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CALIFORNIA REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO VOLUME XI, No. 3

A New Right?

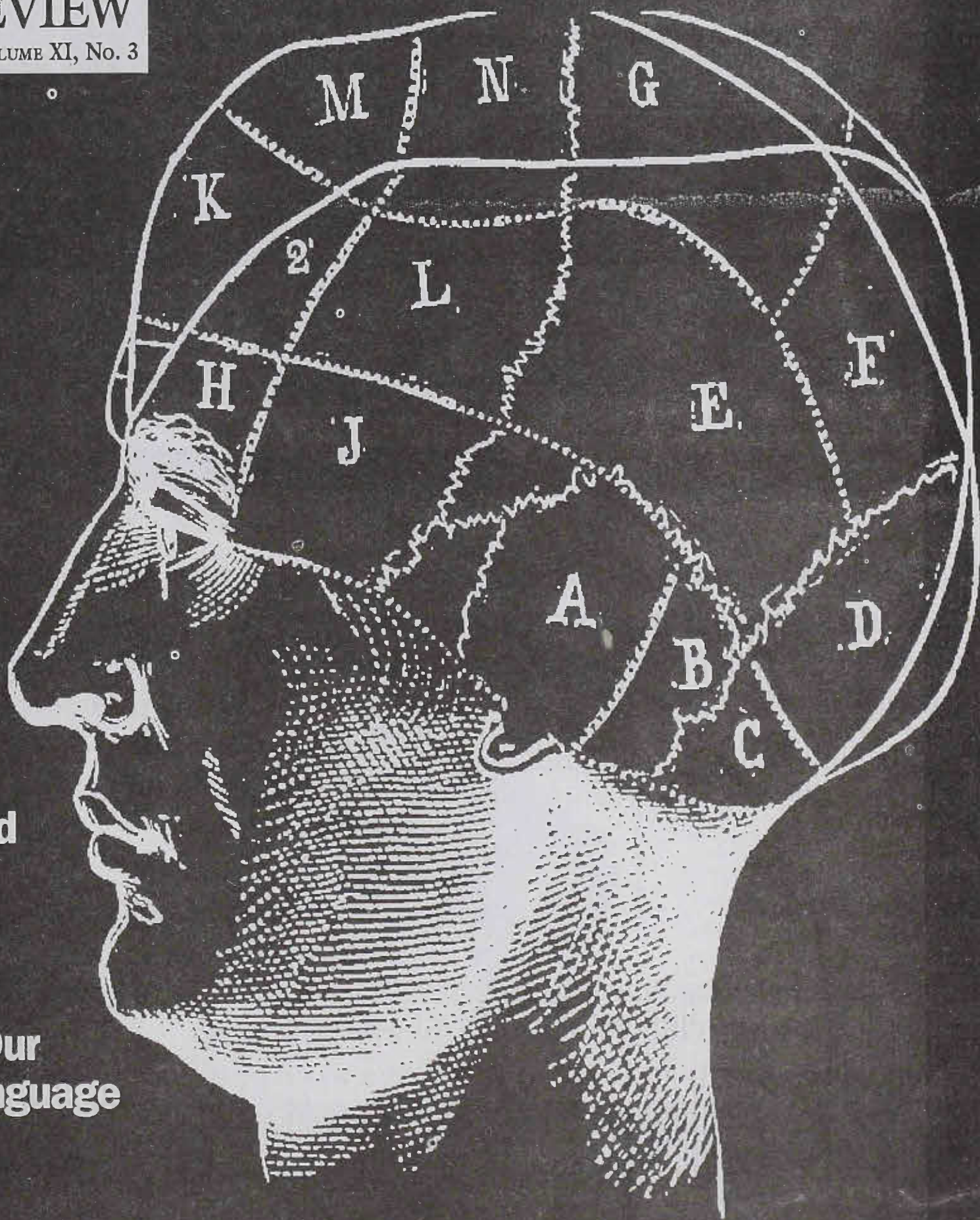
Thoughts on the Worth of Education

Elusive Enemy...

What Ever Happened to the Left?

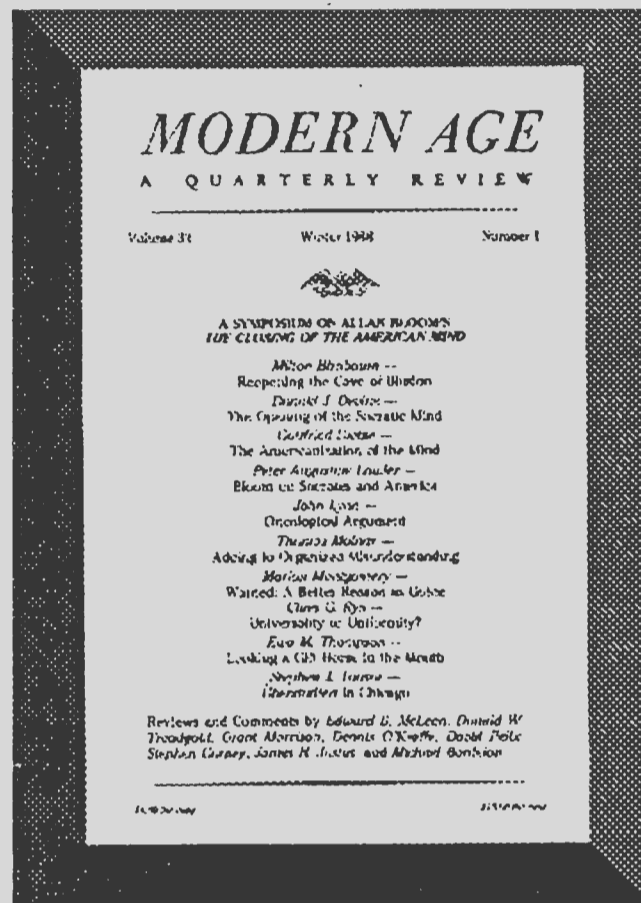
Word Wars

A Look at Some of Our Overused Bits of Language



ALSO: Reviewing the Autobiography of Pat Buchanan, Edmund Burke, and other Absurdities

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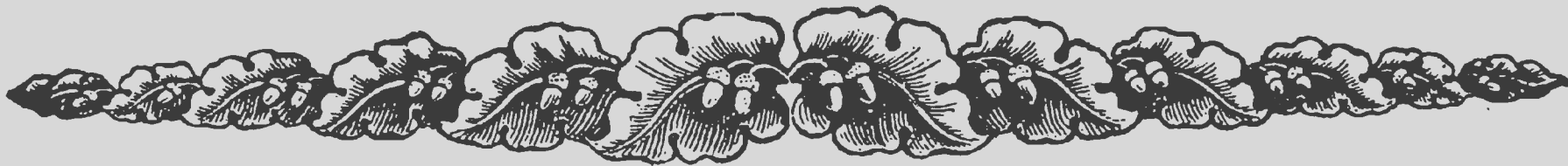
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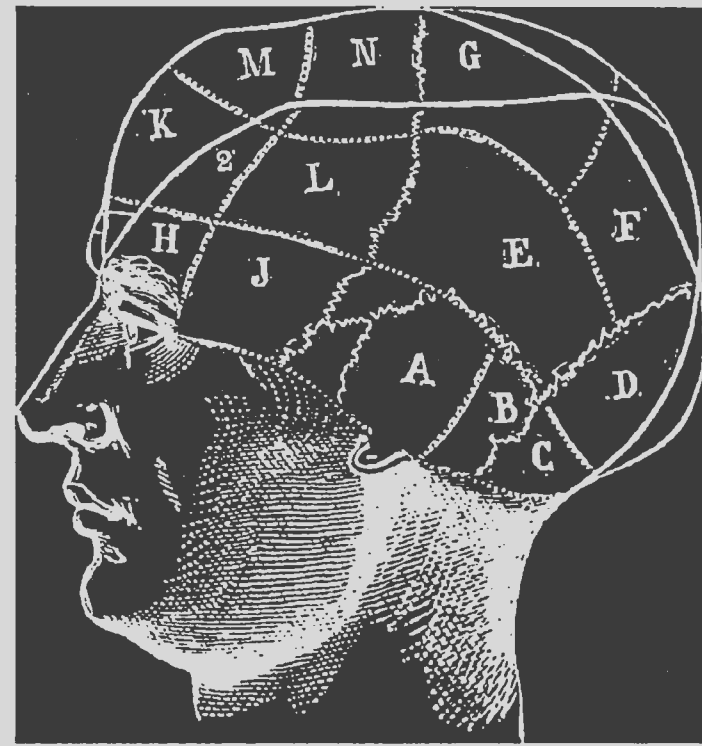
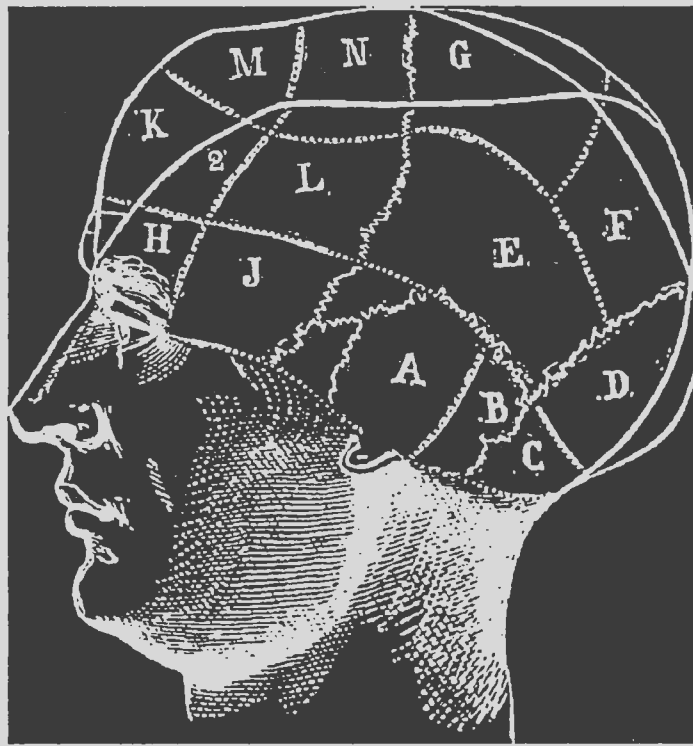
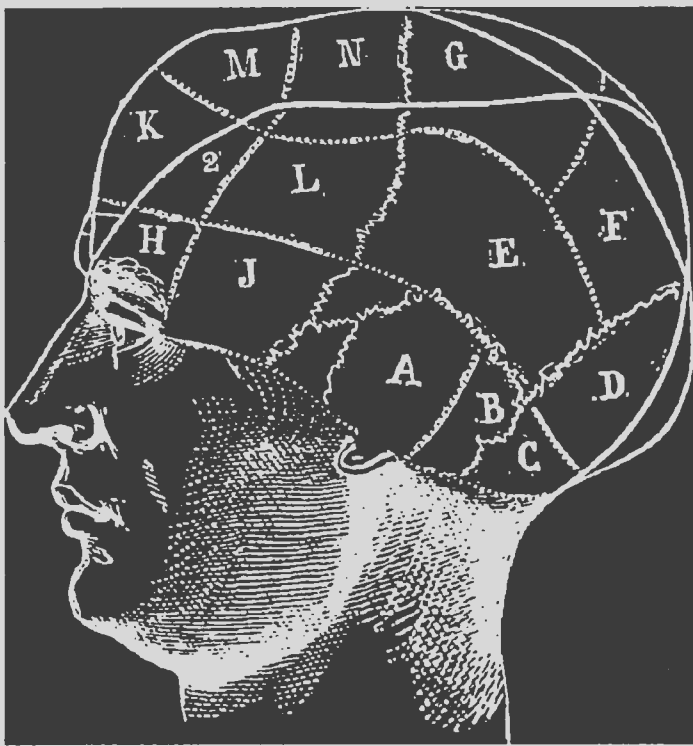
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A Modest Proposal...

Jean Francois-Revel wrote one of the most engaging and certainly one the most powerful accounts of the battles between the Western democracies and the totalitarian forces of the East. His thesis was that democracies are incapable of withstanding the onslaught of other totalitarian nations. His reason: democracies are always inwardly directed, concentrating their resources on internal political conflict. On the other hand, totalitarian regimes are always outwardly directed to take their people's minds off internal difficulties.

This is an interesting thesis and surprisingly enough represents the solution to a grave problem at UCSD. Student government is torn by internal feuds that paralyze any possibility for true progress. The real trouble is in the fact that this paralysis makes the university helpless in the face of, dare we say it, the Administration. Therefore, we think if this university is going to go anywhere in direction sought by the students new ideas are required. Democracy may be helpless. But monarchy is not.

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CALIFORNIA REVIEW

"Imperium et Libertas"

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

Please address all letters, manuscripts, and blank checks to:

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In Review...

■ REACTING TO THE WIDELY PUBLICIZED violence in city parks, Los Angeles and several surrounding cities passed measures forbidding gang members or people wearing recognizable gang colors from entering city parks.

The legislation was adopted as part of an on-going effort by cities and the police to reduce violence and ensure that public places, such as city parks, are a safe place for families to gather.

Since L.A. and Pomona took the lead in passing the legislation early last year, L.A. police have reported a substantial drop in criminal activity in the city parks.

Now, however, the great defender of truth and justice, the A.C.L.U. has come to the gangs' defense and filed a lawsuit against L.A. and Pomona. Protecting the public in publicly maintained parks the A.C.L.U. tells us, is far less important than ensuring that the gangs' First Amendment right to assemble is not violated. Who says gangs have no friends?

■ WHAT IS THE WORLD coming to? Oliver Stone accused of being politically incorrect? Just when you felt secure in knowing that there is at least one politically correct person in the world. Sorry. GLAAD, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, accused Stone of insensitivity for a brief scene of homosexual sadomasochism in "JFK."

GLAAD complains that the scene is "gratuitous" and "reinforces the idea that sadomasochism and bondage are more prevalent among the gay community than among heterosexuals." Watch your flank, Oliver!

■ AFTER RECEIVING LETTERS FROM RENO Nevada lawyer Chester King advising

them of the rights, fourteen California inmates on Death Row have filed suit against California.

The suit alleges that by one, keeping them on Death Row and two, punishing them by death denies them



of their reproductive functions and is a violation of their constitutional rights.

The argument is that the loss of their precious genes to the overall gene pool constitutes a "cruel and unusual punishment" expressly forbidden by the Bill of Rights. Maybe the government can mandate that date I need this weekend.

■ SWEATING BULLETS...Glorious Irony! Now at the close of a controversy between SAE and the Women's Resource Center over a scandalous calendar, a seemingly unrelated stir arises. This one is over a Native

American-style "sweat lodge"—behind the Ché Cafe—for holistic "cleansing" and such.

It seems the Native American Student Alliance (NASA) finds the lodge to be an insensitive misuse of its culture. Sweat Lodgers claim that the lodge is for private use and was not intended to oppress anyone. NASA will see about that, thank you. Didn't we hear the same thing from the SAE president, before he buckled?

■ HOMELESS MAN VERNON Lamarr Clark was sentenced last month to six months in jail for robbing a bank of \$40, it was exactly what he wanted. In October, Clark walked into a Union Bank branch, pretended to have a gun, and demanded money. After receiving \$40, he informed a security guard he wanted to go to jail. At his trial Clark pleaded guilty and will stay in jail until April. Too bad for Clark that he didn't take \$100. That would have been a felony and entitled Clark to have his "home" for a maximum of 20 years.

■ CALL THEM "Businessmen." In east Manhattan, several New York homeless men are running a

successful scam at an all night gas station. When drivers approach the pumps for gas, the men appear, provide full service, and then collect cash from the pleased motorists who drive away wondering why they received service from a self serve only station. The real attendants, who lock themselves up inside, have complained to the police but the homeless men seem to show an uncanny knack for disappearing minutes before the police arrive and then re-appearing 20 minutes after they leave. Service with a toothless smile!

Broadsides. ■ ■ ■

■ **THE UCSD GUARDIAN FAILS ITS CHARGE.** The always sickening "Spectacle" section presented its own special twist on the Valentine's Day tradition (V. XVII, No. 2). Two homoerotic depictions and one of heterosexual grade school love gone awry tarred these pages. Presumably an attack on heterosexual "breeders" and a defense of naturalizing homosexuality, no explanations for this bias appeared.

Display something often, without explanation, and people will come to see it as requiring no explanation. The door cracks open for a multitude of unjustified assaults on the reader's sensibilities via this under-handed trespass.

■ **NEW INDICATOR'S FOUL DISCHARGE:**

• Recent issues of the *ni* have been significantly dedicated to exploiting the co-op controversy (v. 17, nos. 5, 6). Issue no. 5 offered a special co-op propaganda insert, but the articles have been weak even by *ni* standards.

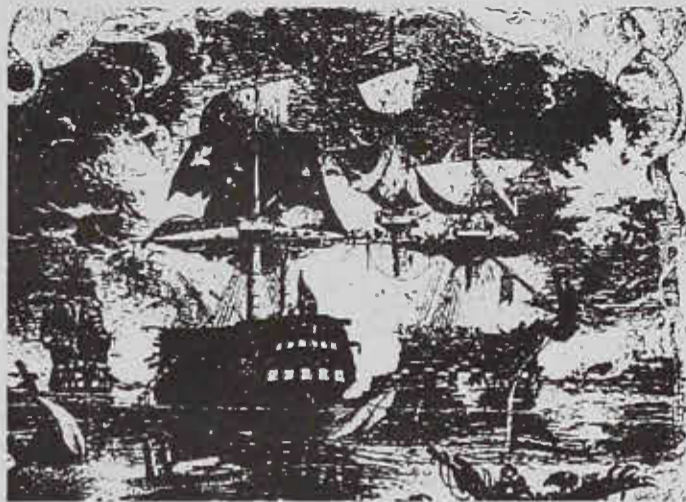
One would be better informed concerning the situation by reading the *Guardian*. Or better yet, Paul Eykamp's excellent exposition on the situation in the last CR. Otherwise, the *ni* hammers woodenly away at the tired question of CIA involvement on campus (nos. 4, 6).

■ **MOMENTUM: GLIDING ON SIXTIES INERTIA.** This paper is the *ni* cast in an Asian and Pacific Islander light. Issue 3 gets off to an amazingly bad start by quoting well-known chucklehead Howie Zinn:

• "... Defying authority, we can organize to take hold of what is at hand and rightfully belongs to us — our workplaces, our schools, our communities."

• This Day of Remembrance (of Japanese internment) Issue should commemorate a day to scorn and poop upon FDR and Earl Warren.

• The "men of the all-Nisei ... 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Battalion emerged as the most



decorated men in American military history" (p. 4). Compare this to *Voz Fronteriza's*, "Latino soldiers serving in US [sic] military have received more Congressional Medals of Honor ... than any other ethnic group in the United States" (p. 9). These don't directly contradict each other, and that is not the point. The interesting thing is that the epitome of Western-oriented, hierarchical, meritocratic institutions (i.e., the U.S. military) is held up as a legitimizing force by these writers.

■ **VOZ FRONTERIZA, SOME RELATIVISTS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHER RELATIVISTS:**

• "Now more than ever, progressive people everywhere must stand ready to defend the Cuban revolution" (V. XVII, No. 2, p. 7). Castro's San Diego ideological retail outlet? Throwing Batista out was a great idea, but what has happened since then has been ugly.

• Of Chicano culture: "We are the most beautiful, complex, and exciting cultura in the Americas—our literature, our stories, our art, and photography are the best-selling and most influential texts and images being produced in the world today" (p. 7).

Pride is a fine thing, but what ever happened to cultural relativism? Let's be consistent guys. If all cultures are equal then no bragging is allowed. Strangely enough, this article makes no allusions to Chicano/a literature but the speaker ironically quotes two Frenchmen: the founder of modern Western philosophy, René Descartes and post-modern philosopher Michel Foucault.

■ **THE PEOPLE'S VOICE: THE SOUND AND FURY.** With February being Black History Month and with the resurgent interest in Malcolm X (witness the hundreds of 'X' caps on campus), we were genuinely looking forward to this issue of TPV.

This writer hoped TPV would scream for militancy and catalyze discussion of race issues on campus: wherein the Leftist approach of forced equalization would be shown bankrupt. TPV was not what we expected:

• "Prior to the Civil War, nearly half of the Blacks were slaved [sic], but once free, they immediately caught the 'entrepreneurial spirit'. They soon were buying and selling real estate and even owned large-scaled [sic] plantations *with slaves themselves*" (p. 6, my emphasis).

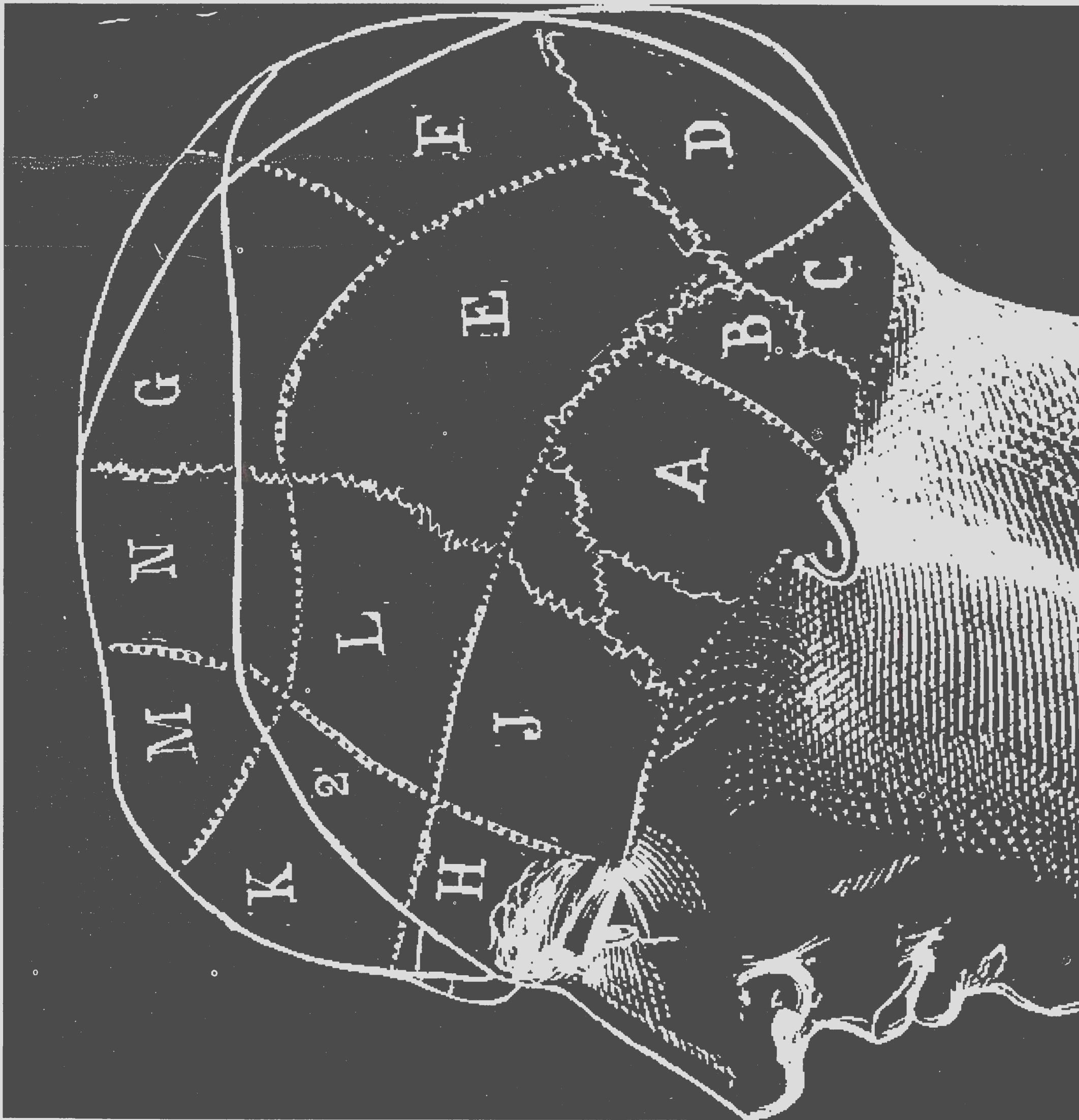
• "The modern Civil Rights movemnt [sic] largely ignored the role of business" (p. 6). It is a shame that sixties New Left fashion delayed this important, liberating realization.

• Overall, the messages were encouraging in that TPV had a genuine respect for black entepeneurship. *The People's Voice* speaks softly and uncertainly. Neither of the articles on Malcolm X attempt to explain his philosophy. What is the 90's spin on this fashionable figure?

■ **EAST WEST HORIZONS:**

• The editors would do well to peruse Betty Hai's work (V. IV, ISSUE 1). They would learn something about individualism and that "being American ... is being the cream of the crop".

• Although she states, "The utterly illogical, mindless, white-racist-imposed, Asian adopted, HYPHEN [between 'Asian' and 'American']." Who are the champions of hyphenation? Who are the ones who would *trade on issues of race* by disseminating words like African-, Asian-, and Mexican-American (Chicano)? Look to *The People's Voice*, *Momentum*, and *Voz Fronteriza*; you will find your answers there.





What Does it Mean:


EDUCATION IS A RIGHT?

Much has been said lately about various rights which we as Americans are reputed to have. These include: the "right" to education, the "right" to adequate health care, the right to freedom of speech, and the right to bear arms, to name a few. The concept of these rights is one thing that divides Liberals from Conservatives on philosophical grounds and has a significant impact on the extent of government's role in society.

There is a fundamental difference between the "rights" that are enumerated above. The first two are often considered to be positive rights, whilst the last two are usually seen as negative rights. What I mean by this, is the first two "rights" are often discussed in the context of something that, as citizens, we have a right to be provided with, whilst the last two are rights that we have a prerogative to not be prevented from exercising.

Strict constructionists will also note that, at least federally, the last two are enumerated in the

Constitution, whereas the other rights are not, which raises some interesting questions about what legally constitutes a right, but this is another issue entirely and it will be ignored for the moment.

What is the difference between positive and negative rights and why should one care? The issue is one of funding. In the case of negative rights there is no requirement that something be provided, only that people not be prevented from doing something. For instance, it is not often argued that the Bill of Rights requires that the government provide anyone who wants an AK-47 or a handgun with one, only that it will not prevent citizens from owning one. The First Amendment similarly does not require that the government pay for everyone to have a newspaper so that they can disseminate their ideas, only that people will not be prevented from doing so if they desire, and have the resources, to publish one. (the new indicator's fallacious arguments notwithstanding) 

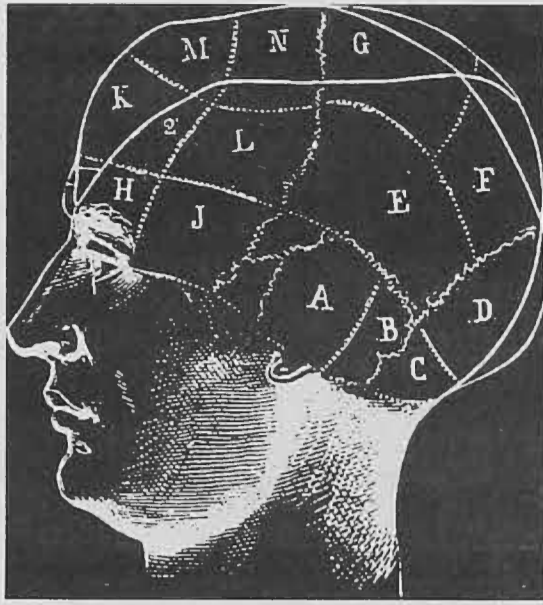
S t o r y B y P a u l W. E y k a m p

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Lately, many have been arguing that education, health care, jobs, and a host of other things are a right as well. Clearly in some respects there are rights which are granted in constitutional or statute law which prevent the government or anyone else from denying someone from having the ability to obtain any of these goods, and in this sense there is a negative right to things like education, but does this mean that the government is obligated to provide them?

Conservatives would argue no. This position is derived from two different arguments. First, granting positive rights is an endlessly expensive process which can only have the result of eliminating freedom and unduly coercing the populous to pay for a range of things which it would not choose to support otherwise. Most people would balk at being forced to pay for everyone's handgun and newsletter (especially as much as we all hate junk mail) which would be required if a positive right to bear arms and freedom of speech was granted. Others would (and do) violently oppose to being coerced into funding abortions, plastic surgery (right to happiness), and a host of other things.

Second, the granting of positive rights makes the demarcation between where one person's rights end and another person's begins almost impossible to define because they come into conflict almost instantly. For



Society might (if it is smart) decide that, for instance, education is a good investment of its money and further decide that the market does not supply a sufficient amount of it for various reasons, and choose to spend public funds to provide education, but it is not obligated to do so if it does not believe this is a wise expenditure of funds anymore that it is required to pay for everyone's AK-47s if it thinks that such an expenditure would be unwise.

instance, if I have a positive right to free speech, at what point does the cost of my newsletter, which you are now obligated to pay for, interfere with your right to property, which the state must now remove from you to pay for my newsletter. No option would then exist for you to vote for (or against) the tax that would deprive you of your property, the court will be obligated to relieve you of the burden of it to support my right to express myself. Thus, if I am to have a positive right to free speech, you can have no right to property. A negative right's limits are easier to define, they simply end when my free speech interferes with your rights. The burden of my free speech falls on me, not on you.

So, what does this mean for public policy? If we grant negative rights, government's role is then to see that people are not prevented from exercising those rights if they are desire and have the means to do so. The negative right to education means that the government is obligated to make sure that if I want an education, I am able to purchase it, and no one can prevent me from doing so if I have the money, or if someone decides to give me the means to obtain it.

Society might (if it is smart) decide that, for instance, education is a good investment of its money and further decide that the market does not supply a sufficient amount of it for various reasons, and choose to spend public funds to provide education, but it is not obligated to do so if it does not believe this is a wise expenditure of funds anymore that it is required to pay for everyone's AK-47s if it thinks that such an expenditure would be unwise.

Conservatives (and liberals) that are smart will look at the rate of return for society and decide that public education is a great investment (the public rate of return on a college education for instance is often calculated to be at least 10%) and channel money into it (particularly if it is structured efficiently, but that too is another issue). However, to argue that education, or any of the other "rights" must be funded because they are rights is a dangerous argument with undesirable consequences.

Where is That Elusive Left?

By Michael Fogarty

A criticism that has been levelled at the CR must be addressed and reconciled. It is the question of the zealous use of the word "Leftism" and the degree to which the CR has shown tunnel vision around this ruinous philosophy. We have been accused of self-indulgence and paranoia in our constant references to the shadowy, invidious Left. Where are these villains? Do they really espouse such patently false ideas?

We've tried to answer these questions. The review of *Destructive Generation* in the last CR introduced the study of the ontogeny and pathology of the New Left (the book itself is invaluable to this end).

In *Broadsides* we offer a quick, concrete glimpse around San Diego of their media. These publications offer analysis hinged upon leftist assumptions about morality, race, and human nature. We at the CR ferret out those core principles that exist within a number of movements. What components do Handgun Control, Inc., Senator Joe Biden, co-op squatters, and the Greens have in common? That set of qualities that we call Leftism.

Now, a new hand is dealt from their deck, and the freeze-the-fee-screamers enjoy their day in the TV camera lights. This writer ventured into that wretched hive of scum and villainy hesitantly but wishing to serve his readers. It was a pitiful assortment of the usual suspects: the dirty two-dozen. Clove and malodorous Tijuana cigarettes assaulted the nose of the observer. A couple of apparently homeless types meandered around UGL trying to look like they had some place to go, and surely too many flash-photographs were taken for posterity. To the substantive: This Left-handed fist is the symbol of Leftist militancy. It is on display in UGL. Is this about fee increases? Obviously more happens here. There are those with hidden agendas—people with axes to grind. The CR is the nubbin on the wheel that ruins their steel.



- "FIGHT FOR YOUR RIGHT TO LEARN". There will never be sufficient consolation in this world to counter the pain inflicted by those all-too-many and their haphazard manufacturing of *rights*. Such casual attitudes towards rights can only endanger those actually enumerated in the Constitution. Is this about our education?

- In the "Gotta Go Where the Money Is" flyer, we are instructed that deprivation of a university education leads inexorably to crime. How pampered this crowd is! The reverse side details "free speech," "progressive acemic programs," "oppurtunity," and "responsibility." Beyond this technical incompetence, the writers expose deep misunderstandings about the history of student activism and the nature of education in this country. Feeble!

- The "Disorientation Manual" sits prominently among the offered bits of literature. Is there any question as to the disorientation of this political flotsam?

Their day will be no longer than the flash of the cub reporter's Polaroid.

It is too easy to shun the complexities of reality (of this, the Left is proof—but enough harping). To assert singular causation for anything is to reveal oneself unreflective. Seeing Leftist philosophy as the sole source of contemporary traumas is surely overly simplistic. Then again, we are entitled to a realm of degrees. The Left? It constitutes the U-238 of the fissile material of the A-bomb of self-destruction.

Michael Fogarty is graduating and fleeing (briefly) a great nation that has succumbed to Leftist intrigue. Rest assured he will return with reinforcements.

The War of the Words

◆ A look at some of our outmoded verbiage

The fashion battlefield is not limited to mere clothing. In fact, you the fashion faithful know the war for fashion is a war for civility. It must be waged on every front, from big to small. The barbarian hordes continue to rail against the sovereign of style, yours truly, and it is only fitting that right, goodness, and brains should respond. The latest fashion crashers must answer for their insolence. And to be wary for what is in and what is out could mark the difference between Right and Left, good and evil.

Nothing reveals the fashion dark ages as vividly as the prevailing evils of modern language. I'm not talking about the top heavy and fustian rantings of the non-sexist sanscoullottes. It is worse than that. Darkness and ignorance threaten to overwhelm the articulate and elevate the obscure.

Pause for a moment and think of the language used by the students around you. The war for style and eloquence is now declared. What is at stake is nothing less than your tongue and my sanity. Check to see if even *you* use it.

Words that are outmoded:

"Like" Overused and misused and the bane of the intelligent man's existence. Very few verbal steps can be taken without stumbling across the temptation to use this destroyer of eloquence. Avoid this word at all costs. Use a new and creative simile or metaphor to make your point.

"You know." No two words make a person appear less able to articulate himself. Just as an individual is about to drive a point home he abandons the attempt with the vague "you know." It says, "I cannot finish a thought. Please think for me." Ya know?

"Totally." Here is a word that will drive the language conscious to purchase large firearms and use them on at the Hump. Individuals who overuse this word are walking arguments for eugenics. Use words that subtly

communicate the size or extent of what you are talking about. Take your time. Sloth is no excuse in attire or rhetoric.

"All" and "goes." Neither of these words is a synonym for "to say." Listen to any conversation today and it may suddenly burst into a description of "he goes, then I'm all and he's all..." Lest you wish to appear a fool to friends and an idiot to strangers amend immediately.

Soi-disant intellectual words. These are the words used by individuals who wish to make a perfectly simple and understandable sentence incomprehensible in the attempt to seem intelligent or profound. They usually string together long trains of words that collect with a most pernicious affect — clouding speech and lending an air of charlantinism. These are words that are multi-syllable and usually of Latin derivation.

"Plethora" this is the rigor mortis of the fashion dead. The definition is "excessive" or "too much" yet it is used by the pretentious to turn a boring phrase into an imprecise one. It seems that this word is taught to every college student as something important and essential to the intelligent speaker. In truth it is a word that was discovered in 1979 during the Carter administration when the country was enjoying its "malaise."

"Basically" may seem a relatively innocuous word but it is the transition used by phrasemongers. Beware especially of their intellectual ambush "Basically, what I mean..." translated this phrase means "what I have been saying up to this point has been jibberish and I have finally collected my thoughts into something coherent and intelligible." The moral: get it right the first time.

"Anyways" is not a word! "Anyways" is used as a transition in colloquial speech but should be avoided. Try "on the other hand" or "in addition."



"Consciousness raising" and "false consciousness" are the cowardly refuge of those who cannot argue with your ideas but must resort to an ad hominem. These grandiloquent collocations are intended to express a sentiment about the intended victim that say he is a tool of the System and an unconscious oppressor. Unfortunately, it says, "I cannot express myself and because you do not dare to come to my side there is something inherently wrong with you." Try to converse civilly and with patience and do not resort to the ignorant and turgid blasts of the intolerant.

Words that are right:

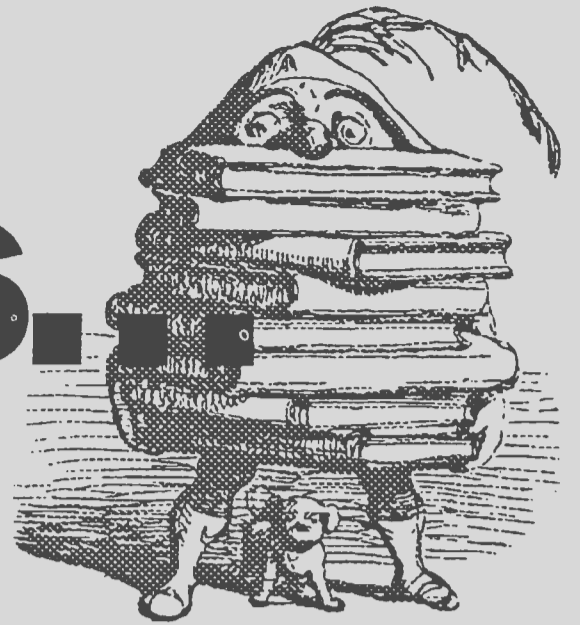
Clearly new and engaging metaphors will distinguish you from the gray and boring speech of the lazy. In all honesty, a few words can tell another person how intelligent and witty you are. There is nothing more beautiful than a metaphor that banishes the darkness of ordinary dialogue, pierces through the haze of cloudy ideas, and presents a jewel of a thought to the illumination of the mind.

"Whom" is a word that shows one is careful and discerning even in ordinary conversation. It is used when following a preposition and anytime "who" is the object of an action and not the subject.

"Good" and "well" if used well distinguish a good speaker from the style-impaired. Simply put, good is an adjective and well is an adverb. For instance, if someone asks you, "How are you doing?" If you are doing good you are Mother Theresa, a philanthropist, a do-gooder. If you answer that you are doing well then you are in state of good health.

Language is what distinguishes us from beasts. Use it creatively and carefully like an artist.

Book Reviews.



Edmund Burke and the Natural Law by Peter J. Stanlis

Peter J. Stanlis in his recent book, *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* inquires into the significance of Natural Law in the intellectual life of Edmund Burke. He examines the many aspects of the Natural Law in Burke's thinking and their relevance for today. He also reveals that the Natural Law has had a profound impact on the development of the West. By examining Burke's views of Natural Law, "natural rights," Church and State, the versatility of Natural Law reveals a new illumination in this book with particular meaning for today.

Edmund Burke gained the accolades of the centuries when he opposed the French Revolution. Lord Acton wrote of Edmund Burke, "Systems of scientific thought have been built up by famous scholars on fragments that fell from his table. Great literary fortunes have been made by men who traded on the hundredth part of him. Brougham and Lowe lived by the vitality of his ideas. Mackintosh and Macaulay are only Burke trimmed and stripped of all that touched the skies."

With all his fiery eloquence and brilliance of mind, Edmund Burke marshalled a revolution in his opposition to one. For conservatives Burke is the father of modern Conservatism. For human history he represents one of the most powerful expositors of Natural Law. And although his exposition of the Natural Law is not the systematic and abstract theory of men like Hobbes and Locke, author Peter J. Stanlis makes it clear that Edmund Burke's outlook on the world was vivified and structured by the classical and Scholastic conceptions of the Natural Law. In *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* the relevance of the different aspects and subtleties of Natural Law becomes evident.

Of course our own age is ignorant of Natural Law; it is afraid of its seeming abstractness. One remembers the Clarence Thomas hearings in which dull senators were forced into mouthing the most inane platitudes about Natural Law. For this reason Edmund Burke and the Natural Law hold a special relevance for the reader today. The text serves as a careful description of Natural Law and also provides examples of such principled thinking in the actions and thinking of one of the most significant men to ever live. Natural Law in a word comes to life in the ideas of Edmund Burke.

Today much of modern politics is suffused with demands of rights, "rights" to education and "rights" to national health insurance. As our ears become inured to such vacuous calls

the need for Natural Law grows. It soon becomes clear from this book, that the abstract natural rights that plague us today are a legacy of the French Revolution. They are relics of the careless demands for rights to everything under the sun. These rights, abstract and ungrounded, threaten the Natural Law tradition. The substantial rights that truly flow from the inherent make-up of Nature are endangered by such careless and reckless abandon.

Natural Law, simply put, is the belief that man is a member of a Divine order; an actor on a supernatural set. It was born out of the philosophies of Rome and Greece and was later elaborated by the thinkers of the Middle Ages. The belief is that there is a moral fabric which permeates all human societies. Man has in his existence *qua* human being and creation of God has rights to life, property, and liberty. Although expressed in different customs and practices law and manners are built upon the foundations of a transcendent justice.

The author describes Burke's thoughts thus, "All that men can do through politics, he believed, is to provide the means of change that will bring society into harmony with the moral law." That is, certain ideas about the ends of man and our relationship with our fellows *ought* to be considered in the construction of the law. *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* gives a magnificent account of the positive duties and rights that flow from the Natural Law.

Stanlis warns us, to breach that Law is to succumb ultimately to arbitrary power. This is ultimately the danger of the Jacobins and even the radicals in England and America. It is not mysterious or unknowable, rather, the Natural Law is expressed through law and tradition and moderated by prudence. However, common law is a mere shadow of the nature of the moral universe. Stanlis makes this a recurrent theme throughout the book that the common law if it transgresses the Natural Law is not law at all but merely the vagaries of arbitrary will.

Natural Law, it becomes apparent, allowed Burke to oppose the arbitrary tyranny that was ruling colonial India. He used it to side with the American colonies and for him it provided the basis of his critique of Jacobin France. In Burke's words, the Natural Law says to positive law, ruled and rulers, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Without it, rights are the artifice of men's wills and ultimately might determines right.

This book introduces the reader to the most significant events in Burke's political career in which he turned to the Natural Law to defend people from arbitrary laws. He is plunged deeply into the soul and ideas that moulded one of

the most significant figures in history. *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* is a well written and solid account of the import that ideas play in forming the events of history.

In fact, Stanlis presents the war of ideas exchanged by Burke and his enemies as a struggle about the place of man in society and in the universe. "To Burke the Natural Law was so basic to the ancient inherited social order of Europe that its subversion was enough proof that the revolution was the most extensive project ever launched against all religion, law, property, and real civil order and liberty." This makes Burke and Natural Law even more important for today as we forget the importance these ideas play in halting the arbitrary will of others.

This book helps rescue the modern reader from the eighteenth century morass of muddled conceptions about the Natural Law. If you are one who sneers at the concept and think it is for scholars and not men of action then you do not know Edmund Burke or the ideas that animated one of the most formidable figures of history. *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* will set you straight.

—Matthew Robinson

***Right From the Beginning* by Patrick J. Buchanan**

The '92 election may be a harbinger of another shift in the composition of American national politics. The Democratic Party is finally confronting its demons and groping for a more moderate vehicle and message, positioning itself for a serious challenge for the Presidency. The Republican Party, finding itself in the uncomfortable position of having what it wanted, namely total victory over Russian totalitarianism, soldiers on without its core issue of anti-communism. It also carries the baggage of a bad economy and burgeoning crises in domestic politics and trade. The electorate, feeling that somehow George Bush has to bear some responsibility for recession, has awarded the President with precipitously falling confidence ratings.

In this venue, why would a staunch Conservative Republican, a confidant and speech writer for two Presidents, a journalist with little chance for victory, risk a potentially disastrous conservative-moderate split in the Republican Party and run against a personal trend for the Presidency of the United States?

For Patrick J. Buchanan, the question is moot, answered in his 1988 Autobiography, *Right from the Beginning*. But this reflective work is more than a rationalization for his quixotic 4-day campaign in 1988, or a source of insight into his motivations for running in 1992. It is a passionate recollection and defence of "street corner conservatism"; the world view of those steeped in the substantial brew of strong family ties, triumphant Christianity, feisty patriotism, and schoolboy mischievousness. As an autobiography, it is controversial, polemical, and a potential political liability for a Presidential candidate; as an account of a way of life, it possesses a power that borders on the mythological. A careful

reading suggests that Patrick Buchanan is running not for the Presidency but for leadership of the Conservative Movement, and if his tale be but half true, he makes an unassailable candidate.

Buchanan makes clear at the outset his awareness of the political consequences of his entry into the 1988 Presidential campaign. A self-proclaimed graduate of the "Richard Nixon School" of politics, he gives a realistic assessment of the damage a "conservative insurgency" could do to the Republican Party and the Conservative Movement. Yet he also shows that the two are not an equality, and in what becomes the major theme of the book, argues that "Ideas have consequences; and all ideas are not equal". His distinction allows for conservative withdrawal from the Republican coalition, and an explanation for his present candidacy.

This dose of political realism clears the way for his exploration of the roots of his ideas, which he accomplishes with the wit and lucidity that has made him so famous a commentator. Yet this style and the disarming first chapter do not abrogate the content of the work. Though the book is an anecdotal autobiography, Buchanan does not mince words. Describing his father's politics, which included admiration of Douglas MacArthur, General Franco, and Joe McCarthy, he includes his hearty agreement. He devotes a whole chapter to a defense of "Tail-Gunner Joe" so unequivocal, so powerful and effective, that it alone would drive one half the Democratic National Committee to fits of hysteria, the other half to prayer that he get the Republican nomination.

His unqualified enthusiasm for his Orthodox Catholic upbringing, too, is worthy of close reading. Few could do as much justice to a way of life so defiled and ridiculed by popular culture and opinion as does Buchanan through his unapologetic exposition.

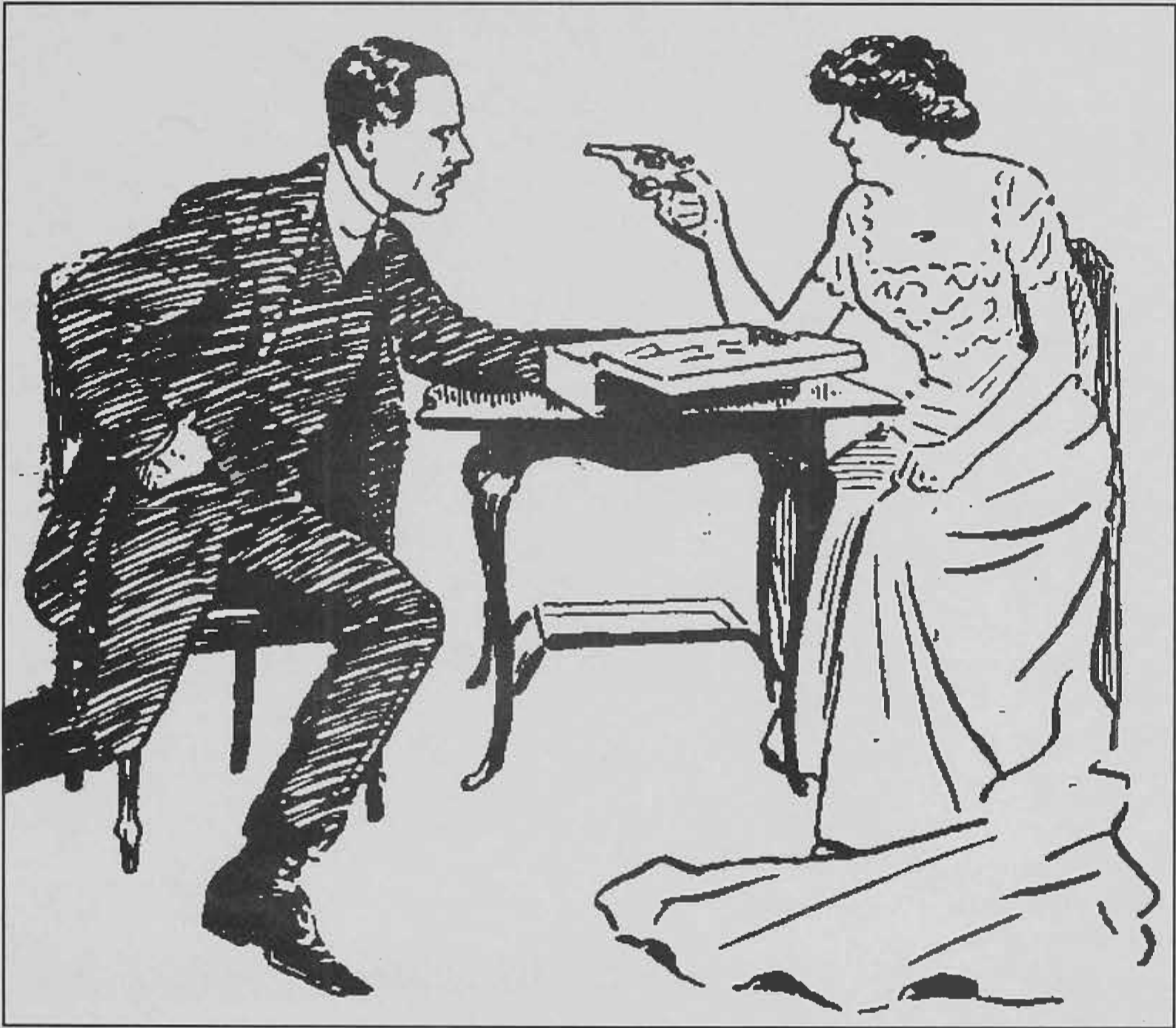
Catholicism played a decisive role in his development as a person and as a political actor, and he devotes considerable time especially to the role of Catholic education. It provides considerable ammunition for critics of modern public education.

Buchanan's concluding chapters cover the policies and direction he feels the Conservative Movement should take, and asserts that it "would have formed the heart of a Buchanan campaign". These proposals reveal a populist bent, rebutting critics who charge his 1992 campaign is opportunistically seizing on popular discontent. Yet these chapters contain no defence of his "platform", and little insight into why he came to expound those particular solutions.

In the end that is a minor quibble, and that kind of defense was not the intention of the book. As the autobiography of a Presidential candidate, or the vehicle of particular policies, *Right from the Beginning* carries too much controversial baggage. But as an account of a way of life of a Catholic middle-class conservative, and of his claim to embody the principles of modern American Conservatism, it is a work of mythological proportions. It is unapologetic. It is at times inflammatory. And it is definitely worth reading.

—Phillip Brusseau

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Parting Thoughts...

Never reach out your hand unless you're willing to extend an arm.

—Elizabeth Fuller



Never underestimate the effectiveness of a straight cash bribe.

—Claude Cockburne



Logic is like the sword — those who appeal to it, shall perish by it.

—Samuel Butler



Beware of softly whispered flatteries.

—Cato



For wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it.

—Proverbs 8:11



I suppose for a true capitalist there can never be too big a profit margin.

—Anonymous



Liberty is the way, and the only way, of perfectibility. Without liberty, heavy industry can be perfected, but no justice or truth.

—Albert Camus

For he that sheds his blood with me today

Shall be my brother, be he n'ere so vile,

this day shall gentle his condition.

—William Shakespeare



Believe me! The secret of reaching the greatest fruitfulness and the greatest enjoyment from life is to *live dangerously!*

—Nietzsche



Educate the heart — educate the heart. Let us have *good* men.

—Hiram Powers



To succeed with the opposite sex, tell her you're impotent. She can't wait to disprove it.

—Cary Grant at age 72



Be honorable yourself if you wish to associate with honorable people.

—Welsh proverb



To face life without hope can mean to live without despair.

—Terence Rattigan

Moral indignation is jealousy with a halo.

—H.G. Wells



Beggars should be abolished. It annoys one to give to them, and it annoys one not to give to them.

—Frederich Nietzsche



The Democratic Party is like a man riding backward in a carriage. It never sees a thing until it has gone by.

—Benjamin F. Butler



I have come to regard the Law Courts not as a cathedral, but as a casino.

—Richard Ingrams



He can't think without his hat.

—Samuel Beckett



The biggest waste of water in the country by far is when you spend half a pint and flush two gallons.

—Philip, Duke of Edinburgh



When you're talking to the media, be a well, not a fountain.

—Michael Deaver



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