

C. Brandon Crocker: Investment
in South Africa

C.G. Alario: U.S. Responsibilities
in Central America

California Review

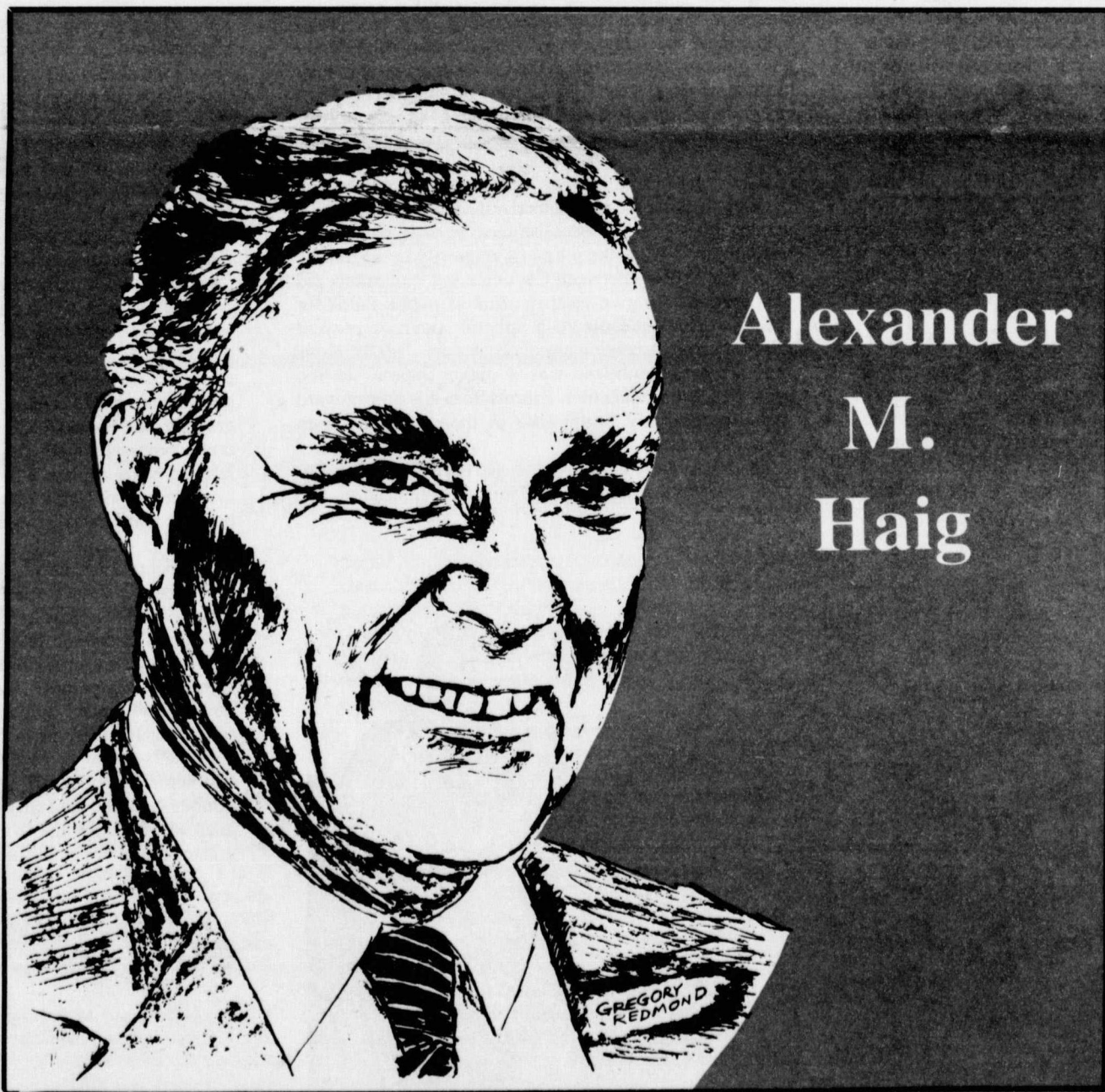
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Thomas J. Edwards on Containment
Barry Demuth: The Soviet Leadership Crisis
Thomas Rankin: In the Fast Lane
Also: James D. Spounias, Alfred Cuzan,
H.W. Crocker III . . .



Alexander
M.
Haig

La Éminence Grice of American Education

By Dr. Patrick Groff

This critical analysis of the National Education Association can be best described as a partial history of the struggle in the US, since about the Civil War, between the forces of progressive and conservative thought to decide our political, economic and educational policies. Samuel Blumenfeld in his new book *NEA: Trojan Horse in American Education* argues compellingly that educators of the former persuasion, those who favor socialism or big government, and either liberal religions or secular humanism have scored impressive and continued successes in the past 120 years against their conservative opponents, the educators of America who opt for capitalism and traditional religious beliefs.

Blumenfeld amply documents the fact that the NEA, representing the largest membership of any teachers' union in the world, has stood forthrightly and consistently in this battle on the side of its progressive antagonist. He offers a convincing demonstration of the ways the NEA has methodically endorsed all the varied aspects of progressive ideology that impact on the schooling of our nation's children. The importance of this message stems in part from the trenchant and intensive manner in which its author reveals the partisan loyalty of the NEA toward socialism and nonfundamentalist religions. The rarity with which such a criticism of the NEA has been voiced in the past adds to the distinction of these remarks. The NEA has customarily been thought of as simply a mild-mannered advocate of the principle of universal education. Blumenfeld puts this myth permanently to rest.

The immense power and influence of the NEA on American education in this century has never been more fully described. Through its numerous commissions, publications and reports, the NEA has in effect established a national educational policy, one that reflects the desire to replace traditional religious beliefs with humanistic principles, and classic capitalism with socialism and world government. Notable to this effect was the NEA's instrumentality in the creation of the US Department of Education, seen by the NEA as the medium through which radical increases in federal spending on, and control of, local schools could most likely be established. As a vigorously active member of the ultra-left wing of the labor union movement the NEA allots huge sums of money to its political action committees, monies used to attack its "enemies" — the candidates for public office who hold conservative views on politics and religion.

As Blumenfeld forcefully relates, no group has been able to thwart the quest by the NEA for a dictatorship of educational practices in the country. Fallen in the path of this juggernaut have been plans for educational vouchers and tuition tax credits, schemes which could break up the financial monopoly in education that public schools now enjoy by making it possible for low income parents to

send their children to nonpublic schools. Long ground under its heel have been the movements that questioned the propriety and effectiveness of the NEA-teacher college-state accreditation system which perpetuates the massive and exacting control this combination has over who is allowed to teach in our schools. Crushed long ago were the proposals that the regulation of curriculum, teacher retention and selection, and standards for student performance and behavior, should be maintained at the local school level. Driven into submission have been the protests that the more money public schools receive from the federal government the lesser become the academic achievements of their graduates. Steamrolled to this effect has been the argument that teachers' competence should be tested and that their levels of pay and job tenure should be related to their effectiveness in the classroom. While summarized as Trojan Horse tactics by Blumenfeld, the NEA's moves to seize power and authority in American education have been anything but stealthy or indirect.

The reasons for the success of this amazing *tour de force* by the NEA greatly puzzles Blumenfeld. He points to numerous aspects of educational deterioration which logically should have discredited the NEA and imperiled the growth of its authority and dominance. In this respect there is the prolonged and broad-scale decline over the past generation, unequalled in US history, of student academic achievement. Without question, as the power and influence of the NEA has intensified the quality of American education has decreased. Massive functional illiteracy has now become an expected consequence of the efforts to teach reading. The NEA dismisses the authenticated superior method of teaching beginning reading through intensive phonics as a practice "ready for the scrap heap." While dozens of national reports have appeared in the recent past documenting the grave shortcomings of the schools, the NEA attempts to discredit their gloomy statistics rather than to assume any responsibility for their creation. How can the triumphs of the NEA be explained against such a dismal record of accomplishment? Blumenfeld wonders.

Indeed, it is difficult to explain why the attempts to stop the growth of the NEA and thereby the kind of educational system it has come to establish have been so profoundly unsuccessful. True, the religious animosity in the middle of the last century between Catholics and Protestants did lead the latter to give up their ideal of public funds for their parochial schools in a spiteful move to prevent Catholics from receiving any such support. This religious footholdiness doubtless was a major impetus to the growth of statist education. Parents from this time onward grew increasingly permissive in their relations with school authorities.

The NEA likely has prevailed also because of its promise to teachers that if they would join the organization, and

NEA: *Trojan Horse in American Education*
By Samuel L. Blumenfeld
284 pp., \$7.95: Paradigm

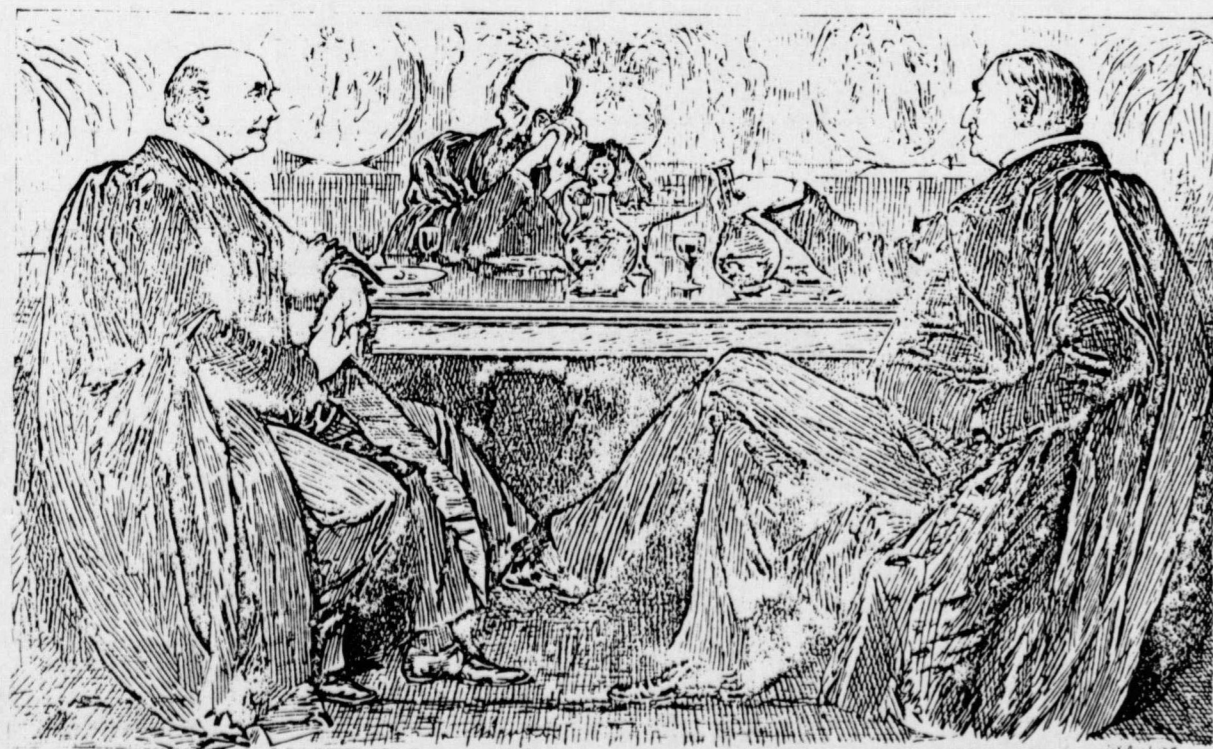
live by its credos, such an affiliation would bring them high salaries and lavish working conditions. While the NEA has never delivered on this promise, on the other hand, it has effectively protected all teachers from dismissal, and has successfully led the campaign for equal pay for unequal work. Teachers long have disagreed with the market theory of job tenure and distribution of income. They perceive the basic index of market success, profit, as something evil, or at least not motivated by altruism, a sentiment that teachers cite as the all-important driving force in their careers. Equal compensation for unequal performance is morally correct, they add, because it allows teachers to avoid competition, a condition regarded as traumatic and degrading to successful human relationships. Rather than through competition, teachers are convinced that the best means to gain salary improvements is simply to enlarge the pool of money set up for this purpose until all teachers receive an equally high wage. Because the source of this pool of payment in statist education is government, teachers rationalize that the larger the government the better. The NEA profits in all directions from such beliefs. It can claim that it was largely responsible for the founding of such attitudes. Then, it receives the gratitude from teachers for the protection of these notions.

Is there no means available for conservative-minded critics of the NEA to overcome the strangle hold it now has on public education? Blumenfeld wonders. "There is only one way out for the American people," he reflects. This is "a massive exodus from the public schools into private ones." The solution for parents who cannot afford nonpublic schools? "Let the communities pay the tuition of poor students."

Is this, however, "a vision worth fighting for" by conservatives? Is it reasonable to assume that local citizens, even conservatives, can be convinced, after paying taxes for public schools, to assess themselves additionally so that selected children from low-income families can attend nonpublic schools? The polls of public attitudes toward education and poverty little affirmation for this query. Parents in general are distressed about the declines in school performance, but at the same time defend the public school idea. Deeply imbedded in the public commitment to public schools is the impression that the Constitution warns us against providing public tax money for nonpublic schools. That this document says nothing of the sort is beside the point. The fact remains that the public conception is that this is an illegal arrangement. While no evidence can be adduced to support the feeling, it is the public's sentiment, moreover, that nonpublic school graduates are less dedicated to the Constitution and democratic processes than are public school students. This attitude helps explain why the NEA's campaign to prohibit the use of public funds for nonpublic schools has been so remarkably effective.

Blumenthal is correct, then, in his conclusion that the only way to reduce the NEA's massive control over American education is to make nonpublic education available to all economic levels of the society. Such access could, however, only come through state legislation designed for this purpose, i.e., a voucher plan. The NEA quite understandably has set the highest priority the defeat of any such proposed law, because, rightly enough, it represents a life or death matter for the organization. Blumenfeld's book, if widely read by the citizenry, doubtless could help arouse in it consciousness of the need to challenge the NEA with such legislation. No greater testament of its importance can be made.

Patrick Groff is Professor of Education at San Diego State University and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.



Letters



Dear Sirs:

Congratulations on a fine interview with George Gilder. While it is hard to disagree with the overall thrust of his thinking, there are a few points he made which do not, in my opinion, stand up to close scrutiny.

Mr. Gilder contends that the availability of support from the welfare state to a low-income family creates a situation in which the father becomes dispensable, thus fostering illegitimacy and destroying families. He goes on to say that a negative income tax, while it might be cheaper than the existing array of programs, "is just another program that benefits families that break down."

This raises some questions. Since all means-tested programs "reward failure and thus promote it," should we do away with them? If so, what replaces them? Unless every single person now on the dole is able to survive without it, we are talking about starvation in our own country.

The contention that the current system destroys families is hard to argue with, but it does not follow that a negative income tax with low effective marginal tax rates should be just as bad. If Gilder is correct in maintaining, as he seems to, that the mere existence of a welfare "floor" income destroys families by making it possible for a fatherless family to survive, then we would expect the system to destroy high and low income families alike, since it places a floor under everyone. But it doesn't happen that way; the destructive effects are concentrated in the low income families while the high income families are much less affected.

The reason for the discrepancy, in the language of economists, is that the low income families face a very high effective marginal tax rate. Under the present system, if the father leaves an existing low income family, their standard of living does not have to drop by much, if at all. But if a high income father deserts, the family's living standard has a long way to fall before reaching the

welfare floor. Since the cost of breaking up the family (or of not working, for that matter) is greater for high income families, they tend to stay together.

A negative income tax with low enough effective tax rates would go a long way toward reducing the destructive effects of the present system. It would restore much of the value of a low income working father to his family that the current system destroys.

I would also like to differ with Mr. Gilder's argument that capitalism is based on a sort of altruism, namely that the powerful voluntarily refrain from oppressing the weak. This is the kind of thing that leads many to believe that conservatives are merely apologists for the rich.

Capitalism depends on respecting the rights of rich and poor alike, but Gilder goes much further, saying, in effect, that capitalism requires that the powerful be virtuous. This seems rather hopeless in the face of the ancient observation that power corrupts. Actually, all that is required is that the rule of law prevail, law which respects property and civil rights and is enforced against all offenders, be they weak or strong. If the weak, when banded together, are strong enough to enforce the law against even the most powerful individuals or groups, the voluntary restraint of the strong is unnecessary.

Keep up the good work.

Jeff Hallman
La Jolla, CA

Dear Editor:

A recent conservative newspaper's editorial (*San Diego Union* Dec. 2) pondering the desirability of a 55 MPH speed limit was sorely lacking in objective analysis.

It cited the National Research Council conclusion that raising the speed limit from 55 to 65 MPH on rural interstate highways would save 425 billion hours a year, but that such an increase might cause as many as 500 additional deaths annually. The editor stated that if this mortality estimate was accurate, he would favor keeping the 55 MPH limit.

My work with a calculator reveals that to save one life we have to drive 97,032 extra man-years. Stated differently, saving one life would require 1,293 people to spend their entire 75 year lifespan mindlessly driving down a strip of asphalt.

As to the vaunted \$2 billion annual savings on gasoline resulting from the 55 MPH limit, rural interstate driving alone would cost less than one-half cent extra per hour of travel time saved. Show me the traveler who wouldn't pay half a penny to save an hour's driving time, and I'll show you a driver who's short a few lug nuts.

Not only should the 55 MPH limit be raised to 70 or 75 MPH as it was before the so-called energy crisis. Even a nominal value placed on a person's business or leisure time justifies the minuscule increase in risk and cost.

Sincerely,
Dick Rider, Vice Chair
San Diego County Libertarian Party

Guest Editorial

Down on the Farm

Robert W. Savage

In the past few weeks, the plight of the American farmer has been amply reported. The Senate staged a full-fledged filibuster for the farmer by a coalition of farm-state Senators. Finally, the White House released its assessment of the agricultural problem, and its recommended solution.

Reaction to the President's 1985 Farm Bill has been disappointing. The liberals of the Senate have made plenty of political hay with the media's aid, by portraying President Reagan as an uncaring miser. Regardless of the protest, the White House 1985 Farm Bill addresses the serious problem of the nation's agricultural policy.

Since 1949 the country has intervened in the farm market with commodity loans, price targeting, export controls and planting restrictions. Every five years, the Congress squeaks out another continuation of the 1949 law. This time, the President is asking the Congress and the nation to look at the government's policy and rework it.

Since 1981 the U.S. Government has shelled out \$51 billion in various farm programs. For the nation's 2.3 million farmers, both part-time and full-time, the government has given \$4.5 million a year per farmer. Most assuredly, if all farmers really got \$4.5 million in cash they wouldn't be going bankrupt. Instead, the nation's farm programs squander the taxpayers money — bureaucrats dip their fingers into the till, banks get their share and, of course, there is that mysterious monster — government waste.

Farmers are going bankrupt for thousands of reasons, just like other businessmen. Three reasons predominate: high interest rates, falling land prices and the strong

dollar. Undersecretary of Agriculture Frank Naylor estimates that up to 40,000 farmers have debts equal to 70 percent or more of their assets. At this point, a farmer is paying more in interest than he earns. Another 160,000 farmers have debts between 40 and 70 percent of their assets, which means that they are unable to invest in new equipment or buildings.

If all farmers were miracle workers, then the American people would go for giving each of them another \$5 million a year. But farmers are like all businessmen — some good, some bad. Contrary to what some of the media have suggested in their blitz of farm stories, not all farmers belong in the business.

The February 18th issue of *Time* magazine, is a case in point. The cover stories focus on the "Real Trouble on the Farm." The personal tragedy of the Jensen family of Gove, Kansas is described in dirty detail. The report bemoans the forced auction of the Jensen family heirlooms. Little does the reader realize that the Jensens squandered their fortune drilling for oil.

Congress can either change the direction of the government farm programs to a free-market approach, similar to the deregulation of the oil industry, or it can stumble along with the 1949 law, and continue to pump billions of dollars into stopgap emergency measures.

Farming is one of the noblest professions on earth, but throwing \$15 billion a year at the plight of a few, hurting the rest and gouging the taxpayers is not the solution.

Robert W. Savage is a staff writer for the USBIC Writers Syndicate. His column is published in a variety of newspapers throughout the United States.

California Review

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



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

In Review

■ The Cornwall Beekeepers' Association in England has put forth a motion demanding the construction of thousands of lead-lined hives to protect bees in case of nuclear war.

■ In Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini is bringing progress to his country much faster than the reactionary Shah could ever have done. Iranian authorities have now been equipped with a new machine for cutting off thieves' fingers.

■ A Scottish whiskey manufacturer, Glen Talla, is advertising for Scottish women shorter than 5 feet 3 inches to spend six months in Japan dressed up in Highland dance costumes. Glen Talla explains the need for short women because at whiskey tastings in the past in Japanese department stores, potential customers were frightened off by tall Scottish women.

■ Rabbi Clifford Cohen was ousted by his congregation in North London for acting like the David Brenner of Rabbis. When a fragile 9 year old girl tripped after taking a sip from a ceremonial glass of wine, the Ribald Rabbi blurted, "One drink and she's anybody's." Were that not enough, the Rabbi told the son of a very prominent congregation member, "It must be nice living in a house with a man who thinks he is God." Poor Rabbi Cohen, his congregation has no sense of humor.

■ New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange continues to whine about the United States' responses to his refusal to allow nuclear armed or powered U.S. warships into New Zealand ports. In fact Lange asserts that such U.S. actions (such as cancelling joint military exercises and the sharing of military intelligence) are "somewhat akin to totalitarianism." Lange, whose country is defended by U.S. military forces under the ANZUS defence alliance, also states that he has been "besieged by flowers and fruit" from people around the world who support his stand. Well, Mr. Lange's choice seems quite clear. Does he want flowers and fruit or U.S. provided defense?

■ The Punic Wars ended last month when the mayors of Rome and Carthage met in Tunis, Tunisia and signed a peace treaty. Few Carthaginians are still sore at Rome and it's been several years since anyone in Rome uttered "Carthage must be destroyed," but the president of Tunisia proclaimed that the treaty will "wipe out the memory of the old Punic Wars between Carthage and Rome."

■ The British lease on Hong Kong runs out in 1997 when possession will revert to Communist China. But Hong Kong entrepreneurs are making the most of the situation. Among the entrepreneurial outpouring is a 1997 Restaurant, 1997 T-shirts, and a 1997 board game in which the winner is the first to emigrate and the loser is a Chinese Communist Cadre.

■ Tom Blair in *The San Diego Union* uncovered more evidence of liberalization in China. Today the number one song in China is called "Oh, What a Sweet Life We Have." Nine years ago, just after Mao's death, the top song was a real foot stomper entitled "Oh, How We Love to Haul Manure Up the Hillside for the Commune."

■ And in Nigeria, the public execution of an armed robber was postponed a day so it would not conflict with a polo match. Thus sporting fans were saved from having to make the tough choice of which to attend.

■ Feminists at the Royal Court Theatre in London are trying to block a performance due to open next month which is about a woman's attempt to sterilize herself. The feminists on the theatre's script committee particularly object to the play's title, *Susan's Breasts*. The playwright, Jonathan Gems, defends the title saying, "It's as mild as I could find. Her breasts are a metaphor for fertility — it's not a romp about huge knockers."

■ With the help of the federally funded Legal Aid Society and the ACLU, welfare recipients have filed suit against the government for cutting their payments due to the fact that they have received inheritances and/or won lotteries. Will oppression never cease?

■ And in London, Ken and June Everett were surprised when they found a horse standing in the middle of their swimming pool. "When we looked out of the window and saw a horse standing in the middle, we nearly had a fit," explained Mrs. Everett. The horse, which was believed to have strayed from nearby Rainham Marshes, was rescued but not until after doing serious damage to the pool's lining.

■ In Britain, Patick Goldsmith told a judge that he failed to appear in court on motoring offenses because he just plain forgot about it. Law enforcement officers found that pretty hard to believe, however, as Goldsmith had not but 94 offenses pending before the court.

■ In January, four Yugoslavian coal miners worked for 100 hours without a break. Why? "We wanted to show loafers how long you can work."

■ The mayor of a northern Philippines town accidentally killed himself when he slammed his car door on a cocked pistol tucked in his belt. His driver tried to get the mayor to a hospital but the car ran out of gas. Some days nothing seems to go right.

■ La Jolla University is offering a workshop entitled "Hostage Survival: Resisting the Dynamics of Captivity!" Sign up early.



■ The Sandinista government in Nicaragua, trying to deal with a shortage of toilet paper, has come up with the novel solution of declaring it unnecessary. An editorial appearing in *El Nuevo Diario* in January reads, "the depoliticization of toilet paper, making its use obsolete and superfluous, would strongly contribute to the relaxation of national tensions, and the elimination of toilet paper from the national struggle would be a great step toward the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family."

■ Longtime Reagan aide and astute political observer Lyn Nofziger responding to a charge in the media that he and Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) are "moderates": "Call me a commie, but don't call me a moderate."

■ Members of the Victoria University English Club have banned films of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Taming of the Shrew* because they are "anit-semitic and sexist." The Club's next move, no doubt, will be to ban Sophocles and Euripides for being pagan.

■ There is a new coloring book out for nuclear foes and aspiring peaceniks (Lenin referred to them as "the useful idiots"). Called "The Armageddon Color & Game Book: Fun Activities for the Day Before the Day After," this book runs the gambit (this is quality "free" merchandise). It features the War Room Map crossword puzzle, a Bomb Shelter Checklist, Connect the Dots and form a mushroom cloud, and a "Glow-Ball" World Map depicting the world the day after "the day after." All produced and published in West Hollywood — the world's first and newly incorporated "gay city."

■ Seeking divine intervention? Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met with Pope John Paul II for two hours in the hope of enlisting his support for the Soviet's campaign to cut Western defenses and make the world safe for Soviet expansionism. Better luck next time, Andrei.

■ Former vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro has received \$500,000 for appearing in her first Diet Pepsi commercial. Perhaps she could use a portion to pay husband John's court fines resulting from his recent conviction . . .

In accordance with university regulations and to demonstrate the equal distribution of the AS Media Budget we acknowledge that *California Review* (UCSD's only conservative publication) has been allocated \$864 from the ASUCSD Alternative Media Budget (2% of the budget for print media). This compares with the following allocations to Leftist publications:

<i>People's Voice</i>	\$3,186.00
<i>La Voz Fronteriza</i>	\$5,304.00
<i>new indicator</i>	\$12,195.31
Total	\$20,685.31
	(56% of the budget)

Beyond Chernenko: The Dynamics of Soviet Leadership

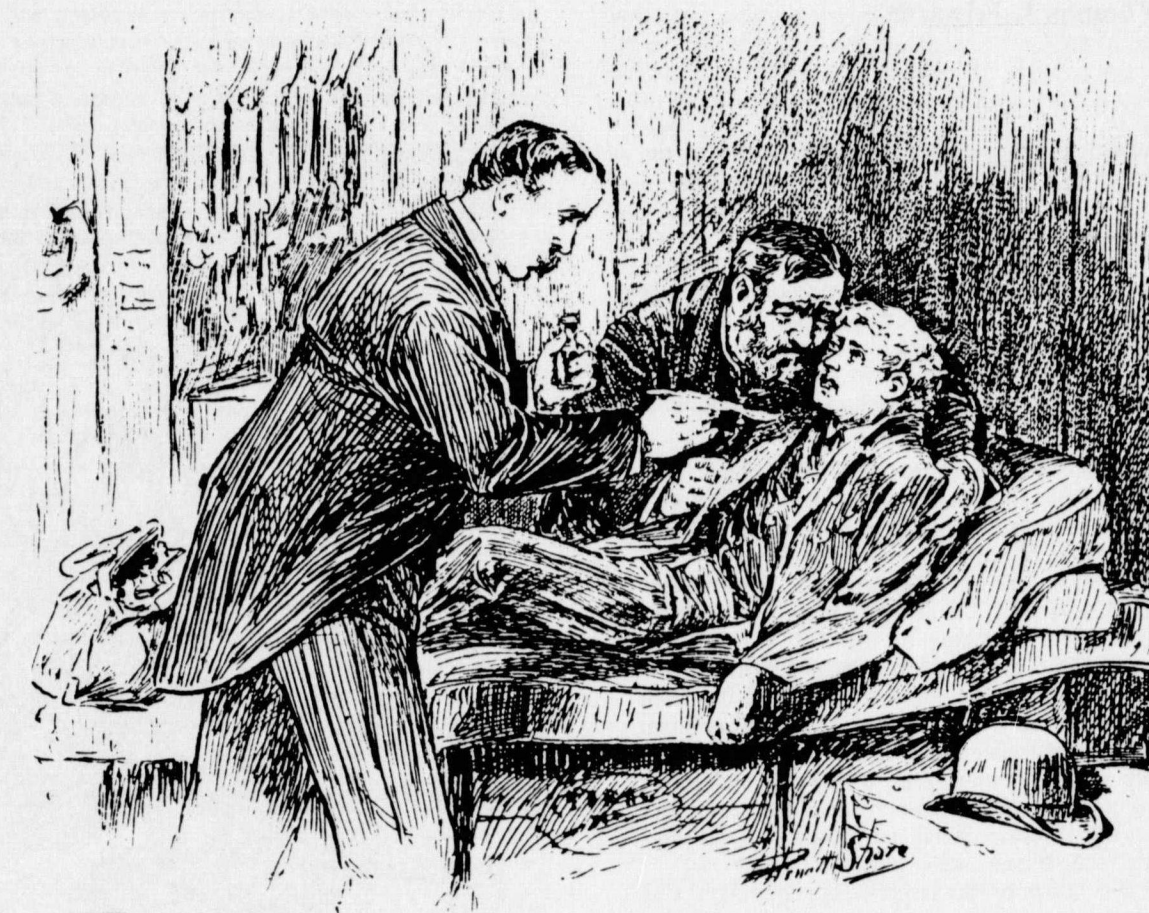
By Barry A. Demuth

It appears as though Moscow will soon be facing another leadership dilemma. The successor of the ailing Konstantin Chernenko will have to deal with the failure of Soviet economic policy, which has led to years of economic stagnation and has caused the Soviet's level of technical development to lag far behind modern capitalist nations. To solve this serious problem the Soviet Union must find new leadership willing to integrate the Soviet Union into the world economy.

Today's Politburo consists of eleven voting members. Six of these eleven voting members are over seventy. These members are more conservative leaders of the older generation who are afraid of change. They average 74 years of age, and all but one of these six members have worked for an average of over thirty years in high posts in Moscow. The other five members average sixty years of age and each have worked in Moscow for an average of three years. The younger members are often divided on foreign policy issues, but seem determined to reconstruct the ailing Soviet economic system. According to visiting professor of political science Jerry F. Hough from Duke University and a member of the Brookings Institution, "the old guard is afraid to make the necessary changes. Economic reform is vital to the system, and if they don't reform the system, it will collapse by the year 2000." Hough goes on to mention, however, that "the younger generation seems destined to reject the old guard's policies, and instead to push for bold and adventurous new experiments intended to make the Soviet Union more innovative, and more competitive."

The regime's insistence on maintaining a pretext of normality reveals the leaderships deep fear of political change. The Kremlin's obsession with continuity is confirmed by former Diplomat Arkady Shevchenko, the highest ranking Soviet official to defect since World War II. According to Shevchenko "they have never decided on a new leader before the old one is dead." There are a number of Soviets that have the credentials to become the next Party Secretary. The question is whether the Soviets will appoint one of the younger members of the Politburo, such as Mikhail Gorbachev, 53, or appoint yet another member of the old guard, such as Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 75; rather than hand power to a new generation that never knew Josef Stalin.

There is a definite correlation between Communist Party seniority and power in the Soviet Union. The most senior Communist Party members in the Soviet Union today are Chernenko and Gromyko; both joined the party in 1931. Gromyko's increased standing in the Politburo under Chernenko has been widely noted, as has his unquestionable command of Soviet foreign policy. Gromyko is smart, persistent, and a very hard worker. Few diplomats East or West, have his depth of experience. He has dealt with every United States secretary of state since Cordell Hull, served four of the six Soviet leaders since the 1917 revolution and can remember the negotiations at Yalta or Potsdam first hand. Another factor in Gromyko's favor is his age. At 75, he could be chosen like Chernenko, as a "transitional" leader, who would provide little or no change in policy.



The man who many feel will succeed Konstantin Chernenko is Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev has an enormous range of responsibilities, including coordinating the economy, ideological work, agriculture, the food industry, and he is in charge of personnel selection. He is given assignments like his trip to Britain, where he charmed Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Britain's iron lady was quoted as saying "I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together." Gorbachev is given assignments like this and the opening of the "Friendship 80" games in the Eastern bloc, to broaden his experience and to build him up on Soviet television; and he has been passing these tests with straight A's.

Gorbachev is part of an important new generation advancing in the Soviet Union. This new wave is much more educated in the modern world than the men who were a product of the Lenin, Stalin, school of thought. Gorbachev was too young to have fought in World War II, and to have had his college education disrupted by the war, although not too young to have been affected by it. (Those who went to college after the war were subjected to strict standards of admissions and the quality of education at this time was at its highest). Gorbachev attended Moscow University, where he graduated with a law degree at the age of 24. A man of Gorbachev's age would almost surely adopt a strong position in favor of economic

reform as a way of gaining support from the younger members of the Communist Party, and as a means of giving himself an excuse to remove the last remnants of the old guard, and to build his own machine.

If there is one thing that has been proven in the past, it is that the Soviet Union does not make radical departures in its policies, especially during a leadership crisis. When all is said and done the Soviet Union is still a dictatorship. If the Soviet Union is going to prosper, the Politburo will have to appoint a leader that has the desire and the courage to reform a system that has continued to deteriorate during the last 10 years.

The Soviet leaders have not attacked their problems and in retrospect it appears as though their problems are attacking them. According to Jerry F. Hough, "Andropov was the Ronald Reagan of the Soviet system, a man who was not afraid of change, where as Chernenko is the Mondale of the system, a man scared to step on any toes and afraid to initiate ideals he believes in." The leaders of the Soviet Union know that the time to change has arrived.

Barry A. Demuth is a junior at U.C.S.D.

Regan, Baker and Tax Reform

By Kathleen Rexrode

In the months since President Reagan's landslide reelection victory, the point at issue in national consciousness has been of an economic nature. For the next several years the political agenda will continue to be dominated by economic matters, forcing the President, Congress, and the populace to give these matters priority over most else. The Treasury Department is the focal point of the majority of our nation's quandaries: taxes and tax reform, the federal budget deficit and its impact on future generations, international trade, and the international debt. Thus it can be safely assumed that much of our national attention will be focused on matters of economic import. President Reagan, in his recent State of the Union Address, implicitly gave tax reform top priority by making it his first proposal. One prodigiously interesting twist in the economic scenario that has arisen of late, that could prove to alter the course that tax reform has been following is the job-switch between James A. Baker, Secretary

of the Treasury Department, and Donald Regan, White House Chief of Staff.

The switch between Baker and Regan has significantly reshaped the second Reagan Administration, and has perhaps made it more effective in terms of the passage of a tax-reform bill. Mr. Regan maintains that the job switch should enhance chances for passage this year of a plan to overhaul the tax code. Donald Regan, with his brusque, no-nonsense personal style, coupled with his own active interest in tax reform is certain to exert a high degree of influence on the president.

Not only do tax reform passage prospects look promising at the White House, the outlook for a modified tax policy on Capitol Hill is excellent. The idea of a modified flat tax is supported overwhelmingly by the American people, thus mandating legislators to act accordingly. Although this requirement is enough to facilitate tax reform passage, the fact that James Baker is a skillful negotiator and has the personal rapport with Congress that Donald Regan lacks, adds considerably to its prospects.

Baker's perspicacity and abundance of political experience coupled with Regan's deficiency thereof, lead many to believe that Baker will continue to exercise heavy influence over White House affairs from his office at the Treasury Building directly across the street.

In the primary stages of the tax reform contest, it is transpicuous that the players are in well-suited roles. After the Senate Finance Committee unanimously approved James Baker's nomination for Treasury Secretary, Senator Daniel Moynihan quipped, "I don't think it's fair to give the impression that this is the way this committee is always going to treat him." But the Senate Finance Committee, as well as the whole of Congress, may have no alternative but to continue on its present course of action, considering its mandate to approve a modified flat tax rate, and the considerable pressure that Treasury Secretary James Baker and White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan are going to exert in favor of new tax reform policy.

Kathleen Rexrode is a senior at UCSD.

Containing the Soviet Union: A Strategy for Survival

By Thomas J. Edwards

Containing Soviet aggressive expansionism in the 1980s requires a bold strategy; a major rethinking of traditional ways in dealing with the Soviet empire.

Today the world is an infinitely more dangerous place than it was twenty years ago. Not because of nuclear weapons as many think (there are fewer today, all under better command control), but because of the most drastic global shift in power the world has ever seen in such a period of time, and because Soviet expansionist goals have been allowed to proceed unchecked for so long.

In the words of former Ambassador to the Soviet Union George F. Kennan understanding the "sources of Soviet conduct" is the basis for a policy of containment. Understanding the sources of Soviet conduct creates the will to contain. We can neither understand nor work toward containing the Soviet Union so long as we insist on "mirror-imaging" our way of thinking on to theirs. Soviet political thought is incomprehensible to most Westerners; their cultural and political experience has been drastically different from ours and Marxism-Leninism still guides Soviet decision-making. Make no mistake, the leadership in the Kremlin plans policy and undertakes their adventurous schemes to snub capitalism (read, Imperialism) and to further socialist revolution. World communist revolution remains the goal.

In the first article of this series on containment it was proposed that economic and diplomatic competition in a friendly sort of game with the U.S.S.R. was the answer to containing and controlling Soviet aggression. In a sense, it is true, the West can compete. But since the Soviets don't play by any rules, friendly or otherwise, the U.S. cannot honestly expect to win competing in this fashion. I would argue further that the West does not currently have the necessary motivation to pay the long-term costs associated with playing and winning such a game.

However, the single most effective way to contain Soviet expansionism is not far off from a process of economic and diplomatic competition. It consists of "upping the ante;" or, of making the cost at every turn where the Soviets wish to expand their control and influence so great that it is simply too high or that it does not appear to be worth the effort.

The first and foremost step in moving toward an actual policy of containment is the repudiation of the "Brezhnev doctrine." It has been four years in the coming for a clear statement of repudiation by those making foreign policy within the Reagan Administration, and we never would have heard it in a Mondale Administration.

Those who believe that containing the Soviet Union rests in the failed policies of detente do not recognize the Soviets for what they are and claim to be. Those who insist that relying on arms agreements to ensure peace for the West (*de facto* containment of the U.S.S.R.) are merely placing their heads in the sand. The "carrot-on-a-stick" approach as developed and practiced by Dr. Kissinger is only good to the extent that it checks Soviet behavior, and we have seen that the extent is not a great deal. The policies of appeasement, as practiced by President Jimmy Carter, can never do what even an unsuccessful policy of containment is able to.

In General Maxwell P. Taylor's book *The Uncertain Trumpet* (for which he was subsequently recruited by President Kennedy) the U.S. was called to meet the Soviets with whatever force necessary, wherever and whenever we chose. A sound strategy with the exception of the fact that the West's diplomatic and military posture makes it unthinkable for the foreseeable future, and the fact that where we choose will almost certainly always be as a response or reaction to previous Soviet incursion and advancement.

Time and again we see clearly that the Soviets completely understand one thing alone: actual military power. As former Secretary of State Haig has so often stated and former President Nixon so clearly expressed in his book, *Real Peace*, the Soviets never pay for the promises of Western military power, but once systems are actually deployed and in operation there is clear respect for what



they can do. Thus President Carter's unilateral cancellation of the B-1 Bomber and granting the Soviet Backfire "non-strategic" only served to exacerbate Soviet expansionist tendencies rather than contain as he had hoped. Cancellation of the MX Missile would send the same signals, particularly in the area of perceived resolve. The second part — and just as important as the system — of containment through defense means is the resolve to use force. A combination of strength and the resolve to use that strength equals respect and allows for a policy of "defense denial." That is, the ability to deny the Soviets their objectives simply because of your strength or perceived strength and will. This is probably the most cost-effective means of containment for it is entirely within the context of already useful national defense.

Some suggest that an empty goal of containment — inducing at the same time the catalyst for a devastating blow to the Soviet master plan — should be to work directly toward freeing the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Here the West is certainly on the moral high ground, and would likely have the overwhelming support of these subjected people were they free to choose. Yet however much we wish and hope for freedom and the right of self-determination for these people we have allowed ourselves to become powerless in getting directly involved. In the words of Winston Churchill, "The West . . . is condemned to the role of an anxious spectator to the drama that is unfolding."

Overt intervention on the part of the West would lead to war, and with the world situation today this would quite likely mean nuclear world war. Had Soviet tanks rolled into Poland in 1980, sadly (because of our current military posture *vis a vis* the Soviet Union) NATO would have been unable to do anything other than express its distaste and institute meaningless sanctions — just as the West was incapable of helping Hungary in 1956 when it held unquestioned military superiority.

Being consigned to the role of "anxious spectator" does not mean we can be of no assistance. We are currently walking a careful and covert fine-line here with our assistance to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan. The *spirit of freedom*, if not freedom itself, is also alive and well in Poland today. It is a remarkable thing. Solidarity and what is happening in Poland. Clearly, the Polish

people know that they must win their own freedom and the Soviet's must know that the Poles would fight to keep the freedom they have gained. We must stand with them in spirit and do all that we can to assist them.

Anything which the West can do to keep shifting the battleground of ideas back on to socialist turf only furthers containing Soviet expansionism. To wit, the China-Soviet conflict during the period of 1957-1962 was the greatest measure of containment ever placed upon the Soviets.

We must at every juncture possible keep the Soviets on the defensive and take the initiative. Jeane Kirkpatrick has shown us that the U.N. can still be used for this. We should take every opportunity to expose the Soviet regime for what it is; demand human rights, religious freedom, and self-determination, no matter how "un-diplomatic" this may sound. The plight of Soviet Jews and those wishing to emigrate the Soviet Union is just one example where the Soviets will always be on the defensive. Pointing out Soviet atrocities, such as the Gulag, builds resolve in the world of international affairs.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn stated in 1980 that "Communism stops only when it encounters a wall, even if it is only a wall of resolve. The West cannot avoid erecting such a wall in what is already its hour of extremity."

No opportunity is too small to pursue. Grenada is a fine example which helped shape U.S. and world opinion and boosted the level of resolve to stand together. As professor Irving Kristol puts it, "In our ideological conflict with communist totalitarianism, small victories, military or diplomatic, are of critical importance. And such small victories do not happen of themselves; one must look for the opportunity to achieve them."

Any successful demonstration of U.S. power must be perceived as a setback in Soviet power, and is thus in itself "containment." The Soviet Union must be met in some way, shape or form at every international turn they make.

We should make the Soviets pay, and dearly so for every population they attempt to subject or eliminate, for every port they seek to control, for every terrorist organization they fund, every covert shipment of arms they send. President Reagan is right in asserting that the Soviet government is a primary source of evil in the world today which must be controlled. Just ask Arkady Shevchenko, former Soviet ranking diplomat who defected to the United States in 1978. Shevchenko's story of life in the Soviet decision-making hierarchy is one of lies, deceit, murder, ultimate world domination and broken promises.

Grant them equal footing as a "superpower," but never equal moral footing to justify their actions. Make the Soviets pay, pay dearly, for their world revolutionary ideals and expansionism and watch them retreat behind their borders.

Thomas J. Edwards is CR's Praetor Perigranus.



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LASA Disinformation on Nicaragua

By Dr. Alfred G. Cuzán

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is the single most important organization of professional Latin Americanists in the United States. It publishes a prestigious quarterly journal on whose editorial board serve distinguished academics employed by some of America's best universities. Hence, one would expect that policy positions emanating from this body represent intelligent, informed, well-meaning, and responsible opinion on Latin America which the public and government of the United States could safely trust.

But, judging from the recently published "Report of the Latin American Studies Association Delegation to Observe the Nicaraguan General Election of November 4, 1984" (which can be obtained by sending one dollar to the LASA Secretariat, University of Texas at Austin) such trust would be sorely misplaced. As any reader can ascertain for himself, the report is a highly tendentious document, as apologetic for the Sandinista dictatorship as it is critical of the Reagan Administration for its alleged "attempt to undermine the Nicaraguan electoral process and to destroy its credibility in the eyes of the world." Contrary to a *New York Times* editorial which denounced the Sandinista "election" as a sham, the LASA delegation concluded that, "by Latin American standards" it was "a model of probity and fairness."

As novel as that conclusion may sound, the report includes many more statements and observations that are even more startling. It denies that the Sandinistas — avowed Marxist-Leninists who regard Castro as their patron — are totalitarian, that censorship of the press inhibits opposition against them, or that the refusal of a board spectrum of erstwhile allies of the FSLN in the war against Somoza to participate obediently in Nicaragua's "nascent democratic process" was motivated by anything other than arbitrary pressures from the United States.

But that is not all. The report uncritically accepts as true outlandish Sandinista claims — standard in communist regimes — that they have made spectacular strides against child mortality, illiteracy, and poverty in a very short time. For example, the report claims that in less than six months, an army of "nearly 100,000 volunteer literacy teachers drawn mostly from the government-sponsored mass organizations" were able to cut the country's illiteracy rate in half. The source for these "statistics" was none other than the government itself. In repeating these

claims, the report shows none of the skepticism for which academics are known.

Among the many Sandinista fallacies given credence in the report, one deserves special mention. It seems that the shortages of pork, chicken, eggs, milk, and medicines which have developed — as they always do after a communist take-over — under the Sandinistas do not mean that Nicaraguans now consume less than under Somoza, when all those items could be purchased freely in greater quantities and at lower real prices than at present. Rather, the report interprets the shortages as evidence that Nicaraguans — especially the "working class" — are consuming more! In the "economics" of the report, empty shelves means people are getting more, not less, than before, when the shelves were full.

At its most sycophantic, the report parrots Sandinista euphemisms for disguising their dictatorship, such as the "logic of the majority concept." According to this Marxist-Leninist syllogism, the FSLN and its mass organizations are the sole repository of knowledge and of selfless commitment to the "basic needs of the majority" against which are juxtaposed the "private profits" of the "economic elites" who "will no longer be allowed to rule." But what if the majority, disenchanted with the Sandinista

elite, were to vote in favor of a party of those "economic elites?" Would the FSLN accept that logic of the majority — elementary in every real democracy — and transfer power to the people's choice?

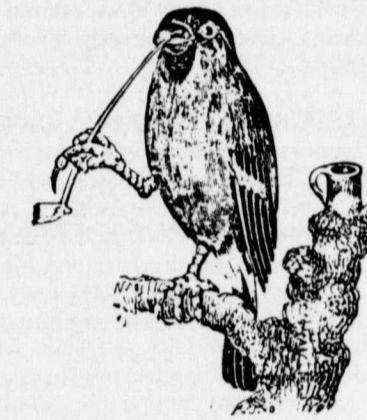
It is customary to evaluate a written piece by whether it at least accomplished the goals it set for itself. The LASA report fails that test, too. It had set out to remedy "the paucity of academic (rather than journalistic and governmental sources)" concerning the "unusual international circumstances" surrounding the so-called election.

But there is precious little deserving of the adjective "academic" (other than the reputation of the authors) in the report. There are no results from statistical analysis of United Nations or census data, survey research or other sampling of the population, or balanced historical inquiry. In fact, the sources relied upon by the delegation — during a week's travel in a rented bus — such as "key informants," anonymous "international observers," and man-in-the-street interviews, were heavily weighted in favor of the Sandinistas. Rather than add new knowledge about Nicaragua, the report simply repeats stale Marxist-Leninist clichés taken from the Sandinista government and the Sandinista press, whose word we are expected to believe is just as good as that of western governments and the free international press.

As for the "unusual international circumstances" the report dwells on "the deep, ideologically-grounded hostility of the Reagan Administration toward the Sandinista government," but does not even mention the thousands of Cuban and other Soviet-bloc "internationalists" that permeate the Sandinista state. By not mentioning them, the report leaves out the most "unusual circumstance" of all, since no other Latin American country except Cuba has them.

Judged by its stated goal, the report is a failure. But perhaps the stated goal was not the real one. Maybe the report is simply an act of deliberate disinformation by a committee of "political pilgrims" (as in the title of Paul Hollander's splendid book) enamored of the latest fashion in the third world stalinism. Given the intellectual corruption which Marxism has wrought on Latin American studies during the last generation, that interpretation cannot be summarily dismissed.

Dr. Cuzán is Associate Professor of Political Science at The University of West Florida, in Pensacola, and one of CR's *Ivory Tower Praefecti*.



Stabilizing Central America

By C.G. Alario

"At the heart of the Nixon Doctrine is the premise that countries threatened by communist aggression must take the primary responsibility for their own defense. This does not mean that U.S. Forces have no military role; what it does mean is that threatened countries have to be willing to bear the primary burden of supplying the manpower."

Richard Nixon
The Real War

The Nixon Doctrine may provide the United States the first step in countering the expansion of Cuban/Soviet influence in the Western hemisphere, specifically in Central America. If it can be effectively adapted, as it has in El Salvador, to current and future crises, we stand a very good chance of preventing the expansion of our adversaries' influence in this hemisphere. However, the Nixon Doctrine is only the first step; it establishes security. Other steps, concerning the causes of social unrest and injustice, must follow in a coordinated effort to produce lasting results.

When President Reagan entered office in January, 1981, the situation in El Salvador was rapidly deteriorating. In addition, American foreign policy was in disarray. The ghost of Vietnam continued to haunt our country and the Left started to scream that American involvement would quickly deteriorate into a no-win situation — another Vietnam.

The only way El Salvador would have turned into another Vietnam is if we had allowed it to by defeating ourselves. The President's personal commitment to El Salvador was the decisive factor in turning the tide in our favor in El Salvador. The President effectively utilized the philosophy underlying the Nixon Doctrine. He was wise not to commit U.S. Forces as the Congress was, and continues to be divided on matters pertaining to foreign policy. With no firm commitment from Congress, coupled with the restraints under the War Powers Act of 1974, a U.S. military intervention could have had devastating and irreversible repercussions. Instead, the Presi-

dent embarked on a massive economic and military aid package for our allies in the war-torn country; in effect, averting a communist takeover.

Central America has approached the fork in the road. Now that Castro and the Soviet Union have established a beachhead on the continent — Nicaragua — our adversaries are in a position to interfere decisively and manipulate events in Central America. Nixon espoused the idea to support actively the forces of freedom without the commitment of American troops. The United States is obligated to provide our allies economic and military aid at levels that will enable them to defend themselves from Cuban/Soviet supported communist aggression.

The war in El Salvador is far from over. As long as the

Sandinistas are in power in Nicaragua, there will be a direct threat to the security of El Salvador as well as the other non-communist nations of Central America. The Cuban/Soviet presence in Nicaragua represents a destabilizing factor that has significantly contributed to the bloodshed in the region.

Now that our allies in El Salvador have achieved a limited victory, we cannot allow ourselves to be lulled to sleep in the face of Cuban/Soviet opportunistic ambitions in Central America. Our commitment to our allies there should be firm and long-standing. The problems that plague the countries of Central America are not relatively

(continued on page 13)



California Review Interviews

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1947 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Army. He pursued graduate studies in business administration at Columbia University in 1954-55 and received a Master's Degree in International Relations from Georgetown University in 1962. From 1962 to 1965 he served in the Pentagon and received the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism while serving in Vietnam in 1966 and 1967. In January 1969, he was assigned to be senior military advisor to the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Dr. Henry Kissinger. He became Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in 1970 and was promoted to full General in 1972. In May 1973, President Nixon appointed him Commander-in-Chief, U.S. European Command. General Haig became Supreme Allied Commander in Europe two months later. He resigned from this position June 30, 1979, and retired from the Army. He was appointed Secretary of State by President Reagan in 1981 and resigned July 5, 1982. General Haig is author of *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*. Recently, General Haig took time to talk with CR's Editorial Board and Praetor Perigranus, Thomas J. Edwards.

CR: Should the Strategic Defense Initiative be open for bargaining with the Soviets?

HAIG: Well, your basic question here is: What is the Strategic Defense Initiative and do we understand what it is? What it is first and foremost is not a substitute for the deterrent strategy which we have pursued since the dawn of the nuclear era. It is rather a potential reinforcement of that deterrent. The United States has done nothing to deal substantially with the imbalance that exists in ballistic missile capacity — the hard kill to target kill capacity. The President has been able to do in four years what has been helpful and ancillary at best, the B-1 bomber, an improved Trident and the cruise missiles. None of these systems directly address the fundamental destabilizing threat to strategic parity. The only systems that do are the MX, which is currently in a state of great controversy, and the mini-missile, which will not be available until 1990 and probably well beyond. These systems offer a potential enhancement of our defense against ballistic missiles. So under no circumstances should the United States accept a trade-off of our right to develop the Strategic Defense Initiative. Clearly the Soviets are not fools and the issue of Strategic Defense Initiative has been over-dramatized as the incentive that brought the Soviets back to the negotiating table. It had nothing to do with it. At most, it is an ancillary contributor to it. The essential issue was that it provided an excuse for the Soviets, who had been discredited when the Western Europeans and ourselves deployed missiles in Western Europe, especially the Pershing II and therefore the SDI was a windfall for them. When Americans suggest that therefore this is a great item of leverage on the Soviet Union, they are misleading themselves. The Russians do not pay for the promises of American systems against the reality of their own. The only thing that will impress them, in near terms arms control negotiations, is to proceed as rapidly as possible with the MX. That will make a difference. If we let that go over the side, under the aura that someday we may have a strategic defense system, then we are going to find ourselves in the same catch-22 we have pursued for the last twenty years. That is to negotiate the phantom of American intentions against the realities of Soviet systems. That is no way to conduct arms control.

CR: Do you think the deployment of Euromissiles will recouple the alliance strategically?

HAIG: It is thus far an inadequate response, but it is nonetheless an indispensable aspect of our deterrent. It is not the cruise missiles, but rather the Pershing II that is the only legitimate counter to the SS-20's, which is ballistic, and it is instantaneously capable of attacking the Soviet Union with precise targeting. The Pershing II is not vulnerable to the kinds of air defense systems, which the Soviets have already deployed and demonstrated against cruise air-breathing systems, which are somewhat slower, fly at lower altitudes and susceptible to the shoot-down, look-down capability that the Soviets already have. My great concern as we go into the talks is that Mr. Nitze, who is the author of the "walk in the woods," would be tempted, in an effort to gain some leverage in our strategic problem, to trade-off the Pershing II. I predict that is going to be a key issue in the period ahead, one in which it is very important for Americans to keep their eyes open.

CR: Are you optimistic over the possibility of a meaningful and verifiable arms agreement with Soviets in the near future?

HAIG: Not in the context of that word — optimistic — with verifiable and meaningful reductions. I think that the Soviets have been using arms control first and foremost to split Europe from the United States, with a secondary and equally important objective of breaking the consensus in the United States to at long last repair our defenses. These are the two main objectives of Soviet arms control. Having said that, it is also very clear that if the Soviets maintain the level of superiority that they have already achieved and enhance that with lower levels of expenditures, which could be the product of flawed arms control agreements, (which has really been the case up until now), then they have an incentive for arms control. It is our task now to be sure that they do not succeed in developing another SALT II, which provided precisely that advantage to the Soviet Union.

CR: Does the Soviet use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia present a significant obstacle to the talks in Geneva?

HAIG: Well, I think in terms of verifiability, the situation is complicated immeasurably just simply through technology. The creation of mobile systems has already complicated the task of verification astronomically in practical terms. Beyond that, the Soviets have failed to adhere to long-standing agreements in chemical and biological areas, as well as the provisions of the ABM treaty, which prohibited the production and deployment of radar systems in the central part of the Soviet Union. All these things, combined with the marginal violations, which have been listed in a report to the Congress, would make one very skeptical that the Soviets can be relied upon to abide by any agreement unless we have ironclad verification systems. And I say that is, technically, increasingly difficult.

"I rejoice at the recent changes in the White House."

CR: Do you ever regret going public with your case of Soviet use of chemical weapons as early as you did when you were Secretary of State?

HAIG: No, you know I was attacked for a number of things. The first one was the claim that international terrorism was the greatest violation of human rights. That made the White House staff very uncomfortable and therefore disappeared for two years. Well, we have rediscovered it with the destruction of our Marine barracks in Lebanon. The same thing applies to highlighting in the chemical weapons area, which also gave people a great deal of pain. I think it is important for our national leadership to understand that effective leadership does not come from pandering to the perceived popularity of the issue, but rather from the success that a leader achieves. Sometimes, in the initial phases in achieving this success, he is extremely unpopular. You have got to be able to take that.

CR: You have been quoted as saying that the United States should or could have retaliated for the deaths of our Marines in Lebanon. What type of retaliation would you have suggested and against whom?

HAIG: I was using Lebanon as an example of a premise I put forward in a preliminary statement before the Foreign Relations Committee, in which I pointed out that we cannot live in a world in which we are inhibited in taking direct action against violators of international law through the concept of non-interventionism. I think I cited John Stuart Mill, who said, "intervention undertaken to prevent intervention is moral and right if not always prudent." I said had we reacted at the time our embassy was blown up, when we knew that Syria had managed, organized and conducted that attack, they would have been far less inclined to take the risk that they took in blowing up

our Marine barracks. I said it was a short walk from the unanswered destruction of our embassy to the still unanswered attack on our Marine barracks. We simply have to learn that lesson. I have been rather disturbed at the Pentagon primarily, but others in the administration have continually suggested that Iran was the source of these terrorist acts. Iran provides the cannon fodder, the young revolutionaries, who believe they are going to achieve paradise through the destruction of an infidel. The logistics, the planning, the intelligence and the training were all conducted by Syria in the Bekaa Valley. You may have

"In the Reagan White House there were no secrets because Mr. Baker and Mr. Deaver immediately leaked everything to the press for self-serving reasons."

noticed recently when Israel had another attack, withdrawing from southern Lebanon, they attacked the PLO camps, which are largely run and controlled by Syria in the Bekaa Valley. Whether that would be adequate enough is hard to say, but had the Americans done it, I feel reasonably confident that Syria would have been deterred from the subsequent attacks that were far more devastating. But, we left Lebanon with our tails between our legs. We are beginning to see the consequences of that, not only in Lebanon, but in Western Europe and throughout the world. We have given terrorism a second lease on life. At the time it was the popular thing to do. Before it is finished and the last chapter on Lebanon is written, it will be proven to be the wrong thing to do.

CR: Do you think at this point, Nicaragua is willing to forego spreading revolution and Soviet, Cuban and Eastern Bloc advisors and aid for better relations with the United States?

HAIG: Not at all. When we started out on the question of Nicaragua and Central America, I made a point that as Americans, we are always best served by being advocates of rule of law and peaceful change. If we used that for the justification for our policies, then we are on the side of the angels. That was the approach I espoused. In other words, so long as Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union violate the accepted rules of international law, through intervening in the internal affairs of neighboring states, we have not only the right, but the obligation to challenge that by whatever means, recognizing the constraints in some cases, which would make overreaction less than prudent. In the months preceding the election, for whatever reasons, American policy became obscure. We began instead to get with the wicket of Marxism in telling other nations how to conduct their internal affairs and we blunted the opposition to interventionism. Mistake. We began to talk about steps that would seem to ameliorate totalitarian Marxism in Nicaragua as an acceptable means, through which Nicaragua can gain legitimacy with the United States and improved relationship or a normalization. Mistake. We should not make this the issue. I happen to believe that an isolated Nicaragua, unsupported by Cuba and the Soviet Union, would collapse under its own weight — would reject Marxism. Our problem with Nicaragua must not be with what the people, honestly or dishonestly espouse as their philosophy, but rather their violation of the accepted rules of international law. If we used that, then we could not confine ourselves to the situation in El Salvador and Nicaragua. We would have to challenge Castro's Cuba. That's where we failed in Central America. We have poured money into a situation and held our own, but we have failed to solve the problem. Now, this may sound pugnacious, but I have always felt, and I write in my book, that if we had put appropriate pressure on Cuba, Castro would have been smart enough not to challenge the United States. There is no reason to expect that Cuba of 11 million would challenge the United States of 230 million, one hundred miles off its shore. It would be practically insane, and Castro is not insane. What Castro believes today is that we Americans will defeat ourselves on this issue, just as we did in Vietnam. The President will simply be unable to

Alexander M. Haig

muster vigorous defenses against their violations of accepted law. Now we jolted that perception in Grenada, but we unfortunately squandered it, with the revelation of the mining in Nicaragua. I predicted to the President it would if he undertook it or anything like it. I also said covert action is a cop out. It enables you to go to bed at night saying you are doing something tough and get up in the morning and be loved by the American people. I said it is time for you to take this issue to Cuba, where it belongs and to the Soviet Union. The Russians are dealing with a whole array of issues around the world to expand their influence. Some are vital interests, such as Afghanistan, where they fear the *mujahedin*, Poland, where their traditional control of their vital spheres of buffers are being challenged. Central America is a target of opportunity. If they generally believed, just as they saw as we mined the ports of Haiphong and bombed Hanoi, that the President meant business, they are not going to jeopardize other more important issues. They as much as told me so. Read my book. The problem is that the President did not do what he should have done and he still has not. The trouble is that it gets harder and harder to do once you lose your credibility. The worst thing he could have ever done was to enter in on negotiations with Cuba. What that has done is legitimize Castro's Cuba. He has got them in a dialogue with the United States on peripheral issues. Just as the Slaughterman diplomacy with Nicaragua — short-sighted and wrong. My point is that we should not legitimize gangsters.

CR: So this is what you are talking about when you say go the source of the problem?

HAIG: Of course, Central America is an inconsistent problem. It is a struggle for social justice. What we have to do there is to be generous and help those people along democratic lines. That we have always done and that we have to continue to do. The thing that gives Central America strategic dimension today is not Marxism in Nicaragua nor insurgency in El Salvador, but there is a Castro/Soviet foothold in this hemisphere. That is what we have ignored. As long as we do, we are deluding ourselves. We are draining the tolerance of the American

people to support whatever policies we follow presently, because they are ineffective. That is the story of Vietnam all over again, fellas.

CR: What should our policy towards Cuba be now?

HAIG: One of increasing pressure, political, economic, moral and security-related, until Mr. Castro commits himself to the non-intervention by Cuba in the internal affairs of neighboring states to include the withdrawal of his mercenaries in Angola and elsewhere in Africa.

CR: Do you support the renewal of aid for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters?

"Under no circumstances should the United States accept a trade-off of our right to develop the Strategic Defense Initiative."

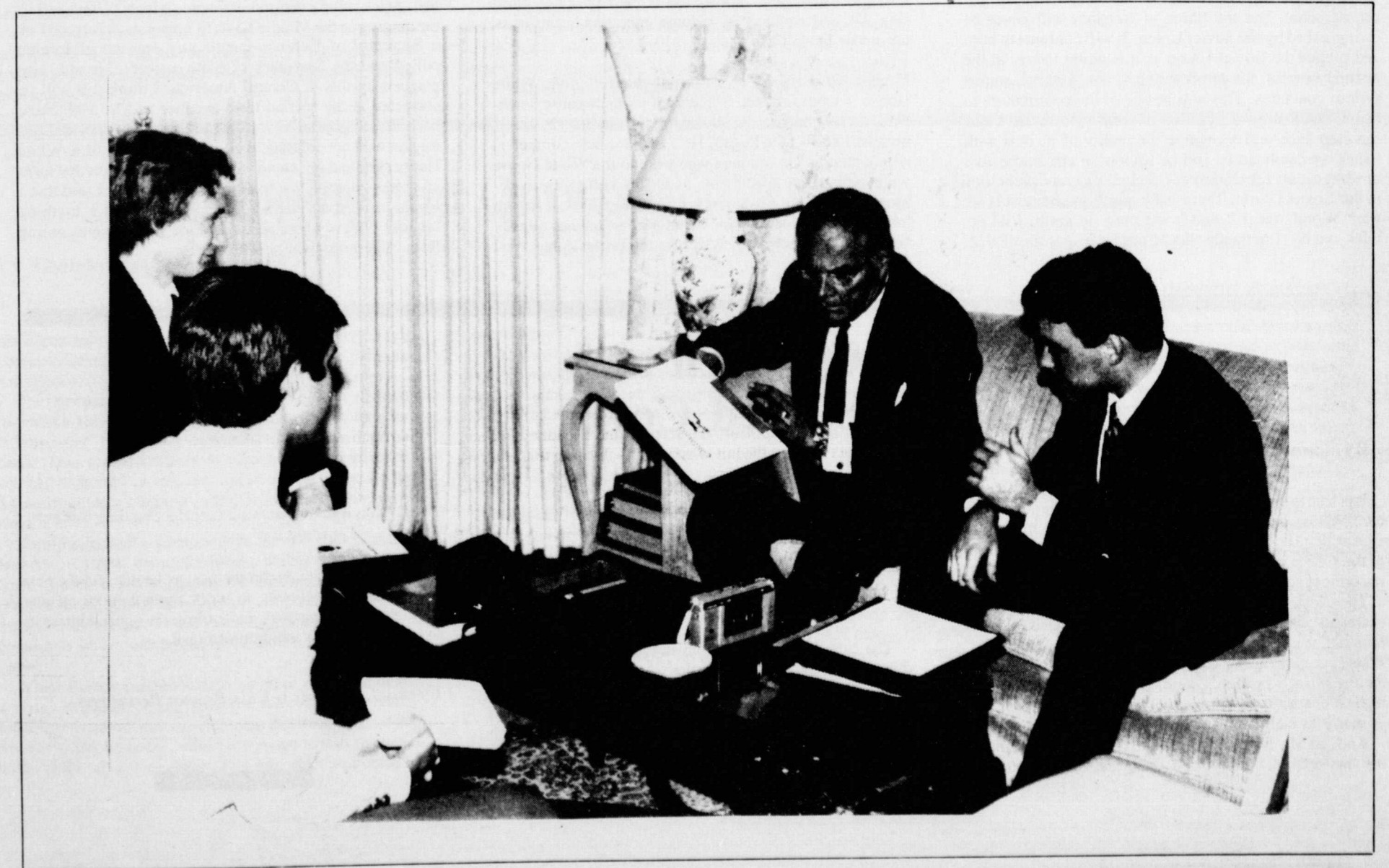
HAIG: I testified on this subject. I was opposed to the covert activity when I was Secretary of State. First, the word covert in the American lexicon is a contradiction in terms. In the Reagan White House there were no secrets, because Mr. Baker and Mr. Deaver immediately leaked everything to the press for self-serving reasons. Therefore, it was a ludicrous proposition that we could execute effective policy under the label of "covert." Secondly, the nature of the problem in Central America is such that the level of covert activity that would have to be undertaken is of such a scope that it could not be covert even if we did have a disciplined government, which we do not. Thirdly, for the reason I mentioned a moment ago, be-

cause it is a cop out. All three of those things proved to be a disaster for the President's policies in Central America. We have a right as a nation to conduct covert action and we do. As Jeane Kirkpatrick said, "international law is not a suicide pact." It is perfectly within the intent of the United Nations charter, article 51, and in international law, for nations to take steps in stride to protect their vital interests. So long as other states are not living by a code which bans covert action, then we are entitled to conduct it. The problem is, I said, "Mr. President, when you need the support of the American people most, these operations blow. They are going to undercut the support you are going to need in the Congress and among the people to do what is right in Central America." That is precisely what happened. In respect to Grenada, I mentioned earlier we squandered that success. The reason we went into Grenada was to tell Castro and the Soviet Union that we were not going to stand-by and let them install a Soviet base in this hemisphere, not that we went in to save a group of young students. That was not the central reason, although it was not an unimportant aspect of it. It was the failure to stand up and call a spade a spade and that squandered some of the effect of a very successful and courageous act on the part of the President. It was the right thing to do.

CR: Is NATO still the most valid approach to the mammoth problem of Western security in Europe or is a French approach more valid for the eighties?

HAIG: I have just finished a year long study in auspices under a western institute, which we had participation by European and American scholars. One of the revolutionary conclusions, I call it "revolutionary" because in this day and age of innovation, with everyone challenging the premises of deterrence and the alliance, was Henry Kissinger's proposal for NATO and Europe and Sam Nunn's threats to withdraw if they don't do more. We shoot-down each and every one and we suggest with more conviction than ever that the alliance is more important than it has been. I tell you one of the great pitfalls facing the conservative movement in the United States is the illusion

(continued on next page)



(continued from page 9)

that because we Americans have exercised a long overdue reassessment of ourselves, which I very much welcomed, that we have simultaneously recreated the unilateral, geopolitical power that we enjoyed at the end of the Second World War. We have not. It is precisely the opposite. The United States' power has declined in relative terms, not absolute ones. We are still the most powerful free world nation. We are still the fundamental leaders to the opposition to totalitarianism. To somehow believe now that we have clarified our own thinking here at home, we can go it alone, without the assistance of those who share our values around the world and without the patient effort to keep them in step with a collective defense, is the most short-sighted and dangerous aspect of modern conservatism in our country. Not all conservatives believe that, but some do. I call it not isolationism, in the classic sense, but rather unilateralism. This is not the solution to a future secured America. It does not mean we turn our backs on the fronts or give up our manhood in the interests of common denominators. It does mean we lead and we lead patiently and sometimes we accept less in the interest of common action. One looks back at Poland two years ago. I would say that was one of the high points of the Reagan Administration. The President handled it very well. He was under constant pressure from the right to do something more vigorous against Poland and to really destabilize the Soviet Union. I wonder if those voices from the right would have been willing to pay the admission for that kind of policy or would they have repeated the errors of Hungary in 1956, where we encouraged uprising, brought the people in to the streets beating the turrets of the tanks with their bare hands. Thousands were slaughtered, while we stood by and did nothing. The President avoided that approach and he was right. History will prove he was right. Who would believe today that Lech Walesa would be alive and once again demonstrating in the streets of Gdansk and the Marxist goons would be hauled before the people's court, tried and convicted. Ten years ago, Soviet tanks would have rolled through the streets of Warsaw and Lech Walesa would be a vestige of history. This was the result of a unified Western stance against the Polish crackdown. I am not being critical of conservatives. I am a conservative. What I am saying is that we have to be careful as conservatives, not to become sometimes mesmerized by our own rhetoric, as correct as it is.

CR: Do you think solidarity will inevitably split the iron curtain?

HAIG: No, not really in the near term, because the Polish people saw Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They do not want to sacrifice themselves on a losing cause. It will only bring greater bloodshed and greater restraint. Therefore, in the near term, I do not expect them to rise up in the classic sense, but the flame of freedom will never be extinguished by the Soviet Union. It will continue to burn and plague the Soviet Union as it is doing today. In the historic process, the deterioration of the Marxist/Leninist system continues. This will be one of the contributors to that. One can draw a great deal of comfort from that if one can step back and recognize the reality of it, deal with issues we can head-on and be somewhat circumspect in what causes rebelliousness. Rebellion causes rebellion in the Soviet Union. There is no question about it. If we want World War III, that is the place to get it. I do not think we do. I certainly would not be a sponsor of that.

By Thomas J. Edwards

It is true in politics, as in much of life, that it all depends on "Whose ox is being gored," and it would at first appear that David Stockman, President Reagan's director of the Office of Management and Budget, has attempted not only to gore the wrong ox but also a few sacred cows.

The *Review* deplors the fact that Mr. Stockman's character and fitness to serve in office have been attacked because he has had the courage to "call a spade a spade." Whatever may be said of Mr. Stockman's proposals, i.e., the President's budget, David Stockman is a man of the highest character and a true public servant, often working as many as eighteen to twenty hours a day.

And, as Mr. Stockman has stated, "the day of reckoning has arrived." Purported rhetorical excesses do not

CR: Who do you see as the most likely successor to Cherenko?

HAIG: I always say the greater the expert on the Soviet Union, the more cautious he is about making predictions. I do not put myself in that class, but I do talk to some who are in that class. It is clear by all the qualifiable, protocol measurements one takes today that Gorbachev is the front-runner. It is very important to remember that Gorbachev is fifty-three years old, from an entirely new generation. If he was to receive the mantle, he is going to dispose as rapidly and efficiently as possible of all those characters who are ahead of him. That means that dwindling gangle of men who are sixty years old and beyond have a vested interest in preventing Mr. Gorbachev from becoming the heir apparent. Does this mean they will turn

"Jeane Kirkpatrick and Al Haig were philosophical soulmates to a greater degree than any other two people in the administration."

to Romanov? I do not know. Mr. Romanov was the one who led the charge against Brezhnev in his dying years, he started to attack his family for corruption. Mr. Romanov is sixty-two years old and is probably more acceptable in that sense. Or will they go with some third faceless guy or will they create a troika or duality in which the old guard continues to hold on? They may resurrect another member of the dying generation. Having said all that is why one has to be very cautious in predicting who will be there. Clearly, Gorbachev looks like the successor. He is not an inflexible man. He is young, looks western, almost handsome, and has a beautiful wife. He went to London recently and swept the city, everybody thought he was just wonderful — a hot potatoe. If he does come in, I believe it will take him some time to settle in and gather all the reins of power and achieve the autonomy a Brezhnev had in his later years.

CR: In Caveat, you compare the White House to a ghost ship. Do you see the White House operating in this manner under Donald Regan?

HAIG: No. I rejoice at the recent changes in the White House. I would rejoice in physical terms because somebody is in charge, but I also rejoice in human terms because I know Don Regan. He's an extremely competent administrator. He is a man who went to the White House with some accomplishments under his belt. I mean demonstrated accomplishments. I think he will do a superb job for the President. I think Bud McFarlane has already been doing a superb job. Why? He is a professional. You

Of Oxen and Sacred Cows

replace the fact that farm subsidies in this country are a disgrace, that the military retirement system is a national financial disaster in the happening, or that the Small Business Administration ought to be abolished immediately.

The Small Business Administration is nothing more than one of those vote garnishers for members of Congress, and the budget director is correct in calling it a "billion-dollar waste — a rathole." Only one percent of this nation's small businesses ever use the SBA, and according to the National Federation of Independent Business eighty percent of small business owners believe that

cannot bring to the task of foreign policy and national security policy a public relations expert. You cannot have people around the President, who get up every morning and decide what is going to make the President popular today, then rush into the oval office and urge him to pursue that course. Except for that we have a strong President with strong convictions on certain issues. It would have been a disastrous situation, only the President's own visceral sound gut reactions to things prevented that. He had enough mistakes as it was in foreign policy.

CR: Were your difficulties with our mission at the United Nations, or perceived difficulties, just fantasies in the minds of the press or a result of White House interference and meddling, or actually personal problems between Ambassador Kirkpatrick and yourself?

HAIG: First let me tell you that probably Jeane Kirkpatrick and Al Haig were philosophic soulmates to a greater degree than any other two people in the administration. I never had problems with Jeane Kirkpatrick's world view. I might have in Latin America, in particular Argentina, but they were minor. The problem was that the White House staff portrayed our relationship in terms that were designed to create these problems. The system itself was not a sound one. I never believed, and I have been in four administrations, the United Nations ambassador enjoyed cabinet rank. It is a mistake. Every one of our ambassadors should report through the Secretary of State. It is the only way to insure we have an integrated, coherent foreign policy. We had terrible problems with Senator Moynihan, who used the United Nations as a public relations springboard for the Senate. We had terrible problems with Andy Young who was a showboater. He was pursuing his own foreign policy with respect to the Middle East. This had nothing to do with Jeane Kirkpatrick. She was a victim of the organizational structure under which she operated. The White House used this to undercut the Secretary of State. So when it comes to Jeane Kirkpatrick, I think she did a superb job at the United Nations. She was an intellectual force of substantial magnitude in an administration which was rather slim on that asset and remains so today. I never said anything bad about Jeane and I never would. I respect her immensely. In many respects, I would rather see her out of the administration and occupy a position of non-involvement.

CR: How do you assess the performance of Secretary Shultz?

HAIG: Superb. He has done an absolutely outstanding job. He had in the initial period all the same problems I had, and maybe even more severe, which culminated in the disaster in the Middle East. In Lebanon, where we had a Secretary of Defense conducting one set of foreign policy and the Secretary of State another. He was also plagued by this in Central America. I think this will be corrected in the second term because a) Mr. McFarlane has independent access to the President, and b) Donald Regan will not tolerate a zoo for a cabinet or a White House staff and he intends to stamp out the leaks that have all come from the White House. This is why I said that I would have never blamed Jeane Kirkpatrick for anything because I knew where all those dope stories were coming from. The press would tell me.

the SBA has a neutral or negative effect on their business. What are we waiting for?

We wish Mr. Stockman the best of health and the best of luck as he continues to work toward more austere spending by cutting pork and calling the special interests and lobbyists of Washington to task.

Thomas J. Edwards is CR's Praetor Perigranus.

U.S. Capital and South Africa

By C. Brandon Crocker

It's "in" this year to protest in front of the South African Embassy in Washington. The protesters are demanding total U.S. disinvestment in South Africa because of apartheid. But the demonstrators, in all their zeal, do not realize that disinvestment by the United States in South Africa would sharply reduce the well-being of, and the prospects of full political rights for blacks.

Furthermore, the situation for blacks in South Africa has been improving. Black income has been rising significantly (thanks to U.S. corporations). 80% of black children are in school, up from 75% in 1975, (this compares with 68% in Zambia, 43% in Tanzania, and 44% in Nigeria), and in the last five years expenditures on black education have tripled. The new South African constitution extends the vote to Asians and Indians, a fact that

levels. The biggest weapon South African blacks have to battle apartheid is the upward economic mobility made possible by U.S. investment. Without U.S. corporations South African blacks would have practically zero economic power with which to use for political reform. In addition, a U.S. withdrawal of investment would take away the livelihoods of thousands of black families.

As Senator Kennedy discovered when he visited South Africa, South African blacks are staunchly opposed to U.S. disinvestment. One of South Africa's most popular black leaders, Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says, "It is morally imperative that American firms remain active here," and Percy Qoboza, editor of South Africa's largest black newspaper, stated in an interview with *Time* magazine, "To impose sanctions on South Africa would be to acknowledge total abandonment of a peaceful and negotiated settlement. What is more, the creation of economic chaos here would expedite the very thing we are trying to avoid: a bloody radical confrontation."

The new wave of demands for disinvestment in South Africa is in large part due to the efforts of organizations which are not motivated by the well-being South African blacks but rather by anti-Americanism and a desire for a weakened South Africa in order to facilitate Marxist takeover in Namibia and South Africa itself. TransAfrica, the foremost proponent of U.S. disinvestment, and the American committee on Africa (ACOA) which also is encouraging disinvestment both actively support the Marxist guerrilla groups ANC and SWAPO (which also receive support from the Soviet Union) in Namibia. ACOA publications openly say that "disinvestment is only a means [...] to generate a militant campaign in support of African liberation." These organizations have also targeted South Africa because of its importance to the United States. Aside from its important geographical location, South Africa is the sole supplier of many strategic minerals, such as chromium, to the United States.

South Africa is a haven for black Africans seeking better lives. The oppression of apartheid is no worse than the political oppression found in most African nations. But apartheid need not be indefinitely tolerated and can be eliminated peacefully by allowing U.S. capital to continue to encourage liberalization by giving blacks economic power and integrating blacks into positions of authority. The path of peaceful change should not be forsaken by destroying the economic livelihood of blacks and forcing the country into economic and political turmoil of which violence and bloodshed can be the only result. This is what disinvestment would do, and it must be avoided.

C. Brandon Crocker is a senior UCSD.



Blacks are better off in South Africa than in about any other country in Africa. The fact is blacks do not have any more political rights under the black dictatorships predominant in Africa than they do in South Africa. But in South Africa they have much more economic freedom which has allowed them the highest per capita income among blacks on the continent. The independent national homelands set up for blacks have an average GNP greater than 33 African countries and receive large amounts of financial aid from the South African government. Blacks have been fleeing not from South Africa but to South Africa because, despite the oppression of apartheid, South Africa offers them a better life than their own nations and other nations in the area. In fact, there are more than half a million black illegal immigrants in South Africa right now.

demonstrates the government's acceptance of the need for reform. Even such an unlikely source as CBS's "60 Minutes" recently portrayed South African President Botha as reform minded.

Those protesting outside the South African Embassy, therefore, have more deserving targets (the Soviet Union, for example, which has murdered more people in the past 65 years than South Africa has total population).

But the fact that South Africa is not as bad as many other countries does not mean we shouldn't encourage responsible reforms and the elimination of apartheid. Disinvestment, however, would encourage neither. The total withdrawal of U.S. owned and financed businesses from South Africa would remove the prime source of black economic power. It is almost exclusively through U.S. corporations that blacks are able to rise to executive

Dropping the Quotas and Raising the Stakes

By Thomas Rankin

The Reagan Administration's unprecedented refusal to negotiate with Japan on opening up that country's telecommunications market has upped the ante in the battle for Nippon/American trade equity.

The action comes on the heels of an announcement that the White House will not seek an extension of Japanese Automakers' "voluntary import restraints" for a second time. This type of distinctly second-term presidential activity indicates a desire to turn up the heat on the Japanese in efforts to cut our staggering trade deficit with them.

Elimination of the quotas will thrust everyone from Lee Iacocca to UAW President Owen Bieber into the lime-light, railing heartily against the Japanese. It will also remove a high-profile token of cooperation from the Japanese ammunition belt when negotiations begin in earnest in areas such as electronics and telecommunications.

While Detroit has lobbied for another extension of the quotas, domestic manufacturers have resigned themselves to more or less surrendering the lower end of the market to the Japanese, who have a one to two thousand dollar price advantage there. As Chevrolet's director of

international marketing, Thomas McDaniel, says, "We are now in business to import Isuzus and Suzukis in perpetuity."

The most immediate impact of the quota relaxation will be felt by Americans in the market for a Japanese car. Dealers, who have been tacking premiums often in excess of 1,000 dollars onto popular models, will once again be selling at or near list. And buyers frustrated by long waits in the past will no longer have to settle for a "second choice" domestic offering.

Within the year, long-established Japanese companies, such as Nissan and Toyota, will begin to feel the ill effects as newer arrivals (such as Mitsubishi and Isuzu) are unshackled from their relatively minuscule import allotments. Subaru and Mazda have both vastly improved their product line since the quotas were enacted, and minicar expert Suzuki has long been eyeing the US market. The net result should be a wider variety of better Japanese products offered at much lower prices than prevail today.

Detroit, on the other hand, will once again be placed under free-market duress, but the "breathing room" provided by three years of import restraints have allowed

them to do much more than pull down record profits. Recent and upcoming models are much improved over their predecessors and there is a new confidence among executives that they can now compete head-to-head with both Japan and Europe in the middle and upper portions of the market, the areas that yield the highest returns.

The Administration seems to have correctly recognized that the way to balance trade is to crack open both sides, not to begin through to the bargaining table, high technology firms in the US may soon get their long-awaited chance at the trough.

More significantly, Washington seems to be facing up to the fact that the economic power base in the US is shifting away from the smokestack industries in the Midwest. Steel has gone south, and autos and electronics are fleeing towards the higher ground along the burgeoning Pacific Rim. Blue collar jobs lost in Dearborn will reappear, bleached white, in California, where over ten percent of the population works in import-related industries.

Dropping the import restraints has put a wild card into the US hand at the bargaining table, and signs of fatigue are beginning to tell on Japan's poker face.

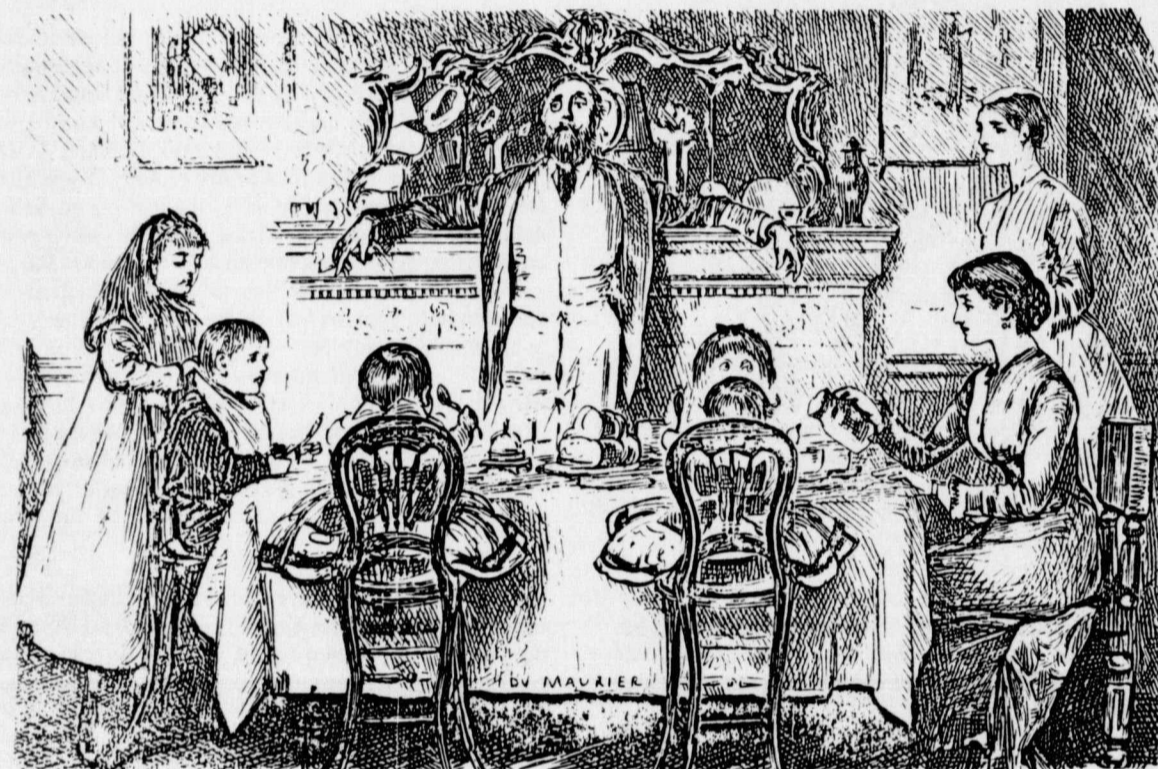
Thomas Rankin is a senior at UCSD.

Bring Back Mr. Chips

By H.W. Crocker III

America's educational catastrophe is the result of three decades of parental indulgence. American parents have not packed their children off "to some pink world where cows can lick their noses," as Stephen Crane was willing to do for slum children. Instead, parents have done something much worse. They have given immaturity free reign to make a world of its own. And it has, destroying much of value.

In a recent issue of *The American Spectator*, Yale and Rita Kramer note that "for a variety of reasons, psychological, economic, and cultural, America, or at least middle-class America, has the most voluptuous adolescence in Western civilization." Adolescence is an embarrassing, foolish, and oleaginous phase of an individual's development that intelligent societies try to keep short, which is what they did in the 19th century.



19th century novelists depict children who are much more mature than the purple-haired, spike-heeled juveniles we have today, because, in the 19th century, children either received a classical education that plunged them immediately into hard academics or they mastered a trade — on the job and not in school — and learned to live responsibly among their elders. There was no youth subculture.

It is that subculture, which has become popular culture, that is the enemy of maturity. William Manchester, in his marvelous biography of Winston Churchill, *The Last Lion*, points out that the 19th century working classes "knew their Bible (and) knew their hymns; the ancestors of workmen who read nothing today were familiar with *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* and could quote from them." Since then, *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* have been replaced by *The Dukes of Hazzard* and pornographic cable television.

Today's education has failed to challenge the enemies of maturity. Indeed, it has readily given into them. Children are suckled through their teens on books written for, and dealing with, children and adolescents. They read about youth gangs, bubble-gum romance, and parents who just don't understand. Academic classes align themselves with experimentation and relevance so that, to cite from personal experience, a quarter of 8th grade English might be devoted to a simulation wagon train game, (I don't remember reading any literature in my 8th grade English class, though we did read science fiction — something we could "identify with"), and a 10th grade world history course might devote a quarter to a simulation rape trial and spend a semester on current events.

Easy grades, a dearth of homework, and a want of serious academic subject matter sacrifice youth to the pimps of popular culture. The uneducated strut their meaningless diplomas, contemptuous of all the knowledge they lack and firm in the conviction that whatever the *Zeitgeist* says is right.

To restore American education and drain our culture of its unhealthy immaturity, we should look to the tradition of the English public school. Raymond Chandler, to take an American example, attended Dulwich College Preparatory School in Britain from the age of 12 to the age of 17 (1900 to 1905). While at Dulwich, he was trained on both the Classical Side and the Modern Side of the curriculum. On the Classical Side, students studied the great authors in Latin, Greek, French, and German, as well as theology, history (especially English and classical history), English literature, and mathematics. On the Modern side, they studied French, German, and Spanish (with an emphasis on conversation and correspondence), as well as mathematics, political economy, commercial history, and geography. In other words, graduates of Dulwich received a better general education than most of today's

university graduates. And they received more than that. Students at Dulwich learned about duty, morality, and responsibility. Military training was available, the athletics were rigorous, and the school was noted for its fine music program.

The inferiority of contemporary American education cannot be excused because of the egalitarian demands placed upon it. Consider the case of *Jane Eyre* — 10 years of age and with no public schooling behind her — as she is interrogated by Mr. Brocklehurst.

"Do you read your bible?"
 "Sometimes."
 "With pleasure? Are you fond of it?"
 "I like Revelations and the book of Daniel, and Genesis, and Samuel, and a little bit of Exodus, and some parts of Kings and Chronicles, and Job and Jonah."
 "And the Psalms? I hope you like them."
 "No, sir. (. . .) Psalms are not interesting."

We need not wax rapturous over Jane's religious training to marvel at her incisive reading in one of the founts of Western civilization. Today's ten year olds are more likely to have their minds fixed on cartoons and been trained in the appreciation of punk rock than to have read any part of the Bible, even the exciting parts, like Genesis.

The fact that our schools are filled with intractable, violent youngsters ranging the entire spectrum of human intelligence should not dampen our resolve to get the most out of them and expose them to *real* education in subjects taught in relation to the *great books*.

It is highly unlikely that we will ever be able to produce youngsters like Cyril Connolly, who hired a young boy to sing Gregorian chant outside his room at Eton. (Connolly always was a special case.) But we should be able to give students a grounding in history, literature, and music that will undermine the muddiness of popular culture that is caked on their brains, give them an appreciation for academics, and allow them to recognize what is fatuous in

higher education.

But refurbishing academic curricula is only part of the solution. The public schools need to divest themselves of all non-academic responsibilities. They have quite enough to do without teaching students how to bake a cake, drive a car, and cat around free of venereal disease.

Moreover, they should not be in the business of socializing young people with their peers. Young people need to be integrated into adult society as soon as possible. The ignorant, untrained young are only kept unlightened by mixing among their own ignorant, untrained masses. And, where popular culture obtains, keeping the young barbarians together has the effect of stifling the sensitive and leveling the talented.

School dances must be done away with. Any institution which has the responsibility of instructing youngsters in the ways of sweetness and light has no business allowing electric guitars on campus except to burn them. In this century, organized social life, like public education, has had a tendency of falling to the lowest common denominator. Bright young people who have charming personalities and who desire a social life are compelled by Philistine tyranny — often called "peer pressure" — to perform African mating dances in conjunction with the beat of screeching rock and roll cannonades exploding from sexually explicit neandathals.

If schools wish to extend their hegemony from academics into social life, it must be done with an educational purpose. The high school prom should become a high school waltz and the sex drive should be manipulated to foster an appreciation of classical music. That is, after all, what education is all about — bringing civility, intelligence, perception, and culture to little vermin who, unless they are properly instructed, become jejune, boring, immature adults, spending their lives absent a sense of history and objective aesthetic standards — their judgments solipsistic, their tastes perverse. The road we're traveling now has led to untrammeled pornography (the triumph of teen-age hormones over adult sensibilities), to rock radio, rock video, and rock life styles (a problem with all societies that sanctify the lower orders), and to the disappearance of literature and art (because our culture has become so barren that it can only sprout the pretentious, meretricious, unprofessional obfuscations of contemporary modernism).

To achieve a cultural rebirth, we must regain our moorings, bring excellence back to education, and shove adolescents out of their sanctioned, protected rebellion and infantile tastes through a synthesis of classical education and modern academics (of the Dulwich kind), and a social life that is based on decorum and nobility or that is integrated with adults (who can at least serve as symbols of the superego). There is no need to accelerate the coming of the end days. And there is no reason why we shouldn't try educating our citizens to be cognizant of something more than their own thumb-sucking, self-gratification.

H. W. Crocker III is a co-founder of the Review and a post-graduate student at the University of Southern California School of International Relations in London.

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By Thomas Rankin

There is a single piece of legislation in force that affects the daily lives of more Americans than any other. It cuts into personal leisure time and lowers productivity. It has proven ineffective in dealing with the problem it was conceived to alleviate, and subsequent justifications for its continuation are so shaky that the slightest probing causes them to crumble into dust.

But Americans know a bad law when they see one, and this one is so universally scorned that fully 70 percent of those affected simply choose to ignore it. Yet it remains on the books as a sort of simple-minded panacea, dragging on for over a decade under a false flag. It was conceived under duress and is enforced by means of extortion.



The 55 mph National Maximum Speed Limit is admittedly a gauche topic. The assumption is that driving fast is socially irresponsible, and anyone who advocates higher speeds must be the same type who screeches away from stoplights and puts vinyl brassieres on the front of their cars. This is not necessarily the case.

"It's a drag on the economy, it breeds disrespect for all laws and it's typical of the kind of 'emergency' governmental intrusion that, once begun, lingers long after any plausible excuse for its continuance has evaporated."

"The 55-mile-an-hour edict was a big-government intrusion into the states areas of authority and competence that was conceived in haste, imposed in error and has now clearly outlived its time. We should speed it on its way."

These are the views expressed by Louis Rukeyser, syndicated columnist and host of Wall Street Week. It is not known what Rukeyser may or may not have on the front of his car, but he joins a long list of other journalists, from Fortune Magazine's Daniel Seligman to Car And Driver's Patrick Bedard, in pointing out the fallacies behind the law and launching an attack on its questionable execution.

What got the ball rolling was the oil embargo of 1973, when supplies ran short and brows were furrowed nation-

Face to Face with the NMSL: Find the Hidden Fallacies

Back in 1973, a year before the "temporary" NMSL was enacted and two years before it was made permanent, the death rate on American roads stood at 4.2 per 100,000,000 miles. At the time, Canada lagged at 6.7 fatalities and Japan, so often held up as the lofty paradigm of efficiency, showed a staggeringly inefficient 11.2 deaths per 100 million miles, a rate not seen in the US since the late 1930's.

In 1973, with the lowest death rate in the world, there was no need for a sweeping federal law to bring it down yet further. The death rate on American roads has been in steady decline since the first car turned a wheel, and that rate of decline has remained constant since the late 60's, both before and after the NMSL was adopted.

crackdowns on drunk drivers, who account for more than 50 percent of all traffic fatalities. Stir in the fact that more than 60 percent of traffic deaths occur at speeds below 50 mph, along with the consideration that all these figures include pedestrian deaths, and the NMSL begins to take on its proper perspective.

Late in 1984, the National Research Council released a hefty document supporting the NMSL, but their own figures do not support their hypothesis. By 1979, the fatality rate rested at 3.5 per 100 million miles, dropping to 2.76 in 1983. At the same time, the NRC admits, compliance with the NMSL actually decreased, sending average speeds up.

In the face of this, the NRC maintains that the 55 saves "between 2,000 and 4,000 lives per year." That's a comfortably large ballpark for a statistician to bat around in. Academic researchers, independent of the government, stress that the speed itself is not so important as the speed differential between vehicles sharing the same roadway.

Fatality rates and sum-total body counts are a grim set of parameters within which to work, but they offer a valuable glimpse into the opportunity cost extracted by the NMSL. The NRC estimates that the 55 mph speed limit is keeping Americans out on the road about one billion hours longer than would the old laws. If we use the NRC figure of 2,000 lives saved, we find that 60 man-years are lost for each life saved. Other estimates put the figure closer to double that amount.

Far and away the most logical means of setting speed limits is to do it regionally. Speeds that are "safe and reasonable" between Barstow and Las Vegas may not be appropriate for a crowded New Jersey turnpike, and vice versa.

Federal law, in fact, dictates that each state should set speed limits within their boundaries, allowing each to adjust speeds to suit local conditions under the proviso that these speeds protect the safety of motorists. The NMSL, coming on line when the legislature had no time for such formalities as directly confronting a cutback in states rights, leaves that law intact.

Enforcement of the NMSL comes in two parts. First, states must post and enforce the 55 mph speed limit to the satisfaction of the federal government and, second, if they don't comply, federal matching funds for highway construction and maintenance are cut off, costing states hundreds of millions of dollars.

Federal law prohibits extortion, yet it has become a federal privilege. The same tactic was used, for right or wrong, to mandate a minimum drinking age of 21 nationwide. It should be duly noted here that precedents, once set, are difficult to break. In the same vein, once a body of politicians have corralled a bit of power, they are loathe to release it.

The optimum speed on America's wide, gently banked, well-designed and well-executed (at great cost) super-highways is a balance between those two, it represents a compromise of rational thought. The individual states should once again be free to set their own speeds.

A plank to abolish the NMSL was part of Ronald Reagan's platform back in 1980, but it seems to have got shaken loose somewhere. It would be very gratifying to see him pick that plank up again and give Congress a good bonk on the head with it.

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(continued from page 7)

new, but have existed for centuries. America has to embark on a long-term policy for that region that will directly assist in resolving the problems that exist.

In Central America, there is poverty, social injustice and government corruption, which are at the root of social unrest. The Cuban/Soviet presence exploits these problems, by financing and organizing revolution, to expand their influence and tyranny. Some people in America decry the American presence and at the same time ignore the Cuban/Soviet one. Our number one priority is to establish security in the region and promote economic development and democratic institutions. Most importantly, we should be prepared for a twenty to thirty year commitment in assisting these people in solving their problems.

We cannot allow ourselves to fail in Central America as we did in Vietnam. The consequences are unacceptable. Who would fill the power vacuum that would follow a U.S. withdrawal? As long as there is a Cuban/Soviet

presence there, it is our responsibility to challenge it. Imagine, if Central America had fallen to our adversaries, who would become their next target? In all likelihood, Mexico would become their next target of subversive concentration. Today, El Salvador is the crisis point. Tomorrow, it could be Honduras or Guatemala. In a world of continuing conflict, Central America is another region that has fallen into the East-West conflict. We must be determined in our resolve to defend our threatened interests as well as those of our allies.

The American Left claims to have a monopoly on compassion for the have-nots. If that is so, then why do they formulate policies in which the real losers are the people. Their approach to the situation in Central America will ultimately result in the establishment of totalitarian regimes for those unfortunate countries, just as it did in Indo-China. The solution, to be effective and desirable, will necessarily include the United States. A unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Central America would

open the door for a permanent Cuban/Soviet presence. Would the Left be willing to accept the disastrous consequences that would result from their short-sighted policies? Probably not; they would fail to accept any portion of the blame for the current chaotic bloodshed in Indo-China. America should not be singled out as the sole obstacle facing the development of third world nations. How quick we are to forget the successes in the post-war era, the building of economic powerhouses in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

Moreover, it is crucial we learn from our past mistakes that effect not just the country or region where it occurred, but the entire world. We have pursued ineffective and disastrous policies in Vietnam, the Middle East, Latin America and the list could go on. The United States, however, cannot just quit and pursue a course of isolationism. We cannot turn our backs on freedom now or in the future. Such a policy would endanger our own freedom.

C.G. Alario is a senior at UCSD.

Anchell Speaks

By Samuel J. Spounias

"We are not in a sexual revolution, but a sexual plague. A revolution has a distinction. Ideally, it should create a better environment for mankind. This [sexual plague] is destroying us."

That unexpurgated statement rebuffed my use of the phrase "sexually revolution." This outspoken man who dares to stand among a segregated minority in his field is Melvin Anchell, MD. Trained as a psychiatrist, who has dealt extensively in the clinical practice of human sexuality for the past 40 years, Dr. Anchell believes that sexual activities practiced outside a normal monogamous marital relationship are perversions. These perversions include homosexuality, prostitution, exhibitionism and so forth.

Those who are thus perverted are referred to by Dr. Anchell as "polymorphous pervers." A polymorphous pervers is so-called because, as Dr. Anchell has discovered through literally thousands of case histories in clinical practice, the pervers was seduced, either physically or vicariously, during their latency period (broadly between ages 6-13) when children have virtually no interest in sex whatsoever, and thus formed unnatural, uninstinctive desires and attitudes regarding sexuality. These perverse, twisted attitudes may eventually blossom as neurotic, even psychotic, realities when the "most advanced" of homosexual perversions is exposed — the feces pervers.

"The excretory material in which homosexuals come in contact frequently, because of their sexual aims, is a particularly disgusting practice," Dr. Anchell explained. "This feeling of disgust is a natural inborn feeling. Because of this disgust, we have a natural barrier against involving ourselves with this type of material. In the homosexual perversion there is an overriding of this feeling of disgust by the twisted sexual instinct and it becomes broken down, or diluted disgust. Thus, they become prone to indulge in activities that involve excretory material."

"Nature abhors the homosexual above all pervers," Anchell proclaims without malice, but with clinical matter-of-factness. "They're always afflicted with something. If nature doesn't kill them, they have a tendency to kill themselves through their highly sadistic sexual activities. As for nature's vengeance on the homosexual, the root source of where AIDS comes from, in my opinion, is the involvement of the homosexual pervers with fecal material. This is a very vile substance and for people to become intimate with it when it's meant to be removed and can only lead to a festering disease."

Anchell also notes that modern "sexual freedom" has human beings acting much like amoebas in that they "bump and fuse whatever happens to come their way." Frequent carnal collisions with many different partners, from both sexes in many cases, within a short time-frame exponentiates the amount of pestilence exchanged, multiplying the disease factors accordingly. AIDS research has proved that the contagion factor is greatly increased by multiple sexual contacts. Yet gay-community leaders in San Francisco throughout the month of May 1984, defied the urgent requests to curb sexual activity by stating and

restating over Public Broadcast radio: "We have decided that certain death is preferable to dull sex lives."

Society has, on the whole, come to accept the homosexual lifestyle as an "alternative" lifestyle. Alternative, much in the same way as one person prefers chocolate to vanilla ice cream, or blue automobiles to brown automobiles. This conditioning from many different "sexperts" as Dr. Anchell calls them, has the blessing of the media and the academic establishment. One of the key sources of "sexpertise" leading to the "sexual plague," Dr. Anchell contends, is the team of Masters and Johnson.

Dr. Masters biography explains that he came from a wealthy family and did not know what to do with himself so he became a physician. He admittedly became impatient with a desire to establish himself as some kind of expert, so he decided to exploit the field of sexual research. In the early days of his now famous, or infamous depending upon your perspective, research, Dr. Masters hired prostitutes and others perverted enough to allow themselves to be wired up and viewed while performing sexual acts. These observations and interviews with polymorphous pervers, Anchell stresses, became the basis for Masters' reports which America generally accepts as being indicative of the sexual mores of its average citizens, "rather than what they truly represent, which is fragments of the sexual activity found in pornographic movies."

Media hype has blown Masters and Johnson out of proportion, Anchell concludes, but once the facts and sources of these two "sexperts' research" is put into proper scientific perspective, reasonable persons can draw their own conclusions.

Another prominent "sexpert" targeted as adding to the



Parting Shots

By James D. Spounias

"It is as natural to hate as to love, to despise as to admire, to express our hatred or contempt as our love or admiration," reasoned William Hazlitt in 1821. This quote and hundreds like it appear in the delightfully hateful book, "Whatever It Is, I'm Against It," compiled by the prince of antipathy, Nat Shapiro.

This self proclaimed "encyclopedic compendium of classical and contemporary abhorrence . . . and downright nastiness" suits the Review even though the book fails to target any specific audience, namely liberals. Just about everyone — from Liberace to Jesus Christ — and everything is defaced in these rancorous quotes.

Ambrose Bierce, in the *Devil's Dictionary*, defines a conservative as "A statesman who is enamored of existing evils, as distinguished from the liberal, who wishes to replace them with others." From cynicism to outright slander: Karl Marx, in *Das Capital*, scathes the foremost British conservative Edmund Burke as "the execrable cantmonger and sycophant who, in the pay of the English oligarchy, played the romantic laudator temporis acti against the French Revolution, just as, in the pay of the North American colonies, . . . he had played the liberal against the English oligarchy, was an out and out vulgar bourgeois."

The United States government should remember the Albanian proverb: "After shaking hands with a Greek, count your fingers," when the U.S. is dealing with the duplicitous head of the Greek government, Andreas Papandreu. But one need not seek Albanian wisdom on

Greek virtue, rather take the word of a wise and ancient Greek, Euripides, who in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 410 BC, said, "never trust a Greek."

Misanthropes enjoy the words of Friedrich Nietzsche in his *Thus Spake Zarathustra* which tell us that "the earth has skin and that skin has diseases. One of those diseases is called man." In a more vile description, St. Bernard of Clairvaux in *Meditationes Pussimae* circa 1140, declares: "Man is nothing else than . . . a sack of dung, the food of worms." Lastly, St. Augustine, circa 397, *On The Christian Instruction*, preaches:

"Cursed is every one who placeth his hope in man." On a much lighter note, Cassandra (William Conner) in the *Daily Mirror* reviews the performance of that very talented silicon-faced tart, Liberace: "This deadly, winking, sniggering, snuggling, scent-impregnated, chromium plated, luminous, quivering, giggling, fruit-flavored, mincing, ice-covered heap of mother love . . . the summit of sex — the pinnacle of masculine, feminine and neuter."

Blasphemy appears from Percy Shelley, *Queen Mab*, 1813, where Shelley refers to Jesus Christ as ". . . a parish demagogue." Nietzsche in his *Antichrist* scathes Christianity:

"I call Christianity the one great curse, the one great intrinsic depravity, the one great instinct of revenge, for which no means are venomous enough, or secret, subterranean and small enough — I call it the one immortal blemish upon the human race."

sexual plague by Dr. Anchell is Mary Calderone, MD, the director of the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS). She claims that her goal is to see that every six year old be well versed in human sexuality. Calderone has pioneered many sex education programs as a means to this goal. Dr. Anchell points out that Dr. Calderone has no clinical experience in sexuality, and received her position as a direct result of political influence. Anchell claims that Calderone has rejected sound psychiatric laws, such as the existence of the latency period, to promote "her promiscuous pedagogical pursuit."

"To teach sex to young minds when sex is the furthest thing from their minds is detrimental to society and definitely increases the occurrence of pervers and sexually crippled individuals," Anchell argues.

Dr. Anchell's warning to those practicing and glorifying perversions as alternative lifestyles is straightforward:

"To treat a person who has become a pervers is much like treating an amputee. Once normality is lost to the perversion, it cannot be regained." Dr. Anchell's most recent book *Sex and Insanity* in which he clearly delineates the substance of this interview, may be purchased from Liberty Library, 300 Independence Ave. SE, Washington DC, 20003.

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Dr. Melvin Anchell received his MD from the University of Maryland School of Medicine in 1944 and has been in private practice in Medicine and Psychiatry since 1948. He has served as expert witness for the prosecution in more than a dozen Federal, State and local pronography cases since 1969.



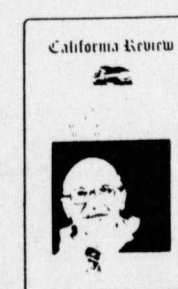
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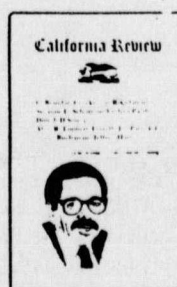
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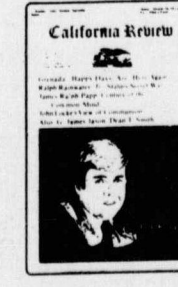
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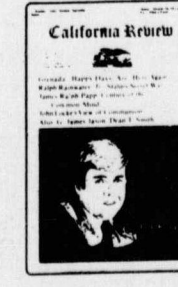
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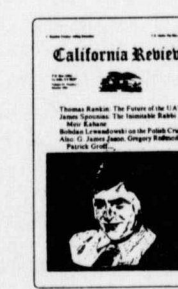
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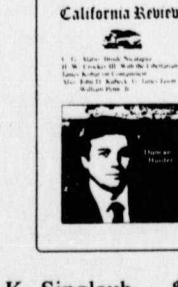
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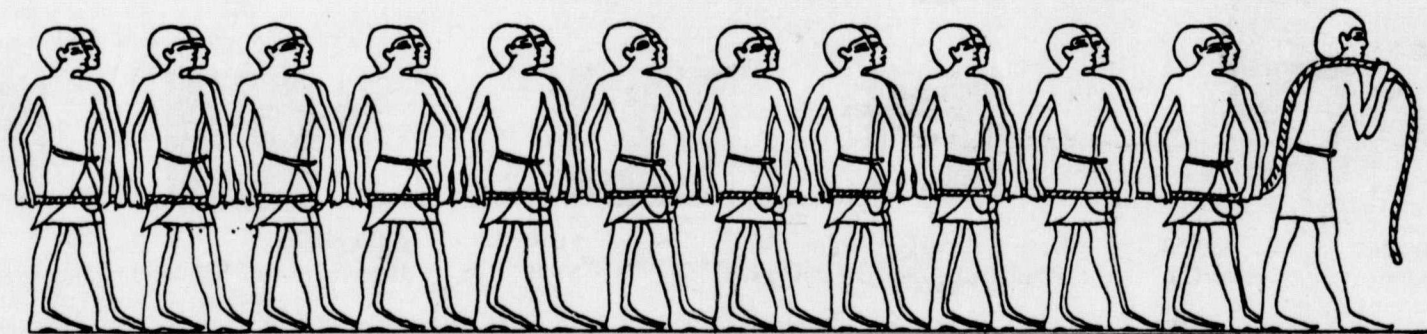
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