California Review

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A Merry Christmas from Suzanne L. Schott

C. Brandon Crocker and C.K. Littlewood: The Oppressed

Emmeline de Pillis on Leftist Wit

Also: Irving Kristol, George Gilder, Joseph A. Rehyansky



Admiral U.S.G. Sharp

OVER HERE: VETERANS IN THE NEW AGE

By Joseph A. Rehyansky

Joseph A. Rehyansky is an enlisted veteran of service in Vietnam with George S. Patton III's 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, a contributor to National Review, and a lawyer.

Something undefined in my own temperament or character has kept me from feeling the way they do: cheated, embittered, unappreciated. We went, all of us, through a scarifying and unearthly year, a year of risks and dirt and exhaustion, fear and homesickness, and very loud noises; and 57,685 of us did not live to see the year through. Another 153,303 suffered what the Department of Defense 1981 Almanac calls "wounds not mortal": an imprecise category that lumps together those permanently blinded or paralyzed or maimed with those who got cuts, scratches, or bruises, or a temporary ringing in the ears. And during most of it nobody, it seemed, wanted us there. David Stockman and James Fallows, among others, stayed home, keeping company with all the others who were bright enough, principled enough, or slippery enough better to discern where their higher duties lay and how their country's best interests might more suitably be served.

So it must seem-and I get the impression that it does-to those of our generation who did not go to that war, and especially to all the others who have never been to any war, that there must be among us a ring-knocking, secret-handshaking bond, a mutual acknowledgement and respect that says, "Look me in the eye and I'll tell you if you were really there," an implacable, shoulder-to-shoulder, VFWish solidarity that probably hasn't actually existed since the Alamo, or Bataan, or the Warsaw ghetto. That is why, in my judgment, a relatively small band of malcontented semi-professional Vietnam veterans, in concert with the ideologues, simps, and media panderers still looking for opportunities to validate the positions they espoused during the war have been able to focus a sizeable portion of the public's concern on their "plight". For the record, the chasm between them and me is as unbridgeable as the one between me and Jane Fonda.

Manifestations of professional Vietnam veteran syndrome—a personality and behavior disorder at least three times as obnoxious as the post-traumatic stress syndrome currently in vogue—have been much with us through 1981: from the veterans' protests and their fizzled *opera bouffe* hunger strike of the spring an early summer, through the continuing controversy over the design and meaning of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington, to the recent discharge emitted by Mr. Frank Barber.

You know-Frank, as in "Frank: A Vietnam Veteran-A Matter of Life and Death Special," brought to us this Veterans' Day last on public television, courtesy of WGBH Boston. Frank, as far as one can determine from viewing this show, is a talking head. And talk he did, for one hour, pausing now and then just long enough for salient dates and facts of his life to be flashed on the screen in computer printout style. The show opened with a predictable 30-second disclaimer. Frank, of course, isn't typical of Vietnam veterans, and we don't want you to infer that he is. There followed about three minutes of alleged facts and figures, most ably pronounced by Mr. Larry King, of late-night radio talk show fame, that tended to show that Frank is, well, typical ("over half our Vietnam veterans have unresolved problems related to the war...").

Frank, is now 37. By my count, and I had to count fast, he has been in and out of the United States Navy four times since the early 1960s, when a judge told the drug-pushing ninth grade dropout to enlist or go to jail, and 1977, when the Navy told him he could not continue to serve as an alcohol abuse counselor, but had to return to his critically undermanned official specialty of engine repair and maintenance. In between, Frank served for 12 months as a sniper in Vietnam, killed several people and enjoyed it (it was comparable to ejaculation), mutilated a few Viet Cong corpses with a knife (that was even better), and shot some holes in the ceiling of a whorehouse with his Navy .38 while copulating with a Vietnamese prostitute in the female superior position (that was best of all). Upon his return home, Frank became, in approximately this order, an opium smoker, a bisexual, a wife-beater, an alcoholic, and a near suicide. He also has nightmares. Frank thinks that all this has happened to him because he wasn't fully persuaded that what he did in Vietnam was morally defensible, and because he has belatedly recognized that the slopes, dinks, and gooks he killed, mutilated and fornicated with were...human beings like himself.

Frank, who is not unintelligent, by the way, is not the main point. Never mind that many warriors serving in combat engage in a lot of indiscriminate sexual debauchery; if the psychological reasons therefor are not apparent by now, they never will be. Never mind, even, that warriors sometimes mutilate the bodies of their fallen adversaries. I do not defend the practice, though I think I understand it: Revenge, and the incredible pressures and fears that drive men sometimes to the brink of savagery and beyond, are important factors.

But the main point, of course, is war-not the Vietnam war and all the tortured political baggage it dragged along with it thanks to the egregious ineptitude and short-sightedness of our political leadership; not the random mutilation of a conveniently located enemy body; not the reckless and haphazard sexual indulgences of healthy young men pushed to the outer limits of their learned restraints. War is an ugly business. Every generation has come to know this fact. But in our time, men like Siegfried Sassoon, Norman Mailer, Michael Herr, and others have driven home the terror of war and the tragedy of its consequences in terms lyrical, stark, grotesque-and populist. They have turned us off to war and are persuaded that they have, by doing so; committed a supremely moral act. Frank may not have read them, but their influence—from the front page of your local paper to the lead item on almost any national news broadcast—has spread much further than their actual readership. In an ideal world, the City of God perhaps, where the is no reason for men to kill other man, their reflections would have great relevance,



and worthy effect. In the City of Men, where beasts roam, they lead us, and Frank, astray.

This much is known, insofar as something is "known" when it resides in the body of information available with a little digging, to all of us. From Herodotus and Plato to Douglas MacArthur, wise, intelligent, and humane men have reflected on and helped define the code of the mature warrior. They speak to us of a code that was as relevant at Quan Loi and Lai Khe as it was at Bataan, Bull Run, Valley Forge, Hastings, Masada, Thermopylae, and Troy It is a code not of killing, but of honor; not of savagery, but of duty; not of indulgence, but of personal responsibility. We, the Pepsi generation, insist, in our ignorance, on reducing the most complex philosophical questions (Is war justifiable?) to primitive, personal, emotional responses (I have killed/mutilated another human being). We have been told to "get in touch with what's going on inside our heads." But there isn't enough inside the heads of many of us to deal with the weighty questions; there isn't even enough in there for most of us to know that these questions have been grappled with since the beginnings of recorded history. The result is emotional instability caused by a philosophical conflict grounded primarily in profound ignorance. Volumes have been written on these terrible matters by worthwhile men who took them very seriously. They need to be read (which they aren't as a rule), and critiqued for our time (maybe my next article). In the meantime, what about Frank and his gripes?

The fact is that every specific, legitimate complaint of Vietnam veterans can and should be equitably disposed of under the legal dispensation that every civilized nation provides for all of its veterans. Those permanently disabled in their nation's service, whether the disability be physical, emotional, or psychological, are entitled to be maintained at an appropriate standard of living for the rest of their lives. Those whose disabilities are temporary and tractable should be rehabilitated and cared for at taxpayer expense as long as necessary. But those who came back hale and hearty, like me and most of the rest of us, are owed—nothing. Those of us who have taken advantage of lawfully provided benefits such as civil service examination points, VA educational benefits, follow-up medical and dental care, reemployment rights, and government-secured loans have, for the most part, gratefully accepted these offerings for what they are: gifts, not as solatium payments or balms for the uneasy conscience of the nation that sent us. The national interest is a special matter that has historically demanded special sacrifices, especially of its young men. In evaluating what, if anything, is owed the vast majority of our Vietnam veterans, it should not matter at all that national interest was being bitterly disputed even while we were charged with defending it. Certainly the dissension made the job more difficult and less fulfilling, and certainly it demoralized us. But, my fellow Vietnam vets, that—to use the old Army cliche—sounds like a personal problem to me.

Vietnam was a unique agony for the men who served there, a war that exacted unprecedented sacrifices from them. The benefits and privileges granted them should, therefore, at least equal (read: exceed) those made available to American veterans of this century's other major wars. So goes the line served up by the worst of the waffle-heads and arrogant mendicants at the forefront of the Vietnam veterans' movement. Only a few living men can copare one war with another on the basis of personal experience, and the sum of my own experience in down-and-dirty combat is relatively small—though it was enough to last me ten lifetimes-compared with that of many others. Yet, at bottom, I suspect that the problem is one of unique expectations, not unique suffering. Those of us who went to Vietnam had grown up prepared to face acne and mortgage payments, or nuclear holocaust but nothing in between. A lot of us didn't know how to handle a trite, ugly, and personal war; a war which stank and hurt and bled before our eyes, like all the wars before it; a war where men often saw the very faces of the men they killed, the kind of war that was never supposed to happen again. No high school senior, circa 1963, would have believed you if you had grabbed him by the scruff of the neck and told him: "Son, soon you're going to be fighting for your life in a bloody little ground war in a country you never heard of and the things you're going to fear most will be a hand-held, shoulder-fired rocket that weighs less than a twenty-five dollar sack of groceries, booby-traps made out of Budweiser cans, and wooden stakes coated with excrement.

What we found was that war really was hell, and there has probably not been a generation in American history more ill-prepared to face the revelation. A lot of us felt, then and now, that we'd been had.

Well, were we? Perhaps, but a few things about Vietnam are worth remembering: Except for career military personnel, virtually no one was required to serve more than 12 months; everyone got a week off at about the mid-point of his tour, transportation paid, at any one of half a dozen or so luxurious vacation spots; medical evacuation was the quickest and most efficient in the history of warfare; unit rotation in and out of the worst of the fighting was regular and reliable. Turning to quotidian matters, cigarettes were 12 cents a pack, and a beer was 15 cents (when it wasn't free); a mixed drink at the base camp was 35 cents; the postage was free. The country was dotted with post exchanges that rivaled Macy's and Gimbel's, and anyone, regardless of rank, could order items from them and have them shipped home (and almost everyone could afford to). No nation engaged in a war has ever expended more genuine effort directed toward securing the safety and comfort of its fighting men than did America in Vietnam. (That approach, as some have said, may in the long run have hindered our effort there, but that's another subject I must defer.) Did we really fare so poorly compared with our fathers in Korea and World War II, and our grandfathers in World War I?

(continued on p. 15)

Letters



Dear Mr. Young:

I saw the blast against you in the San Diego Union and the reference to all the cancelled advertising. Keep me posted when you resume publication as I may want to weigh in with a column on the general subject.

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

Dear Mr. Crocker:

Attached is an autographed picture of the handsomest man in Monroe County, Indiana. Thanks for sending along the latest issue of *California Review*. I admire the spirit but urge you to publish more sex and violence. Face it, you have to compete with prime time television.

Best wishes and more booze.
Yours faithfully,
R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief
The American Spectator
Bloomington Indiana

Dear H. W. Crocker:

Thanks for the copies of the *California Review*. It is one of the finest college publications I have seen. Keep up the good work and send me your resume when you start job hunting.

Sincerely,
Ronald Burr
Publisher
The American Spectator
Bloomington, Indiana

Messrs: Eric Young and Harry Crocker—

How can I say a simple "thank you" when you both mesmerized and galvanized our membership this past Monday. Rarely have I heard such enthusiasm!

Being intellectually humorous and articulate are rare gifts indeed. I hope your visit with us will prove to be helpful. I know my unit club (Navajo) is eager to have you speak early in the next year.

Best of luck and thank you both! Evelyn Blume, 1st-V.P. San Diego County Federation of Republican Women's Clubs

Dear fellow conservatives,

I really enjoyed Suzanne L. Schott's excellent article about the "Violent Pacifists." (Oct. 1982).

Last August, I was in San Diego for the Ben Sasway trial. I was the only student demonstating against Ben Sasway and the antidraft movement. The "Hell, No. I Won't Go" crowd nearly hit me and a couple times the cops had to restrain them. And they call themselves peace lovers?

Your paper does in fact provide the alternative viewpoint for California students. It is refreshing and is long overdue. Please add my name to your subscription list, and let me know if there is some way I can be of assistance to you.

Sincerely, David Tulanian Sylmar, California Harry.

I read Volume II, number two and enjoyed it greatly.

I was going through some Soviet documents recently and I found one in particular (the Program of the 22nd Communist Party Congress, 1961) which rose above the common sea of ribald inanity to new heights of vacuous idiocy. Here are some excerpts, or, preferably, Commie Quips, which I trust you'll enjoy:

Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people....

Socialism is the road to freedom

and happiness for the peoples. It

ensures rapid economic and cultural

progress. It transforms a backward country into an industrial country within the lifetime of one generation and not in the course of centuries-...Unemployment disappears com pletely...[along with any semblance of freedom and all political dissenters]...For the imperialist [read "capitalist"] countries diplomacy has been, and remains, a tool of imposing their will on other nations and preparing wars...The foreign policy of the socialist countries, which is based on the principles of peace [Czechoslavakia], the equality and self-determination of nations [Poland], and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries [Afghanistan], as well as the fair, humane methods of socialist diplomacy, is exerting a growing influence on the world situation... Imperialism is the only source of the war danger. The imperialist camp is making preparations for the most terrible crime against mankind--a world thermonuclear war...[Here's my favorite part] Capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, but socialism does not require war to spread its ideals. Its weapon is its superiority over the old system in social organization, political system, economy, and the improvement of the standard of living, and spiritual culture. [Not to mention the superiority of nerve gas over spears and of tanks over

Well, that's it from the Better-Dead-Than-Red Department. If it wasn't for the real tragedy of wholesale slaughter and mental slavery which expose these statements as lies, they'd be funnier than a Jerry Brown speech or a Tom Hayden campaign commercial.

Jeff McCaull Hermosa Beach

Dear Eric:

knives.]

Congratulations! This last issue is your best. I enjoyed it, and learned from it; I expect the more intelligent students at UCSD will as well.

Continue to learn, keep up the good fight, and don't let your readers down.

Faithfully.

Faithfully, Art Kaufman New York

P.S. Thanks for the copy of the *new indicator* and the article on Reggie Williams. It proves your case for existance and endurance, while their's has fallen into doubt.

Gentlemen:

I have just read the October issue of your delicious paper and find I must have them all. Enclosed is my \$10.00 for a subscription, and \$1.50 for Vol. I, number one.

I am editor of *Eleven Ninety Nine*, the newsletter of the Stamp Out Crime Council, and would like permission to quote from your paper as appropriate to our interests. In this issue, the quote attributed to Professor Reinhard Lettau, "I'm happy every time I hear that a policeman's been killed," so infuriated me that I want to see that it gets as wide-distribution as possible. A pox upon him.

Any use of your material would, of course, be properly credited.

Thanks.
Cordially,
Barbara McCarthy
San Diego

California Review

Credo: We few, we happy few, for he who picks up this paper today shall be my brother, be he ne'er so vile, this paper will gentle his condition

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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.

By Carmelita Rosa

In Review

- Progressive culture was dealt a severe setback last month when police arrested four members of the punk rock band The Misfits and several music connoisseurs outfitted in boots and chains after the group broke into St. Louis Cemetary No. 2 in Louisiana in an attempt to find the tomb of the legendary voodoo queen Marie Laveau.
- U.N. sponsored training schools for terrorists has become de rigeur. The Siblin Ti. :ing Center of Beirut—under U.N. auspices—has house PLO instructors, stored arms, set up PLO radio stations and conducted military classes. They produced 781 junior PLO commandos over a two year period. And you wonder why the U.N. doesn't love Israel.
- In Reggie William's native Sri Lanka inc bent President Junius Jayewardne, who has turneu ...e island's once socialist and stagnant economy argund by introducing it to free enterprise, won a comfortable victory over 5 other opponents including Hector Kobbekaduwa of the Socialist Freedom Party who wanted to dismantle Jaywardne's economic program and renationalize the nation's industries.
- If you're puzzled by the *new indicator's* support of the PLO, you might find the comments of Karl Marx enlightening:

"What is the basis of Judaism? Selfishness and greed.

"What is their faith? Swindling.

"Who is their God? Money.

"There can be no solution to the problems of the world without the destruction of the Jews and their religion.'

And, "The Jews are one of the most obnoxious of races and have to be eliminated.

- The late Soviet Prime Minister, Leonid Brezhnev, told us in February of 1976 that "there is no Soviet threat either in the West or the East. It is all a monstrous lie from beginning to end. The Soviet Union has not the slightest intention of attacking anyone." With reflection on the Soviet follies in Afghanistan one might discover that the man was dead much longer than first thought.
- DISCRIMINATION WATCH: Attorney F. Lee Bailey has accused the California Highway Patrol of targeting celebrities (like himself) in their crackdown on drunk drivers.
- The ugly face of racism has emerged in Kingstree South Carolina where South Carolina's first black sheriff since Reconstruction has been suspended. The suspension came after Theodore McFarlin was indicted on charges of allowing black prisoners and two black trustees to beat and sexually assault white prisoners. McFarlin is also charged with allowing prisoners to possess large metal belt buckles, not locking jail doors, and allowing prisoners to leave the jail unattended. But as Peter Mortensen would say, this clearly indicates that the people of Kingstree South Carolina just aren't ready to accept a black
- The Soviet Communist Party daily, Prayda, has reprimanded the Soviet people for the extravagance and large alcohol consumption that takes place at Soviet weddings. Saying "nearly every wedding now is a fantastic waste of energy and finances," Pravda accused the bashes and the resultant hangovers of preventing Soviets from being good productive workers of the State.

- Attention all Pseudo-intellectuals! The time has come for you to enroll in Sociology 177, so you can -as the course description says-"compare, contrast, and where possible synthesize, the way in which sociologists attempt to understand the complexities of behavior in human group life through the use of concepts and systematic investigation, with the way dramatists attempt to distill and portray these same emotion-wrought situations." The purpose of college is to waste your parents' money for four years, right? Of course, if Sociology 177 sounds too disciplined, there's always Women's
- Two weeks before the November 2nd elections gun control advocate and actress Jennifer O'Neill accidently shot herself with a handgun.



- The progressives have done it again. Socialist Felipe Gonzales was elected Prime Minister of Spain on October 28th-implementing the first leftist government since the Spanish Civil War. Gonzales didn't win by promising larger welfare checks or full employment. Felipe Gonzales took the election because he is "such a human." A newspaper ran a headline declaring that "Felipe Smokes Marijuana." Gonzales promised that the old government would
- be replaced by young blue-jean clad militants. The Spaniards rallied round him with the cry: "Los labios de Felipe," which translates as "Felipe's Lips." Unfortunately, Ernest Hemingway wasn't around to comment on pretty-boys and Spanish ■ Do you wonder why the new telephone operators are so incompetent? Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company has agreed to implement more affirmative action for Hispanic workers under pressure from attorneys with the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Under the agreement, the phone company must guarantee promotions to their workers, not on the basis of competence, but on the basis of race. We hope to see the Competent-American Legal Defense and Education Fund take action soon. LEONID, I MISS YOU ALREADY!

- Dr. Richard Moriarty, the director of the National Poison Center Network, recently said that the recession may be causing teenagers to spike their punch with poisonous methyl alcohol instead of more expensive (in the short run) ethyl alcohol.
- One of the latest people to flee the bliss of communism for the oppression of capitalism is Chinese opera singer Chung Chi-yun. She said she defected in order to escape the "horrible, cruel and bloody tyrannical rule" and to preserve her "human dignity.'
- America's most progressive city now considers homosexual couples the same as heterosexual couples. The city of San Francisco awarded survivor's benefits to the homosexual lover of slain Supervisor Harvey Milk and proposed that "gay" city employees and their sexual partners get the same benefits as heterosexual married couples. The action is considered a major victory by homopoliticos who assert that "homosexuals share the common necessities of life." Undoubtedly, the city's next move is to redress discrimination against homosexuals who cannot produce children.
- Today, many of us wonder why the American business class has "lost ground" to advocates and beneficiaries of the "liberal agenda" in the realm of politics. Economist George Gilder has explained: "Businessmen work long hours in the very difficult and perilous activity of running a company. When you're doing that, you don't have much time to organize to bring your influence to bear on politicians. However, if you're an actual beneficiary of government programs, particularly if it relieves you of the obligation of doing work, you have a lot of time to organize in politics."
- Valentin Berezhkov, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, last month criticized President Reagan for commenting that the Soviets "just aren't smart" for not realizing that their annual bad harvests are due to their economic system, and calling Poland's leaders "lousy burns." Berezhkov said, "I think that in general, this kind of language in relations between countries is in very bad taste...I think we wouldn't participate in such kind of rhetoric...something like an insult, you know, to another country." The Soviets think tanks are less insulting.
- The oppression of women continues. A judge called "ridiculous" the defense of "pre-menstrual stress" in the case of a mother accused of beating her child. What did the defendant think of the defense? "it's not my defense, it's my lawyer's."
- The 4th District Court of Appeals rejected student complaints over student funds being used to finance abortions. So, as it stands now, paying for someone else's abortion is just a part of the cost of an
- Technology continues to threaten the existance of the working man. In a blantant attempt to undermine the local police union, the police department of Perry Ohio has supplemented its one man full time force with a maniquin, placed fully uniformed in a spare squad car. And soon to come to Southern California, the ultimate in personal computers, computer sex therapists, which are bound to put hoards of sex therapists in the unemployment
- Does the release of Lech Walesa imply that Solidarity is dead and that martial law in Poland is on its way out? The Associated Press tells us that it is and that the freedom for Lech is part of General Jaruzelski's new policy of conciliation designed to sooth public anger over the outlawing of Solidarity. Recently, the gentle general paid a cordial visit to a family whose son was killed during a protest last October. He assured them that his "deepest respect goes to you because you did not succumb to emotions which could have resulted in further dramatic developments." What compassion.
- The peace movement in the Soviet Union continues to thrive. The Committee to Establish Trust Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., founded last June, has complained of close survielence and harassment by Soviet officials who apparently don't trust them. The Moscow branch has 15 members and the organization has spread to Odessa and Novosibusk-each city having seven members.

Media Watch: Can The Guardian Survive?

The Koala should be used to stock UCSD restrooms; Voz Fronterisa, L'Chayim, and the People's Voice are racist; and the new indicator represents the most barbaric ideologies known to man-anarchism, socialism, and communism. Is The Guardian any better? In truth, nobody reads The Guardian except to find out what is happening on campus—and with good reason. The Guardian's editorial policy fits neatly under the rubric "Cretin Left." After they broke the story on the Reggie Williams

scandal, The Guardian published a knuckleheaded, mealy-mouthed editorial that said they were sorry they had to expose their good friend and buddy, Reggie Williams. (You can bet if the miscreant had been Eric Young or myself they would have been overjoyed. Objectivity is a Guardian hallmark.) But wait, there's so much more. "He [Reggie] has let down the philosophy of the new indicator, a philosophy of journalism with a cause and a message which we at the Guardian support wholeheartedly." So The Guardian supports the Goebbelsesque propaganda of the new indicator. And it does so wholeheartedly. Interesting. "He [Reggie] has also violated the principles of share-the-wealth collective socialism, principles he has passionately endorsed and fought for throughout his stint at UCSD." Reggie Williams did not violate the principles of socialism. Like all socialist power brokers, he takes our money to tell us how to think and behave. He's entitled to a little extra moolah on the side because it's for the good of the cause. That's the way socialism works from Albania to Zambia. Look it up. "He [Reggie] has collected a salary by practicing a form of pure capitalism: [sic] 100% commission." Sorry guys. "Socialism" is not defined as "all that is good, sweet, and light" and "Capitalism" is not defined as "all that is cruel, mean, and base." Socialism, not capitalism, relies on the confiscation of the wealth and the subjugation of the masses to the Party elite. Capitalism depends on production, profit, and reinvestment. Reggie had no incentive to reinvest his earnings because his paper is subsidized in toto by you and me. That's socialism folks: steal and steal again.

Another laughable Guardian piece was "An officer, a gentleman, and an objector." An officer he was not. A gentleman? "I was a surfer in college, and I spent a lot of time goofing off and eventually lost my draft deferment. [...] I thought I might try for a medical deferment, but my family was not rich, so we could not pay for some doctor to create an illness." No, he's not a gentleman. An objector? Yes, he's that. He objects to the fact that the army made him do everything in unison with his comrades, that they never allowed him any solitude, that they made him get up early in the morning, that they gave him a haircut, and that they wanted him to protect South Vietnamese authoritarians from North Vietnamese totalitarians. We're all for hearing alternative viewpoints (after all, you're reading one), but Canole, the reporter responsible for this story, is a real sap for giving this bum an arena in which to sound off. There is a case to be made against the draft, (Ronald Reagan made it), but that doesn't mean that all cases against the draft are legitimate or worthy of serious consideration.

Worst of all was a recent article by The Guardian's supercillious critic-at-large, Peter Mortensen. When Peter writes about what doors we should use at the Central Library he is in his element. When he thinks about politics one can smell the wood burning a mile away. Get this: "Had Bradley been elected, it would not have been because Californians are ready for a black governor. [...] Bradley was not elected, an indication to me that Californians are not ready for a black governor." Now if you can follow his logic, I know it's hard, he is saying that George Deukmejian could not have been elected because he was the best man for the job. Only Bradley could have done that. Deukmejian was elected because of the racist vote. (For a more detailed discussion of this see John Kubeck's "On Bradley's Excuses.") "Naturally, some Republican voters who supported Deukmejian may have considered Bradley's race as an issue." If they did they'd be like Peter Mortensen. "While unfortunate, it is of lesser importance because it is a mentality I expect to find among the more conservative Republicans." Like all those conservative Republicans who supported Flournoy, French, and Gissendanner against their white opponents. "And they showed in the elections for other statewide offices that a majority of the party would have voted for Deukmejian without regard for any opponent's personal or political ideologies." In other words, Peter is accusing the Republicans of being loyal to their party (a party which fielded more blacks for statewide office than did the Democrats). Prevocatively enough, the title of Peter's article is "Democrats betray party, give in to Deukmejian."

Okay, I've go it. Loyalty to a political party is good for Democrats and bad for Republicans. As for not dealing with political ideologies (on a local level), how does Peter account for the Republicans of the 43rd District who dumped the reluctant choice of the Party and succeeded in electing a write in-Ron Packard; and how does he account for the Democrat's failure to do the same to Tom Hayden in Santa Monica's 44th District? But Peter has an escape hatch. "I realize that my analysis of the situation may be oversimlified, and I hope you understand this is attributable to a lack of the time [that's a pretty sad excuse] and certain resources [brains]." I don't know where Peter Mortensen gets off with his pompous prevarications, but he certainly is an ass of the first magnitude.

Why doesn't The Guardian heed the voice of the people and print nothing but campus events and advertising. Spare us your Peter Mortensens, Canoles, and editorial dimwits. The Guardian has no where to go but up. -HWC III

On Bradley's Excuses By John D. Kubeck

In the aftermath of the recent California elections, one would hope that liberal analysts might be able to move on to more important subjects, like what Nancy Reagan bought this week or how successful the peace movement is in the Soviet Union. Instead, we have been fed a steady (albeit unnourishing) diet of dour-faced and disappointed commentators lamenting the roles of race and gun control in Mayor Tom Bradley's defeat.

Take the race issue. Please. Bradley supporters decry the "hidden anti-black vote," claiming that white "racism" was the major factor in Bradley's loss. Perhaps they've forgotten that while Bradley received 46% of the "Anglo" vote, Deukmejian got only 5% of the Black vote. Racism on whose part, I wonder. Maybe 46% of Anglos and 95% of Blacks constitute a "hidden anti-Armenian vote," but I'll leave that for more learned analysts to ponder. (Another thought: How many blacks, simply entered the polling booth, voted for Bradley, and left? Now that's a responsible constituency.)

If you get tired of the above excuse, there's the not-so-hidden "pro-gun ergo anti-Bradley vote" ready to coax tears of remorse from those who voted for Deukmejian. Imagine—hundreds of thousands of wild-eyed pro-gun crossover Democrats called into service to defeat Proposition 15, and who coincidentally help elect Deukmejian. Wasn't that awful, all of these conservatives peaceably expressing their views by voting? Poor Tom. He would have won if all of the Anglos and gun-owners had stayed home. Maybe next time.

On the other side of the coin, how many liberals ditched their Jane Fonda aerobics classes to go out and support the "Nuclear Freeze" (as well as the Soviet Union and Tom Bradley)? How many of them voted for Deukmejian? But of course, the commentators can, in their infinite Mervin Fieldinspired wisdom, overlook this.

With the election over why can't people accept the fact that Tom Bradley lost because of his opinions and record, not his race. Had Bradley been white, he would have lost by a much greater margin without the support of featherbrains who vote for someone solely because he is black or white.

John D. Kubeck is California Review's Long Beach Correspondent.

Is the A.S. a Waste?

What would one get if he handed over more than half a million dollars to a body of people who didn't have the consummate intelligence of a fieldmouse? At USCD it's the Associated Students.

To be bestowed the power to run the multi-faceted interests and needs of UCSD students through the AS Council is a privilege. To use such power improperly and ineffectively is a fiasco.

During AS elections, every student's voting decision is influenced by a candidate's flowery speech about "how I can improve UCSD" or "what I can do to benefit UCSD students." The candidates distribute campaign flyers stating their ambitious resolutions to control and to run UCSD.

When the newly-elected officers are announced, they discuss their plans and attempt to fulfill those rosy promises to the student body—by hook or crook.

The new term rolls in and the student body closely watches the Council's effectiveness under a new army of visionary student leaders.

Does the AS Council effectively deal with issues of substance concerning UCSD students? Effectively? No. Erratically? Yes.

The fallibility of human logic can be witnessed during any Wednesday night A.S. meeting. A.S. meetings resemble low-budget comical plays with amateur actors attempting to impress the audience with their witless dialogues.

In one of its recent meetings, the A.S. discussed alcohol and the traditional TGIF party. Everyone in the conference room expected David Parker, the Programming Commissioner, to be present—but he was "out in the Pub, having dinner." As they continued to argue, someone yelled, "how can we be discussing this when Parker isn't even here?"

During a two-minute recess, Parker entered with a plateful of dinner and was ordered to sit down by Vice President Kim Pointkowski. The TGIF issue was debated for more than an hour.

The presentation of proposed budgets by special interest groups such as LAGO (Lesbian and Gay Organization) to the AS takes up much of its time, too. In case your wondering, LAGO's proposed budget amounting to \$1,400 would be spent to hire speakers on gay issues and to organize a "smash-hit, non-sexist dance." The A.S. deals with programming on campus, but doesn't examine proposals to lower the cost of books, or to keep registration fees reasonable, or to open a 24-hour library as was promised the previous campaign.

A.S. Pres. Henry Chu commented that "there is no internal conflict in the A.S.," but emphasized that UCSD is the only A.S. in the UC system which excludes A.S. Officers from receiving annual stipends. Chu will try to push the proposal to provide incentive for future A.S. members to be more respon-

Obviou. y, the A.S. Council lacks the skill and sophistication needed to deal with student government issues. One must understand that UCSD is a "very young institution." It is also an institution that has experienced a meteoritic rise in its intellectual respectability. Unfortunately, the student council did not benefit from this rise and remains infantile and lousy.

> Carmelita Rosal is a senior at UCSD. ***



A Right Merry Christmas

By Suzanne L. Schott



With Thanksgiving behind us, holly, mistletoe, and Yule logs are just around the corner. The Christmas season lights up America's cities, fills its churches, and cheers its people. To rekindle Christmas spirit, families often turn to classics such as Charles Dickens' A Christmas Carol. The sentiments of this author are reflected in his Westminster Abbey eulogy: "He had a gospel, a cheery, joyous gladsome message, which the people understood, and by which they could hardly help being bettered; it was the gospel of brotherly love, of sympathy in the widest sense of the word."

The magic that Dickens works on stingy old Scrooge is the magic of the Christ Child. "God bless us every one!" cries Tiny Tim, and our hearts are warmed with the magic of Christmas.

Holiday traditions such as A Christmas Carol have a message for all Americans, even those who say "Humbug!" to this Christian holiday. Thackeray once wrote: "Who can listen to objections regarding such a book as this? It seems to me a national benefit, and to every man or woman who reads it a personal kindness."

Indeed, the Christmas holiday itself seems to me a "national benefit" for every American. Although the "separation of church and state" has long been an area of dispute in this country, Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina has said: "The First Amendment was clearly intended to address itself to the establishment of a national church, such as the Church of England. Clearly, the Founding Fathers were not talking about freedom from religion. They had in mind freedom of religion.

In recent years, the celebration of Christmas in our public schools has snowballed into a different sort of Christmas drama. Isolated groups of both atheists and fundamentalist Christians have set the stage, and the ACLU is "The Grinch."

In November 1980, the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of Roger Florey, a Souix Falls, South Dakota atheist who claimed that singing "Silent Night" in the Hayward Elementary School Christmas program would "mess up" his son's mind. Waving a "black list" of twenty-nine carols it considered "too religious" for performance in public school assemblies, the ACLU rushed to support Florey in his suit of the School Board.

Fortunately, U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue ruled that the School Board's rules governing curriculum did *not* violate our Constitution's First Amendment. Thus, for the first time, Judge Bogue provided a clear interpretation of the law as it applies to religious music, symbols, and literature in public schools. He explained that religious art and music have "become integrated into our national culture and heritage."

The Rules of the Hayward School Board—representative of school boards across the country—provide for "the use of religious symbols such as a cross, monorah, crescent, Star of David, creche, symbols of Native American religions, or other symbols associated with a religious holiday" as teaching aids and resources in the study and recognition of such culturally significant holidays as "Christmas, Easter, Passover, Hanukkah, St. Valentine's Day, St. Patrick's Day, Thanksgiving and Halloween."

Religious works are central to the study of music—a requirement in elementary schools, most junior high schools, and a popular elective in high schools. Public performance is an extention of classroom instruction that is applauded by the community. With camera, flash, and tape recorder in hand, proud mothers and fathers file into the school cafeteria or gymnasium, perch on folding chairs, and wait for a glimpse of son Johnny the trumpeter or daughter Beth the chorister.

These faithful parents deserve a heartier fare than "Suzy Snowflake." Most of history's musical masterpieces—such as Handel's Messiah, Beethoven's "Choral" Symphony, and Tchaikovsky's Nutcracker Suite—are religious. What would a Christmas program be without "Aedeste Fidelis," "Hark! The Herald Angels Sing," and "Joy to the World?" "What Child is This?" brings to mind the bittersweet Old English "Greensleeves," while "Stille Nacht! Heilige Nacht!" tugs at the heartstrings of German immigrants and their descendants. The rousing "Go Tell it on the Mountains," on the other hand, has its origin in America's Old South. Artful

arrangements and medleys of Old European carols, modern American classics, and black spirituals simultaneously instill musical and cultural appreciation.

Indeed, one cannot study either the literature or art of Western civilization without acknowledging the impact of Christianity. The Christmas holiday season incorporates both pagan and Christian elements—now interwoven into abiding tradition.

In the early days of the Christian church, pagan holidays—such as the Roman "Saturnalia" in December—were characterized by widespread feasting and gift-giving. The feast of Odin in the pagan Northlands was similar to that of Jupiter in the Mediterranean—marking the period of the winter solstice. To their pagan gods—Odin, Thor, Woden, Frey—the Northerners annually offered up the best of the harvest in a lavish festival. Roasted boar was washed down with beer or mead, and meat was preserved for the coming winter.

Even though the Church Father Origen in 245 C.E. declared it sinful to celebrate Christ's birth "as though He were a King Pharaoh," the people could not be coerced to give up their elaborate holiday traditions. Thus, most of the Christmas traditions cherished today are older than Christianity itself. The Christmas season incorporates Yule logs from pagan Britain, greenery, mistletoe, gift-giving, and lights from Rome, and the Boar's Head from Germany and Scandanavia.

Today, we have an abundance of both ancient and modern traditions. We embrace a meaningful sequence of holiday merriment and pass it on to our children—baking Christmas pies, frosting gingerbreadmen, stringing popcorn and cranberries.

Watching "A Charlie Brown Christmas" is always special as is seeing the Burgermeister Meisterburger receive his gift from Santa—"a yo-yo!" In America, the spirit of Christmas comes to each of us in a different way—whether watching Bing Crosby sing "White Christmas" in the classic Holiday Inn, settling down to knit that special gift, or filling Christmas cards with personal letters.

The first snow flurry brings the discomfort of icy toes and fingers to many. But, to those who honor a December holiday, it brings a feeling of overwhelming warmth that neither cold weather nor cold neighbors can frost.

As Scrooge's nephew remarks: "I am sure I have always thought of Christmas time...as a good time; a kind, forgiving, charitable, pleasant time...when men and women seem by one consent to open their shut-up hearts freely, and to think of people below them as if they really were fellow-passengers to the grave, and not another race of creatures bound on other journeys."



A Look at Discrimination

by C. Brandon Crocker

Politicians and members of the self-proclaimed black leadership use statistics to call our society racist. Racism, we are told, is what is keeping black employment and earnings below that of whites'. To support this thesis its advocates cite some very impressive statistics. In fact, these statistics are so impressive that many people form their conclusions on the subject without any further investigation. These figures are as follows. Blacks are twenty percentage points above whites in number of members below the poverty line and the black unemployment rate is better than twice that of the white unemployment rate.

One must be very careful, however, when drawing conclusions from statistics. For instance, the fact that literacy is near 90% in Cuba under Castro compared to, say, 46% in Guatemala, has prompted many American intellectuals to praise Castro's tyranny. What tends to be overlooked is that in 1959, when Castro came to power, the literacy rate was already 80% and had been steadily climbing.

So, the question that must be raised is is racism the cause of these devastating figures? The black professor and economist, Thomas Sowell, has done extensive research into the question of racial discrimination in employment and wages. One piece of information he has uncovered is the fact that the average black is twenty-two years old and the average white is twenty-nine. Pay increases as experience increases. Since whites, on average, are seven years older than blacks, they would tend to have acquired more work experience. As with the Cuban literacy fallacy, where Cuban literacy statistics were compared to those of another country, black employment statistics have been used to compare unrelated groups. Such important features as age and work experience have been disregarded.

Dr. Sowell has also examined the economic status of other groups which have been targets of persecution. He discovered that Jews and Japanese-Americans earn higher average incomes than do whites. American-born blacks of West Indian descent, who are indistinguishable from other blacks and therefore subject to the same amount of discrimination, earn incomes comparable to Anglo-Saxons. This evidence strongly suggests that discrimination is not the prime cause of poor economic performance among minority groups, but that other factors such as age, work experience and such things as differences in culture do affect economic performance.

The effect of age can be seen in the fact that the four groups with the lowest relative incomes, blacks, American Indians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, also have the youngest median ages. On the other hand, those groups with incomes greater than the national average all have median ages above the national average.

The average age of blacks also tells something about the effect of one program set up to help blacks and the poor in general. That program is the minimum wage law. By pricing teenagers (which comprise a greater percentage of the black population than the white) out of the job market, the minimum wage has had a devastating effect on young black employment and has thus kept the work experience of blacks in their early twenties low. The racist government of South Africa imposed a minimum wage on blacks for the expressed purpose of protecting unskilled white laborers from black competition. Surely the supporters in this country of the minimum wage and those who pressed for its dramatic rise since the early 1950s are not racists. Nonetheless, despite the better intentions, the results are the same. As Thomas Sowell writes,

> Black teenage unemployment in the 1970s is at least five times what it was as of around 1950. The argument is often made...that this increase is surely the result of racism. But it is hard to believe that there was only one fifth as much racism in 1950 as there was in 1970. If you look at the unemployment rate among blacks by age bracket, you find a very steep decline from the teenage years to about the mid to late 20s. These people do not change color as they get older; they merely acquire more experience, and that brings down the unemployment rate. Blacks aged 25 to 45 have historically always had lower unemployment rates than whites under

Anti-poverty programs have also had an adverse impact on the way blacks (as well as whites) think about entering the labor market. For instance, from 1953 to 1978, two relatively prosperous years, the number of the heads of low-income families choosing to work declined from 58% to 41%. The average welfare family of four is now eligible for more dollars worth of subsidies than the median American

income. Yet the clamor of self-serving politicians and black leaders, calling for more money for welfare programs on which they have staked their careers, continues to grow.

As a result of all this demagogy there is no incentive for many blacks to work at all. Why should a poor black leave welfare to go to work at a job that may net him half of his current welfare income in the hope that he will move ahead, and eventually be better off than he is, in a business world which he is constantly told is racist and holds little opportunity for blacks?

The disadvantage of blacks is not their color, but those who exploit the position of blacks to further their own careers and who would rather keep poor blacks poor in perpetuity rather than admit that the programs they have pushed for and which they have used for political mileage are hindering black economic performance. Age, work experience, culture, and, to a small degree, discrimination, all affect blacks' economic performance. But those who blow discrimination and its effects out of proportion and those who support legislation such as the minimum wage law, whether out of ignoble or honorable motives, are setting blacks further back than are today's bigots.



The Oppressed as Oppressor

By C.K. Littlewood

The multitude of Leftist theoreticians have a veritable arsenal of hypotheses and postulates concerning the specifications of the "Ideal State." Where might one look in order to observe a working example of such a state? If these ideas are so desireable and conducive to greater individual freedoms, why haven't the comparatively democratic nations begun to lean in this direction? Surely an entire population cannot be blind to a newer and "better" way of running the political and economic spheres of their country, even if the government seminates propaganda to the contrary. Human beings, in general, are neither stupid nor socially unaware -- they do not like being led about like a flock of sheep with aggressive, cunning dogs acting as shepherds (though this analogy is all too apropos when applied to many existing nations).

Obviously there have been (and still are) oppressive, authoritarian regimes which exercised despotic control over various states during the course of history. It would be ludicrous to think otherwise. And the overthrow of said governments is most assuredly a feather in the cap of Humanity as a whole. But how can anyone rationalize the replacement of one oppressive regime with another that is equally oppressive? The institutions may change, along with the political and economic structures in the country, but often the subgroup which is oppressed is merely changed, too. Sometimes it is simply a role reversal: the oppressors become the oppressed, and vice versa. The Soviet government is always quick to point out that the founding Bolsheviks overthrew a tyrannical emperor who allowed the starvation and murder of millions of peasants yet there is not such a zealous response on the part of these same authorities to questions concerning the

equally horrific atrocities committed by the Stalinist regime.

Perhaps amidst all of the idealistic fervor and exhilaration which abounds in the revolutionary movements of the Left there has also been planted the seeds of *vengeance*; and it is a powerful, uncon-



trolable weed which grows from them. The oppression and injustice under which the revolutionists once suffered is all too easily forgotten in the heady new aquisition of power. The same men who previously decried their government leaders as "murderers" now justify their own brutal actions as being the "Will of the People" (as with the Russian Narodnaia Volia in the nineteenth century).

And, too, there is the startling revelation for the new governors that ideals and reality do not necessarily coincide. These "Freedom Fighters" soon find themselves ensnared in the bureaucratic/administrative jungle; and only then realize that theories may appear plausible on paper, but are often impracticable in the world of men and politics. Shortly after the Russian revolution, for example, the Communists were forced to institute a capitalist economic system in order to get the country back on its feet financially. The Russian government was brilliant in the maneuvering of their self-imposed free enterprise schematism: once the country had struggled out of economic chaos, the government simply took over all of the new business and industrial concerns. And all of the foreign investors that had been lured to the East were left standing in the cold, victimized by a deceitful new government. Honor among thieves....

Horribly oppressed peoples place all hope for the future in those who promulgate change; and will overlook glaringly blatant inconsistencies in the theories of such revolutionists. Unfortunately, it is often too late when the oppressed masses finally realize that they were inspired by false hopes; preyed upon by charismatic figures who would earn their support, and then betray their trust.

C.K. Littlewood is a senior at UCSD.

California Review Interviews Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp

Admiral U.S. Grant Sharp was appointed by President Johnson in 1964 to be Commander-in-Chief Pacific, a unified command of nearly one million Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force personnel in an 85-million square-mile area. He was responsible to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff for the overall supervision of U.S. combat operations in the Vietnam theater and throughout the Pacific during the four years that followed. For his services as Commander-in-Chief Pacific, Admiral Sharp was decorated by the governments of Thailand, Japan, the Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of the Philippines, the Republic of Vietnam, and by Brazil.

Admiral Sharp graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy, (1927), the U.S. Naval Post-Graduate School, and the Naval War College. After serving in both World War II and the Korean War, he was appointed to Vice-Admiral in 1960 when he was assigned as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Plans and Policy. In 1963, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet with four star rank. Though he was in charge of all military activities in the Pacific as Commander-in-Chief Pacific during four of the most critical Vietnam War years, Admiral Sharp received his directives from Washington. In his book, Strategy for Defeat: Vietnam in Retrospect, Sharp described the frustrations of "fighting a war with one hand tied behind our backs."

Now retired, Admiral Sharp lives in San Diego where he has served on the Board of Overseers for the University of California at San Diego. He agreed to speak with the editors of the California Review on nuclear arms and the Soviet threat.

CR: You once said that "should the freeze initiative pass, it would undercut the true initiatives for arms reduction and negotiations with the Soviets in Geneva." The initiative passed yesterday in eight states, including California. What will happen now?

SHARP: The initiative indicates to the Soviets that they've been pretty successful in pushing the freeze—because they did. It indicates to them that if they hold out long enough, the so-called "peace movement" in this country will pressure our negotiators to take a weaker stand. They want to pressure our congressmen to be chary about voting for any kind of nuclear weapons. Right now, they are superior in strategic weapons, and they want to stay that way. And, they're going to stay that way. They're not going to let us negotiate down to a balanced level which is our objective in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. Their objective is to maintain superiority.

CR: Why are they superior?

SHARP: They're superior because they have 608 heavy, accurate ICBMs. Half of those are the SS-18 and the other half, the SS-19. With just 300 SS-18's alone, they could knock out 90% of our ICBM's, submarines with missiles, and any other military installation, and the President would be faced with the option of retaliating and being sure if he retal-

iated that they would let go with the *rest* of their ICBM's-- a thousand of them, which is more than we had in the first place. They could knock out every city with over 200,000 people. So at this point, what does the President do? Does he sign a death warrant for a hundred and fifty million Americans? Or, does he give in? That's the problem.

CR: Isn't the whole idea of a Nuclear Freeze ridiculous, since the United States has had a "nuclear freeze" for the past twenty years or so?

SHARP: Yes. As Judge Clark, the President's Security Advisor, pointed out in a speech here the other day, since the Kennedy Administration, we have reduced our megatonage by 50%. And, we have reduced the number of warheads by about 30%. We haven't really modernized our ICBM's. The Soviet Union decided about twenty years ago—even before they had an ICBM—that the way to get pre-emptive counterforce capability against the United States, was to build heavy, accurate ICBM's. After twenty years, they have had four generations of missiles, with each one becoming more accurate, reliable, and superior. They have now reached their goal. Their missiles are superior to ours. And, they're not about to give that up. So, what are we going to do?

"So the Salt I treaty isn't a treaty; it's an interim agreement, and it has holes in it big enough for a truck to drive through. And, they've driven trucks through all the holes."

CR: Well, U.S. arms negotiator Walt Rostow...

SHARP: Not Walt Rostow, Eugene Rostow. CR: Eugene?

SHARP: The SAN DIEGO UNION was wrong; they called him Walt. I called them up to let them know. They were very embarrasssed. You see, I had just been at a luncheon with him.

CR: Eugene Rostow proposed that both the Soviet Union and the United States reduce their arsenals by about 2,500 warheads apiece. What are the prospects for an equitable and verifiable treaty with the Soviet

Union

SHARP: Very low, I would say. But, we have to keep talking to them. President Reagan has said that by negotiations, he wants A) to reduce nuclear forces so that we have an equitable balance with the Soviets, then B) to reduce forces even further. He also said that if the Soviets are not willing to reduce forces to a balance, then we're going to have to build up our forces until we're comparable to them and then start reducing. That's the President's program.

CR: Last month, Brezhnev said that the Soviets would prepare for new challenges due to what he called "U.S. adventurism." Two weeks ago, the chief Kremlin military spokesman, Nikolai Chervov said that unless the U.S.'s stand does not develop in a "constructive" direction, negotiations will become dead-locked. What should American negotiators make of these statements?

SHARP: One has to consider who the audience was for these statements and to what extent they broadcast them. The audience for Brezhnev's talk was all the high level military, and it was broadcast on television in the Soviet Union. That is unusual. He was telling the military that he was supporting them and their desires. He understood the so-called "challenge of the United States." The Soviet Union is going to make sure that it remains superior and that the requirements of its defense get *first* priority and their economy second. What Breshnev said was that they are going to continue to spend 15% of their Gross National Product on the military.

CR' While we spend 5.7% of our GNP on the military?

SHARP: That's right. But, if Reagan's program goes through, I believe that it will become about 6.2%.

CR: And they call him a "warmonger" for that? **SHARP:** Right.

CR: The Soviet Union has backed "peace movements" throughout Europe; it has praised them in the United States. Yet, few demonstrations are ever allowed to occur in the USSR...

SHARP: None.

CR: Then, what would you say are the Soviet's intentions of world "peace?"

SHARP: Of course, you have to distinguish between Soviet disinformation, Soviet propaganda, and Soviet salients for their own people—which are not propaganda. Brezhnev's talk wasn't propaganda. Chervov's was partly propaganda that was for consumption outside the Soviet Union. The Soviet "peace movements" are purely subversive movements that are trying to get at the will of Western countries to oppose Soviet aggressive designs.

CR: Last November, both the Soviets and the U.S. began talks aimed at reducing nuclear arsenals in Europe with the understanding, at least by the U.S.

save an equitable balance with the Soviets, o reduce forces even further. He also said Soviets are not willing to reduce forces to a then we're going to have to build up our posedly counter the 320 Soviet SS-20 medium range

ballistic missiles—each one with three independently targetable warheads. They also have three or four hundred other, older intermediate-range missiles. President Reagan offered not to deploy any of ours, if the Soviets got their SS-20's out. This is what is known as the "Zero-Zero Option." But, of course, the Soviets said "no way" again; they are in an advantageous and superior position.

negotiators, that if a reduction plan was not deve-

loped NATO was to begin deploying new, medium-

range nuclear missiles, starting in December 1983.

What would a NATO plan entail?

CR: Would we be safer with or without an arms control agreement, if we simply used our superior resources to achieve nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union?

SHARP: I can't see us achieving nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union because they actually have a productive capacity for ICBM's that is greater than ours. They would probably be perfectly willing to go ahead building up, as long as we went on building up. I think that it's necessary for us to go ahead with our MX missile in order to let them know that we mean what we say: If they aren't willing to reduce, then we're going to build up. I think they have a pretty good idea that we're not going to build as fast as they're going to build. On the other hand, for them to keep on building is a strain on our economy. So, I think they would like to get some kind of an agreement, so long as they come out superior.

CR: How does our Minuteman Missile compare to the Soviet missiles?

SHARP: Our Minuteman is not a heavy, accurate ICBM. Actually, it is quite accurate, but it only has three warheads with about 300 kilotons each, as I recall. The Soviet SS-18, for example, has ten warheads—each one of them is 500 hundred kilotons.

CR: How would the MX compare?

SHARP: The MX is comparable in size to the SS-19.

CR: What mode do you support for deployment of the MX? Do you support, say, the railroad track or the silo approach?

SHARP: I think they should put the MX into silos not the dense-pack thing-protected by an antiballistic missle system. The only way I can see that we can come about with a credible deterrent is to protect ur ICBM's with a ballistic missile defense system. When we can set up a ballistic missile defense system that can knock down more than 50% of their incoming warheads, then we will have a credible deterrent because the Soviets will not know how many of their ICBM's will get through, and when they're uncertain, they won't want to use them. We can build a AMB system that will knock down about 80% of them. You have to realize that there is an anti-ballistic missile treaty that we signed in 1972 that only permits us to defend one ICBM field. The Soviets were very, very anxious in 1971-72 to get us to sign an ABM, treaty, because we had an anti-ballistic missile system at that point that was at least ten years ahead of the Soviets, and they knew it. So, when we got into the so-called SALT I talks, they were very anxious to have a treaty all signed, limiting ballistic missile defense. They weren't a darn bit interested in having a SALT I treaty that limited their ability to build up an offensive weapon system. So the SALT I treaty isn't a treaty; it's an interim agreement, and it has holes in it big enough for a truck to drive through. And, they've driven trucks through all the holes.

CR: Have any of the "interim agreements" been kept?

sharp: We know that the Soviets violated at least the spirit of SALT I. They weren't supposed to build any more heavy ICBM's. Despite that, they have replaced some much lighter ICBM's with the SS-19. The SALT II treaty was never signed. We also know that they've broken some of the terms of the ABM treaty. The ABM treaty comes up for review every five years. Actually, it was up for review last month. Either party can abrogate the treaty with six months

notice. My opinion is that we should get our ABM development as far ahead as we can and then abrogate the treaty.

CR: What about conventional forces?

SHARP: You have to remember that we only spend about 15% of our defense budget on strategic forces; we spend the other 85% on conventional forces, and we have to keep on doing this. Their objective is to be superior to us at every level of escalation, starting with subversive warfare and going right on up.

CR: Many university professors are up in arms because the Reagan administration is "planning for a protracted nuclear war." What is your view on this?

SHARP: The Reagan administration has to say that we are preparing for a "protracted war," because if they didn't, the Soviets would feel that in a short war "we got 'em anyway. We can beat them in a short war. So, we'll just maintain superiority, and we're all set." So, our administration has to say that we're preparing for a "protracted war," whether we carry it out or not

CR: Senator Pete Wilson said that we should cut the defense budget to cut down the deficit. What do you feel about that?

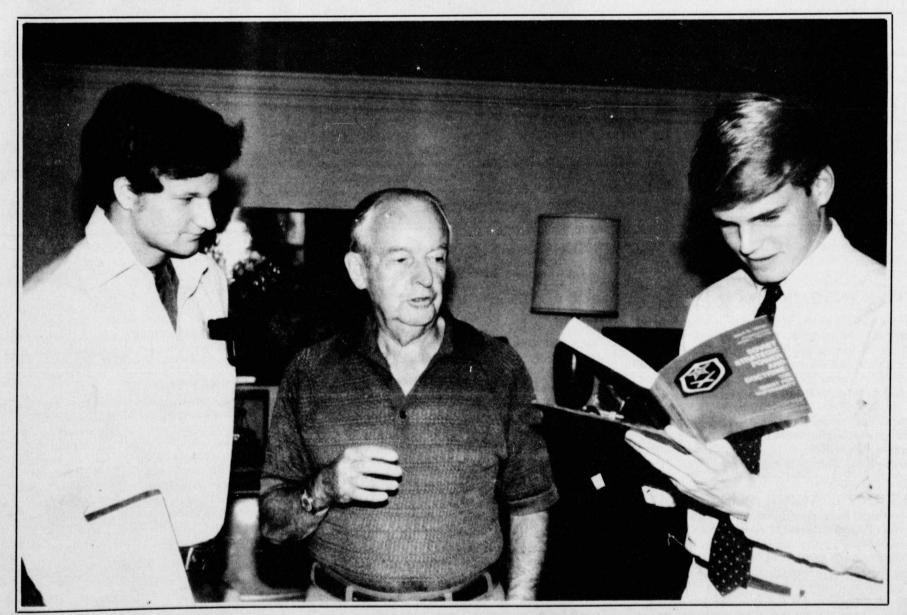
SHARP: I think it's a mistake. However, Pete Wilson was quite careful about what he said. He understands the needs of defense; I've talked to him. He understands the requirements, he knows that the defense budget is not wasteful and not out of shape. We need everything that President Reagan is asking for.

CR: Do you think that the defense budget can be cut at its present level?

SHARP: I don't think it should be cut. In fact, there are many things that we should do but can't because we don't have the money. You have to remember that we have let our defenses slide for about ten years, while the Soviets have been building. We're in a position now where we're not too well off.

CR: How precarious is our position today?

(continued next page)



Brigadier Editor Harry W. Crocker III, Admiral Sharp, and CR President E. Clasen Young

The following is an excerpt from Admiral Sharp's book, Strategy for Defeat: Vietnam in Retrospect.

The application of military, war-making power is an ugly thing—stark, harsh and demanding—and it cannot be made nicer by pussy-footing around with it.

On a wider screen, I view with chilling concern the weaknesses which this laid open with respect to the American public's will to support U.S. foreign policy objectives. We went into this era on a positive note with the altruistic intention to do what was necessary to help South Vietnam remain free and hopefully non-Communist, believing that unless we did so virtually all of Southeast Asia would fall under Communist domination. We also recognized that the rest of the world would regard the Vietnam conflict as a test of the U.S. ability to aid a nation victimized by Communist "Wars of National Liberation." The stakes were high and we knew it. We have always been blessed with public support for our armed forces in any war we got into for good and apparent reasons, providing we prosecuted the war in the approved American manner, i.e., to proceed towards victory posthaste and all-out. Americans traditionally have not put much stock in the no-win approach. For example, we became disenchanted with the Korean War when we settled for less than clear-cut victory. But in this war Americans not only accomodated to the no-win approach, they acquiesced to defeat

What happened? Was our will eroded solely because those "good and apparent reasons" were not emphatically delineated by our political leadership? Or was it because we were subjected to a skillfully waged subversive propaganda campaign, aided and abetted by the media's bombardment of sensationalism, rumors and half-truths about the Vietnam affair-a campaign that destroyed our national unity? Or has there been a fundamental change in the attitude of Americans toward world affairs, marked by a lack of national will to continue our role of Free World leadership? When we accepted defeat after losing 55,000 American dead and another 300,000 wounded, with 150 billion dollars spent on a lost cause, we seemed to be clearly saying to the world that what we had ultimately lost was our concern for the responsibilities, indeed the honor, that goes with a leadership role. If this is true, I fear for the peace of the world.



(continued from p. 9) SHARP: We're short in many of the essential logistical items-spare parts, ammunition, missiles-and we need to build up. You don't have time once the whistle blows. In the Navy, we need three more carrier battle groups. The army is short of a modern tank. We don't have a very good chemical warfare ability; actually, we really don't have one at all. The Soviets do, and they are planning to use chemical

warfare... CR: They're using it right now in Afghanistan.

SHARP: Yes. So, we have to go ahead with a chemical warfare program because the only thing that will deter them from using chemical warfare is our ability to do so also.

CR: Do you support the creation of a civil defense

SHARP: Yes. The civil defense system is useful. But, I don't see it as being an urgent a thing as a missle defense system. Civil defense is sort of a last ditch

CR: Do you think we have a bright future in the technology that is leading to the deployment of a satellite-based ABM system.

SHARP: That concept is a great one. But, it's A) expensive, and B) we don't have the technology yet. We might be able to do that by 1995.

CR: Are the Soviets ahead of us in that area as well?

SHARP: They have an anti-satelite system which we don't have, although we have the technology. We should have one in case thay decide to use theirs. The trouble with this whole structure of defense is that when the other side builds something, you'd better get the same thing to hold them off-deter them from using it. Deterrence is very expensive.

CR: Are there similarities between our strategy now, or the lack thereof, and that of the Vietnam era.

SHARP: I don't believe either one of them is any good. The strategy for Vietnam was a sad thing. We failed to use our power forcefully. Our strategy for deterrence is really based on the Mutually Assured Destruction theory - MAD. The idea is that you leave your population and industry undefended so that the population is held hostage to destruction. That's supposed to deter them from initiating an exchange because they know the population will be destroyed. Unfortunately, the Soviets don't go along with that theory, and they never have. We've used that Mutually Assured Destruction theory as a means of slighting our build-up of strategic nuclear forces. It's been a way to avoid spending money on the military. That strategy is no better than our Vietnam strategy.

CR: Do you have any idea how we can go about buoying the spirits of the American people, strengthening their resolve so that they will see the need for

increasing military spending, especially in the strategic area, and wouldn't support things like "nuclear freeze" buffoonery?

SHARP: You have to educate the American people and that's a very difficult job. And, you have to shock 'em a little bit to get them to listen. When the Reagan Administration went in, they had the idea that they were going to inform the American people exactly where we stood so that they would understand exactly why we have to build up. They've done a fairly good job with that, I believe, though their rhetoric has become just a touch too strident, and they're not really putting over to the American people the reasons for the strident declarations. The Reagan administration needs to do that, but it's very difficult especially when you can't get the media to pick up the things that you tell them. The media, generally speaking, are liberal. Walter Cronkite, for example, has said a good many times that "I'm just not going to put out the word that we're inferior; I just won't do it." And, he never did. So, it's difficult to get the word out. But, we have to keep on working at it, and we do it in the face of a very skillful, psycological warfare that the Soviets are waging. To counter that, we have a big job.

CR: Are you related to Ulysses S. Grant? SHARP: My grandmother on my father's side was U.S. Grant's sister. Am I related? No I'm not.

The Competitive Spirit Pervades Academe

Theodore Roosevelt gives us a cogent case for athletics in academe—"as a group, students who are athletic have a higher scholastic average than a group of non-athletes ... sports, like lectures and recitations, have a positive indirect effect on a boy's character."

Physical competition has its roots in ancient Greece, where gymnastics and philosophy ran parallel with stronger minds and more serviceable bodies. The building of a Greek stadium was second only to the building of a temple. In Western Europe, the Renaissance brought recognition to these classical ideals of dexterity, prowess, honor, and spirit, which combined with the noble behavior of the Teutonic and Celtic leaders and begat what we know as

If modern education's purpose is to instill character and honor by way of study and discipline, then modern education must mix athletic endeavor with the pursuits of the library. Sports and studies should go hand in hand. Yet the university is crawling with crusty Ph. D. offal who will tell you, as Professor Neil Isaacs does, that "capitalism uses sports to perpetuate the rigid class structure and keep the masses down and entertained at the same time." The professor who can't make a living outside of the ivory tower would have you hate everything that he hates. Though this buffoonery is prevalent, it may be on the decline soon.

Spirit among students is being reinstated, whilst competition is being cheered on—and signs of possible character development from a UCSD education are on the horizon. A substantial move in this direction is the birth of a UCSD Cheerleading Squadreal women who hold the American spirit of competition in reverence. Last May, about forty women competed for a tight, eight spots on the Squad.

The eight who now demonstrate their gymnastic competence are Lisa Catlin, Lori Griudas, Alison Jamieson, Denise Schmautz, Valeri Anders, Kathy Berman, Melissa Vilas, and Kindra Zieber.

The group's aspirations extend further than dance routines. They intend, as Kathy Berman tells us, "to change the image of this school." With all their vouthful enthusiasm in gear, they look ahead anxiously to a busy basketball season this winter. "The reception so far has been very positive," says Lisa

The women see themselves as the catalyst between student apathy and student participation. Involvement in athletics is down they say and, by interacting with the students, the ladies hope to close the gap between the athlete and the academic. "And maybe even help people's grades," as Miss Berman asserts.

Of any at UCSD, I know that Teddy Roosevelt would encourage these young women.



ECONOMICS IN AND OUT OF TOWN

by Michael C. Litt

OF TIME AND THE BUDGET

The Social Security Reform Commission announced recently that the program will need between \$150 and \$200 billion in new income, or benefit cuts, between now and the end of the decade. Up until now Social Security recipients as well as taxpayers have had to listen to both parties using the issue as fuel for their fires. (Recall Jerry Brown's recent senatorial campaign.) But when the post war "baby boom" generation begins to reach retirement age at the end of this millenium, today's political parties could produce "2001; a taxpayers headache."

COULDN'T IMAGINE

Liquidators have recently been selected to investigate the collapse of the De Lorean Motor Company located in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The investigation comes at the request of Regie Nationale des Usines Renault. The French auto maker was owed roughly \$18.5 million at the time of the collapse last month. A spokeman for the liquidators said they would be "investigating the failure in depth" of De Lorean, "and the directors will be called upon to explain where the money has gone.

SUDS OVER MIAMI

Adolph Coors Co., a brewing concern operating out of Golden, Colorado, said it will begin marketing its beer in Florida in the first half of 1983, bringing to 21 the number of states in which it distributes

TED WILLIAMS BEST

The recent drop in interest rates had little affect on consumer spending. But the consumer credit business has benefited greatly because of the decreased costs of carrying short term debts. Sears, the largest merchandiser, recently reported that the company's merchandise group showed a 52% profit increase from a year earlier despite sales being up only 16%. This was largely due to a three to four percentage point drop on its roughly \$5 billion dollar consumer debt. "All of them (consumer creditors) will likely benefit from this", says consultant and former chief economist at Sears, Roebuck and Co., Jay Levine.

PLANNING AHEAD

The Brown administration has announced that California will have a \$1.12 billion dollar deficit for fiscal 1983, ending June 30, unless the legislature can head it off at the pass. The fiscal 1983 budget was

supposed to show a small surplus. But the director of finance under Brown, Mary Ann Graves, said the state's sagging economy, unanticipated expenses, and pending court cases will push state spending into the red. Saddle 'em up George.

CORNSKY FLAKES

Despite uncertainties about the effects of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's death on U.S.-Soviet trade, corn prices rallied on rumors of coming Soviet grain purchases. Recently the U.S. offered the Soviets an extra 15 million metric tons of corn and wheat beyond the amounts already specified under the current Soviet grain agreement. A metric ton is 2,204.6 pounds. There were unconfirmed reports that the Soviets had already purchased as many as two million metric tons under the new offer. Now we're waiting to see who gets their picture on the first box

Uncle Sam watches you grease the imperialist cogs of corporate greed with your sweat and honest toil.

EXHIBIT B

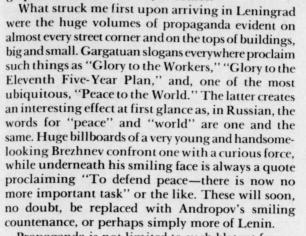


The dollar sign leads a relatively solitary existence in the wild, and prefers to find a pile of human skulls where it can perch and hum quietly to itself.

...... How I Spent My Summer Vacation-In the Soviet Union

By Janet Baird

Participation in the Council on International Though not directly available to the public, Educational Exchange (CIEE) program at Leningrad Western music is widespread and very popular — State University is a fabulous way to learn about much to the dismay of the government. The proliferation Russia and the Russians. Student status gains one of Western music is only symbolic of the everrelative freedom of movement-within certain geoincreasing Western influence in Russia-very dan-



graphical and time limits, of course.

Propaganda is not limited to such blatant forms, but is even more prevalent in couched terms in the press. After I'd been in Leningrad long enough to make some close friends and sit down and drink and talk with them, I was amazed at what the people did and did not know, due to the shielding or invention by the Soviet press. On one hand, some are even unaware that the Soviet Union imports grain from the United States, while on the other hand everyone "knows" that hundreds of Americans drop dead almost daily of starvation in the city streets. One of the most amusing questions put to me by an information-starved young Russian was whether "Rollerball" was a popular sport in America. This is an example of what Russians see of Western culture. The government can protest accusations of blanketing its people from Western influence by enumerating the occasional American films shown in Soviet theatres. Only examples showing the negative trends in Western society are available to Soviet scrutiny.

gerous to the State, because it is only through contact with the outside that Soviet citizens realize how much they lack in their society; from freedom to food.



The foreigner in Russia is first approached by mobs of blackmarketeers wanting to buy anything American (but chiefly jeans). However, If you won't sell anything, they still want to talk - if they can't have the American goods, at least they want to know

One of the major divergences between our two societies, besides the purely economic ones, is the concept of religion. Though not as severly repressed as it has been in the past, religion is still not endorsed by the government, and for the most part the only churchgoers are old women.

When discussing religion, my friend was fascinated that I believed in God, and responded, "I knew a believer once." Even if the younger generation isn't strictly forbidden to attend church services, there doesn't seem to them to be much point in doing so. They are continually officially reminded that "there is no God." This is a little hypocritical, though, as the Soviets have a God and his name is Lenin.

While the government doesn't support religiion, it does claim to place a great emphasis on education. All schooling in the Soviet Union is free, even at the university level. During a lecture on this subject, an American student asked how the State could afford to subsidize higher education and received the acrid reply that, unlike the United States, the Soviet Union doesn't spend great sums of money on military affairs, so it can direct its resources to more important areas.

One problem the government doesn't seem to be able to control, despite a host of laws, is alcoholism. Although both liquor stores and bars close early, it is simple to flag down a taxi and buy a bottle of vodka from the driver after hours. The only thing there is to do in Russia is drink—and everyone does. The State doesn't realize that the drinking problem wouldn't be so severe if conditions weren't so bad and the people didn't have to sedate themselves to forget about them. Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that Andropov and the new Government will be any more sympathetic to this problem. The Soviet Union is doomed to social stagnation for some time to

Janet Baird is a Dartmouth senior on exchange at

The Appreciation of Leftist Wit

Aside from steady employment, a sense of humor is probably the last thing one would suspect a Leftist of possessing. One observes these relentlessly grim souls at UCSD- wandering through the Food Coop, distractedly pocketing Cashew Sandcastles, and fretting about UC-CIA ties; sitting alone at the outdoor terrace of the Che Cafe, gazing Guevara-like at some point on the distant horizon, and dreaming of a bright totalitarian future; or, darting to and fro in the cold early dawn, depositing large stacks of California Review in the trash out of the firm conviction that pigdog imperialist multinational trilateral capitalist swines shouldn't be permitted to publish their vitriolic anti-people propaganda.

"How earnest!" The casual observer cannot help thinking. "What blind dedication! What unthinking idealism! But what do they do for laughs?" At least, that is what this casual observer couldn't help thinking. In fact, I almost pitied these determined creatures in their mirthless single-mindedness.

EXHIBIT A

And one day I picked up a copy of a publication

By Emmeline de Pillis

called the new indicator. What caught my eye was not the cover story linking the new head cook of the Muir dining commons to the CIA. Nor was it the Fall Protest Calendar for the San Diego area; it was a hastily-rendered cartoon, incorporating a man in military garb, Uncle Sam, and an unidentified gentleman with a dollar sign on his lapel. (As far as I can recall, it might have been Ronald Reagan instead of Uncle Sam, or maybe Jerry Falwell, or Al Haig.) All three are singing, out of the respective corners of their mouths: "What the world needs now is weapons weapons..." I was astounded. Here was actual, genuine Leftist humor. "So that's it," I thought. "Leftist humor is not communicated verbally- instead, it manifests itself in easy-tocomprehend pictoral form!"

Since that day of revelation, I have become quite an aficionado of Leftist wit, and with little or no effort, you can too. This type of humor is accessible to all—sort of a People's Humor, as it were. Anyone, of

any mental capacity, can catch on right away, just by learning a few simple basics:

1) Leftists wish to Save The World,

which is a good thing, because Big Business wants to destroy it, starting with the underdeveloped countries. la) Ronald Reagan really wants

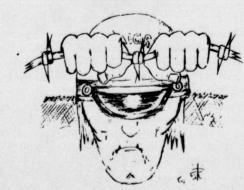
to destroy the world, preferably by blowing it up. 2) Ronald Reagan and Uncle Sam are peculiar-looking and frequently

3) American currency is intrinsically evil and, in some vague way, responsible for untold deaths.

sport pointy teeth.

Now study the following cartoons carefully and see if you can find what is funny about them. Don't look at the answers until you've made a good effort. Now that you know how to appreciate Leftist wit, try your hand at some Left-wing Levity of your own! Emmeline de Pillis is a senior at UCSD

EXHIBIT C



The United States is so oppressive and authoritarian that they put their best fighting men (the ones with the pointiest teeth) at the borders to tyranically and unjustly keep people out.

Interview with Respected Neo-Conservative Irving Kristol

Irving Kristol is a distinguished intellectual and neo-conservative. He edits The Public Interest and is a contributor to The Wall Street Journal. Laura Ingraham, a sophomore at Dartmouth and a staff writer for The Dartmouth Review, recently chatted with Mr. Kristol and filed this interview for California Review.

Ingraham: It seems that President Reagan's conservative alliance is more fragile today than it was in 1980. The neoconservatives and the New Right seem to be disenchanted with Reagan. What is the source of the neoconservative discontent, and is all this bickering going to bring back liberalism?

Kristol: I don't think anything can bring back liberalism. But the main source of neoconservative discontent with the Reagan administration has been over foreign policy. I don't claim to speak for all neoconservatives, but we feel that Reagan's foreign policy could be a lot more assertive and imaginative than it is now.

Ingraham: What do we have now? What should we

Kristol: Now we have a fairly traditional, moderate conservative, foreign policy. But it is not up to the problems of today. I think our entire foreign policy should be rethought. I think NATO should be rethought. Our NATO alliance is in crisis, and we pay a heavy price for our desperate attempts to keep NATO together, both economically, and in terms of accomodating our foreign policy to our European allies. Frankly, I don't see why Reagan is accomodating the allies so much. For example, Reagan should have been much tougher on the Soviet pipeline issue.

Ingraham: Is it too late now?

Kristol: First, I should say that the pipeline issue is a crucial issue, not just because of the economics, but because of its foreign policy implications. The Europeans regard the pipeline as part of a policy of detente with the Soviet Union. Its economics really represent a foreign aid program to the Soviet Union; it is not a regular economic transaction.

Ingraham: What could Reagan have done?

Kristol: I think the Reagan administration should have made it clear to our allies from the outset that the European behavior is simply unacceptable. You cannot have a NATO alliance with this kind of divergence in foreign policy. Now if we had from the beginning, put NATO on the line-said that if the Europeans start building the pipeline, we would start saving tens of billions of dollars by removing American troops from Europe—I think the pipeline should never have been built. Now it's late, and the European governments have put their prestige on the line. I assume some sort of face-saving compromise of our state department can be worked out. Ingraham: What about Central America?

Kristol: I am afraid the Reagan administration has really let the liberal critics dictate its foreign policy. Reagan should have explained to the American

people that Central America is in our vital interest, and therefore, we cannot permit another pro-Soviet regime there. Instead of that we have been fiddling

Ingraham: Do you think, Mr. Kristol, that the American media exaggerated Israel's role in the Lebanon massacre? Norman Podhoretz argued so in the recent issue of Commentary.

Kristol: I think, yes, the press did exaggerate. Of course, now, it is difficult to exaggerate a massacre. But it seems to me that the press-for reasons not entirely clear to me—was looking for a reason to dump on Israel. I think the press may have gotten tired of being pro-Israeli.



Ingraham: Does the United States bear any responsibility for the massacre?

Kristol: In a certain sense, yes. We should not have withdrawn our Marines, which the Israelis asked us not to do. But we were so terribly frightened of having one Marine injured that we pulled them out at the first opportunity. Marines are not tin soldiers who are never supposed to get hurt.

Ingraham: Mr. Kristol, the conservatives don't seem to have had much success with social issues: abortion, busing, school prayer.

Kristol: I'm afraid the New Right did not organize itself very well. For one thing, New Right politicians could never agree on a specific piece of legislation. That was certainly true on abortion. If they had all rallied around the Hatch Amendment, I think it would have had a reasonable chance of getting through. That was something clear-cut to support. In addition, the New Right did not establish priorities. You cannot go to Congress with a big agenda of social issues, because that is a great way of Congress doing nothing. I think the New Right should have focused on the issue it was most concerned about, and had the best chance of winning. My own guess is that tuition tax credits would have been the best

Ingraham: An issue like school prayer has enormous public support, does it not?

Kristol: Oh, indeed, including me. But I think the prayer issue need not be treated by an amendment. On that issue I think the courts can be turned around. I don't like constitutional amendments unless they are absolutely necessary, unless there is no chance that the courts can be turned around. I think the courts can be turned around on busing and school prayer. I do not think the courts can be turned around on abortion, that decision was pretty clear-cut. But in general I think the New Right was too amendment-prone.

Ingraham: Do you think our recent revocation of "most favored" trading status with Poland was an effective move?

Kristol: It's a nice symbolic gesture. Why not? If you want to express disapproval you do something like that. I don't think it will radically affect the economy of either the United States or Poland, but it is a statement.

Ingraham: The Catholic bishops are gung-ho about a nuclear freeze on the grounds that nuclear war is immoral. What would you say to these men?

Kristol: Catholic bishops in the fifteenth century thought that using, rifles or explosives was immoral. Obviously no one wants a nuclear war. On the other hand, it is a fact that the Soviet Union is at the moment in a superior position with regard to nuclear weapons. It seems to me to make sense for us to achieve parity.

Ingraham: What would a freeze accomplish?

Kristol: It certainly would not prevent the possibility of a nuclear war. Both the U.S. and the Russians have a capacity to absolutely devastate each other, with a freeze or without a freeze. So the issue of the freeze does not concern morality, but the best possible way to deter nuclear war.

Ingraham: I believe it was you, Mr. Kristol, who defined a neoconservative as "a liberal who has been mugged by reality." What is the neoconservative criticism of Old style conservatism?

Kristol: Old style conservatism is really the Republicanism of the 1930's. It is snotty about Social Security, snotty about all welfare programs, opposed in principle to the idea of a Welfare State. Our view is that the Welfare State is here to stay, and the function of conservatives is to make it economically viable, to reconstruct the Welfare State in such a way that it fits into a free society.

Ingraham: What is your appraisal of the media's coverage of President Reagan?

Kristol: It is exactly the way you expect a liberal media to behave.

Ingraham: The media would protest. They don't believe they are liberally, or politically motivated. Kristol: The media now believes that liberalism is part of journalistic integrity, in other words, in order to be a good journalist you have to be a liberal.

Ingraham: The same assumption is made by faculty at the universities.

Kristol: Yes, I am afraid you are right.

Why I am Not a Neo-Conservative By George Gilder



Those of you who read the famous issue of Esquire on Neo-Conservatism may fear for my life for Lam about to defy the Godfather. If I am shortly found at the bottom of the Potomac with ten bound volumes of The Public Interest around my neck-and only Two Cheers for Capitalism—you will know who did it. Lesser men have drowned merely from reading that sort of stuff. Nonetheless, I flatter myself I will survive. Having pored over every issue of The Public Interest from cover to cover for some 12 years, having swum through the smarms of Daniel Patrick Movnihan, and having even penetrated the deepest thickets of Daniel Bell-I believe I have toughened myself enough to escape the coruscating cage of Irving Kristol and tell my shocking story to the world; how a once obedient and respectful liberal Republican from the Ripon Society could pass through the elegant labyrinth of Neo-Conservatism and end up a captive of the "politics of resentment and hate," "single-issue fanaticism," and "knownothing fundamentalism."

Lest my attack on Neo-Conservatism be judged an

(continued on p. 13)

continued from p. 12)

act of arrant ingratitude, let me begin by granting my great debt to Neo-Conservative thinkers-or Neo-Cons, if I may coin the term. I can pay them no higher tribute than to say that I owe to them my conversion to real conservatism.

It was Daniel Patrick Moynihan, for example, who taught me that the key problem of welfare policy is its impact on the family and who introduced me to child allowances as an alternative to

It was Norman Podhoretz who taught me, in his marvelous essay. "My Negro Problem-And Ours" -which I read aloud to friends on its publicationthat the issues of black and white in America were far more complex than the facile dichotomies I had long upheld. He also showed me the incandescence of blunt truths, whether about race, money, or homo-

It was Midge Decter who first illumined for me the intricate tapestries of social class and feminismand then edited two of my books.

It was Ben Wattenberg who first revealed to me the wealth of statistics that belie the morbid liberal version of America. And it was Irving Kristol who in luminously clear and trenchant language told me far more than I can remember today about social and economic policies and their perverse effects. Nathan Glazer, James Q. Wilson, and too many others to mention also heavily contributed to the changing pattern of my ideas.

Nonetheless, I have to assert that these splendid thinkers finally failed to make me a Neo-Conservative. Irving Kristol once wrote that the unintended effects of social policy are usually both more important and less appealing than the intended effects. If I may paraphrase him, as I have so often in my career, the unintended effects of Neo-Conservative writings can be more important and less appealing to Neo-Conservatives than they might expect. The accumulated wisdom of this group, gathering to a critical mass in my mind, was finally to ignite a conservative fire that in time consumed even my Neo-Conservatism-and left me, if I may confess it, more of the New Right than the Latinate Neo-Con.

One of the continuing themes of Neo-Conservative thought is the existence of a horrifying specter on the Right-xenophobic, bigoted, antisemiticwho would unleash holy war against the tolerant and urbane values of the welfare state, who would allow small children to starve in the street, ban the works of Henry Miller if not Norman Mailer, and launch nuclear missles into the men's room of the

The very embodiment of this grim force, so it turned out in a rather sad anticlimax to Norman Podhoretz's Breaking Ranks, was the Buckley brotherhood in National Review and the U.S. Senate. Among the worst of the rabid fringe, I was given to understand at many a gathering of Neo-Conservatives, was Phyllis Schlafly. Since I myself once wrote a book that bitterly denounced the New Right and Phyllis Schlafly as well, I do not claim any precocious wisdom on this point. But I have come to believe that Phyllis Schlafly is the most effective politician in America, and that Neo-Conservatives, for all their brilliance and sophistication, are part of the problem that she is bravely confronting.

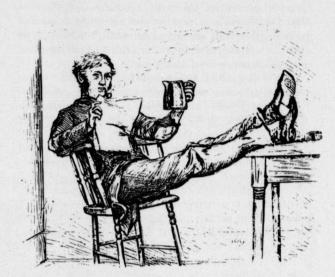
I have come to believe that Neo-Conservatism is to a great extent a strategy of evasion of the great truths and political imperatives that dwell just below the surface of ideas and values which Neo-Conservatives have been laboriously exhuming piece by piece, in scholarly volumes and pithy essays, for nearly two decades. These findings now bulk large and can be seen to assume a distinctive shape. That shape—lo and behold—is not some brilliant novelty. It best resembles, if I may say so-with reference to the joke about the origins of the camel-conservatism designed by a committee. And that Neo-Conservative camel is never going to win a race, or be elected, except perhaps in New York. And even there, it will vote like an old-fashioned donkey.

The problem, though, is not only political. Adding up all the writings of Neo-Conservatives over the years I discover that they constitute, after all is said and done, a body of conclusions, a distillation of wisom and truth, rather less useful and timely than William F. Buckley's youthful insights in God and Man at Yale.

In his earliest works, William Buckley knew (in part intuitively) almost everything that the Neo-Conservatives have laboriously, ambivalently, and tentatively managed to prove over the subsequent thirty years. As a matter of fact, the Neo-Conservatives in general know infinitely less, because they do not understand the paramount truths of God and Man-truths that their computer regressions, alas, will never teach them.

The problem is that the Neo-Conservative believes not chiefly in principles but in empirical techniques. He believes that through study and analysis of social questions, one can arrive at reliable conclusions. This approach means that the Neo-Conservative usually cannot tell you what is wrong with social programs until they have already been entrenched and done their damage. Then the Neo-Conservative will tell you that these programs are part of the very fabric of our political culture and cannot be repealed. What use is that?

Moreover, the Neo-Conservative will tell you that past social programs were not so bad, collectively,



even if he and his allies acknowledge that each particular one was ineffective. Neo-Conservatives now believe, for example, that this collection of U.S. social programs—every one cogently attacked by at least one of their number—has virtually abolished poverty in America. We have apparently overcome poverty by redistribution.

This is nonsense in every respect. Buckley's teachers, forty years ago, knew redistribution cannot fight poverty, it can only destroy wealth and create dependency. What the War on Poverty in fact achieved was to halt in its tracks an ongoing improvement in the lives of the poor—particularly poor blacks -and create a wreckage of family breakdown and demoralization worse than the aftermath of slavery.

Poverty is a matter not of income but of prospects. Female-headed families, in general, are doomed to poverty almost regardless of what incomes they receive. Since the launching of the War on Poverty in 1964, nearly all the indices of family breakdown, illegitimacy, and crime in the ghetto have approximately doubled; the problem is twice as bad as it was when Senator Moynihan wrote his alarming study on the black family. At present, 55 per cent of black children are born out of wedlock; six in ten black children are brought up without fathers in the home, compared to less than two in ten whites. But this figure for black families includes middle-class blacks. The War on Poverty has almost completely destroyed the black family in the slums.

This means that the situation of poor blacks is worse than ever. They are doomed to at least another generation of tragedy, another generation of fatherless families and rudderless communities, with boys pursuing their masculinity in the vicious cycles of street society and spurning jobs and responsibilities in favor of lawless and unproductive lives.

This result was not inevitable. It was a direct consequence of social policies designed by liberals and essentially accepted by Neo-Conservatives. Indeed, Senator Moynihan's Family Assistance Plan would have made the problem far worse by extending it more rapidly to low-benefit states. Conservatives did not need twenty years of social

analysis and computer regressions to determine that the War on Poverty with its Welfare Rights campaign was a sure disaster. The New Right did not need multimillion-dollar income-maintenance experiments to discover that hard work, family stability, and faith in God are indispensable to upward mobility. Bill Buckley did not require ten years of stagflation to prove that high taxes were destroying incentives in America, nor did he need elaborate studies from MIT to show that a flat-rate tax structure would raise more revenue than our currently confiscatory progressions. The far Rightthe same men I dismissed as extremists in my youth-turned out to know more than I did. At least, the "right-wing extremists." as I confidently called them, were right on almost every major policy issue-from welfare and Vietnam to Keynesian economics and defense-while I, in my Neo-Consertive sophistication, was nearly always wrong.

Today, the Neo-Conservative believes that the far Right is altogether too extreme and obsessive on the

so-called social issues. These matters, the Neo-Conservative maintains, are a distraction, an expression of the politics of resentment, a mindless religiosity "more interested," as Irving Kristol says, "in repealing the past than in shaping the future." Even though Kristol himself, and The Public Interst, have published many brilliant articles on these subjects. Neo-Conservatives, in general, are afraid to fight on ERA, abortion, sex education, pornography, school prayer, and gay liberation. Once again, as in the case of poverty, they underrate the importance of stable families and moral values to a productive and creative society.

Once again, they seem ready to wait while families disolve. They are willing to palter over quotas while wives and daughters are drafted into the military. They stay fastidiously aloof while a flood of pornography-propaganda for degradation and viciousness that must be seen to be believed-engulfs our nation's youth. I have no doubt that at some future date, when these trends have reached some climax sufficiently catastrophic, the Neo-Conservatives will provide elegant and scholarly analyses of the problem. They will finally grant, in essence, that Ernest van den Haag and Billy Graham were right about pornography; that Anita Bryant knows more about homosexuality than does the American Association of Psychiatrists; that Phyllis Schlafly is better at defining national priorities than is Daniel Patrick Moynihan; that the Moral Majority is a more valuable and responsible movement in our politics than is the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

Until then, though, the Left will maintain the initiative. Millions of American boys will be told in sex-education classes that their adolescent lusts may signify a homosexual fixation, that pornography and promiscuity provide a healthy release of tensions, that contraceptives and abortions have removed the constraints of conventional morality, that families are outmoded in an overpopulated world, that religion is a form of bigotry and superstition. Only the New Right understands the urgency and extremity of these issues.

Perhaps the deepest misconception of the Neo-Conservatives is their attitude toward capitalism. Many Neo-Conservatives believe that capitalism is desirable for its freedom and democratic possibilities, but ultimately flawed and self-contradictory. Capitalism is said to be based on self-interest and consumerism, which finally erode the moral preconditions of the system itself. It is said to be founded on forms of technological progress and bureaucracy that finally subvert democracy and enterprise. It is said to function through crude economic incentives rather than through love and altruism. To sum up, it is said to be founded on greed rather than on giving.

The fact is, however, that capitalism thrives on religious faith and decays without it. Capitalist progress is based on risks that cannot be demonstrated to pay off in any one lifetime. Thus it relies on faith in the future and in Providence. The workers under capitalism are motivated not by crude economic rewards but by love of family. The entrepreneurs succeed to the extent that they are sensitive to the needs of others, to the extent that others succeed. Altruism is the essence of the positive-sum game of capitalism.

Walter Lippmann put it well in 1936 in the midst of the Great Depression when he wrote that our system is based on "an ideal that for the first time in human history" gave men "a way of producing wealth in which the good fortune of others multiplied their own." At long last "the Golden Rule was economically sound...and for the first time men could conceive a social order in which the ancient moral aspiration of liberty, fraternity, and equality was consistent with the abolition of poverty and the increase of wealth." With the Industrial Revolution "the vista was opened at the end of which men could see the possibility of the good society on this earth. At long last the ancient schism between the world and the spirit, between self-interest and disinterestedness, was potentially closed.'

To defend capitalism—even to uderstand it—you have to celebrate and defend business. Most conservarives and New Rightists instinctively understand this, while Neo-Conservatives tend to look down on the "money-grubbing" bourgeoisie. They follow too closely the stress of Adam Smith on "selfinterest" as the source of the bounties of capitalism. The fact is that self-interest of the sort celebrated in The Wealth of Nations leads not as by an invisble hand to growth and progress, but eventually to the dead hand of the welfare state. Without faith and love, self-concern brings an obsession with security, an envy of wealth and aversion to risk that destroys the gifts of creative capitalism. The old Right and the New Right instinctively know and the Neo-Conservatives shrink from asserting such values. That is why I am no longer a Neo-Conservative.

Young Ideas

Bird Season in Court

University of California law enforcement officials are not what one might call complainers, yet we keep hearing the same—"we can't do our job because of that damn Rose Bird.'

If there was an election to pick the most powerful judicial position in one of the nation's foremost crime-ridden states, would you cast your ballot for a candidate who drew analogies between the locking up of criminals in the state of California and the apartheid form of government in South Africa? Of course you wouldn't. Then again, the one who holds the most powerful judicial spot in California-that of the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court-was not elected. The job is an appointed position, and in 1977, the appointment went to Rose Elizabeth Bird, an ideological ally of Governor Moonbeam himself.



The mouthy justice Bird could be described as the Jane Fonda of the bench. She has made manifest her compassion for criminals, expressed her disdain for the taxpayer, and shown us an incredible will to spite the constitutional system. Unfortunately for this wine-and-cheese radical, the same system that allows her to politicize the courtroom and ideologically interpret the law, also provides concerned Californians with the power of Recall.

Justice Bird's claim to competence is experience with the Santa Clara Public Defender's Officer-jobs often left for the bottom of the graduating law class. Then, Governor Brown, in one of his more derisory appointments, put Bird at the helm of the Agricultural and Services Agency. The California farmers were hoodwinked. "The governor originally wanted me to be secretary of the Resources Agency," says Bird, "because he though that women were sort of the symbol of Mother Earth, and to have a woman head up that agency would be a symbolic recognition of that. Mother Earth now sits on the most powerful judicial position in the state, with zero previous judicial experience. Ah, the fruits of affirmative

When Rose Bird took the bench, she told us that she planned to "make a dent, and then get out." Promises should be kept—i.e. the time is ripe for Rose Bird to be disemployed by the people, and for the people.

action for nimwitted ideologues.

Commisseration for criminals has become a common affair for the Bird Court. In People v. Thompson, the Chief Justice overturned a ruling for a combined robbery and murder case—murder with special circumstances. In writing the opinion of the court, Bird reasoned that because the defendant intended to kill his victims, and his intent to steal from them was only secondary, the special circumstances of robberymurder could not stand. The death penalty as a possible sentence was thrown out and the murderer received a life-term with the possibility of parole after only seven years. In a childbeating case, Bird challenged the majority of the State Supreme Court by attempting to send the victim "home" -back to the scene of the crime. Bird supported the defendant's "problems as a poor working woman." She was callous toward the battered baby but said of those who disagreed with her, that they were "lacking in sensitivity." The Honorable Ms. Bird does not understand that the law is designed to protect victims and potential victims of wrongdoings-not wrongdoers.

Rose Bird has been rewriting the law--her "opinions of the court" -- and labeling everything that doesn't pass the egalitarian litmus as "unconstitutional." We should consider ourselves lucky that this "Public Defender" didn't pen the Consitution or we might all be in straight jackets.

E. Clasen Young

In People v. Minjares, Bird employed one of her favorite machinations, the "exclusionary rule," so she could tell law enforcement agents how far they could go. The exclusionary rule throws "unreasonably" obtained evidence out of a case, regardless of its incriminatory value. "Reason," however, and Rose Bird are a contradiction in terms. She has declared a one-woman war on the Power of Referendum, The Victims Bill of Rights and tax-slashing Proposition 13, three popular measures passed by the voters of California. Bird is a justice whom even the ACLU might deem radical.

Fortunately, the people of California don't have to put up with Rose Bird's runaway court. The constitutional system of checks and balances provides for the process of recall and the Recall Rose Bird Alliance can be reached at 8915 Folsom Blvd., Sacramento, CA 95826. Contrary to what Tom Hayden would have you believe, the people do have a choice.



The Return to Camelot: Notes from the Brigadier Chivalry and the English Gentleman, by Mark Girouard Yale University Press

DYB, DYB, DYB

I am the proud possessor of Horizon Record's Music and Voices from the Height of the British Empire. On that album is a recording of Lord Robert Baden-Powell urging his wolf cubs (roughly the equivalent of boy scouts) to "DYB, DYB, DYB." In other words, for the uninitiated, Do Your Best, Do Your Best, Do Your Best. This spirit of the much derided Victorian Age is wonderfully (and critically) captured in Mark Girouard's latest book, The Return to Camelot.

Mark Girouard is an architectural historian who has written such works as Life in the English Country House, The Victorian Country House, and Victorian Pubs-books which sound boring, but which have been well received by those in the know on art and architecture. The Return to Camelot is also concerned with architecture, but in a decidedly minor way. It does feature glossy photographs of English castles and castle building is dealt with, but its major concern is with the atmosphere which induced the creation of castles in nineteenth century England when there were very few Normans, Saxons, or Vikings lurking to rob, rape, and pillage each

This book deals with the nineteenth century rebirth of chivalry—a chivalry which in many ways outshone its medieval precursor. It was an era when the landed gentry stood opposed to avarice, sought to reinstill the feudal ties between the aristocracy and the working class, and wanted, above all else, to serve. If one could not carry the white man's burden in India or Africa, one sought to teach the poor those values that would help them help themselves, or one strove to imbue boys with the proper moral character to carry out acts of self-sacrifice, charity, and honor.

What's more, the constantly reiterated didacticism worked. The nineteenth century did see the stiff upper lipped English gentleman who protected women, buckled his swash, and went down with the ship. The book's first chapter, "1912," deals with two manifestations of this cultivated English character.

H. W. Crocker III



First there was Captain Robert Falcon Scott who set off to explore Antarctica only to find out the Norwegians had beaten him to it. On the disasterous eight hundred mile return to their base camp, Captain Scott and his four fellows died. Scott did not face death bitterly: "After all we are setting a good example to our countrymen, if not by getting in a hard place, by facing it like men when we were there. We could have come through had we neglected the sick." But of course, gentlemen never do such things. The second example is the 1912 sinking of the Titanic. Although a few men panicked, the majority, if the eyewitnesses can be believed, did not. They did, in fact, dress in their Sunday best, help the women and children into the lifeboats, and carried on. Today we have lootings during blackouts, youths trampling each other to death in order to get seats at a WHO concert, and other WHO concert goers who after they have their seats proceed to watch a man raping a girl screaming for help, with, the newspapers tell us, jokes and approbation. We've come a long

"The Young Knights of the Empire" were taught to honor God and King; to be pure, thrifty, obedient, kind, courteous, loval, and courageous; and to do a good turn to somebody every day. They learned to "play the game," and to care not for the winning, but for the sport. Men sought to elevate their passions, to do the right thing, and if they couldn't always do that, they at least encouraged and applauded others who did. It was a society, unlike ours, which intended to engender, and was not afraid of heroes.

312 pp., \$35.00

For an entire century, chivalry dominated the English consciousness. It died in the trenches of the First World War. Chivalry, which tried to tame the base passions of war and which certainly did not flinch at the prospect of fighting, did not encourage the war. What it did was to send an enthusiastic generation into hell. Between August 1914 and January 1916, 2,467,000 men volunteered to fight for their country. They kept coming even when it was still played the game.

The book is filled with profuse and absolutely marvelous illustrations. The text is witty and frequently incisive. A good deal of it is told in anecdote. We learn of Charles Lamb, who wrote the chivalric History of Winnipeg about his guinea-pigs who performed acts of derring-do in the miniature town he made for them; of Edward Henage Dering, who wanted to marry Rebecca Dulcibella Orpen but who married her aunt because the aunt supposed it was she he wanted to marry and he was too chivalrous to deny it; and of Captain P. Nevill whose football was dribbled into the German trenches by "B" Company of the 8th Service Battalion.

This is a stupendously enjoyable work. Its copius and exquisite pictures combined with its meaty text make it an intellectual's coffee table book. There is, of course, one problem and that is its price. Still, if you break it down, it comes to eleven cents a page and the book is well worth that. If you want this book why don't you DYB, DYB, DYB at work, practice proper thrift, and buy it. That's how this frustrated knight got his.

(continued from p. 2)

Of course, many of the complaints of Vietnam veterans at least sound genuine. Agent Orange, for instance. This term, which is now taking its place in the lexicon of knee-jerk buzz-words that includes Jonestown, Watergate, Spiro Agnew, Kent State, and Cambodia, describes a herbicide that was used in Vietnam to defoliate areas of surreptitious enemy activity. According to Mr. Timothy Noah, writing last August in the New Republic, the government has determined that, at most, 1,220 veterans were exposed to Agent Orange. Mr. Noah points out that the National Academy of Sciences and the VA have studied the effects of Agent Orange and are unable to show that it causes anything more severe than chloracne-a fairly aggravated form of the adolescent skin condition. Yet the VA has examined 63,000 veterans for possible exposure and effect, and is presently processing 5,000 disability claims from individuals claiming permanent harm from contact with the chemical (a recent issue of the Army Times puts the present disability claim total at 12,000).

Mr. Noah examined some other interesting statistics and concluded: The median income of Vietnam veterans is slightly higher than that of non-veterans;

the unemployment rate for the two groups is virtually identical, and a higher proportion of Vietnam veterans are using their much maligned (as inadequate) educational benefits than did veterans of either Korea or World War II. Mr. Noah goes on to point out—and on this matter, too, I think the facts are with him-that Vietnam was a war fought primarily by lower-income group individuals, minorities, and the uneducated. The conclusions he draws from these facts are obvious, though not widely considered: The problems that Vietnam veterans are having do not seem to turn on whether they served in Vietnam, but rather on whether they are poor or well off, black or white, educated or dropouts. In other words, they are having many of the same problems shared by their economic, racial, and educational counterparts in the control group of non-veterans. Now the unrefined statistical printout will show these veterans as problem veterans; in fact, they are problem Americans. The lesson that needs to be learned here is not about Vietnam, or why we fought there, but how we fought, and whom we sent to fight. Where were you in 1968...?

Still, most of us aren't Frank; we haven't the time for morbid navel-gazing. We're too busy selling you

...... your appliances, fixing your cars, writing your wills, manning your assembly lines and offices, and teaching your children. To those of our brothers who came back whole and today suffer from little more than their own effete self-consciousness and a juvenile craving for attention, who lost nothing more than 12 months "back in the world," I say it is time to put Vietnam not out of your minds, but where it belongs; behind you, and in perspective. It is time-past time-for all of us to remember that we are a nation of veterans, of citizen soldiers, and that thinking of ourselves as a special, discrete group will in time lead to eccentricity at least, and to bitter isolation from our fellow citizens at worst. Vietnam was the common experience of our generation; men of other times have found ways of drawing strength and spiritual unity from shared sacrifice. The youngest of us are no longer very young, and most of us are in our thirties and forties; we are running out of excuses. If the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington turns out to be a travesty—and it looks as if it might-let's build another: For starters, we can get to work on the nation our children will be inheriting and may be called upon to defend, sooner than we think.

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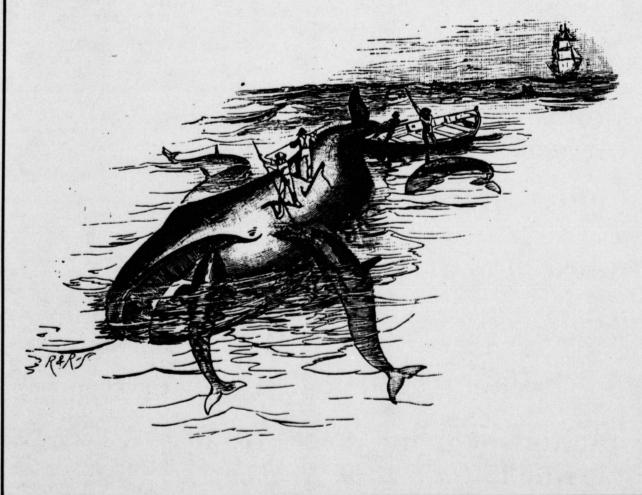
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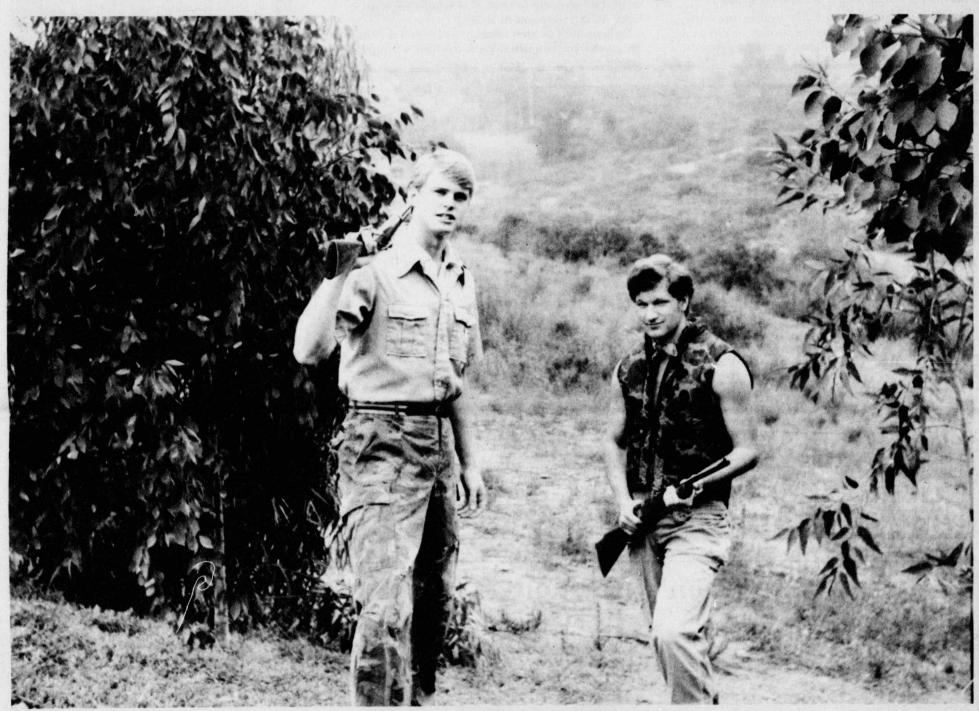
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