a paternal figure that the lowest can turn to. He



The one seeming exception is Winston Niles Rumfoord, a man characterized by style and gallantry, in *Sirens*. After flying into a chronosynclastic infundibula, he becomes omniscient, too. People worship Rumfoord as a god-like individual, a role he plays fairly well. He even invents a new religion, "The Church of God the Utterly Indifferent," which he implies is the faith conservatives follow. At a great cost to mankind, people are led to a sort of happiness. Then the bombshell is dropped: Rumfoord has been controlled by the Tralfamadorians all along, manipulated for their ends just as he manipulated Earth. His free will and mastery of events was an illusion.

If the exercise of individual strength is predatory, at best based on illusions and happenstance, what should be done to help the weakest? KV offers two main solutions.

First, we can re-introduce extended families. Loneliness is at the root of human unhappiness, which in turn is the basis for much wrongdoing. As Wilbur Swain says in Slapstick, "I said that all the damaging excesses of Americans in the past were motivated by loneliness rather than a fondness for sin." This explains Richard Nixon's behavior while President, for he "and his associates had been unbalanced by loneliness of an especially virulent sort... They were not basically criminals. But they yearned to partake in the brotherhood they saw in Organized Crime."

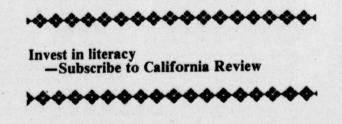
On this point KV speaks truthfully, at length, and well. Alvin Toffler, author of *The Third Wave*, agrees with this diagnosis in general. But extended families already exist for the wealthy (country clubs), for the middle class (bowling teams), and for the vocal poor (welfare). What can introducing them to the bottom layer of society do? How can Diana

attempts to "treasure people as people." The strain of being a human Christ results in temporary insanity, but Eliot's compassion survives the ordeal. When he discovers how many poor women are claiming him as the father of their children, Eliot gladly accepts this burden. In very biblical terms, he finishes the novel by saying "And tell them that their father loves them, no matter what they may turn out to be...And tell them...to be fruitful and multiply."

KV has not shrunk from publicly identifying himself in a Christ-like style. In his wonderful piece of whimsy, *Breakfast of Champions*, he concludes the novel with a self-portrait of his face in profile, a tear of pity dangling from his eye. In *Slapstick*, The Church of Jesus Christ the Kidnapped uses precisely this picture on one of their leaflets, with the addition that Christ is gagged, handcuffed, and chained to the floor.

Again KV would be the last to argue this does any good. In fact, such wading in unhappiness is more likely to pull the beneficiaries even further into muck. Eliot Rosewater makes the last payment on a motor scooter for someone, who promptly crashes, killing two people. Conservative ideas may be right in the long run, but KV rejects a world where this is true. The literature of pity, along with its politics, slows the progress of mankind, and KV resents this.

Ralph Rainwater, Jr., is a senior at UCSD.



### California Review Interviews

The Honorable Robert K. Dornan left the U.S. House of Representatives in January, 1982, after serving three terms. However, his credentials go far beyond his service in Congress. An aviator for the past 32 years, serving first in the Air Force as a jet-fighter pilot with the first supersonic squadron, Congressman Dornan has the distinction of being the only member of Congress ever to have personally piloted the B-l bomber, the B-52 and the F-lll. He has also flown some 25 other high performance fighters including the F-l5, F-l6, F-l8, the Israeli Kfir and the VTOL Harrier.

Mr. Dornan began his involvement in politics as a war correspondent in Vietnam, and was on of the first to speak-out against the Johnson-McNamara "no-win" policy of Vietnam. He holds many awards for his work as a television news anchorman and producer. Additionally, he holds two Emmys as host of his own television discussion program. Congressman Dornan was the originator of the "POW-MIA" bracelets worn by over 5 million Americans during the Vietnam War. Dornan has been active in the civil rights movement in America since the early 1960's and has received numerous honors for his work with young people in combatting drug abuse. The father of five children, and grandfather of three, he is married to a beautiful wife, Sallie

Mr. Dornan has travelled the world extensively and on a return stop from a recent fact-finding trip to Central America the Congressman took time for an informal chat with the editors of the California Review.

CR: What is your assessment of the situation in El Salvador?

DORNAN: The small nation of El Salvador has the highest population density in North America—4.5 million people. Let me correct that. Half a million are already up here. It has a duly elected government—March 28, 1982—and it is hanging on by its fingernails with bare subsistence military support from the United States. They can't make it on what we're giving them.

CR: How do we convince the liberals that El Salvador is worth defending?

DORNAN: You have to start with a very basic education program, almost condescending in approach. You have to remind them that Central America is just a real estate name. Central America means nothing. It's part of the North American continent. What we're talking about is the southern tip of North America. El Salvador is closer to Los Angeles than Los Angeles is to Washington D.C. Then you have to point out that it's in our own self interest to let these good people live in the country they were born in. I'm basically Irish-American and look at all the songs written by Irish emigrees, who fled a potato famine and economic disaster, about "Ireland Must Be Heaven Because My Mother Was Born There," "Sure and a Little Piece of Heaven Fell From Out the Sky One Day." Irishmen would have preferred to stay in Ireland, Scots in Scotland, German refugees, Swedish refugees, Russian refugees, all the refugees that have fled all over the world in the last two centuries have left the home they love because they couldn't make a living there. Why do we have 100,000 Nicaraguans in the Miami area alone? Why have we gained 500,000 illegal immigrants from El Salvador in the past two years? If El Salvador goes into the economic decay that Marxism brings with it, easily a million or more people will come up here, and another million from Honduras, two million from Guatemala, and there is no one who can accurately predict what will happen if Mexico goes Marxist. Probably the minimum figure will be 10 to 20 million people. The billions of dollars it would cost us to accomodate these refugees are so far beyond the piddling few dollars that El Salvador now requires in economic and military aid, that it's a bargain basement special to try to keep this

CR: What will it take to win the war in El Salvador?

nation with a duly elected government free.

DORNAN: It's going to take the Congress supporting the President's very humble requests and probably even increasing them a little bit. There is no suggestion anywhere to send American fighting men. There are some suggestions, even from liberal Democrats, that we should take a stand in Honduras. But why should we write-off El Salvador and take a stand in Honduras? Why do we give Honduras whatever it wants and deny El Salvador aid? El Salvador is where the fighting is. Their air force is a decrepit little air force consisting mostly of ancient French airplaines given to them by the Israelis. They

are using two types of jets that fought for the Israelis in the 1967 Lightning War—the Fouga Magistaire, which is principly an old Israeli trainer, and the Oragan, which was obsolete when I began flying the F-100 in 1955 when I was an Air Force active duty pilot. The French won't sell them any spare parts for these planes. We have given them six A-37s, which in truth is really the T-37-the first tiny, little Cessna jet a U.S. Air Force pilot solos in pilot training. Our pilots call it the "Tweety Bird." We gave them six about a year and a half ago. One crashed on take off with engine problems, and we never even replaced that one. So they're getting by with these five little American jets. Honduras has an entire squadron of Israeli-supplied Super Mistaires. The Hondurans have 42 Huey helicopters. The Salvadorans have eight helicopters and they can't keep more than five flying. And those are so necessary in a battle situation that they have no helicopters for Medivac. Their wounded soldiers lie on the battlefield longer than our wounded soldiers during the Civil War.

CR: How effective have the Contras been in cutting off the flow of arms from Nicaragua?

DORNAN: We're supporting the government in El Salvador and we're supporting the counterrevolutionary guerrillas in the north of Nicaragua. Aden Pastora, an original Sandinista hero who turned against the Marxists, is operating in southern Nicaragua and is getting other support, probably from Venezuala. The Contras have been doing very well both in the north and the south. Just before we made arrangements for me to come here and be interviewed by your editorial board, two fascinating things a happened. The Contras mounted two air raids. In the first raid the Contras'strafed Sandinista hangers with two propellar driven Cessnas. The Sandinistas shot one of the planes down, and in a Cohen Kelly, medal-of-honor type plunge, the pilot turned his plane around, crashing at the foot of the control tower destroying customs and VIP room. That mission was not conducted by the Contras in the north that we are supporting, but by Aden Pastora's Contras in the south. In the second raid two more aircraft, probably T-28s (aircraft I first soloed in 1954) strafed the oil storage tanks at Corinto. That is really stunning. The Sandinistas have SAM 7 missiles-hand held surface to air missiles, so these missions are extremely dangerous.

### Hypocrisy and Central America

by C. Brandon Crocker

Deriding Western democratic states, especially the United States, for hypocrisy is a pastime of the political Left. Now leftists are parading up and down the streets protesting the Reagan Administration's "hypocritical" policy of supporting the government in El Salvador against rebel forces while supporting rebel forces fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

In El Salvador we are protecting a democractically elected government from a small group of insurgents armed, trained, and given logistical support by other nations-the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua. The elections held in El Salvador were monitored by over one-thousand foreign observers and judged to be completely free of fraud. Over 80% of the population ignored death threats by leftist guerrillas and voted. (The massacre of the inhabitants of one village who dared to wrong the rebels and their supporters by voting was reported by the Los Angeles Times with the headline "Rebels Settle a Score.") The rebels refuse to take part in elections because they claim their candidates would be murdered. So instead they murder voters and democratically elected officials.

The rebels in Nicaragua, however, are battling a dictatorship which has done everything in its power, save actual invasion, (one former Sandinista official claims even that has been planned), to subvert its neighbors. High level Sandinista counterintelligence officer, Miguel Bolanos-Hunter, who recently defected, reported that the rebels in El Salvador are completely "managed and directed from Managua." The "Contras," who have received minimal U.S. assistance have helped to slow down the flow of supplies from Nicaragua to the rebels in El Salvador. U.S. policy is consistent. We are

protecting democracy and the sovereignty of nations from outside aggression.

Now let's look at the Left's views on Central America. The Left claims that the rebels in El Salvador are fighting against abuses of human rights. But how bad would the human rights problem in El Salvador be if there was no guerrilla revolution? No country has ever had a good human rights record while fighting a civil war. Yet the Left is against having U.S. advisors in El Salvador even though U.S. trained battalions in El Salvador are responsive to the government's orders not to kill civilian rebel supporters, which is a rare occurence in the history of Central America. The repression which is the



supposed root cause of the revolution in El Salvador does not come from the current democratic government nor from the Duarte government which rekindled the democratic process but from the military government which was replaced in 1979. The current revolution is not a struggle against repression; it is a struggle for power. As former guerrilla commander Arquimedes Canadas has related, the revolution is void of democratic political goals and run by Nicaragua and Cuba, two countries whose governments are not renowned for respect for human rights. In fact Amnesty International has accused the angelic Sandinistas of having a worse human rights record than the Somoza regime.

The Left also claims that revolutions will happen

wherever there is poverty. (The fact that this is empirically false does not deter leftists from arguing it.) But why, then, do leftists advocate socialistic centrally planned economic systems? Such systems have failed to improve the economy of any nation which has implemented them. Cuba is a typical example. Before Castro came to power Cuba had the fourth highest GNP in Latin America. Now it ranks fourteenth despite receiving billions of dollars in aid from the Soviet Union.

U.S. aid to a democratic government in El Salvador and joint military exercises with friendly Central American countries are portrayed by the Left as imperialism. The massive military build-up in Nicaragua, the enormous arms shipments from the Soviet Union to Nicaragua and Cuba, two thousand Cuban military advisors in Nicaragua, and Nicaragua's arming, training and directing of rebels fighting in neighboring countries, however, are merely helping engender "self-determination" in Central America. The Left's definition of selfdetermination-the importation of Marxist revolution--certainly is an unusual one. The Left claims to execrate tyranny yet, by calling for power sharing between the elected government of El Salvador and the rebels who are willing to kill people as long as they aren't in power, the Left would insure tyranny by destroying what the government of any stable country needs-legitimacy.

There is plenty of hypocrisy in the debate concerning U.S. policy in Central America, but it does not emanate from the Reagan Administration. It comes from the bumper sticker logic of the Left which states that nothing is a problem if we aren't involved. The exportation of terrorism and revolution cannot be ignored. It must be stopped if such things as freedom and democracy are to be preserved.

C. Brandon Crocker is a Junior at UCSD.

### Robert K. Dornan

The Salvadorans are concerned because the word is that the Sandinistas will use their SAM 7s to shoot down aircraft in El Salvador. They are very afraid of the communist forces upping the ante.

CR: How widespread is counter-revolutionary sentiment in Nicaragua?

training children in grade school to hate Americans, similar to what the Chinese did for twenty years, it's frightening. Once America opened the door to China those two decades of hate disappeared, because the Chinese are one of those people who innately like Americans. I've never read a definitive socio-political study as to why the Chinese like Americans so much, but two decades of teaching hate didn't work. I feel that if Nicaragua ever had a free government and allowed its people to vote, their indoctrinated hate would disappear.

CR: How should the Reagan Administration make its case to the American people?

DORNAN: The Reagan Administration must do a

more effective job of teaching Americans about the proximity of the Central American countries and about the potential refugee problem. There's nothing racist about helping these people stay where they want to stay, because if they do come north we will let them in. This country is never going to put the 82nd Airborne on the border with Mexico and build electrified wire fences. The minute some beautiful 3year old Mexican girl is hanging dead on that wire fence people are going to ask "Who paid for that electricity?" and "Who is the slob politician who murdered this child?" We're just not going to do it. We have the most porous border in the world and we will never be able to justify an open border with Canada and a closed border with Mexico. So we must develop free governments in Central America and Mexico. That makes good sense for the people there, if we truly love them as brothers and sisters in the North American continent, and it certainly makes sense for the American taxpayer. The Reagan Administration has to make this a prime priority. The liberal arguement that these are small inconsequential countries and it doesn't matter what governments they have is ludicrous and rotten cynicism. It is rotten cynicism to say "Who cares what one country suffers because of its government.' It is ludicrous to say that these countries aren't a part of America's vital interests and are not strategically important. 85% of the material that would go to support NATO forces if the Soviets decided to suddenly come through the Fulda Gap in East Germany would come through the Panama Canal.

The educational process that the American people should be treated to is very important and it is up to the Reagan Administration to get the word out.

CR: Is American prestige at stake in El Salvador?

DORNAN: We have been percieved throughout the world as a paper tiger because of Vietnam. In Vietnam we had air supremacy. "Air superiority" means you dominate the battlefield area. "Air Supremacy" means you dominate the entire theater. We dominated the seas and we never lost any type of land battle other than maybe a Green Beret camp

"85% of the material that would go to support NATO forces if the Soviets decided to suddenly come through the Fulda Gap in East Germany would come through the Panama Canal."

being overrun or a company sized operation being temporarily pushed back only to overwhelm the Communists later. So that makes Vietnam unique in all of history. Never has a nation had control of air, land, and sea, and never lost a battle, and yet lost the war. Obviously we gave away the victory at the Paris peace table on January 27, 1973. Whatever prestige we've built back since the Vietnam debacle we're going to lose maybe forever if the Third World sees a handful of guerrillas, somewhere between three to six thousand, and I think the figure is closer to three than six, defeating United States prestige when we haven't really committed military force. For example, we talk of 55 militrary advisors in El Salvador. I've been down there six times and there have never been more than 50 advisors there at the same time. Twelve of those people work in the Embassy. Those jobs could be filled by civilian embassy workers. So that means we have 38 people in the field in El Salvador. We have 8,000 men and women in the divided city of Berlin, we have 350,000 men and women in Europe

38 years after World War II, and we have 38,000 in Korea, where there's never been an armistice, only a ceasefire on July 27, 1953. And here we're talking about an isthmus that's part of North America and here we have 38 period. If that isn't absurd I don't know what is. It's unheard of in the whole field of geopolitics.

CR: Speaking of absurdity, how do you answer to the arrogations of Father Cardenal of the Sandinistas who says "The person responsible for the fact that I no longer write poetry is Ronald Reagan. If he would not have been elected perhaps I would be happy and tranquil. He really messed up my personal life"

DORNAN: Well isn't that too bad that this Minister of Education, who is lying through his teeth to whitewash the military build-up in Nicaragua, can't write poetry any more. He is serving in direct disobedience of a vow he took as a priest of the Catholic Church. He has defied the Pope so directly that I vividly recall the Pope at the airport in Managua this year stopping in front of Father Cardenal. As Father Cardenal whipped off his beret and knelt respectively in front of the Pope expecting a handshake or a blessing, the Pope scolded him. The Pope has told the Sandinista foreign minister Miguel Descoto and Father Cardenal to get out of politics and minister to the poor. Nobody is ahead of the Pope in talking about social injustice. Father Cardenal could probably go back to writing his poetry if he would go back to the ministry of Jesus Christ, ministering to people, and get away from playing liberation theology politics.

CR: Did you know that Tom and Jane's Committee for World Democracy has opened offices in San Diego?

DORNAN: I really don't think people want to hear from the man who carried flowers to the airport in Hanoi, who went there six times, who appeared before a communist youth assembly in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia and in a grotesque attempt to paraphrase President Kennedy's finest speech-the "Ich Bin Ein Berliner" speech-said "I am Viet Cong. We are all Viet Cong." Guess who Tom Hayden named his oldest child after? He's named after a terrorist who tried to kill Robert MacNamara. That's in his book. I find it outrageous that this man has the sort of following that allows him to set up his committees. His assembly seat is the first paying job he's ever had in his life. Nobody can tell me of a book he's ever written that sold more than a few copies. After giving him 10 million dollars, Jane Fonda is cutting him off from the profits made by her exercise (continued on page 14)



C. Brandon Crocker, Thomas J. Edwards, Robert K. Dornan, E. Clason Young, H. W. Crocker III - Mission: Central America

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California Review

### Is the Computer the Cure?

#### By Dr. G. James Jason

Americans have a number of tendencies which come to the fore in any crisis. One is the habit of looking for the "technofix," the quick technological breakthrough that cuts the gordian knot of some problem. We want to build a canal, create a machine, etch a chip.

Another such tendency is our habit of looking for one cause of any given problem, rather than many. We look for the virus which causes cancer, the factor which causes heart disease, and so on.

Then again, we are as a people, impatient with theoretical analyses and discussions, preferring instead action wherever possible. Don't just talk, we say, do something. Make war on poverty! Act affirmatively to end discrimination!

These tendencies are at work in the current rush to put computers in the classroom—a rush that, I contend, may lead to some hasty and very harmful developments.

A Crisis in Education: It is now almost universally agreed that our educational system—especially on the primary and secondary levels—is in a state of crisis. This universal agreement is based on genuine evidence: SAT scores in decline, growth of functional illiteracy, and decline of discipline.

Public awareness of the dimensions of the problem has been slow to develop, however, and the awareness among educators themselves has not grown much faster. Of course, as long ago as 1955, with the publication of Rudolf Flesch's bestseller, Why Johnny Can't Read, some parents and educators were aware that trouble was on the horizon. Again, in 1978 Paul Copperman published his brilliant work, The Literacy Hoax, while all through the 1970's the Council for Basic Education fought the good fight to wake up the public.

But there has never been the tremendous popular concern that exists now. The event which has crystallized the feelings of parents and teachers alike, and has forced the mass media to pay attention, was the recent report issued by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, called "A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform." The figures cited are sickening to anyone concerned with education: 13% of the general 17-year-old population (and maybe 40% of the minority students) are functionally illiterate; two-thirds of them can't solve a mathematical problem requiring several steps; and a staggering four out of five cannot write a persuasive essay.

The public is haunted by one phrase in particular: "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war."

The Computer as Cure: It is a commonplace notion that we are witnessing a computer revolution. Commonplace notions are often mistaken, but this one clearly isn't. From its origins in World War II the computer has risen to eminence. In the 1960's this revolution took the form of mainframe computers (the really large machines used in science and industry) taking control of large industrial and bureaucratic tasks. But in the 70's and 80's the real revolution has taken place in the realm of the microcomputer, the small "personal" computer explored early on by Apple Computers, and now so successfully exploited by IBM

#### (continued from page 13)

studios, workout book, and her designer line clothes. She wants some of the money for herself. She's more or less cut him loose and said "live on your 10 million and the first salary you've had in all our married years: Your \$20,000 plus expenses in the assembly."

CR: Of all the airplanes you've flown, which was your favorite?

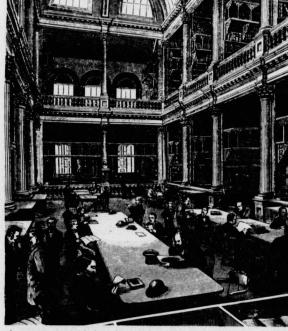
DORNAN: Of all the planes I've ever flown the one that has got my attention the most is the F-16, and this is after flying the 18 and 15. In the F-16 the stick is not on the floor between your legs. It's over on the side panel matching the throttle on the other side. The seat is slightly canted back so you can pull more Gs. And the stick moves so little that they've had to induce a fake movement in the stick to give you a feeling of movement. I would look at the stick when I was trying to fly in tight formation with other l6s out of Edwards Air Force Base and it was moving only by pressure of the muscles inside the palm of my hand. That's getting down to highly sensitive equipment. That's the airplane, with all due respect to the excellent F-15 Eagle, that they're working out voice command with and that is actually defying the rules of flight with what they call "fly-by-wire controls" where you can actually move sideways in flight, not just around the roll of the longitudinal, latitudinal or vertical axis—yaw, roll, and pitch. It's actually doing things that airplanes aren't supposed to be able to do.

The personal computer is everywhere doing everything. They control inventory for small businesses, word-processing in the office and at home, and are rapidly becoming just another appliance at home. I have even heard it said that fifty million personal computers will be in use by 1985.

Given the American penchant for technofix, and this powerful technology so revolutionary in other areas, it is not in the least surprising that there is a growing clamor for using computers in the classroom. The idea is being highly touted that the computer can cure the nation's educational disease. "Computer literacy" is what will end our collective slide into illiteracy. At the very least (it is said), computer literacy is the fourth "R."

The numbers reveal the growing presence of personal computers in the classroom. The U.S. Department of Education reports that the number of microcomputers has tripled in the last two years, and although the absolute number is still relatively small, the trend is obvious. And the pressure is on from parents and politicians to accelerate the trend. The rhetoric often gets inflated-Education Secretary Terrel Bell has even called microcomputers "the textbooks of the 21st century." Trudy Bell (associate editor of Personal Computing) recently wrote an article entitled "My Computer, My Teacher"—a phrase likely to make any teacher's flesh crawl. (She quotes Dr. Billy Reagan, the general Superintendent of the Houston Independent School District, as saying, "We've done a lot of research here on computer-aided instruction, and we have learned that we can do in 10 to 12 minutes what ordinarily takes 50 minutes in a class.")

The pedagogic use of computers assumes several forms. Computer training (a less misleading phrase than the somewhat contradictory "computer literacy") involves teaching children how computers are used, and how to use them. Typically this involves some



elementary training in computer programming, with the student learning to do simple programs in programming languages specifically designed for beginners—usually BASIC or LOGO. The impetus behind the push for widespread computer training seems to be the same as gave rise to the push for widespread "driver education" or "driver training" courses: the belief that if a machine is widely used in society, it is the job of the schools to train people in the use of that machine.

Besides computer training, there is computer managed instruction. This is the use of computers in administrative tasks, such as managing records and doing mechanical grading. This is hardly revolutionary.

Much more revolutionary is computer assisted instruction (CAI), now all the rage. CAI involves using small computers directly as "teaching machines"—indeed, the original designer of teaching machines, B.F. Skinner, has recently spoken highly of the embodiment of them in the form of microcomputer software.

The usual CAI set-up has the student working directly with the micro-computer, which operates under an "interactive program." The machine helps drill students in various ways, with endless patience and with the pacing open to the student. One example of CAI is the work (coordinated by Dr. Susan Kamla) for the Minnesota Department of Education developing computer software to teach music fundamentals.

CAI has its advocates and detractors—see (for example) "American Education: The Dead End of the 80's" by Arielle Emmett (*Personal Computing*, August, 1983). But can it substitute for a teacher?

Some Doubts: I am not against the computer revolution; indeed, I am myself a student of computer science. But I confess great doubts about the wisdom of trying to use computers to halt the decline of

education. There are three central reasons for my

First, there is a past history of technofix in education, and that history is one of failure. Audiovisual/Multimedia had its day, and failed to live up to the promises. More recently, the claim was made that television—which is, after all, even more pervasive in our lives than computers—would radically transform education. Many schools and colleges developed "telecourses" of various sorts. But again the bubble burst rather quickly. One indication of this was the recent decision by a committee of University of California professors and administrators to deny credit to students who take certain "telecourses" from Coastline Community College (a nontraditional college with no campus). The committee found many of the courses to be substandard, even by community college standards.

The second reason I oppose the rush to push computers in education is that there is a fundamental confusion regarding the aims of such computerization. Half the time the justification is that since computers are so pervasive in our economic system, we ought to train children in their use. The other half o the time the argument is that the computer is a great substitute for the teacher. In short, there is a great confusion between CAI and computer training. When one separates these two quite different issues, the suggestion to solve our educational crisis via "computer literacy" becomes much, much less plausible.

Consider the argument that computer training is vital because of the pervasiveness of computers. It is obviously fallacious—many things (television, sex, divorce, cars, checking accounts, rock music) are even more pervasive without being the sort of things in which children should take courses, much less form a major part of any child's education. It fact, the prevalence of electives in all these trendy topics is part of the cause of the decline of education, not its cure.

Indeed, we again have history to guide us. The fantastic growth of driver's education courses was fueled (pardon the pun) by rhetoric of the "educate-the-whole-child" sort. But recently Jack Weaver, project director of a study on driver's ed courses (conducted by the Safe Performance Association of Atlanta), reported that the study found no statistically significant improvement in students' accident rates after taking "driver's ed." (The study was no small venture: it cost nearly six million dollars and tracked 18,000 high school students.) Trendy non-academic courses not only siphon off valuable resources from basic education, they often simply have no effect whatsoever even in the "relevant" area.

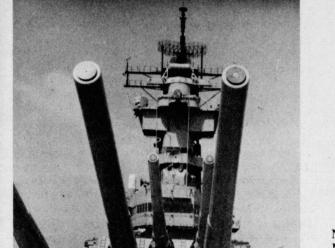
As for CAI, I don't deny that someday computers may aid teachers, or even replace them. Computers already mimic the way doctors diagnose various ailments, albeit with limited success. Perhaps computers will someday to all the tasks we typically associate with creative human intelligence—although this is by no means obvious, as Hubert Dreyfus has so skillfully argued in his excellent book What Computers Can't Do.

But in any event someday isn't today. As of now, CAI is still quite experimental, and of limited use—quite often amounting to nothing more than a glorified set of flashcards or practice-book.

This brings me to the third and most serious reason I have grave doubts about computer literacy as a panacea. I strongly suspect that those who advocate it have failed to come to grips with the central cause for the decline in education: the wholesale adoption of so-called "progressive" educational theory. By that phrase I refer to a welter of curious doctrines about the nature of children, the function of schools and the goals of education. This web of mistaken notions includes the idea that children innately love learning (some do, most don't). It includes the idea that learning should be fun, not work (sometimes it can be, but not often-and anyway, discovering early that work is inevitable is a healthy thing, at least for those for whom work is indeed inevitable). Also included is the bogus notion that "rote learning" is evil beyond measure, and that mastery of concepts is more important than mastery of basic skills and facts (quite the reverse is true: concepts are truly learned by mastering the basics).

And of course this tissue of false ideas includes the notion that schools should do much more than teach basic skills: they must help the child become a perfect whole, without racial bias or sexual "hangups" (from some ersatz Freudian point of view), boys able to sew and girls able to drive bulldozers, all familiar with cars and checkbooks and microwave ovens. Ready, indeed, to be perfect little liberals, all primed by their teachers to fear nuclear war and the horrible military-industrial complex. Primed, adjusted, ready—but utterly unable to read, write, articulate thoughts or have any thoughts to articulate.

(continued on next page)



Thomas J. Edwards and the business end of the U.S.S. New Jersey—Defenders of Freedom.

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#### The Fiscal Fast Lane

Excerpt from: The Lost Papers of Professor Serendipity

Headline in the Wall Street Journal April 1, 1983: "Some Loyal Americans Bring The Debt Down By \$135,575.15"; and the accompanying article: "Washington—When it comes to reducing the national debt of \$1.2 trillion, the government figures every little bit helps.

"So this year, for the first time, the Internal Revenue Service included in its income tax instructions information on how citizens can make 'voluntary contributions to reduce the public debt.' Taxpayers can send debt-reduction checks along with their completed tax forms.

"IRS Officials say that 1,873 Americans have contributed to the cause so far with checks totalling \$135,575.15. Nearly half the contributions are for less than \$10, says IRS spokeswoman Ellen Murphy, but a 'very generous soul' forwarded \$25,000."

This is an absolutely correct quote of the Journal article. What is amazing is that it coincides with a prophetic piece written years earlier as a satire a clef by one Professor Serendipity; a piece lost in the shuffle of moving but recently discovered by an unemployed word processor and reproduced here. Its title is "The Fiscal Fast Lane."

#### The Fiscal Fast Lane

No one is sure when the U.S. government moved into this lane; the date is put variously at 1932, with FDR, and 1963, with LBJ. But the result by 1984 was clear: The federal government would gladly send free money in any of a dozen ingenious ways to any group that could make out a plausible case for its own poverty.

This was good news indeed, and people across the land were not loathe to speak up. The requests soon were coming by the carload, and the money rolled out by the truckload. Overtime at the Treasury

#### (continued from page 14)

We ought to resist the rush to commit great resources to computer literacy. We ought instead to pay more money for better, more qualified teachers, to hold those teachers to demonstrable standards of performance, to demand and get more basic performance from our students, and to restore discipline at all levels.

It has taken the near collapse of our educational system to wake us up to the problem. I hope that we aren't deflected from solving it by the latest educational technofix.

Dr. G. James is professor of philosophy at SDSU and one of CR's Ivroy Tower praefecti.

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became the second largest item in the federal budget, just after "Interest on the Federal Debt," and sixteen items higher than National Defense, which by then included simply maintenance money for the U.S. Coastal Navy, and operating funds for the travel agency that maintained the remaining eight missile sites, now declared "National Historic Parks."

The stories of the wonders worked by this at-first small and visionary attempt to bring hope into the world were not long in coming. Cut-and-Shoot Texas, population 400, whose poverty had been the object of excoriating articles by a gadfly Texas muckracker, acquired a new 2,000 seat gymnasium and computer. Pascagoula, Mississippi, heretofore thought to be the fabrication of southern nostalgiaphiles and morning television, submitted an application written entirely by hand on paper towels, an evidence of poverty deemed so shocking by compassionate officials at HUD that the agency immediately wired money for a papermanufacturing plant-the one plant the town already had. Tens of thousands of people found temporary jobs typing at city hall, building six-lane freeways in southeastern Ohio, and spraying paint inside apartments with no electricity. The press, in a rare moment, was mesmerized. And the truck tracks to the Treasury grew into such a nuisance that the Congress finally did the whole front lawn in concrete.

But life in the Fiscal Fast Lane wasn't all joy. Over half the offical Fast Lane local agencies were investigated or closed outright for financial irregularities. The badges of membership of Fast Lane agency directors quickly became the Mercedes Benz. Some directors ran off with millions; some simply ran off. Gaping holes appeared in downtown cityscapes where program bulldozers were never followed by rebuilding crews. And, of course, less than one-half of the unemployed workforce ever found permanent jobs in the Fast Lane, a fact reported candidly in Fiscal Fasties, a weekly Washington tabloid. National unemployment continued to do whatever it wanted to do. Loss of morale hit the Men from Fast Track. It grew more difficult for any one of them to stand up before a clatch of city fathers, put on the best sales smile, and say: "Washington has a gift for you!" with anything like the old enthusiasm.

But having put the gears in motion there was no way back. Political careers now depended on keepin' those trucks movin', as you can just imagine. Fast Track was no longer a small, visionary program to bring hope back to the world; it was Big Business, a way of life, political angel dust.

Yet when the Fast Track became three-quarters of the federal budget, some four hundred times larger than the next largest item, and 950 times larger than the federal defense-the latter now an off-budget expense called "The Federal Fund for the Operation of Fort Leonard Wood and Other National Museums"—the GAO reported the end at hand. "You are about" said the GAO in a special red-ink paragraph introducing its penultimate report titled Avalanche of Bucks, "to reach a watershed in American history: a rate of taxation which exceeds the total gross national product. Come April 15, there will be nothing left to the American taxpayer. This

prospect is already causing the hoarding of barrels and trenchcoats."

And so, at that moment of crisis, the IRS included in its new tax forms an open leter to the people of Pascagoula, with reprints to every citizen in the nation.

It was a touching story of poverty.

It described how the U.S. Government was broke. And it concluded with an idea for a small, yet visionary program to bring hope back to the world. "Besides your lawful tax payment," it concluded, "couldn't you make a small contribution? Washington needs a gift from you."

Professor Serendipity is a former professor at Public Finance and one of CR's Ivory Tower praefect.

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Dances

Berlioz: Overture: The

Corsair

Debussy: Danse Sacree et

Danse Profane Varese: Deserts

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