

C. Brandon Crocker: The Money Gap/Gender Trap

Thomas J. Edwards: Yellow Rain,
Yellow Rain, In The Cinnamon Tree.

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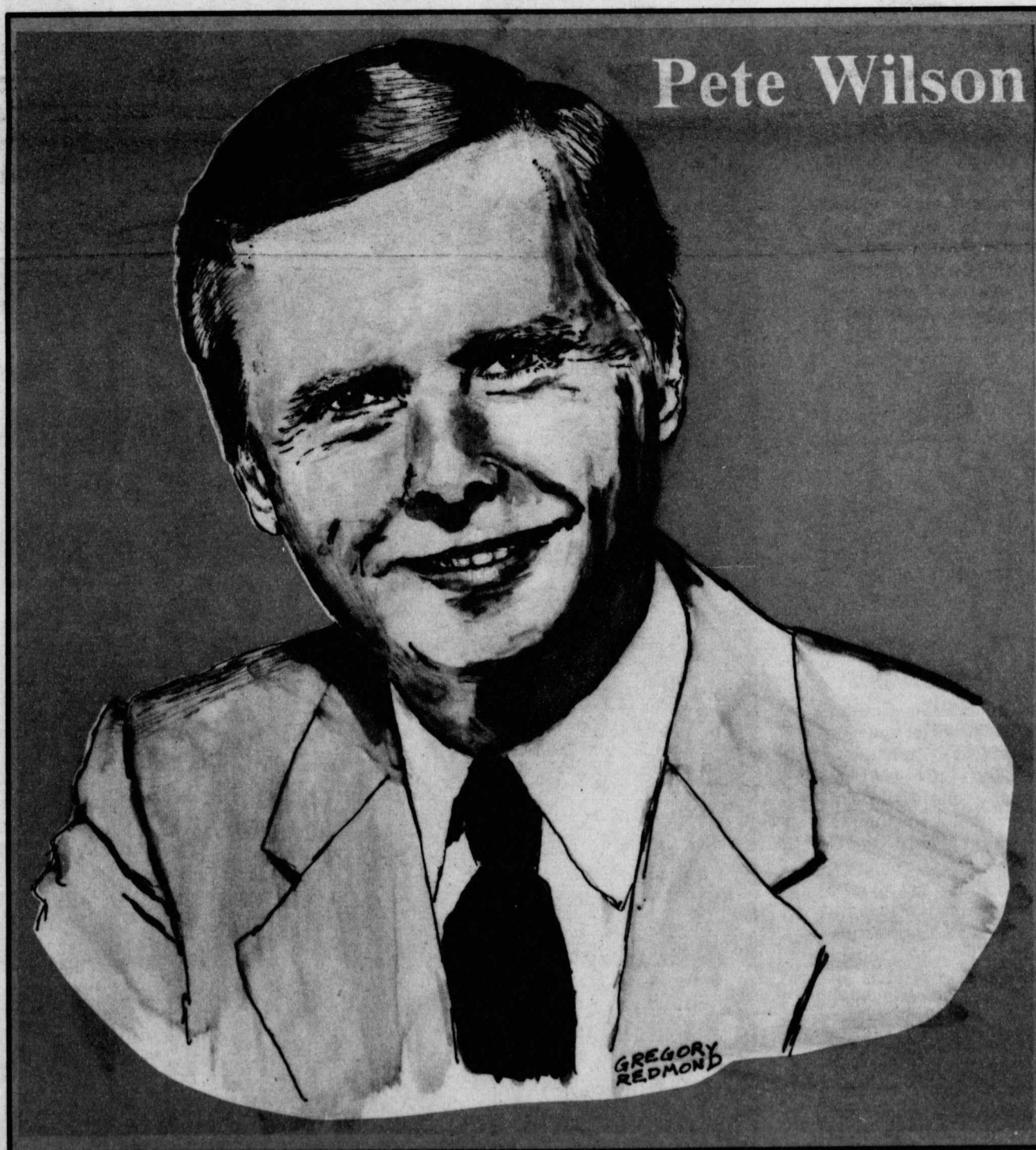


James Ralph Papp: Oxbridge Political
Unions

Ralph Rainwater, Jr.: Socialist Dyspepsia

E. Clasen Young on Cyrus Vance

Also: G. James Jason, Paul Lazerson...



On The Forensic Hiatus

By James Ralph Papp

Several weeks ago William F. Buckley, Jr.'s "Firing Line" abandoned its usual setting, a television studio filled with college students, and went to be filmed in one of its occasional settings, an ivy-covered hall filled with college students. This particular event was a debate on whether Reagan should be reelected, sponsored by the Yale Political Union and including Mr. Buckley, George Will, Senator McGovern and an unfortunate gentleman whose name was forgotten once by Buckley, once by McGovern and for a last time by me.

The exchange could not be said to be particularly memorable, mostly because Senator McGovern was speech-making while Buckley was debating. This is not to condemn either form, for the speech-maker and debater are likely both to say very little in their own way, but the two do not play well together. Whenever Buckley would maneuver McGovern into a corner, the latter would give a campaign speech, and whenever McGovern tried to get a straight answer out of Buckley, his opponent would ooze out of it as he is so well known for oozing. This served to entertain the students at Yale, but it hardly suffices for the delectation of lesser ordinary mortals. Indeed, when the moderator of the debate, if anyone was needed to make it any more moderate, intoned, "Mr. Buckley is thanked," or, "Senator McGovern is thanked," at the end of each performance, the passive voice was no doubt a wise evasion in the circumstances.

However, the debate's absence of success is less the point here than the fact that the thing occurred at all. The celebrities imported to exchange blows are of less interest than the existence of a Yale political debating society. It appears to be a callow imitation of the Oxbridge Unions. For instance, the Right is labeled as the Tories. Neoconservatives, of which the collegiate Right mostly consists, are decidedly not Tories, and it is surprising that they would have the perception to realize the expediency of adopting a more respectable moniker. I suppose it must be put down to imitation. Nevertheless, as decidedly second-hand as the Yale Political Union is, it is more than UCSD has got.

Notorious guest speakers, like Buckley and J.K. Galbraith, bring attention to college political unions, but as a place to resolve, or simply highlight the distinctions between, divergent answers to problems of society, economics and government, the genuinely useful role of a college union never gets any attention from press or television, at least outside of Oxbridge. The opinions of university students do not sell newspapers (except, we hope, the *California Review*), yet those are the opinions developing to eventually direct the country.

parry out of one's head and at the instant needed, instead of having to retreat to additional works of reference and digest someone else's intellectual resourcefulness over the weekend. Were the political union opportunity more prevalent, not only would campaign and Congressional speeches be more interesting, and not only would their debates have more substance and result, but the listeners would be able to make better sense out of what they are hearing.



assuming that they are hearing sense at all.

A skill that can be, but is not necessarily, related to thought (demonstrated by some of our more orotund politicians) is speech. However clever one's ideas are,

they are no use to anyone unless they can be convincingly communicated, by tongue or pen (not including merely sticking out the former). The decline of writing in our society is of course accompanied by a decline in speaking. It is not that people are speaking less—TV verbiage increases daily—they are just saying less while they speak. Political reporting now consists almost entirely of the cliché or potential cliché, which should not surprise anyone, considering that politics itself has nearly the same content. The most dangerous place to speak at length while saying nothing should be in front of college students (excluding, apparently, those from Yale) who are waiting eagerly for the chance to throw in some pithy criticism. A gaggle of boisterous collegiate intellectuals cannot be matched for dealing with any buds of vacuity (of the opposite side) or lame expression (on their own) that need to be nipped.

Still, however, UCSD has no battleground for the ideas with which our generation will have to direct the country. This convinces one that the directing will be done by those less enlightened but more organized plodders at Yale, an unhappy thought. Because of that it should not only be our pleasure but our duty to form a union where varying political lights are unified only in their desire to develop their minds, test their ideas, and show those Yale boys how this sort of thing ought to be done.

James Ralph Papp is a sophomore at UCSD.

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It is fortunate that UCSD has publications printing opinions on all sides of every issue, but periodicals firing away from opposite sides eventually accomplish no more than the Hatfields and the McCoys. Along with the power of what I suppose one would call buttal, we need the power of rebuttal, a situation in which the opposing sides can meet, if only to disagree. Political thought develops by encounter with a different kind of thought, coming away either stronger or weaker. Without that encounter the thought stagnates; rounds fired in the air from an isolated opposition become monotonous. The only partisan who should be against a political union is one who suspects his point of view of having a weak point that will crack when brought under pressure.

Political unions not only test people's opinions, but they develop a quality of thinking that may not, and probably will not, come from classes. That is a quality of spontaneous attack and defense, of, simply put, quick thinking. It is beyond the unopposed pomp of speech-making (or term paper-delivering), above the tedious technicalities in lugubrious subjects of competition debate. Union debating engenders intellectual resourcefulness, the skill to come up with stroke and

Letters



Dear Mr. Edwards,

I wish you and the *Review* every success in the future.

Sincerely yours,
Jeremiah Denton
United States Senator
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

How delighted we were to receive the recent issue of *California Review*. We find your biting humor and stirring arguments to be, quite honestly, the best thing we've ever seen to come out of California, with the one exception of Ronald Reagan.

Keep up the good work.

With all good wishes,
David R. Thomas
President, Associated
Students
Vanderbilt University

Guilford Thornton
Vice President, Associated
Students
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Friends:

The paper gets better all the time — which hardly seems possible since it was so outstanding to begin with.

Since I had the pleasure of introducing you and Dr. Jason here in Coronado, I am delighted to see that the relationship has sustained and prospered and that Dr. Jason is a member of your staff and a regular contributor.

I don't have to exhort you to keep up the good work because I know you will. It warms the heart just to know you're there.

Sincerely,
Helen V. Smith
Coronado

Dear Editor:

The University of Kansas Libraries has established a major research collection which provides students with the opportunity to study American political thought and action. The Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements is recognized as an important resource for teaching and research in the areas of history, political science, economics, sociology, and communication.

Your organization has been recommended to us as an important source for information and literature. We would like to insure that your printed materials are available to our library users and ask for your assistance. We would like to be added to your mailing list in order to receive future publications.

Sincerely

Sheryl K. Williams
Curator
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Lawrence, Kansas

Dear Thomas,

I met a few of your journalistic colleagues in Washington at the IEA Conference and subsequently upon receiving the latest *California Review*, I noticed the distinguished portrait of yourself on the back page. This observation has inspired me to write and express my happiness that some of us graduating from LJHS in 1981 have leaped into the "right cause" of Politics and Journalism. Here's a copy of the latest "Davis Dossier," not yet the quality of the *Review*, but I hope you enjoy it.

Conservatively yours,
Les Csorba
Editor-At-Large
"Davis Dossier"
Davis, California

Dear Msrs. Young, Crocker, and Edwards:
Still looks great! Or even better.

Sincerely,
Gene Gregston
District Administrator to
Congressman Bill Lowery
San Diego, California

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

The Poverty of Socialist Utopianism

By Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

"We shall proclaim destruction — why? why? — well, because the idea is so fascinating!...After all, what does socialism amount to? It has destroyed the old forces, but hasn't put any new ones in their place."

From Dostoevsky's *The Devils*

What is one decent measure of a philosophy's worthiness? Its ability to describe a workable world order, a system that corresponds to the way people think and act. Has socialism been able to do this? No. And as we shall see, it is unlikely socialism ever shall.

Not that this has truly bothered socialist theorists. Even today they mouth the same tired formulas, raise the same worn banners, acting with complete disregard for the philosophy's inability to construct a workable, vibrant society. From out of the pages of a socialist book, there rises the musty odor of self-deception, a willingness to avoid facing facts. So much of this literature exudes a sense of flagging energy, combined with rhetorical excesses as if saying a thought loudly will make it true.

But let's be fair. As a method of thinking that sharply criticizes capitalism's failures, that spots problems capitalist theorists may miss from being too close to their subject, socialism has great value. Recently I finished reading Fred Block's *The Origins of International Economic Disorder*. Writing from an avowedly revisionist perspective, Block effectively lays much of the blame for current strains and stresses in the international arena on U.S. policies. If one ignores his general tone of barely suppressed outrage, and his use of terms like "odious" to characterize the Marshall Plan, then the work is a useful critique of tunnel-vision, American style.

But after 223 pages of criticism, Block describes his vision of a workable international economic system. This takes two and a half pages. As opposed to the cogent, detailed text that came before, Block suddenly shifts into a rhetorical vagueness, a general call for "democratic socialism." No proof is offered that this would work, no guidelines are proposed. This is not surprising.

Block and others always run into the same theoretical wall when the time arrives to prescribe solutions to the problems they spot. No wonder, when we look at the literary examples of what a socialist order would be like. They are, without exception, societies of the graveyard; quiet, orderly, spiritually dead.

What are the characteristics of a socialist utopia? Let us glance at three of the best.

Thomas More's *Utopia*, which is Latin for "no place," is the first society where socialism is the basis of order. Utopia represents a real dystopia in concrete terms, for his society is a tyranny of the mediocre. It sacrifices individuality, excellence, and the drive to advance for the sake of a society without faction. It is egalitarian, stable, and dull. For more, a just state is one comprised of faceless, nearly uniform beings.

As in many later socialist utopias, More took a Christian perspective, attacking pride as the basis of inequity in society. Pride is the root of all evil, with money being its vehicle to spread itself, to enforce its will. Thus in Utopia every precaution to devalue individualism is taken. Utopia institutions are designed to destroy any individual's pride in himself.

Communism is the law of the land. In no way does the possession of money give one benefits. Since all material goods are free, it can buy nothing. Only the most basic goods are produced, for luxuries create their own demand — supply side economics at work. Clothes are loose fitting uniforms of the coarsest material, designed to render all uniformly dull in appearance (as in China today). Though it is not stated explicitly, More may intend to hide physical differences by this unisex clothing. No sense in being made to feel like something the cat dragged in.

Apart from the Spartan lifestyle, More takes direct aim at pride in other ways. Officials all have to work, or as the Stywards do, often will to set a good example. Officials are respected as one respects one's father. Unquestioning obedience to their orders is based on the principle that officials know their subjects' own good. Lenin and Mao apparently found this idea appealing.

Education is open to all, with perpetual lectures popularly attended. Though an intellectual elite teaches, they are not thought to be better people as such. In a book famed for its detail, we never learn exactly what the curriculum consists of. Utopian professors probably teach only how good the state is, demonstrating that all others are degraded in some

sense. Criticism of the state's basic assumptions is not allowed. Nor does More imply anybody would wish to since officially everybody in Utopia is happy. The intellectual elite serves only to administer the state and keep it from changing. The parallels with the USSR are striking.



What does this all mean? There are no heroes, no superior people. The highest value is literal equality of people, a devaluation of distinctions. Individuals are theoretically faceless, their personalities irrelevant to their status as people. This is what Aristotle characterized as a bumble-bee state, a disparaging comparison intended to show what people should rise above.

Such stringent rules require a nationwide monastery. Internal passports restrict movement from one village to another (sound familiar?). Privacy is explicitly not allowed to insure that everybody watches each other. Excessive curiosity in other places and nations is discouraged. Like the USSR today, such curiosity indicates one is inferior in some way, that not being happy in the perfect state makes one less of a person. For More, anyone who wishes to move from one village to another, much less another nation, is subversive in some sense, since he is expressing dissatisfaction. Only a wrong-headed person can be dissatisfied with perfection.

Coercion is evident everywhere. Those who break the laws are to be slaves, performing forced labor. Spiritual values are diverted into efforts to encourage more work. Religious people do the most distasteful tasks.

In the end, Utopia's society is geared to consistently dilute any sign of individual excellence. It is a straight-faced rendition of a society Vonnegut was to parody in "Harrison Bergeron" so well.

I have gone into such detail on More's work because it has not been improved upon. No, not one writer has significantly changed the idea of socialist perfection since 1516. There have been a few notable attempts though. Without exception, they are pedantic, dry, humorless, colorless books lacking any of More's narrative charm. Two quick examples:

Around 1861, in Russia, Nicolay Chernyshevsky wrote a work entitled *What Is To Be Done?* It was conceived to be an antidote to Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, with a successful revolutionary showing the way to paradise, rather than an unsuccessful one who dies. The book can hardly be called a piece of literature. Ralph Matlaw, a noted expert on Russian and Soviet literature, aptly characterizes it by saying, "There is no other example in world literature of so shoddy a work capturing and maintaining its hold on a large section of a country's 'reading' population — both under the czars and in the Soviet Union." The notions

of mankind's perfectability, given the proper social environment, are repeated to the point of irritation. Dostoevsky specifically took aim at this tendentious tract in his *Notes From Underground* — and destroyed it forever. Which is another reason why *Notes* is not allowed in the USSR even today.

Finally, Ursula LeGuin, in *The Dispossessed*, carried the socialist utopia to new levels of absurdity. To be fair again, she has publicly belittled this work as a mere stage she passed through and went beyond. In light of her excellent work elsewhere, this is understandable. Reading *Dispossessed* makes one embarrassed for the author.

The usual socialist institutions are set up here. As in *Utopia*, private property has been abolished, communal meals are eaten, clothing is unisex, and so on. But LeGuin goes further by eliminating all the biological differences she can between men and women too. Men breast-feed babies, since it is unfair for only women to experience that pleasure. Bearing children is a terrible crimp in a woman's life, so they are freed of that burden. Instead, babies are grown in fluid filled glass compartments.

Needless to say, everybody is altruistic by nature and works for the common good. Those who disagree with this system are social pariahs, obviously defective people.

These are silly speculations, mere logic games that cannot pretend to represent any type of future reality. Logic is carried to the extreme of illogic, which untailingly negates the original premises. One simply cannot imagine these societies as bearable places in which to live, much less thrive. Is it any wonder that modern socialist critiques of capitalism falter when it is time to explain how they would organize society differently? That writers like Block retreat into generalities? Unable to conscientiously advocate such systems, socialists nevertheless have nothing more to offer.

This does not mean we can expect socialists to publicly admit their intellectual bankruptcy. As Shigalyov, the socialist from *The Devils*, says, "I'm afraid I got rather muddled up in my own data, and my conclusion is in direct contradiction to the original idea with which I start. Starting from unlimited freedom, I arrived at unlimited despotism. I will add, however, that there can be no other solution of the social formula than mine...No one can invent anything else."

His audience appropriately breaks into laughter, as should we.

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

Women on the Rampage

By C. Brandon Crocker

What dire affliction has come over the American female, causing her to stage protests and wallow in lugubrious self-pity? The answer is the women's movement. It is the women's movement which has promulgated the myth that women are being systematically discriminated against in, and oppressed by, a sexist society.

Feminists have based their assertion on a variety of current situations. One situation is the great underrepresentation of women (by sex) in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate. The fact that women do not run for political office to the same degree as do men is simply ignored, or, better yet, explained by some sort of sexist social conditioning. Leaders of the women's movement, however, through their own actions have shown that even they don't believe that representation by sex is what is important but rather representation by ideology. In 1980 NOW supported a man over Millicent Fenwick (a pro ERA woman) for Senate because of Fenwick's stands on national defense and other such "women's issues."

The most challenging argument (in the sense that it can't be refuted with the same degree of casualness with which it is often asserted) is the one based on economic performance. Women make 60% of the income that men earn. But we cannot infer the causes of this statistic from the statistic itself. We cannot jump to the conclusion that sex-based discrimination is rampant from the fact that women make 60% of what men do. This statistic does not explain anything. It must be explained.

To explain this differential one must look for causes. One cause of this differential is the fact that women do not work as continuously as do men. This means they acquire less experience and, therefore, command smaller wages. The reason that women do not work as continuously as do men is because they tend to marry men and have children. As George Gilder states, motherhood is a biological fact but fatherhood is a social invention. The mother is the natural parent to raise young children and, whether one thinks this right or wrong, this function is accepted by most mothers. This is very disabling to earnings, as the woman's job must be interrupted and work experience forsaken. The loss of experience hurts the woman's wage level and the interruption in career makes a woman less employable for certain high level positions for which continuous work and long hours are necessities. Even if a woman is married to a Phil Donahue or an Alan Alda and leaves child rearing to the father, she still has



to carry and bear the child, which involves these same handicaps, just to a lesser degree. Differences in incomes between single women and men are not great at all.

Can the remaining difference be attributed to sexual discrimination? Some of it can, probably. But there are still many differences in the constitution of men and women in the work force that have not been accounted for. For example, since 1960 the percentage of women in the work force has risen dramatically while, over the same period, the percentage of the male population in the work force has actually declined. What this means is that the number of inexperienced women entering the work force has increased relative to men. Since less experienced workers are less valuable to employers, they command lower wages.

Single women, or women who intend to remain childless, undoubtedly face a degree of "objective discrimination" and this is unjust. Employers looking for employees who must work continuously may categorically discriminate against women, not because

of their sex, *per se*, but because of the characteristics of the group as a whole and the extra costs involved in finding out the lifestyle goals of individual female applicants. This problem will not be solved by staging protests about "sexism." In fact, such actions probably reduce the chances of women being hired as they cause employers to see women as potential filers of lawsuits if they aren't promoted or if they are fired.

After taking real differences between men and women into account, sexism doesn't seem to play a major role in the determination of the incomes of women as a whole. "Objective discrimination" is a real problem that faces single women. Single women are a minority of the female population but it is only this minority which seems to have a legitimate gripe. Finding an equitable solution to this enigma will not be easy, it may even be impossible, but continuing to misdiagnose the sources of the difficulties of women in the work force only adds to the problem.

C. Brandon Crocker is a junior at UCSD.

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California Review Interviews

Pete Wilson, California's junior senator in the United States Senate, begins his second year touting an even more impressive record than the one he brought with him to Washington. Coming to Washington after a long tenure as San Diego's nationally acclaimed mayor, several years in the California legislature, and after defeating former Governor Jerry Brown, the Senator has quickly shown through his skill and much hard work that he is not to be taken lightly on the national political scene.

The 50 year old Senator, who looks more like 30, attended Yale University on a ROTC scholarship, majoring in English Literature. He holds a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley, Boalt Hall, and has several honorary doctorates. He tells us he is an extremely happy man and that he greatly enjoys the fresh challenges which being a Senator brings, especially with his beautiful new wife, Gayle, by his side. We found him to be most pleasant with a dry and very witty sense of humour.

Senator Wilson was generous enough to share with the editors of California Review part of a recent Saturday in San Diego, and to agree to an interview.

CR: What is the hardest thing you have found about representing California in the U.S. Senate?

WILSON: The most difficult thing is attempting to reconcile the fact that there are only 24 hours in a day with the need to accomplish a diversity of tasks for a constituency that amounts to a mini-nation. I am representing 25 million people with perhaps twice the staff as that of the Senator from Wyoming, who has one-fiftieth the constituency. And you quickly learn here that if you attended every committee and subcommittee hearing of the committees and subcommittees to which you were assigned you could be utterly ineffectual. So in short, what you have to learn is to prioritize, to delegate, and that requires first and foremost that you achieve a very good and highly reliable staff.

CR: Did you achieve the goals which you had hoped to in your first year, and what do you most want to accomplish in your second year?

WILSON: I thought the first year was a pretty good one. My goals were to organize that staff and to create relationships with my colleagues and members of the Executive Branch, and with key staff that would help enable me to be effective. To learn the procedures and to develop both relationships and to learn the processes required to be effective. I think we achieved that very well. In terms of specific substantive goals, both for this first year and for the coming year, the goal and

priority will continue to be to try to expand the opportunities for California, both in its agriculture and its manufacturing, and to gain access to foreign markets—since we will be dependent on exports to really find markets for the productivity of this state and to offer to California the kind of employment which we can have.

CR: Have you found it to be very difficult working with Senator Cranston on issues concerning California?

WILSON: No, I have found it relatively easy, because while we are deeply divided on certain philosophic points, neither of us exert much energy or time trying to make converts of the other on those points. But we do work together I think effectively where we are in agreement over the needs of California. He has a highly competent staff, they are quite professional, they have worked well with me and my staff. So I think that notwithstanding our basic philosophical differences we have on several occasions been an active team for Californians.

CR: What led to your interest in a career in politics?

WILSON: Well, Tom, from the time I was a small boy dinner table conversation at my house frequently centered on discussions of politics, public affairs and American foreign policy. My father is and was keenly interested in these subjects, I think perhaps without being quite conscious to the degree with which he was. He was an excellent teacher, he was provocative and capable of drawing us out. In fact, I think he pushed my brother and me to think about things we otherwise might not have thought about, and to formulate views in a way that we might not have been required to do otherwise—certainly not at so early a time. I found that my own interests were very much like his, and as I grew older my interests became ever keener. And then, of course, I made the fatal error of becoming involved as a volunteer in someone else's campaign and got hooked hopelessly...

CR: Whose campaign was that?

WILSON: Well, I had organized a Young Republicans Club when I was in law school and had been involved in a few campaigns in the Bay Area, but I guess the first candidate to whom I had a deep personal attachment was former Congressman Clair Burgener, when he was an Assemblyman.

CR: You accomplished much as mayor of San Diego during your eleven years. Some would argue that our city is not in as capable of hands. Would you comment on San Diego's current leadership and what you see as the greatest problem facing San Diego's leaders?

WILSON: I think the current leadership is young, and dynamic and aggressive. I also think idealistic and tough minded. We may not be in agreement on every

issue, in fact that is virtually guaranteed, but I would have to say that I think the mayor is highly competent and very energetic and that his aim should be the need to accommodate San Diego's growth, the virtually certain growth, in a way that allows San Diego to continue to enjoy the quality of life that has made the city so attractive, and, in turn, contributed to its growth. I am personally convinced that growth for San Diego is inevitable, and that the challenge for San Diego, both in the public and private sector, will continue to be to accommodate that growth by far sighted planning and implementation. As you look around the country you will find the quality of life is not dependent solely upon the size of the community. "Bigness" brings great challenges; it also affords opportunities that are denied smaller places. And there is no point in us bemoaning what you would prefer, if you prefer a smaller city. It is going to grow larger, and our challenge is to meet that inevitability with good planning.

"The dairy program is an outrageous and unjustifiable subsidy."

CR: How much will the U.S. government spend on farm and dairy subsidies this year?

WILSON: Much too much. The dairy program is a disgrace! I voted against it; it should severely cut back. It is very difficult for people like me who are free marketers and who are actively belabouring our trading partners, both in the European Economic Community and in Japan, to respond to their counter-complaint with respect to what we do in the way of the dairy program. It is an outrageous and unjustifiable subsidy.

CR: Is there any serious talk in Congress about implementing a true Flat-rate Income Tax?

WILSON: There much talk, but there, of course, are realities of a kind that I think are hard to overcome. I think the tax may be flattened, but I think we will be a long time in ever getting to a truly Flat Tax, simply because there is a constituency for virtually every line in the Internal Revenue Code. And some of these exemptions and deductions have considerable validity to recommend them. I, for example, would be reluctant to see elimination of the deduction given for interest paid on home mortgages. I think there is potential for a flatter tax, but I doubt that we will ever see one that is entirely flat.

CR: You have become more adamant since entering the Senate in calling for a Constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. What are the prospects for this, and do you feel that a tax limitation should be attached to such an amendment?

WILSON: I think the prospects are very good. There are now 32 States that have acted to petition Congress to either enact a Constitutional Amendment or to convene a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of requiring a balanced federal budget. It is remarkable that the only public agency in the country, almost, that operates free of the requirement to operate within a balanced budget is the federal government. And as a result of that we have not done so; we have obtained a national debt of over 1.3 trillion dollars. Our debt service, which is to say the interest on the national debt, is growing every year and reaching the point where it soon may become the second, rather than the third largest single item of federal expenditure. There are some later figures, but as an illustration: in the period from 1960 to 1981, annual debt service rose from a little under ten billion dollars per year to, I think, over 130 billion. This not only compels the federal government to be involved as a competitive borrower, but, in the act of borrowing, the federal government is drying up venture capital which would otherwise be available for those in the private sector to go in to the marketplace, if they have the guts to take a risk in marketing a new idea or service. As far as the



U.S. Senator Pete Wilson

prospects, I think they are good, because, as I say, 32 states have acted. We anticipate that California will be either the 33rd or 34th, and 34 are required on one of the two ways that I have mentioned. There is an initiative qualifying now for the November 1984 ballot in California. It will qualify. Californians will vote in favor of that amendment, and I am convinced that Congress is going to have to act in the very near future and be responsive to a mandate from the states to live within a balanced federal budget. I would say further it appears on the part of some that passage of this initiative in California will lead to a runaway Constitutional Convention. This belief is unfounded in my view. For this reason, I think it totally unlikely—highly improbable—that Congress would ever delegate a responsibility to a Constitutional Convention; they don't want anyone else making those decisions on how to handle the will of the people.

CR: How do you feel about Congressman Jack Kemp's tentative Enterprise Zones?

Wilson: I am a supporter of the Enterprise Zones.

CR: Could you explain why you opposed Senator Simpson's Immigration Reform Bill?

WILSON: Yes. Al Simpson is a superb legislator and very good, personal friend whom I deeply admire, and he has worked very hard on this legislation with the best intentions in the world. He has addressed a very real problem that has enormous implications in many ways. But just to put it as simply as possible, I object to his proposal because I am convinced that it will not work. The fundamental premise is that we will stem the massive flow of illegal immigration into this country by threatening to penalize employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. That presumably will keep people from coming because they will be convinced that they cannot find a job. Our own experience, in San Diego and elsewhere in the Sunbelt, is that the thousands upon thousands of migrants from the Frostbelt of the United States have come, even though they were virtually assured that they would not find employment—simply because they thought they would be coming to better way of life, even were they to remain jobless. In short, they thought they would find life better employed in the sun of San Diego than in the cold and drear in Hamtramk. And so I think that premise is basically faulty. And employer sanctions,

that is to say the threatened penalties, are going to produce considerable mischief in the bargain, and as it relates to California, specifically, I think it would have two impacts: The first is that small businessmen and women wishing to avoid the hassle of a possible federal prosecution for hiring an illegal alien will avoid that by engaging in what I call "defensive discrimination." If they are faced with the choice between two job applicants, one of whom looks or sounds foreign, and the other who doesn't, they will simply err on the side of safety and pick the one who doesn't. So, ironically, legislation which has as its announced purpose the protection of American jobs, may very well wind-up costing legitimate American citizens employment opportunities which they deserve, simply because they look or sound foreign. Second, as it relates to a major industry in California—the growing of perishable

"I would be delighted for some of the present delegates to the United Nations to be able to enjoy all the cultural and recreational comforts of Moscow."

commodities—the procedural requirements of the act will prove unworkable. Pears, peaches, plums and other perishable commodities are ripe when they are ripe. It is a function of climate, and not as a result of a finding by the Secretary of Labor that there is not an adequate supply of domestic labor available.

CR: Senator Barry Goldwater said to you recently that after 20 or more years of serving on the Armed Services Committee, he had "found no more interesting,

or demanding service on the Hill." Have you been happy on Armed Services?

WILSON: Yes I have. I think it one of the very best committees. I wish that I had time and were able to serve on about four or five, and it would certainly continue to be one. It is a committee of great importance to our national security, and in the course of providing that security California has become the major defense contractor and home of more military installations than any other state in the nation.

CR: What has been the most difficult task on this committee?

WILSON: Well, it is enormously time consuming because you are dealing with a level of tremendous detail. It is a committee with a relatively small staff; it has six subcommittees, but we deal with a budget which this year will exceed 300 billion dollars. And Defense Authorization requires far more hearings. I spend far more time on Armed Services business than other Senators do on the business of any other committee. It is because you are involved in both procurement and learning about the actual performance of and the cost associated with a variety of competing weapons systems. It is because you are concerned with all of the full panoply of issues that are dealt with by the six subcommittees. There is one that deals with strategic weapons, one that deals with sea power and force projection, one that deals with tactical warfare, one that deals with military construction. There is a myriad of detail associated with each one. And for those that fancy themselves "big picture" people, the cruel news is that the "big picture" is composed of an enormous amount of detail and you can't have a very clear "big picture" without an understanding of the details.

CR: As a former Marine Corps officer, what do you say the "big picture" would be in Lebanon?

WILSON: In Lebanon we are suffering from a very sharp change in circumstance. The Marines went in on a normal military mission. Their function was really more to provide an effective symbolic presence; to lend some stability and gain time for the elected Gemayel government to achieve the beginnings, at least, of a

(Continued next page)



(Continued from page 9)

national reconciliation that would provide for a stable democratic government. We went in with our allies in the multinational force to provide that limited function for the Gemayel government, and to buy time not only for the beginnings of that reconciliation in government, but also to buy time for the Lebanese Army to achieve a level of competence that would enable them to independently maintain order within the boundaries of Lebanon. The goal was all foreign forces would depart from Lebanon. But the plain fact is, the Syrians have reneged upon their announced intention to withdraw. There is, instead, a *de facto* partition of Lebanon with the Syrians occupying the northern and eastern 70% of the country. Additionally, they are supplying arms to Muslim militiamen—to the Druse and others—to conduct a campaign of attrition and, from a military standpoint, it is quite clear that the Marines' position, guarding the airport at Beirut was not what military professionals would have chosen for military advantage.

CR: Do you think Syria will be accepting the special Middle East envoys that Mr. Reagan would like to send them?

WILSON: I think that they need them. The question in my mind is whether Syria is prepared to do anything more than play a waiting game and continue to conduct the kind of campaign of attrition through its agents that allows them to be an extension of Soviet power. If they play a waiting game and continue to debilitate the multinational force by attacks on the U.S. and French components, and if they can see themselves as enjoying a sort of cat and mouse advantage, then I am not sure we can expect them to do anything more than sit and enjoy it. I think what we have to do is come to grips with the reality of the changes in circumstance, with the fact that there is a *de facto* partition, and fashion a new strategy with our allies in the multinational force and with the real party in interest, the Israelis, with whom we have formed a close alliance, and I think that far before the 18 months which Congress has given the President—under the War Powers Act Resolution—has run to its term, there will be a change in our situation. It may be that the change will be a new multinational force, composed of forces from smaller nations, will replace the present multinational force. I am afraid, however, that we are not going to see a quick solution that brings democracy and independence free of all foreign forces in Lebanon in the near future.

CR: Is U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO (the United

Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) a good move?

WILSON: Yes. Emphatically so, because there is simply a point where it is fatuous and worse for the United States to turn the other cheek and suffer in silence when an agency of the United Nations has been subverted. And the evidence of that is all too plain. That time has come and past, and the United States is correct in making the decision to leave UNESCO.

CR: Would it be overzealous for students such as the two of us to propose that the U.N. be moved to Moscow, and/or that the United States withdraw from the United Nations?

WILSON: It would not be overzealous. It probably will not be successful, even if all three of us proposed it. The fact of the matter is, it is not likely to occur. I

"You needn't be concerned about democratic institutions and reform in El Salvador if the Sandinistas bring to San Salvador the kind of government that operates by direction of Managua."

would be delighted for some of the present delegates to the United Nations to be able to enjoy all the cultural and recreational comforts of Moscow.

CR: What do you think of the Kissinger Report's proposal for aid to Central America?

WILSON: I emphatically agree with the recommendations and I think that the remarkable degree of unanimity that has been achieved by what a commission that is bipartisan in name and in fact, should be a real

revelation to those who have ignored the harsh realities of the Sandinista regime and the threat that it poses to the rest of Central America and to vital American interests in the Caribbean and, indeed, in all of the Western Hemisphere. I could go on at great length. I will restrain myself and simply tell you that it was heartening to find that the recommendations of the Commission related as closely as they do to the recommendations which I made to the President on my return from Central America in August.

CR: Do you feel human rights improvements should be linked to continued aid for El Salvador?

WILSON: I think it is proper for the United States to continue to insist upon reform and to keep the pressure on to achieve it. But I agree with Dr. Kissinger and the other members of the Commission who expressed the caveat that our concern for that shouldn't ever be such that it results in a cut-off of the military aid that is necessary to resist the Sandinistas, because then, ironically, those concerned about human rights will find that they have permitted the Sandinista regime to extend their revolution—the ideals of which have been long since betrayed. To extend that revolution by violence and subversion and to achieve in El Salvador, and elsewhere, the kind of repressive regime, which is the harsh reality of daily life in Nicaragua. You needn't be concerned about democratic institutions and reform in El Salvador if the Sandinistas bring to San Salvador the kind of government that operates by direction of Managua.

CR: Tom tells me you are from my hometown, Lake Forest, Illinois?

WILSON: It is an accurate statement, Eric, defeating by itself because, while I am from Lake Forest, I left there at the age of six weeks. I can't even tell you I have any fond recollections...I want you to know, though, I didn't leave angry.

CR: What is your all-time favorite movie?

WILSON: I would say *Casablanca* is my all-time favorite for fun rather than art. More recently, I tremendously enjoyed *Chariots of Fire*. I thought it was one of the best movies I've ever seen.

CR: Any underlying significance in the name *Casablanca*?

WILSON: Funny. I don't know.

CR: Senator, thank you very much.

WILSON: I'm happy to help the *Review*.

Time For A New Strategy in the Levant

By Paul Lazerson

To understand why America's diplomatic and military efforts in the Levant have failed so miserably, it is necessary to examine our objectives and the methods we've been using to achieve them.

The U.S.A. has three main interests in the Middle East: First, we want to keep the Soviets out of the area. Second, we want the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf to be uninterrupted. And third, we have an historic commitment dating back to 1948 to insure the survival of the State of Israel.

The problem is not that the ultimate goals of our policy makers are wrong. Where we have erred is in thinking that appeasement of the Arab states is the only way to realize our aims.

On the surface it is much simpler to pressure Israel for concessions than it is to lean on the Saudis. Israel needs American help; without it her future would look grim. For years - beginning with L.B.J.'s pressure on the Israelis not to fire the first shot in the Six Day War - we have asked the Israelis to bend, and then bend some more, while from the Arabs we have asked little.

Lebanon is another perfect example of this policy. In the summer of 1982 Israel went into Lebanon to stop the PLO's attacks against her people, which had been going on for years, and to strike a mortal blow against the PLO infrastructure.

The results of the invasion reconfirmed the second-to-none reputation of the Israel Defense Force. In less than two weeks the PLO had been routed out of all Southern Lebanon, the Syrian Army was in retreat (their air force had lost almost ninety Soviet MIG fighters to only one Israeli jet fighter), and Israel was poised outside of Beirut ready to make their final assault against the PLO.

The Arabs were enraged. That Israel would dare to enter an Arab capital city was unthinkable to them. Never mind that they had years to stop the PLO

from attacking Israel to prevent the inevitable Israeli reaction. Unable to confront the Israeli juggernaut, they called on their friends in Washington to do it for them. At the urging of the State Department, the President complied with their wishes. He sent American Marines into Lebanon to guarantee the safety of the PLO. The Israelis were told in no uncertain terms that they would risk the wrath of the White House if they interfered with the American plan.



Reflecting on the situation more than a year later, several facts are clear. What had been a crushing defeat for the Syrians and their Soviet arms has been reversed, so that now the Syrians are talking terms - their terms - to the legitimate government of Lebanon. The Israelis are still holding one-third of the country, and Beirut has "been saved" only to die one hundred more deaths.

Maybe it's time to rethink our basic assumptions about how we deal with the region. All of our kowtowing to the Saudis has not made oil any cheaper, nor has it persuaded them to recognize Israel's right to exist. And our pressuring of the Israelis hasn't sent them racing to get off the West Bank. If we want to play a constructive role in the region, we must get the Arabs to recognize Israel. Our belief that Israel will negotiate realistically without a show of good faith by the Arabs has proven false. Likewise, the fear that the Saudis will abandon us at the first hint of pressure denies the reality that Rubles won't buy much. The Soviets don't need Saudi oil.

It is time to tell our Arab friends that the ball is in their court. If they want peace and a fair solution to the Palestinian problem they will have to recognize and negotiate with the Israelis.

Had the President not intervened in the Lebanese/Israeli/PLO war, no one can say for sure what would have happened. It is safe to say, though, that 264 Marines would be alive today and we would not have suffered another blow to our credibility as a nation with convictions and staying power. By moving the onus for movement from the Israelis to the Arabs, we have no guarantee of success, but we can be certain that there is no failure to be had that would be worse than what we have already endured.

Paul Lazerson is a senior at UCSD and editor of *L'Chayim*.

Nuclear Balance: The Missing Link

by E. Clasen Young

There is no more dangerous misconception than this which misconstrues the arms race as the cause rather than a symptom of the tensions and divisions which threaten nuclear war. If the history of the past fifty years teaches us anything, it is that peace does not follow disarmament—disarmament follows peace.

Bernard M. Baruch

Hard Choices: Critical Years In America's Foreign Policy by Cyrus Vance Simon and Schuster, pp. 520, \$19.95

There is a continuing debate among members of the disarmament community on the question of proceeding in these precarious deliberations with or without an eye toward detente. A professor of mine, Allen Greb, who teaches a course on this subject, tells us that it depends on how one defines detente. And of course we know that detente has come to mean something very different from that which many hoped for.

Eugene V. Rostow, the former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), has written that arms control and disarmament "on the one hand and collective security [in essence, the resolute U.S. damper on Soviet adventurism throughout the world] on the other, are twin policies. There can be no arms control or disarmament if world politics degenerates into war of all against all" (*National Review*, Aug. 19, 1983, pp. 992-999). Nonetheless, Rostow's "if" has been challenged in the formulation of policy during this past decade.

In the first week of December 1976, President-elect Jimmy Carter made it clear to his cabinet that one of the highest priorities of the new administration would be to attain a new SALT agreement "unlinked" to other facets of U.S.-Soviet relations. The unlinked treaty failed. In his aptly titled book *Hard Choices*, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance documents SALT's demise, due, in part, to the successes of congressional opponents who created "political linkage between the treaty and the problem of restraining Moscow's attempts to expand its influence." The book is an important study for the student of foreign affairs, as Vance, so delegated by Carter, had to make the hard choices.

He, Carter, and the Congress — notwithstanding widespread unfavorability to SALT — expected the Soviet leadership to continue to follow their own version of detente:

which meant that they would continue to expand their influence, especially in the Third World. In general, we expected Soviet behavior to be characterized by the same mixture of assertiveness and caution that we had seen since the inception of detente.

So this is why SALT II went unratified? Carter favored the human rights stipulation, yet opted to exclude it, while opponents forced linkage? Linkage had been implicit in negotiations from the Soviet perspective since the informal Eisenhower-Kruschev moratorium on nuclear weapons testing negotiated at Geneva in 1958. No offensive nuclear weapons were tested by either superpower until the U-2 incident of 1961. Subsequently, the Soviets broke the moratorium in testing a 58-megaton thermonuclear device (hitherto and to this day, the largest nuclear weapon tested). Formal negotiations of SALT I were delayed in 1968 by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

SALT II's trummelling extended through the realm of pure politicking and opposition on ideological grounds. It was concluded by many politicians that "with a growing national mood of suspicion about Soviet adventures in Africa and a concern over perceived adverse trends in the U.S.-Soviet military balance, 'being tough on the Russians' would be good politics." Ideologically, many feared Soviet integrity on any and all issues. The linkage argument combined ideology and politics, and its force was amplified by the heavyweights behind it. Among them were Henry Kissinger, Al Haig, and of course Henry Jackson.

The real choice for policy makers (and later, the Senate), Mr. Vance argues, was: "whether or not we're better off with this treaty than with no treaty?" The inherited negotiating situation included the Vladivostok agreement of 1974 between Ford and Brezhnev, which would replace the SALT I Interim Agreement on offensive weapons (to expire in October 1977). Rather than permitting Soviet numerical advantage in ICBMs and SLBMs, SALT II was to have an "equal aggregate ceiling" of 2,400 for all launchers of strategic weapons and a subceiling of 1,320 for launchers of MIRVed missiles. Vance tells us that this framework offered a treaty that would "limit Soviet strategic forces and provide a more stable foundation for U.S.-Soviet relations."

Strobe Talbott of *Time* magazine argues that "in the world view propagated by the White House, linkage

existed when it served American political or rhetorical purposes, but not when it was inconvenient" (*Endgame: the Inside Story of SALT II*, pp. 147-149). In February of 1978, Brezhnev complained of the stagnation of SALT. In response, Zbigniew Brzezinski said that Soviet behavior could affect both "the negotiating process" and "any ratification that would follow the successful conclusion of the SALT negotiations. Linkages may be imposed by unwarranted exploitation of local conflicts for larger international purposes." The following day, *Pravda* called Brzezinski's statement "unsavory and dangerous," asserting that he was "playing with the main problems of international security and detente;" his warning "smacks of crude blackmail which is impermissible in international relations." The next day, Carter established administrative priorities, hoping for Congressional approval: "we don't initiate the linkage." The Soviets were not impressed. This was an all-or-nothing version of detente.

Gromyko toughened the Soviet position when Vance met with him at the Geneva talks of December 1978. "Secondary" issues held up negotiations for another



six months. During those six months, Vance and his colleagues "chipped away" at technical issues such as modernization of existing ICBMs, feasibility of surveillance, and definitions concerning cruise missiles. Despite a "worsening situation" in Southeast Asia, the negotiations continued. ICBMs would not be changed by more than 5% and the U.S. would apply constraints to the testing of multiple warhead cruise missiles. The problem of electronic verification began as and continued to be a critical issue, which would raise some problems for the ratification debate in the U.S. (Note: The USSR would not suffer such a problem, as they would suffer no debate). On May 9, 1979, Vance told the press that an agreement had been made on the SALT II treaty and that Carter and Brezhnev would sign it by June 19 in Vienna. Vance was "confident that the treaty would stand up well in an objective debate," believing it to allow U.S. modernization of strategic forces while requiring Soviet restraint. Even with the linkage argument against the treaty, the political climate for ratification was optimum: China had eased the Vietnamese border tension and the crisis over Mig-23s in Cuba had been effectively resolved.

The treaty did not meet the two thirds vote in the Senate. For Vance, the debate was full of surprises. Instead of a serious verification question, the focus of contention bore upon a "window of vulnerability." There was a push for extracting more from the agreement than existed:

One of the strongest aspects of the 1979 SALT debate was the ostensible consensus between liberals and conservatives in favor of deep reductions and their joint condemnations of the treaty for having failed to attain them. Reductions were and obviously are important, but they are not the *sine qua non* of significant arms control.

Changes in SALT II would have to be made before the Senate would accept it. Changes, however, would encourage the Soviets to reject it. In light of the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba and the invasion of Afghanistan, SALT II was rejected.

Mr. Vance says that Carter administration policies were not based on the idealistic but rather on the "practical" realistic — "the knowledge that the burgeoning of military forces would make conflict more likely." The practicality of *not* including linkage remains in question. Vance admonishes the policy makers of the 1980's to bear a policy of "durability," a capacity to make a more "consistent expression of Western interests" extending beyond the political and the ideological so that the Soviets have no chance to test the U.S. militarily or to exploit advantages politically. Also, he says, "we in the West must begin again to distinguish those areas of East-West relations where there is no room for compromise from those areas where mutual agreement is possible." Eugene Rostow has conceded that we have no alternative but to pursue arms control, as humiliating as it may be.

The 80's and 90's will also experience the gaining importance in the potential of other nations to build nuclear arsenals, the growing trade of conventional arms to Third World nations, and conflicts between those nations.

In his final appearance before the Congress on March 27, 1980, Vance was terse:

Some have argued that a strong response to Soviet Military growth and aggression is overreaction. But to disregard the growth of Soviet military programs and budgets, or to explain away aggression as a defensive maneuver is to take refuge in illusion [...] To oppose aggression now is to promote peace in the future [...] Our security begins with the balance of strategic forces. The Soviet nuclear arsenal constitutes the one credible, direct threat to the continental U.S. To effectively deter that danger we must have a capability for certain and appropriate retaliation to any level of attack. We must also maintain forces which are, and are perceived to be, essentially equivalent to those of the Soviet Union, to avoid the possible military or political consequences that an imbalance might bring.

Vance strived for the balance, linkage or no linkage. His arguments were not far from the mark. His good offices might have been more effective had they only been part of a more coherent administration.

E. Clasen Young is a senior at UCSD and co-Founder of the *Review*.

Economic Inequality and Culture

By Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

Thomas Sowell has written yet another book guaranteed to jolt complacent liberals and timid conservatives alike. In *The Economics and Politics of Race: An International Perspective*, Sowell again displays a passion for something so many writers are reluctant to have — absolute intellectual honesty. He doesn't attempt to soften the truth, to make it palatable in any way.

What is that truth? Something we all know is true but have been taught is racist to say — not all cultures are equally adept at success in a market economy. "Cultures are ultimately ways of accomplishing things, and the differing efficiencies with which they accomplish different things determine the outcomes of very serious economic, political, and military endeavors." Sowell argues that it is simply being obtuse to assume that every cultural group would do just as well as any other, if not for discrimination biasing the results.

In previous books, Sowell applied this thesis specifically in America. In this book, he expands the arena of debate to include groups all over the world. Not surprisingly, he finds consistent performances economically, regardless of the differing levels of bias and racism in each country towards that group.

Take the Chinese, for example. Everywhere they immigrated their initial condition was the same. They were impoverished, uneducated, isolated, in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the United States. Persecution was the usual greeting with which natives welcomed them. In the Philippines, Chinese were literally legislated out of the retail trade, while antagonism "to the Chinese immigrants in 19th-century America was often based on the belief that they were too hardworking, thrifty, and diligent, and Americans shouldn't be forced to compete with them." The Vietnamese boat people, it turns out, weren't Vietnamese after all, but 70% Chinese. The communists saw them as a threat, for their industriousness circumvented every government effort to keep them down. In all the countries mentioned, except the U.S., massive exterminations of Chinese occurred, but the economic effects were only temporary.

Why do the Chinese regularly defeat repression? Because they work hard, live frugally, and save money.

Rather than look to politics for salvation, they look to themselves.

Though the Chinese are Sowell's main example, he also finds similar patterns among Jews, Germans, East Indians, and many other culturally unified, distinct groups.



Now we come to the tricky question: what about the economically disadvantaged minorities in the U.S.? Sowell puts the blame squarely on their shoulders. West Indian blacks, who are racially identical to other blacks, who suffered from discrimination just as much, still earned 94% as much as Americans overall by 1969, as opposed to 62% for native-born blacks. Second generation West Indian blacks earned 15% above the average American. Why? Sowell says they were "more urban, more skilled, more frugal, and more entrepreneurial" than native born black Americans.

As for Hispanics, they are near the bottom of the economic pile no matter where they live. Sowell finds that industry and economic development in Latin and South America really did not kick off until Germans, Italians, Jews, and other groups migrated to those regions. Much of Brazil's success is directly due to foreign migration, and the skills these groups brought with them. In the U.S. despite equal levels of discrimination against Oriental-Americans and Mexican-Americans, the income gap between Japanese and Mexicans exceeds that between blacks and whites.

The Economics And Politics Of Race: An International Perspective, by Thomas Sowell (William Marrow and Company, Inc.), pp. 324, \$15.95

All sorts of interesting data are offered by Sowell. He notes that education choices truly indicate different cultural values. "All that is unique about our times is the extent to which we ignore earlier times, and regard our racial or ethnic differences as unprecedented [in education]." Jews are over-represented in the best colleges, and specialize in law, medicine, and biochemistry — highly paid fields, all. Chinese and Japanese go into mathematics and the natural sciences. Blacks tend to major in education, which is notorious for its relative easiness and inability to command high wages.

Sowell is very unimpressed by federal efforts to intervene against discrimination's "effects." Two years after job quotas were imposed in 1971, Puerto Rican family income was 63% of the national average, "and 5 years afterwards it was down to 50 percent." Black income fluctuated, while Mexicans declined slightly, breaking steady rise before the government stepped in.

Black liberal critics have been very harsh with Sowell in the past, and it is likely they will start up again. Black journalist Carl Rowan has said, "Vidkun Quisling in his collaboration with the Nazis surely did not do as much damage to the Norwegians as Sowell is doing to the most helpless of black Americans." Historian Manning Marable accuses Sowell of actively cooperating "with the dominant white elites to oppress blacks."

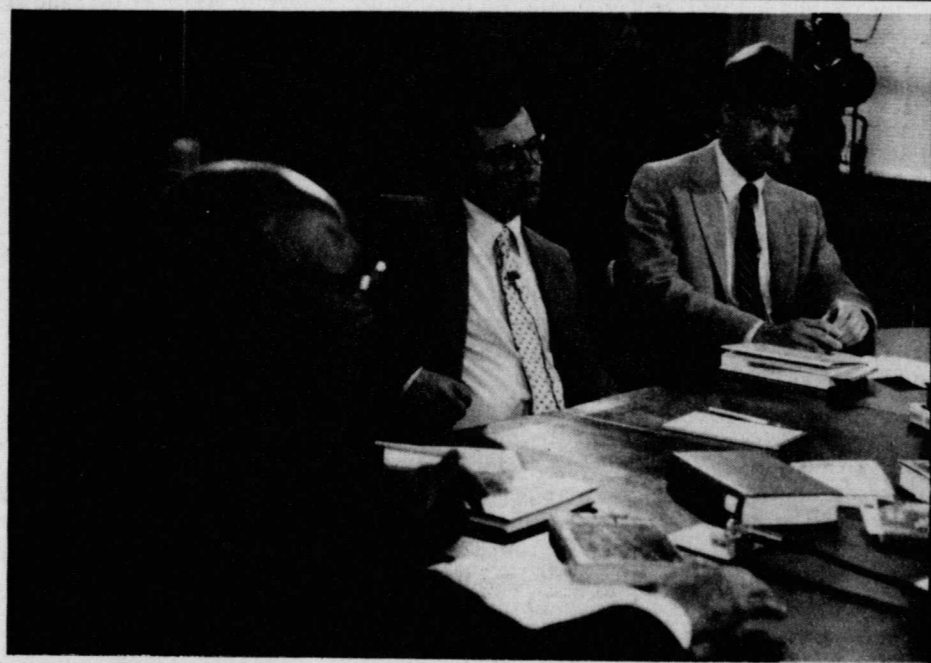
Few of the critiques I have read bothered dealing with the substance of Sowell's arguments. Instead, they resort to name calling such as the quotes above. In his usual straightforward manner, his answer to them is this: "A large civil rights establishment, inside and outside government, has to find work to do, and must convince itself and others that this work is vitally important. More generally, there is a fatal fascination with the prospect of morally regenerating other people or (failing that) smiting the wicked. Whether that will in fact advance the economically disadvantaged is another question entirely."

This book is required reading for anybody who wishes to see matters as they are, stripped of obfuscating dogma and the superficial appeal of clenched fists.

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

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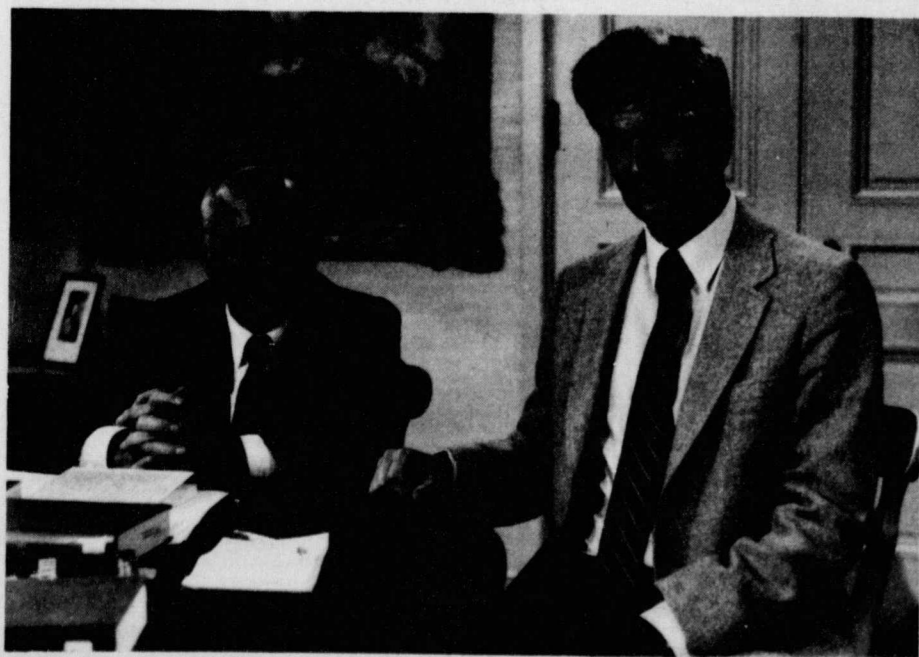


(From left to right: Milton Friedman, Carda Mona, Richard Vigilante, H.W. Crocker III.)

FEATURING:

Milton Friedman and H.W. Crocker III — buddies.

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The Passing of the Paragon

By Dr. G. James Jason

Although I was rather young during the Kennedy years, I well remember the rise of the theory that the nations of the "Third World" (many of which were newly formed at the time) had a prodigious degree of moral insight. We were all explorers during the Camelot years, and we discovered those faraway places with a passion, peppering them with Peace Corpsmen, and soaking up their wisdom. Indeed, many intellectuals and political activists began to worship the Third World, taking it to be a paragon of political virtue. This worship only increased in the late sixties and early seventies, especially after our debacle in Vietnam. Naturally, Third World politicians and intellectuals were in turn only too happy to offer all kinds of advice on all kinds of matters pertaining to our affairs.

Yet it now appears that the Third World has fallen from the pedestal, no longer commanding the attention of the media. How often now does one see newspaper articles giving us the "Third World perspective" of this or that? Outside of PBS (the last media bastion of the sixties' mentality), how often now are we subjected to lectures on our various iniquities, so generously given by Third World pseudo-scholars? Not very often anymore, thank goodness. And I suspect that the reason why the Third World is no longer so chi-chi is that, in paying such close attention to it over the last twenty years or so, we have learned a few lessons. It might be instructive to list a few of them.

Lesson #1: Chastity is not a virtue if one lacks the power to be unchaste. Haven't we seen the following pattern repeated time and again? A Third World country will, while it has no military power, criticize America for being "imperialistic." Yet when that country acquires the requisite military power, it will quite shamelessly use that power for its own aggrandizement.

The paradigm case of such hypocrisy is India, which positively wallowed in the ideology of nonviolence — until it was able to build an atomic bomb. Now it dominates a dismembered Pakistan. (To complete the hypocrisy, India calls her bomb "a peaceful nuclear device" — I guess for excavation in Pakistan.)

A similar case is that of China, which bemoaned the existence of military superpowers, all the while trying its best to become one. And as peace-loving Vietnam can testify, China will certainly not become less aggressive as she gets weaponry.

Lesson #2: Generosity is easier when it involves only the other guy's money. America has long been criticized by Third World leaders and their American journalistic groupies for niggardliness, even as we have hemorrhaged away billions of our capital in "foreign aid." Well, now, despite what you might think offhand, many Third World nations have become quite well off, indeed. The OPEC countries come to mind, of course.

as having stolen it rich. But Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore (among others) have become fairly well off, too. Has their generosity been impressive? Hardly. Saudi Arabia boasts that its foreign aid, measured per capita, exceeds our own. But given their huge trade surplus and excess of income over needs, the boast is empty.

More importantly, a country need not give away large sums of money to demonstrate charity. It can, for instance, treat refugees kindly. But the record shows that the Third World is much better at producing refugees than caring for them — quite surprising, given its constant rhetoric about redistributing the wealth: Thailand has not been exactly gracious towards the Cambodian refugees, and Malaysia sent Vietnamese refugees to their deaths rather than give them sanctuary.

Lesson #3: Racism is as universal as syphilis. The French used to call syphilis "The Neapolitan disease," while the Italians called it "the French Pox." People fancy that a social disease in their country cannot exist, or if it does, cannot have been there all along — it must have originated in someone else's country.

So it is with racism: to hear the third-worlders speak, America is the most racist country in the history of the planet, with the possible exception of Britain. (Andy Young, the great Third World booster, has even said that the British invented racism.) Some Americans have been naive enough to swallow that bilge.

By now, however, even those most befuddled by liberalism must have learned from recent experience that the Third World has more than its share of indigenous racism. Viewing Nigeria and its Biafrans, Uganda and its Asians, Vietnam and its ethnic Chinese, Pakistan and its Bengalis, Iran and its Kurds, not to mention the awesome antisemitism of the Arabs, the conclusion is irresistible that the Third World has little to teach anybody about racial harmony.

As a corollary of the above lesson, it should be noted that genocide is not at all a uniquely Western phenomenon. Granted, Hitler (who killed perhaps eleven million people) and Stalin (who probably killed double that number) were exceptionally efficient mass-murderers. But they had modern technology at their disposal. So you can't fault (say) Idi Amin for not setting a new record in extermination; he did his level best to maim, torture and viciously kill as many people as he could. (Virtually all other Third World countries watched nonchalantly as he did.)

Indeed, Pol Pot killed a full thirty percent of his countrymen. Surely this, on a percentage basis at least, sets some kind of record in the annals of evil. And one must not forget that the practice of genocide in this century was inaugurated by Turkey, when it exterminated roughly one and a half million Armenians.



Lesson #4: When a cockroach gives you a lecture on cleanliness, you are entitled to a certain amount of skepticism. Cuba comes readily to mind here. Castro is forever giving advice to his third-world chums on how to free themselves from foreign domination. Meanwhile, of course, he is totally obedient to his Kremlin bosses, as his cheerful acquiescence in the recent Russian blitzkrieg against Afghanistan demonstrates.

But other cases of such hypocrisy could be cited. Mexico, for example, deplors our alleged lack of respect for her territory (especially regarding her two-hundred mile fishing limit). Yet Mexico deliberately ignores our border by encouraging millions of her unemployed to enter illegally.



I suspect that there were several reasons for the erstwhile American adoration of the Third World. One reason is that pronounced masochistic streak in leftist intellectuals to hear their nation badmouthed. Another reason is the (more pervasive) American desire to be loved by foreigners, a desire perhaps growing out of feelings of inferiority inherited from the past. (Europeans, themselves rarely encumbered by such desires, are constantly amazed by it.)

But surely a third cause of the (now dying) Third World vogue is the myth of the Noble Savage, most marked in the works of Rousseau. It has been commonly felt that Third World nations are inhabited by people close to a "state of nature," uncorrupted by Western civilization. So, it is felt, these people must have some special, more pure, moral insight.

These psychological factors (i.e., the need to be abused, the need to be loved by foreigners, and the vision of the Noble Savage) have now pretty much vanished. Even devout liberal masochists were outraged at the sight of our countrymen held hostage by Iran, and sickened by the desecration of the bodies of the hapless would-be rescuers.

Moreover, our desire to be loved internationally has abated after seeing the many billions we have spent on foreign aid gain us virtually nothing in good will. I guess the final straw was the sight of Iranian students, who were taking up spaces at American universities which could have been filled by American students, demonstrating in favor of Iran's continuing to hold our countrymen hostage.

Finally, the vision of the Noble Savage has faded. It has faded in the face of the greed, the violence, the corruption and the fanaticism so clearly endemic in the Third World.

I am not saying, "Tu Quoque." That is, I am not saying that the nations of the Third World should be ignored, or that they have lost the right to speak out on moral issues. I am merely pointing out that, in view of their collective performance over the last two decades, they ought not to be accorded any special credence when they do so. They ought not to be accorded the status of paragons, of experts on moral issues.

Moreover, I suggest that we rapidly bring to a close the era of national self-abasement. Democracy, prosperity and ethnic harmony are accomplishments of a nation, not merely accidents which befall it. And our accomplishments in these regards far exceed what the Third World has been able to show us. It is they who have much to learn.

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Eliminating the Opposition, Silently— What Modern Technology and Modern Barbarism Has Enabled Man to Do

by Thomas J. Edwards

On September 14, 1981, then Secretary of State Alexander Haig walked into a crowded State Department briefing room and announced that the United States had evidence that biological and toxin weapons, i.e., poisons produced by biological processes but not themselves living organisms, were being used against peoples in Southeast Asia by the governments in Hanoi, Vientiane and Phnom Penh, and that the producer and supplier of these weapons was the United Soviet Socialist Republic. Secretary Haig's statement that afternoon, and the State Department "Fact Sheet" released in conjunction with the briefing, were met by reporters and the news media with much skepticism, disbelief, and even outright ridicule. CBS Evening News went so far as to state: "It's viewed here as far from coincidental that this information is being released with such fanfare at a time when the Reagan Administration is anxious to muster support domestically and in Europe for what it perceives as an increasing Soviet threat."



To be sure, they were serious charges, involving not only egregious violations of civilized norms and crimes against mankind, but also violations of both the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

The skepticism wasn't because this subject was so terribly new to reporters and the media that they should have been taken by surprise with the charges. President Carter had long been interested in the subject and had compiled in 1980, a 131-page report on the use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea (a report almost completely ignored). And, over the strenuous objections of the Soviet Union, had also gained U.N. approval for an international investigation into the use of such weapons. Carter had become well-aware of the plight of the H'Mong, and had heard the stories of Vietnamese and Soviet pilots who had defected and told of the "Extinct Destruction Operations" to wipe out the "reactionary" H'Mong people — an isolated, primitive people, without even their own written alphabet, who had opposed their government during the war.

Hundreds of formal interviews were conducted with fleeing refugees who told of thousands going to sickening ends. They spoke of those exposed to the yellowish powder they called "Yellow Rain," which was "dropped from the air" by planes. The descriptions are not pleasant. Those exposed first suffer dizziness, then severe itching and tingling of the skin, followed shortly after by the skin turning to small and hard blisters, nausea, shock, and then the coughing-up of blood-tinged material, bloody diarrhea, the vomiting of massive amounts of blood, and finally death (not that life would be preferable at this point).

The Reagan Administration showed deep concern about what they were hearing, but waited to go public until they had real medical and scientific evidence in hand. Officials from the State Department, the Department of Defense, the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the Surgeon General's Office began to meet regularly, and to seek that evidence. On September 13, 1981—after the results of covert autopsies on victims in Kampuchea

had come back, after plant and water samples had been carefully studied by defense specialists in toxicology, and with the gathering of other intelligence information—Secretary Haig believed he had the necessary evidence.

The Secretary described the evidence as mycotoxins of the trichothecene group in extremely high levels. He revealed further that there exists facilities in the Soviet Union producing these toxins, and stated, "In point of fact, these mycotoxins do not occur naturally in Southeast Asia." The statements were enough for ABC News and *The Wall Street Journal* to mount their own extensive investigations, and to bring back their own toxin samples. And, of course, for Congress to begin its own investigation.

However, on the part of others, skepticism only increased. *The New York Times*, for example, now claimed that "Yellow Rain" might be a "CIA hoax." The *Times* followed-up their concept of a CIA plot by stating, "Reports that the Russian's used toxic agents in Afghanistan and Indochina have not been fully confirmed. Besides, they describe small-scale use against unprotected people in remote areas." They then accused the U.S. government of launching a campaign to mass-produce binary chemical weapons in a story which read as though it had been translated from *Tass*. The skepticism was fueled even further by two individuals in particular: Matthew Meselson, a Harvard University biologist, and Frederick Swartzen-druber, a Mennonite missionary who had traveled extensively in Laos. Meselson claimed that, "No analytical chemist worth his salt would go along" with the conclusions of Secretary Haig. While Swartzen-druber went out on the speaking circuit, claiming that he had never heard of "yellow rain." And yet the evidence was there and continued to mount steadily.

By the time Swartzen-druber testified before members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-New York), not one considered a "right-wing reactionary" to say the least, commented, "I suspect that short of being hit on the head by yellow rain nothing would convince Mr. Swartzen-druber that it is going on." Solarz concluded, "I don't see how a reasonable person can argue with the proposition that this is going on and that things are happening which shouldn't be happening." The claims of Harvard's biologist were confounded by reports from a pathology team at Columbia University who had been studying the problem, and concluded, in essence, that Meselson was not "worth his salt."

In the meantime, *The Wall Street Journal* began a series of some fifty articles on the subject, and an ABC News Closeup entitled, "Rain of Terror" was broadcast nationally, conveying that the problem was even greater than the government said. In spite of this, the charges were still largely ignored.



The original inter-agency committee organized to study the problem continued to collect evidence and receive additional help. The U.N. investigating team

released its report on December 1, 1982, suggesting, but not concluding, that chemical agents were being used as weapons in Indochina and Afghanistan. Blood samples, released by the State Department in January, 1983, from victims clearly show a variety of metabolite and trichothecene toxins at high levels in the victims. Afghan rebels have continued in greater numbers to speak of "black smoke" which causes incapacitation and unconsciousness; then when the victims are discovered by Soviet troops they are shot.

Outside events also aided the committee further. Reports of a Soviet ship which sunk in the Black Sea en route to Vietnam resulted in a massive chemical contamination of the salvage operation in 1975. An explosion at the Soviet Military Compound 19 — a biological weapons center —, in Sverlovsk, resulted in a serious epidemic of deadly pulmonary anthrax in the region, caused by the inhalation of spores of living bacteriological agents. Then, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer resulted in the confiscation of Warsaw Pack tanks and armored personnel carriers, complete with integral seals and air filters which provide a "positive environment" and the ability to operate in a chemical environment. Finally, for those still unconvinced of what has been secretly going on in *mother* Russia, a 1977 East German military field manual was released, complete with strategies and plans for the use of various toxins in warfare.

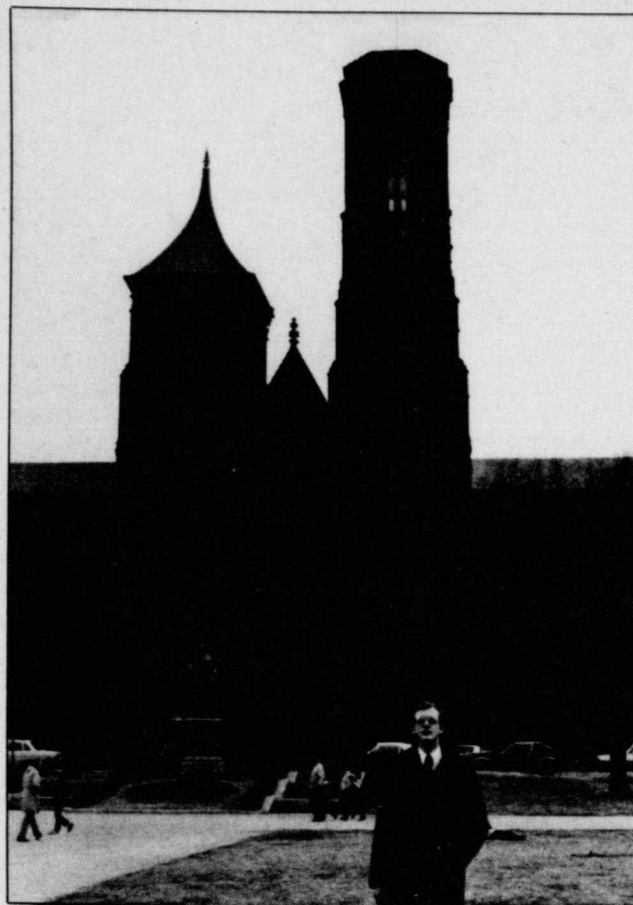


On June 17, President Reagan, addressing the United Nations, looked the Soviet Ambassador in the eye and accused the Soviet Union of murder, and of violating the Geneva Protocol and the Biological Weapons Convention. The evidence was "conclusive," he said. And added, "Evidence of non-compliance with existing arms control agreements underscores the need to approach negotiation of any new agreements with care." Indeed.

Later, in November, Secretary of State George Shultz said enough and sent yet another report to Congress, stating, "The world cannot be silent in the face of such human suffering and cynical disregard for international law and agreements." "Indeed, this is also true.

However, while the world allows these hard realities to soak in, and begins to understand the significant impact they will have on *any* future arms negotiations, we should also not be terribly surprised. For these most gruesome killings further the state, and that is *all* that matters to the communist form of government. Furthermore, as Stalin so eloquently stated, "Treaties were made to be broken."

Thomas J. Edwards is a sophomore at UCSD. The author wishes to thank *The Wall Street Journal* for their generous assistance with documentation of facts in this article.



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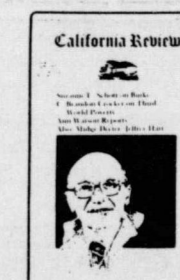
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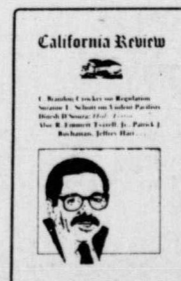
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