

CR

CALIFORNIA REVIEW

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

Human Worth

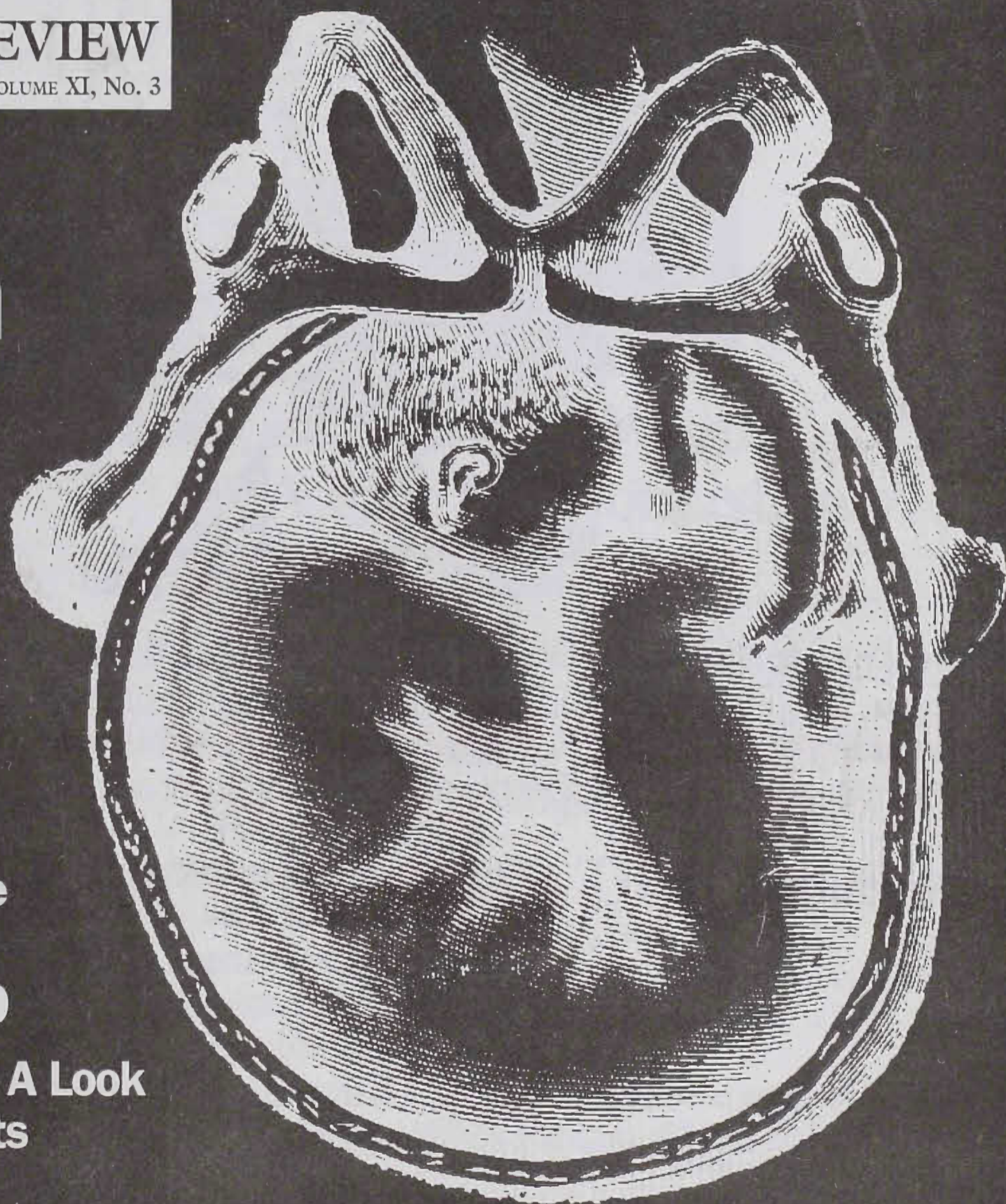
Reflections on
the Abortion
Debate, Part II

Oh, Oliver!

How Stone Does
History a Disservice

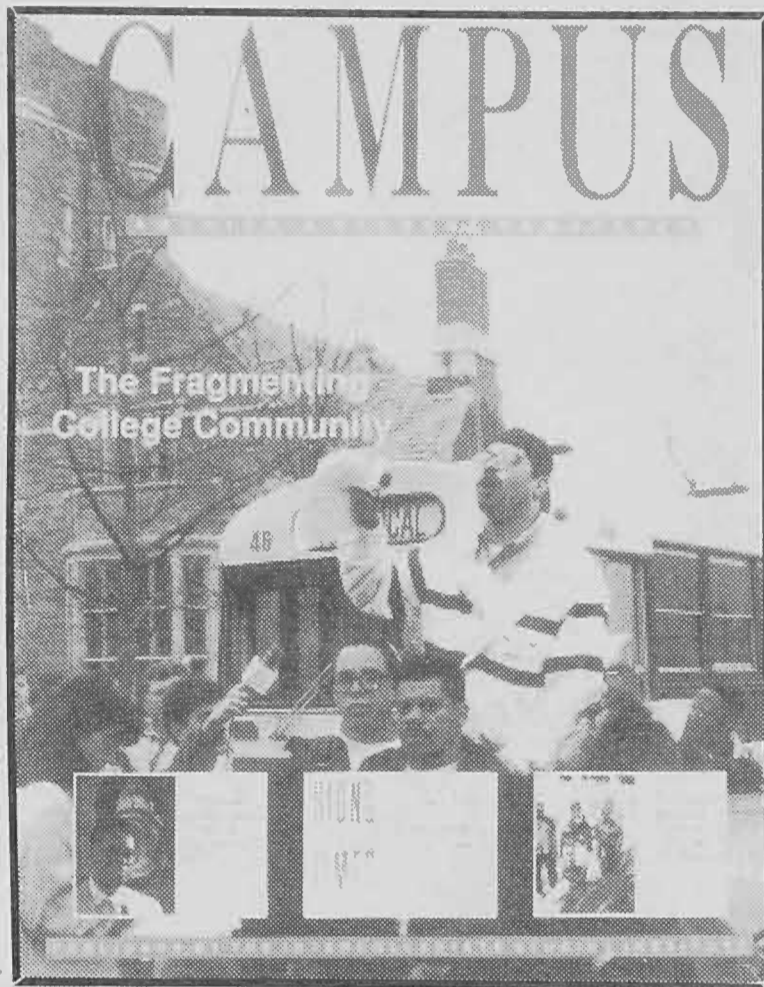
Co-op Coup

An Ex-Insider Takes A Look
at the Recent Events



ALSO: Nicole Saint-John on Ethnic Studies, A Proper Burial For Gorby, and other Pomposities

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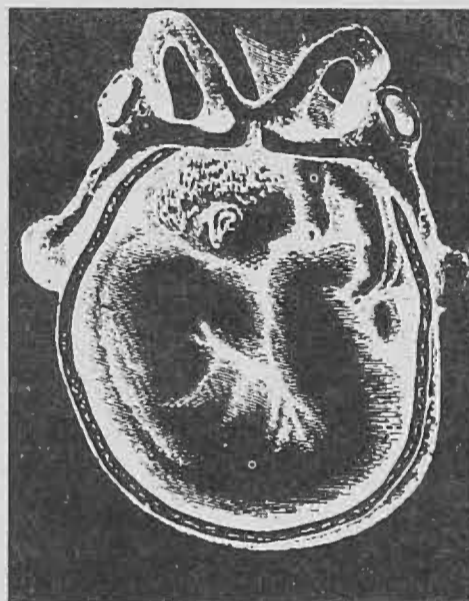
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Human Worth: A Plea For Consistency

By Christopher R. Oleson

The right to privacy is quite legitimate to a certain degree. But when we talk about abortion, the issue is not so much privacy as it is the value of the living fetus inside the womb. If it is discovered that a fetus is not relevantly unlike everyone else, the right to privacy argument suddenly disappears.

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A former member of the University Center Board takes a critical look at the on-going dispute between the co-ops and administration

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Oh, Oliver!

By Michael Fogarty and Kurt Schlichter

Oliver Stone is a spoiled child running through the household of U.S. history. His latest victim: the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy

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Feedback.



◆ Praise for our new look, 'Right' vs. 'Left,' philosophy and the Kool-Aid Man

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on your first issue! While I've never much agreed with the things that the CR prints, I find it consistently intelligent and logical — this year included. The new layout is impressive, easily the best of any alternative media on campus.

However, one thing in the new issue disturbed me, a theme that runs through several articles. It could be a minor glitch as a new year warms up or it could be disturbing substitution of phantoms for facts:

- Many times you refer to some shadowy "Left," a monolithic wall of liberal thought bearing down on all right-thinking folk. In fact, the "Left" was mentioned so often that its use verged on paranoia, a catch-all scapegoat for whatever is wrong with whatever is being discussed — a boogey man hiding in the closet, used to scare people into action while saving the intellectual effort to provide real proof.

The truth is, there simply isn't a "Left" in America and there hasn't been since the 1960s. Liberalism in the United States today is shattered and confused and can hardly be decided if it wants to run for President in 1992, much less put up a solid, unified front. A few people shouting out on a street corner, or a few professors pushing "PC," hardly constitute any political movement, much less the "Left."

Yet you refer to it as if were the major player in politics today. That's laughable. Conservatism should be able to stand on its own merits — it shouldn't need an enemy to define itself.

Setting up straw men just to knock them down quickly grows tiresome, especially when those straw men don't even exist. Put a little intellectual rigor in the CR — I'd like to see Conservatism as a philosophy from the ground up, instead of as a simple reaction to other people's propositions. Asserting that there is an absolute "right and wrong" without offering a foundation for proof amounts to little

more than rhetoric and sermonizing.

In fact, all my complaints about the thinking in the issue result from unanswered questions on my part, or huge leaps in logic on the author's part. Of the articles that don't mention the "Left":

- Sherry Lowrance's assertion that the lack of a Meaning of Life inevitably leads to socialism is unsupported, and, I think, wrong. She offers nothing beyond the statement itself towards that end. Alternately, it seems to me that basing a political faith in some intangible (be it the Christian God or the Kool-Aid Man) is a more than little foolhardy.

- Maximillian Kilgore fails to adequately provide for religions outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition. If Bible studies on public property are found, as he asserts, what of coven meetings? What about pagan goats sacrificed at Stonehenge? By allowing the free exercise of one religion on public property but not another, the authorities have effectively respected the establishment of that sect, a clear First Amendment violation.

Again, congratulations on your first issue. It got me thinking. You're wrong, of course, but at least your wrong in the right way.

(P.S. — Put the thesaurus away. Philosophy doesn't need to be written with big words.)

Greg Knauss

◆ The trouble with profs

Dear Editor:

I am a Revelle freshman and a conservative. Your October issue was outstanding, a breath of fresh air compared to the dribble which comprises some of the other campus newspapers. Your "Philosopher's Corner" in particular was thought provoking.

Christopher Oleson's article on thinking illustrates the failings of other newspapers; yet, after reading it I still had a few doubts about some parts.

In the section about professors, Oleson says, "Your professors may have more schooling and more knowledge than you, but many of them are inexcusably biased and more often than you think, uninformed." This apparent contradiction of Oleson's actually reveals the contradictory goals of some professors on campus.

Some professors have more desire to protect their personal reputations than to educate those who come to them in search of knowledge. The real danger is from teachers who distribute opinionated, one-sided lectures, and present their conclusions as the truth. Not that their side is not without a basis in truth, simply that their opinion is a part of the truth, not the whole thing. The most odious part is the exams in which it is sometimes the student's responsibility to truth itself to contradict the professor's conclusions. This is how a professor can be knowledgeable but uninformed. I do not know if this is what Oleson meant, but how I interpreted it.

Second, I was confused by Oleson's comments about hedonism. He defines it as "the view that ultimate fulfillment lies in stimulating as many nerve endings as one can before one becomes plant fertilizer." Is thinking not stimulating? Not only thought, but many things which lead to thought are stimulation. In fact, what would a human brain be without stimulation? Uselessness comes to mind. Thought must be applied to something for it to be useful. Perhaps Oleson meant "fun" instead of "stimulating," yet is knowledge not pleasant? Some things are inherently unpleasant, like calculus, because our minds are unaccustomed to it, yet when we master a part of it, we feel accomplished. Undoubtedly, subtle pleasures are different than hedonistic pleasures. Hedonism is a destructive pleasure, while subtle pleasures are creative. Such pleasures tear us down, and hide truth as an irrelevancy.

Gregory G. Wood

From the Pen of the Editor:

The cover story this issue is the second part of an article on abortion by Mr. Christopher Oleson. The subject of abortion is, of course, a very serious one that demands respect and compassion on both sides. In fact, it might be said that no question has sparked so much moral dissension since this nation was confronted with the issue of slavery.

Simply put, I believe that Mr. Oleson's article is the most balanced and compassionate account of abortion I have ever read. But before the reader jumps to conclusions, some misconceptions must be cleared up.

First of all, the article is offered in an earnest attempt to think through the question. It houses no hidden agenda and is intended to be straight-forward.

Second, he nor anyone associated with this staff is seeking to take away a woman's freedom, return her to the Dark Ages or likewise force her to a back alley abortionist.

Third, the strength of the essay ought to be evaluated on the grounds of the argument. It is true that his name reveals that he is a male and of European origin, but this should make no difference as to the merit of the article. The plea is that we as human beings can discuss this issue maturely by the compassionate use of our intelligence and moral sensibilities.

"A Plea for Consistency" follows in the footsteps of the first part on "The Ethics of Choice." For this reason it might be helpful to focus on what was covered earlier. Mr. Oleson devoted "The Ethics of Choice" to the question of how broad the authority is that choice may exercise in governing ethical decisions.

Mr. Oleson investigated this question not just in regard to abortion but in reference to *all* ethical questions. Concerning his thesis, he wrote that choice "cannot be the ultimate criteria for determining the moral status of any action. It is absolutely necessary to first examine what the particular choice is about in order to determine its ethical permissibility."

Mr. Oleson recognizes that the whole

pro-choice argument is not based on this right of choice in and of itself. This is why he takes up in part two the question of the criteria that we must apply to the fetus in order to determine whether it is entitled to rights. Although much of the modern debate has inured the college student to the questions about the fetus, Mr. Oleson with a compassionate and earnest attempt at consistency attempts to evaluate the arguments presented by some of the most well-noted pro-choice thinkers.

Mr. Oleson's reflections and subtle arguments, therefore, are conducted with the criteria set forth by those philosophers who consider themselves pro-choice. The result is a lengthy but immensely rewarding inquiry into the abortion question, that is at once novel and unencumbered by traditional misconceptions.

In addition, this issue takes a closer look at the world created by the self-proclaimed "historian" Mr. Oliver Stone. His theatrical obnubilations and artful gyrations are unable to escape the gravity of Mr. Michael Fogarty's and former CR editor Kurt Schlichter's powerful and mordant criticisms.

The CR is also honored to have the resources of Mr. Paul Eykamp writing on the subject of the co-ops. He asks some questions and describes in depth the problems and internal battles that are marking one of the most heated struggles between administration and students.

Finally, the CR sports a some new quills all of which prove that if wielded correctly they are more powerful than the sword. We are especially pleased to have Mr. James Collier whose expertise in layout and design and brilliance of mind represent a new and, indeed, impressive epoch for the CR.

In sum, the CR has its usual great line up of writers and thinkers giving a spin to politics you never thought possible. All of which we hope you enjoy. *Bon Appetite!*

— Matthew Robinson,
Grand Inquisitor



CALIFORNIA REVIEW

"Imperium et Libertas"

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Sherry Lowrance

GRAND INQUISITOR
Matthew Robinson

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Michael Fogarty, Paul Eykamp, Sherry
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In Review... ■ ■ ■

■ TO BRING THAT SOUTHWEST TOUCH TO your home... consider buying your very own tumbleweed. Twenty-five dollars gets you a small tumbleweed, \$35 a medium-sized one, and \$40 a jumbo-sized tumbleweed from a Santa Fe dealer who claims that they only sell genuine tumbleweeds. Naturally, they make great centerpieces.

■ EVEN MORE FROM THE DUMB crook file: a man recently arrested in Utah and charged with burglary and trespassing allegedly robbed one apartment, and before leaving, heard a baby crying in an apartment nearby.

The thief apparently entered the other apartment, woke the sleeping mother and asked her to feed the baby, but she refused. After suggesting that the baby might need to be changed and receiving no response from the frightened mother, he changed the baby's diaper himself, lectured the mother and left, only to be picked up by police a few minutes later.

■ POLICE IN ROSELLE, ILLINOIS, had no difficulty nabbing another dim-witted crook. He was so busy listening to his radio headphones that he never heard the police officers sneaking up behind him.

■ KEVIN KAYROUZ APPLIED FOR A JOB AT the Johnson County, Indiana jail and was thrown into jail instead, when a routine computer check found he was wanted on charges of forgery and receiving stolen property.

■ THE BEST OF THE KING'S ENGLISH... In an ad by a Hong Kong dentist: "Teeth extracted by the latest Methodists."

Sign in a Bucharest hotel lobby: "The lift is being fixed for the next day. During that time we regret that you will be unbearable."

From *Soviet Weekly*: "There will be a



Moscow Exhibition of Arts by 15,000 Soviet Republic painters and sculptors. These were executed over the past two years."

In a lobby of a Moscow hotel, across from a Russian Orthodox monastery: "You are welcome to visit the cemetery where famous Russian and Soviet composers, artists and writers are buried daily except Thursday."

■ THE BEST USE OF TAX DOLLARS TO DATE: A University of South Florida study analyzing food-crushing sounds during mastication, using frequency-time studies to examine textural attributes.

That is, a study of chewing. More specifically, the researcher has spent seven years recording hundreds of potato-chip crunches and has even created software to analyze crunch frequencies. Obviously, the decline of college education has not yet hit south Florida.

■ THE RESTRICTIVE SPEECH CODES have moved beyond the politically correct college campuses to the legislature of Colorado. A bill recently up for consideration there sought to penalize those "unfairly disparaging" food products. Luckily, the clever Governor Roy Romer vetoed the bill.

■ THE CINCINNATI CITY Council's 1973 law prohibiting panhandling in public was repealed by an 8-1 vote in December. The reason? According to councilman David Mann, "We do not have the power to prohibit begging," he explained. "Every politician in the land has begged for money at one time or another."

■ MORE CINCINNATI LAW-making gaffes: State health officials there are authorized to

poison rats but are not allowed in the sewers. Sewer district employees are allowed in the sewers but are not authorized to poison rats.

■ PERFIDY ON PARADE. ON DEC. 8, THE La Jolla Democratic Club marched in the La Jolla Christmas Parade. Those plucky Democrats were quite a spectacle sporting their red-striped paper-mache hats and advocating increased spending in a time of budgetary crisis.

The crowd was filled with consternation. Several small children cried. Quite a curiosity, those Democrats!

Broadsides. . .

■ WITHER, SOCIALISM? PLEASE!

The article, "Whither Socialism?" by Dr. Weissman in the *New Indicator* (December 1991), is surprising in that it first asserts a reasonably accurate history of the Soviet Union. Appearing in this publication, however, it must go awry:

- "Mass slaughter in the Persian gulf": Maybe if more of the coalition forces had been killed it wouldn't be emotionally hailed a "slaughter." Perhaps the world's bravest men and women were *too* successful?

- "Right-wing": Didn't they teach you in Political Science 11, Dr. Weissman, that it is grossly inaccurate to characterize hardline interests in the Soviet Union as "right-wing"? You mistakenly associate right-wing thought with obscurantism. A political science professor should know that the Right is better characterized by the attempt to preserve the classical Liberal tradition. Though it is not accurate to label him either way, Yeltsin (no angel, admittedly) is better understood as right-wing.

- Yeltsin's style is "more authoritarian" than Gorbachev's? Yeltsin is certainly not ideally democratic, but is he really more authoritarian than the man who oversaw the crackdowns in Lithuania and Georgia? More authoritarian than the man who surrounded himself with hardline coup plotters? You don't espouse totalitarianism *directly* do you Dr. Weissman? It's just, we're sure, that emerging free markets and democracies make you sentimental for the bad old days.

- "The triumph of free market ideology has led to such confusion that workers see their emancipation in free enterprise." It must be wonderful to be so much more knowledgeable than these poor wretches. The implied



assertion that they have been duped into mistakenly looking to the free market just shows how out of touch you are. Perhaps these people who have been suffering under a cruel social experiment know what's best. Just knowing that people like you are out there is what confuses them. *Quelle egoisme!*

The left's capacity for self-delusion has not waned since the '60s: "While the establishment gloats about the end of history, the space for a genuine, non-sectarian, democratic and internationalist left has never been so open." But for this tiny allusion to post-modernism, the understanding behind this article predates most Neo-Marxist thought. It is denial of defeat and seeing only a future of promises: it reminds us how correct Doctorow was when he wrote "Communism is the philosophy of losers."

■ HAMLETTE'S QUERY? In an article entitled "Douche: To? or Not To?" the

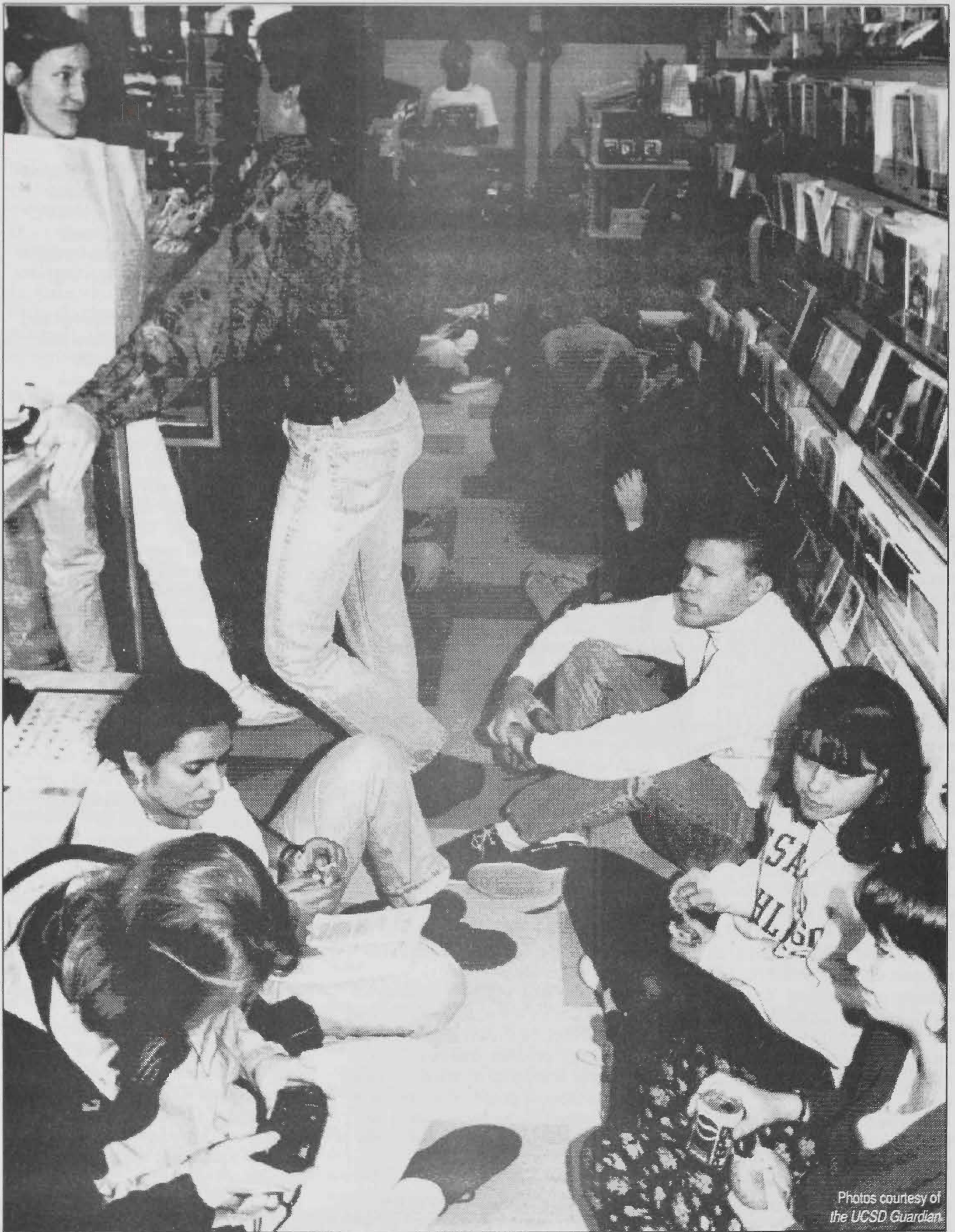
weighty issue of feminine hygiene was broached in the December 1991 *New Indicator*. The non-PC allusion to a dead white male (DWM) aside, this article is the same old clap-trap (if you will) one would expect.

These "scents ... are natural and certainly normal." Natural and normal are taken to be self-evident goods. Following this through, deodorant, soap, and really any social convention at all regarding bodily odor can be eliminated. Why limit it there? By this logic, why do we not open all scatological functions to public consumption? These are certainly natural and normal. Further, clothing is simply a restrictive tool of the capitalists. It is designed to create a feudal order and crush healthy sexual expression. This is especially so for women ... and minorities, too. Yes, especially the homeless ... and the endangered species.

Once again, a Leftist ideal runs aground on reality. Realizing this, questioning douche could be an anti-feminist stance. Why can't douche be a tool to free women? It seems that to pressure some women into an unpleasant and hence limiting scent is reactionary and oppressive!

■ "CATCH-PHRASE" QUARTERLY: Speaking of oppression, the Winter 1992 *Alternative Visions* is out and about and the stats are looking good. Old favorites like "oppression" make a strong showing (six instances) and new standbys like "diversity" (no fewer than nine instances!) are to be found. Some of the up-and-comers are: "empowerment" (2), "facilitator" (2), and "herstory" (2). Don't miss the article about "Male Lesbians" and the need for "questioning and denaturalizing heterosexuality."

—Compiled and Written By
Michael Fogarty



Photos courtesy of
the UCSD Guardian.

The Co-op Calamity... Revisited

A Pox on All Their Houses

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

The recent situation regarding the conflict between the university administration and the student cooperatives is disturbing on several levels.

First, the lack of involvement of the University Center Board (UCB) in the recent policy decisions does little to solve the problem of the alleged violations of university policy.

Second, if the allegations of unsound business practices are true, then there is a serious accountability problem with the co-ops which must be solved.

Third, the approach to solving the issue by some of the co-ops and the UCB has been unconstructive.

And fourth, the administration's excessive use of force and Watergate-style midnight raids call into question the university's commitment to its own promises and rules.

Before getting started, let me first note that the author supports the idea of co-ops, patronizes them regularly, has many friends who work in them and despite being a third generation capitalist (and proud of it!), does *not* feel that somehow a collective system of organizing a business is at odds with, or cannot in certain instances successfully coexist with, the other hierarchically organized business. As a learning enterprise, it is an ideal organizational structure, which is deserving of support.

In the particular instance before us, there is much blame to be spread around, and no need for the brinkmanship which we have

A look at
the co-op
controversy
from a
former
insider's
perspective

witnessed since November.

The first problem is that the UCB was not consulted by University Centers Director Jim Carruthers before he took action to remedy the violation of university policies. This was an incorrect course of action by Carruthers. Under the University Center Charter, day to day activities are delegated to the director, and both he and the board are required to uphold university policy. Additionally, the space agreements (leases) the co-ops signed require them, "at their own expense" to comply with these policies.

The UCB is charged with establishing policies which govern the University Center (the Price Center and the Student Center) and — among other things — is charged to allocate space and be a part of any negotiations with the co-ops.

Under his responsibility for the day to day operations, Carruthers discovered what were apparently violations of university policy. He should have then informed the board, which would have had the responsibility to formulate a means of insuring that university policy was followed, and instructed the director to take appropriate action. Thus, the responsibilities of both the board and the director would have been fulfilled.

Had the board not taken action in a reasonable time period, then the director would have the authority — as required by the UCB charter — to take action to insure that university policies were being carried out.

Continued on next page

Undertaking major action on what amounts to space allocation and renegotiating the space agreements without consulting the board constitutes a clear violation of the charter, even though such actions, if the allegations were true, would have been fully justified had the board chosen not to act.

The university argues that the board did not take action in the past when information was not forthcoming from the co-ops, and this is true to some degree.

But there *was* a flow of information — albeit somewhat slow — and little evidence of serious trouble. Had there been, the board would have taken more action. The reticence of the co-ops to provide students (the UCB) with prompt accounting, however, led to the degree of trouble when irregularities were finally discovered.

The university also did not take a very pro-active role in helping the co-ops to understand the ramifications of certain actions they took, particularly in the case of Groundwork Books taking its payroll off campus. It should have been made clear that such an action would result in their being classified as an off-campus vendor. Granted, the co-ops have not been very receptive to university help, but it should have been given.

It is true that the UCB charter states that the board is only advisory to the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs. The university center director is hired by the vice-chancellor and ultimately answers to him. But it is also true that the board exists to consult, and while it may be overturned by the university, it has a clearly defined right to provide counsel which it was not permitted to do. This is virtually unprecedented.

As for the violations themselves, the lack of an unambiguous determination of exactly which policies and procedures had been violated, and a lack of concrete evidence of violations until well after the action was taken is disturbing. If the violations are serious enough to warrant the discontinuation of student organization status for one of the co-ops, then both the co-op and the student body have a right to know what they are before the action is taken. The evidence seemed to be there, but it was slow to be put into a



Since the
co-ops have
historically
felt that
consensus
was the way
to operate
internally,
only constant
antagonism
could be their
foreign policy.

form that the students could understand.

Student organizations which receive support from general student fees — which the co-ops do — should be accountable to the general student body. Likewise, if the university is going to take action, ostensibly to provide this accountability, that will result in removing a student organization's status, then the university ought to be accountable to the students as well.

If the allegations about co-op business practices are true, then action needs to be taken to ensure accountability to the general student body, but this action should at least have some structure set by students.

The university's actions on January 15 were simply inexcusable and, quite frankly, stupid. The university had agreements concerning the use of space which it violated by its 1 a.m. raid. This was absurd because it only undermined any case that the university may have had, and, in fact, brings into question the administration's commitment to follow its own rules (i.e., the UCB charter, the PPMs, etc.).

One of the fundamental underpinnings of society is the expectation that organizations (and people) will follow the rules. If quasi-governmental organizations, such as the university, do not follow the rules, surely anarchy or despotism on the relevant scale will be the result. This principle is at the foundation of free and civilized society.

Finally, a few words about the actions of the co-ops and the UCB leadership, or at least those who have been doing the talking lately. For at least five years, and previous members of the UCB indicate even longer, the co-ops have been alternately asking the UCB for assistance (when they need equipment), and browbeating the board when it does something they do not like or wants information they are not prepared to give or fails to give them everything they want.

The general attitude seems to be that the co-ops are different from any other student organization, and somehow have a God-given right to the Student Center and unquestioned UCB support, which,

by-in-large, they have been given, since they enjoy lots of student support. However, by avoiding being bound by a large number of university rules which bind all other student activities on campus, the co-ops open themselves up to sudden changes by the university when it finally decides that they will have to play by the same rules as everyone else. Furthermore, they lack the accountability that all other student organizations have.

It is perfectly understandable to want to avoid these rules, but sometimes there are costs associated with doing so, particularly if they want to declare war on the administration and make life difficult for them. A more constructive approach would have been to seek to establish a set of rules which would better accommodate the needs of both sides. But since the co-ops have historically felt that while consensus was the way to operate internally, only constant antagonism could be their foreign policy.

Fundamentally, some of the co-ops (Groundwork in particular) have taken the position that their political stance is more important than the business that they run and the continuation of the service they provide to the students. This has led them to become political movements with a store attached, which has hurt their ability to function as businesses serving students (most of which probably do not share their politics anyway).

Others have first sought to provide a service to students and then maintained a political agenda on the side. They could have been far more successful in maintaining enough independence to continue operating largely unfettered. These co-ops, alas, have often been pulled into the maelstrom by the radicals in the other co-ops and they too suffer.

The UCB this year has moved its policy of working with in the system, which has served the board moderately well for almost a decade and during which time has seen its advice was almost always taken, to one of antagonism and conflict which has seen that advice ignored.

If it was the case that the UCB had control over the university centers, which sadly it does not, this might be an



The break-in
of the General
Store on Jan.
15 was absurd
because it
only
undermined
any case that
the university
may have
had, and
brought into
question the
administration's
commitment
to follow its
own rules.

appropriate course of action. However, since it is operating from a position of weakness and can legally be ignored for most issues, it is a disastrous policy, the effects of which we now observe. The attempt, barely concealed, to remove the director, which the board does not have the power to do, any more than the Registration Fee Committee has the power to sack the entire Health Service (which it funds out of its student fee budget) or the students of Stanford have the right to sack the faculty and staff of that university, which they support with their tuition, certainly makes the prospect of any constructive activity for the rest of the year very unlikely and is a disservice to the students. The board's apparent lack of concern over misappropriation of co-op funds, something that the general student body has a vested interest in as they subsidize the co-ops operation, does not serve the students nor the attempt to get more control over student fee funded facilities. Particularly if it turns out that laws were broken.

Notice that I started with the complaint that the director acted improperly. There are university procedures for dealing with this and they should have been followed, but by overstepping the bounds of their own charter those board members who are supporting this action make such a course unlikely to have any effect and may render the UCB permanently ineffective. Further, the university administration's recent action is intolerable in civil society and must be protested in the strongest possible terms.

If the allegations are true, then the UCB, had it been consulted, and the co-ops, had they been willing to cooperate, could have devised a strategy to ensure that the university's policies were followed without causing undo hardship for the co-ops. They have a few legitimate concerns about going on the university bookkeeping system, none about the payroll system (all the co-ops but Groundwork have been on the system for years), but they are not unsolvable. Alas, the solutions will probably not be sought, and the students will be the losers.

Force Fed Cultural Awareness

◆ A Look at Revelle College's New Ethnic Studies Requirement

By Nicole Renée Saint-John

Along with the beginning of the school year came a new and controversial requirement for Revelle students—Ethnic Studies 1A. Some view the mandatory class as a remnant of the political correctness movement while still others have faith that it is truly an effort to create cultural understanding. Regardless of the controversy, students enrolled in Ethnic Studies 1A this fall seemed eager to embark upon what they hoped would be a journey into numerous cultures.

The first day of class was shocking to the students as Professor Paula Cruz-Takash, the course's instructor, arrived late, informing students that this class had never been taught before and that all in the class would be guinea pigs. She went on to list a number of expensive books each student would need and affirmed that she expected prompt completion of the assignment in the reader which was not yet available. Cruz-Takash also told the students that she is a Chicana and that her biases would soon become obvious. Despite all this, students seemed to maintain the hope that the class would be a valuable learning experience.

While some of the readings in the beginning seemed fairly sensible, the lectures and section discussions soon took on a character which should be offensive to people of reason. Instructors disguised propaganda with definite messages as true discussions. One teaching assistant phrased the question, "What words come to mind when I say, 'American'?" One student, who happened to be of American Indian descent, answered earnestly, "Indian." The T.A. scoffed, whipped around and said that she didn't think Indians considered themselves Americans, and they probably have very strong negative feelings toward America.

This use of the word "American" illustrates how people who get offended over such things as the possible sexist connotation of words like "statesmen" are, themselves, incredibly loose with other words. "America" more aptly refers to the North and South continents of America, and is not necessarily synonymous with the United States. Another ambiguous term used in this class was "reverse discrimination" in reference to the discrimination by Asians in Monterey Park against Caucasians. This suggests that "whites" are the true oppressors and various "minorities" the victims.

Interestingly, the class centered on inter-racial conflicts within the United States. Although many of the readings warned against causing people to perceive segments of society as mere victims, this class's method of teaching about ethnicity

within history accomplished just that. It pinpointed oppressed groups, focusing on the oppression itself and virtually ignoring the underlying causes. This seemed only to heighten interracial tensions among the students within the class, creating factionalism and close-minded judgement of others. It seemed to solidify the theory that throughout history, Caucasians have been greedy, destructive, and oppressive to the better cultures of peaceful people.

Further heightening such an attitude was the visit from the "Chicano Secret Service" for which Professor Paula Cruz-Takash was delighted to have secured funds. In one of the skits, an actor pretended to be continually beating a Hispanic who was actually a student in the Ethnic Studies class. A man walking by shouted, "Hey, what are you doing?" The other said not to worry as he is with the San Diego Sheriff's Department. The questioner seemed satisfied and began to leave, and the Sheriff called out asking who he was. Upon discovering the man was with the Border Patrol, the Sheriff asked him to come help. Together they beat the Hispanic, joined arms, and said, "San Diego forces working



together."

When preparing to answer questions, one of the actors further bashed non-Hispanics when he said with an air of self-satisfied superiority, "Tell that white boy to get me a chair." The individual to whom he referred was in fact no boy, but a professional sound technician and certainly an adult man. By this time, the direction of the class had gone awry. Students began to feel that they were being told what and how to think.

This became painfully clear when the first term-papers were returned. Students complained they were given low grades on quality papers in which they had defended the "wrong" side of affirmative action or in which their views diverged from those of the professor or T.A. In assignments asking for the student's opinion on a particular reading, if it differed from the T.A.'s, it was deemed a misinterpretation.

It is a tragedy to take a group of young and eager students with open minds and hearts waiting to be moulded into culturally aware individuals and turn this eagerness into cynicism and resentment. The fact that the course was forced upon the students seemed to bother them little, but being told that they have no right to think freely or being penalized for defending the ideas in which they believe is only destructive to the individual and his attitude toward society and consequent role therein.

— Nicole Saint-John is a Revelle freshman who recently completed Ethnic Studies 1A.

Johnny Got His Gun, And I Want Mine

◆ Gun Control is a Farce and Law-Abiding Citizens Pay the Price

By Sherry Lowrance

Much has been said about the right to keep and bear arms as the second amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantees Americans. Usually gun advocates focus on the benefits of an armed citizenry as a check on despotic government or on the constitutional fiction accompanying gun-bashing. But have we ignored the signal we would be transmitting to America's criminals if all civilian-owned firearms were declared illegal, as many gun-control advocates would?

Thankfully, such extreme gun control advocates are rarer than those who support gradual restrictions according to perceived need. Yet the extremists' arguments must be addressed since they make up the dedicated core of the gun control movement.

Imagine what would soon happen if I were to post a sign outside my home proclaiming, "The occupants of this house will not defend the premises with deadly force." It is essentially an open invitation to burglarize my home or otherwise harm its occupants.

Likewise, outlawing civilian arms is such an open invitation. Criminals will know that law-abiding citizens will have few means to defend their homes, thus making burglary, rape and murder much less dangerous occupations.

Although some claim that personal ownership of guns has very little to do with lowering crime, criminals themselves think otherwise. According to author Gary Kleck in the February 1988 issue of *Social Problems*, a survey taken of convicted felons revealed that 43 percent of them had avoided particular homes or people out of fear they might be armed. Additionally, the numbers of burglaries and rapes in Orlando in 1966-7 fell dramatically after 2,500 women went through a well-publicized training program on the use of handguns. Thus criminals began to avoid people, and fewer needed to threaten to use a gun. There was a net benefit to the public because a few were willing to assume the responsibility of gun ownership.

Statistics usually reveal only dramatic events: accidental shootings from improper handling of arms, murders, robberies, attempted murders with guns, and even confrontations between armed intruders and homeowners. However, it is difficult to chart how many houses have not been broken into, how many rapes avoided, and how many businesses not robbed due to criminals' fear of being confronted by an armed citizen.

The fact is that all law-respecting people benefit from gun ownership, even if not every individual owns a gun. These "positive externalities" are seen and understood less than the "negative externalities," such as accidental shootings. What the gun-control advocates hope to do is to minimize the negatives by regulating or outlawing guns, but they ignore the positives. They do not seem to realize that they are safer because other people legally own guns. Someone considering committing a burglary usually does not know which houses contain armed



citizens willing to defend their homes; therefore, he may avoid all homes, benefiting those who do not own guns as well.

The fact that guns are legal, and law-abiding citizens are allowed to own and to use them helps keep our government free from despotism as well. If governments are aware that its citizens are armed and feel armed rebellion is legitimate when governments trample on individual rights, these governments will be more responsive to the rights of their people. Similarly, potential criminals will be more wary of committing crimes when each victim could possibly be armed and willing to use deadly force.

We must be careful of what we are telling the country's criminal population when we restrict ownership of firearms. While guns turn up in crimes and accidents, they are also an important part of deterring potential evildoers. Don't curtail the right (and this is a genuine, constitutional *right*) for citizens in good standing to own guns. If organizations like Handgun Control, Inc. have their way only the villains will have guns—and you can be sure they will. The usefulness of an armed citizenry is far more than can be measured with statistics, so it is no wonder that Americans have made gun ownership one of their most dearly held rights.

Skateboarding Is Not A Crime, But It Should Be

By Nohyme Notwhon

Actually it *shouldn't* be. Curtailing the rights of skateboarders is as offensive to my Libertarian instinct as is the curtailment of my right to heap opprobrium upon skateboarders. Skateboarding is simply annoying.

Winter has descended upon us, and once again UCSD students prove they don't know how to dress. One will see short pants, t-shirts, and white shoes on even the most chill days San Diego has to offer. It is depressing that so many don't take advantage of the fashion extensions this season allows. The Fedora, scarf, gloves, and stylish vintage raincoat should make this an exciting time of year. Also, the importance of the umbrella generally cannot be overestimated. For those few San Diego days requiring them, follow this guide: "A respectable background and distinct individuality, an elegant bearing and imperturbable reliability, practicality, intelligence and supreme ease in dealing with fluids of all kinds—a good umbrella boasts all the qualities that have always distinguished a true gentleman."

Frontiers of Fashion

• By now you must have noticed the latest fashion exemplar: The "gangsta." Our malls are teeming with youthful gangsta

wannabees. Sure, we've all seen the plaid flannel shirts, buttoned to the top and untucked (for the ready accommodation of many sidearms), the blue headbands, &c. (cf. the film "Colors"). However, the emerging standard is inspired by the Black Gangster Disciples (BGD's). The proper mode of dress for the aspiring BGD is formal (black). We see the extra-large Raiders jacket (for the ready harboring of special, shall we say "abridged" shotguns (gats?), Uzi's, and cheap pistols). Add to that a Raiders, LA Kings, or White Sox cap. Caution: Do not mix teams within one sport! This writer is thankful he is not a sports-fan, for it is far too dangerous nowadays to be one.

• Jackets inside-out: that oversight which caused severe emotional trauma in elementary school is now a fashionable statement about the hipness of promiscuity. The wearing of a jacket in this manner confirms one is "down wit' OPP."

Well, good day. I must return to the fashion battlefield. Remember that with each season comes a new campaign, and there's always room for another to come "fight the tasteful fight."



A Proper Burial for Gorby

By Sherry Lowrance

Gorbachev's resignation on Dec. 25 must come as a relief to many who see him as growing irrelevant. Unpopular in his home country, the now defunct USSR, he had much more success and popularity abroad. At home he could not find ways to put enough food on the tables of the Soviet people, committed unpardonable errors by appointing hard-liners who later tried to oust him in a coup, and allowed unpopular crackdowns in Soviet Lithuania. His unique reforms, while popular at first, soon were discredited as not going far enough.

These reforms, however, were to be his undoing; had he known what their results would be, he almost certainly would not have started these reforms. His opening of the political system unleashed the pent-up forces of democracy that he could not control, while at the same time his economic reforms only revealed the need for a full-fledged market system.

No wonder his time came to an end so quickly.

Around the world, the west in particular, he has been credited with ending the Cold War: freeing eastern Europe, signing significant arms control treaties with the U.S., and ending much of the Soviets' foreign support for leftist regimes around the world. Similarly, he has been praised as the leader who democratized the Soviet Union and allowed the evil empire's breakup.

Yet these things, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize, were largely out of his control at the time. The Soviet economy

had bankrupt for ages, and could no longer muster the money needed to remain the terror of the free world. No more could the Soviets support corrupt regimes in Eastern Europe, so when the people rose up in rebellion, this time the Soviets could not be there to suppress it. Bankrolling the corrupt leaders of the Third World was also no longer affordable, so now these countries must either ask for aid from the U.S. or go on alone. While these changes made by Gorbachev greatly reduced the tension around the globe, lavishing praise on an involuntary reformer seems unfounded.

Likewise, Gorbachev's domestic policy was also driven by necessity. The command economy was so inefficient that it could not feed its own people, and the demand for consumer goods found in the west grew out of control. His economic reforms designed to remedy the bad economic situation were based on classical free market economics, which Gorbachev thought could jump-start the economy enough to return to pure socialism. Like his political reforms, however, his economic reforms only unleashed forces demanding more. This became his downfall, as the Soviet Union was dismantled after a wave of democracy and capitalism in the wake of last fall's coup attempt.

While Gorbachev's policy changes have done much to make the world a better place, they were mostly done out of desperation, with no real understanding of what the people wanted and what would work. His main goal was to save socialism, not to create capitalism and democracy. And that is exactly why Gorbachev's time is up. Now is the time for fresh faces, ready for a new start on remaking what used to be the Soviet Union.



A Modest Proposal...

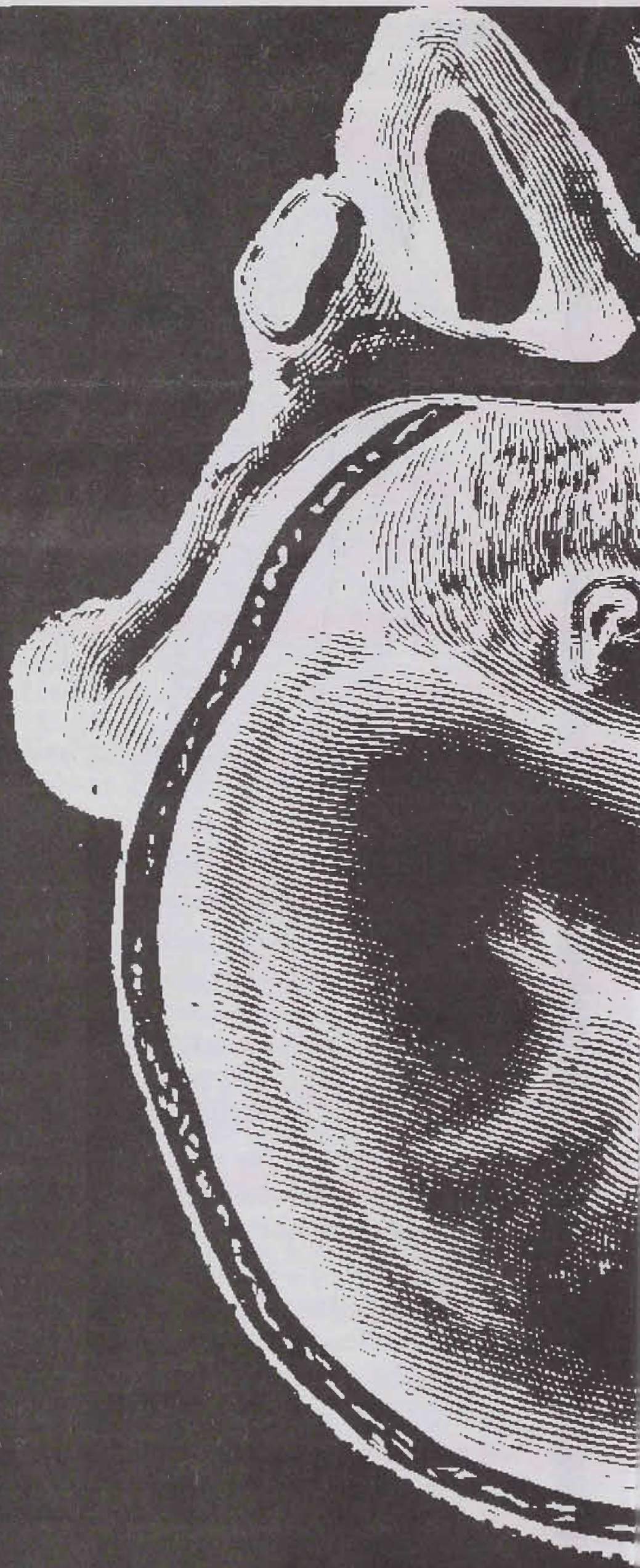
Jean Francois-Revel wrote one of the most engaging and certainly one the most powerful accounts of the battles between the Western democracies and the totalitarian forces of the East. His thesis was that democracies are incapable of withstanding the onslaught of other totalitarian nations. His reason: 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.

Divine Right is the means by which the students may present a united front and have the means to actually get something done. A benevolent autocrat outfitted with the full panoply of nobles and a court is unstoppable. No infighting just an advisory body that can bring forth the concerns of the masses. Then our king could leap into action and his will would represent all the students and be undeniable. Get rid of the Jacobins and reinstitute divine right!

The Divine Right Party
Just Let Us Do It.

Human
Reflections on
Worth:
the Abortion
A Plea for
Debate, Part II
Consistency



Essay By Christopher R. OI



Certainly no individual possessing any moral depth believes that we have a "right to choose" murder, incest, or assault or that we are allowed to rape and abuse children as long as we do it *in private*. These inhuman acts brutally violate the dignity and freedom of the victims involved. Our right to privacy, therefore, which is quite legitimate to a certain degree, is not ultimate and does not extend to justifying the immoral acts mentioned above. When deciding upon the issue of abortion, therefore, one must seriously reflect on what exactly is being decided upon.

The more fundamental issue is not the individual's right of choice or privacy, but the value and status of the living fetus inside the woman's womb. It is only after reasoned and compassionate reflection has shed light upon the ethical status of terminating this living fetus that we can legitimately decide upon the morality of abortion.

For if it is discovered that the developing fetus is not relevantly unlike you and I, and therefore also deserving of the same rights which you and I possess, then our right to privacy is overridden and the act of abortion is immoral. ☞

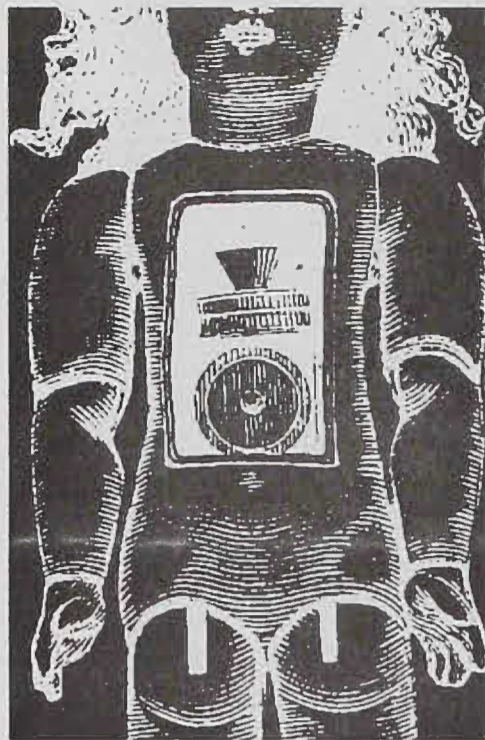
In the paragraphs to come I will be examining this very issue, that is, the value and status of the unborn fetus. The goal of my discussion is to determine whether the unborn are indeed "human" and whether they deserve the status of "personhood." For if these can be so determined (and I grant that, at this point, they are indeed *ifs*), then it would seem obvious that the unborn also possess the human rights of life and liberty. To terminate fetal life, therefore, would on this account constitute a gross violation of these human rights.

But now we must set ourselves to the task of evaluating these much debated *ifs*. In undertaking our inquiry, it must be asked how we can determine whether or not the unborn are deserving to be full-fledged members of the moral community. In answering this question, I wish to greatly emphasize the virtue of *consistency*, that is, barring any relevant difference between any two entities, one should treat/regard/value both in the same manner. To do otherwise would be to show an arbitrary and even immoral partiality.

For example, the color of one's skin should not be regarded as a relevant factor when deciding the worth of an individual or the particular rights which they may or may not possess. That is known as racism.

On the other hand, a long and despicable criminal record might be regarded as quite relevant to such a discussion. For it is generally agreed that it is possible to forfeit one's rights through willful participation in criminal activity. However, a healthy understanding of human moral worth should lead one to conclude that if no such relevant factor exists, then human beings should be valued, and accordingly treated, in the same manner.

Now if we turn to the question of abortion, it may be asked whether or not there is any relevant difference between the unborn and other beings possessing human rights. If no relevant difference can be found between the two, then, using the principle of consistency, the unborn deserve the same protection as



The advocate of abortion wants to claim that there are relevant differences between the unborn and other right-bearing individuals. This is what justifies the difference in treatment between the two. One is not required to act consistently with respect to both, for the two cases are indeed relevantly different.

all other right-bearing individuals.

In formulating my argument, I will first point out that, from the strict standpoint of biological science, an unborn fetus is in every way a member of the species *homo sapiens*, that is, the species of human beings. This, however, is purely a matter of genetic fact, a point not disputed by most intelligent pro-choice advocates.

The objective body of biological knowledge has rendered any other position untenable. This, however, in the eyes of many pro-choice adherents, entirely misses the point. For it takes more than mere membership in our species to qualify for membership in the "moral community" of human beings. One must also qualify as a "person" before one may be granted basic human rights.

In response to this, I will examine the various qualifications which have been put forth as prerequisites for personhood and I will show what I believe to be the logical (and horrifying) consequences entailed by this line of reasoning. *For, as I will argue, every attempt to define the fetus in such a way as to isolate it from other right-bearing individuals ultimately fails, leaving various unfortunate groups such as infants, the elderly, and the mentally handicapped with only as much worth as they are wanted.*

In starting my brief remarks in the area of biology, I again want to emphasize that it is not now disputed whether or not the unborn fetus is a member of the human species. Modern biological inquiry has erased any hint of mystery with respect to this question. From the moment of conception, all genetic information is contained within the fertilized ovum, that is, all physical characteristics (sex, hair color, skin color, eye color, etc.) have all been established. Given the technology, we would be able to tell, at the earliest stage of existence, the physical characteristics which any individual would develop at a later date.

What is more, no new genetic information will ever be added to this new life (taking life in a strictly biological sense). The only things required for the continued growth and

development of this being are food, water, and oxygen. Dr. Jerome Lejeune, a highly-respected French geneticist, when asked about this topic, replied,

"As far as your nature is concerned, I cannot see any difference between the early human being you were and the late human being you are, because in both cases, you were and you are a member of our species. What defines a human being is: He belongs to our species. So an early one or a late one has not changed from its species to another species. It belongs to our kin. That is a definition."

But is this enough to qualify one for human rights? Does genetic humanity grant one worth and dignity, and the concomitant responsibility of others to respect that dignity? Because a "yes" to this question jeopardizes the pro-choice position, advocates of the right to choose are forced to say no. One does not qualify for human rights merely by being a member of the human species. One must also qualify as a "person." If one does not so qualify, then one is excluded from the moral community and, hence, from all human rights. As Mary Anne Warren, a prominent pro-choice thinker, has said, "[I]n the absence of any argument showing that whatever is genetically human is also morally human... nothing more than genetic humanity can be demonstrated by the presence of the human genetic code... The moral community [i.e. those granted human rights] consists of all and only *people*, rather than all and only human beings."

Put in the context of the discussion above, the advocate of abortion wants to claim that there *are* relevant differences between the unborn and other right-bearing individuals. This is what justifies the difference in treatment between the two. One is not required to act consistently with respect to both, for the two cases are indeed relevantly different. These relevant differences are not inherently physical, but moral and philosophical.

What are they? What qualities must one possess in order to qualify as a "person"? Several criteria have been proposed. Four of them, which I have



The unborn do not yet possess an articulate consciousness of the world around them or of themselves. And although a fetus can feel pain at eight to 13 weeks, he or she still does not have that "awareness" of a more developed human. But we must be mindful that there are other human beings who do not possess this particular trait either.

taken from an essay by Mary Anne Warren, are as follows: 1) consciousness (both external and self), 2) the ability to reason, 3) self-motivated activity, and finally 4) the capacity to communicate. Because the unborn do not yet possess these qualities, it is said, they are not yet persons. And because they are not yet persons, they lack genuine, objective moral worth. And because they lack genuine moral worth, they do not, in and of themselves, possess any human right to life or liberty. They are, indeed, only as valuable as they are wanted.

What shall we make of this claim? Should it guide our moral lives? How would such criteria logically work themselves out so that we might be consistent in our treatment of others? To answer these questions, I want to examine each of the qualifications for "personhood" presented above. In doing so, I am going to concentrate on the logical consequences of such qualifications. For we are not, of course, allowed to arbitrarily apply these qualifications to only those groups which we might wish to eliminate. *Consistency demands that we apply our moral principles equally to all.*

The first qualification for personhood is *consciousness*. The unborn, of course, do not yet possess an articulate consciousness of the world around them or, still more, of themselves. And although a fetus can feel pain at eight to thirteen weeks, he or she still does not have that "awareness" which might characterize a more developed human. All this is true, but we must be mindful that there are other human beings who do not possess this particular trait either. Newborn babies, the severely mentally retarded, those in comas, and a number of quite elderly people also fall into this category.

The same can be said for *the ability to reason*. Infants must develop a good deal more before they can rightly be called rational individuals. Likewise, the mentally handicapped are disqualified, as are many who are extremely advanced in age. Applying our principle of consistency, the same can be said for the last two principles, *self-motivated activity* and *the capacity to communicate*. A little reflection will help one to realize that the same groups lack these qualities

as well. The same groups are unable to carry out goal directed activity or communicate with others in an intelligent and coherent manner. On this account, therefore, they fail the test for "personhood."

So now we are faced with a dilemma. If we claim that genetic humanity is not enough to qualify one for human rights, but that additional qualities and standards are required, then other unfortunate groups in addition to the unborn are also deprived of all their worth, value, and dignity. Newborn children, the mentally handicapped, and the very elderly are now faced with the charge that they are not persons, that they lack the status of personhood, and that they possess no human rights. This, if we are to be consistent, is the horrifying consequence of applying such standards of "personhood."

What does it mean to be deprived of personhood and human rights? For those who have not quite grasped the full implications of this line of reasoning, let me elucidate them for you. It means that you are no longer an individual possessing any intrinsic worth or dignity of your own. Your worth has become instrumental, dependent upon your desirability. This means that if abortion is justified, then so is the killing of babies, the mentally handicapped, and the very elderly.

Let me adopt this outlook for a moment. If I am going to be consistent with my moral principles and "standards" for personhood, then I am not morally allowed to stop my neighbor as he mercilessly beats his newborn daughter to death. For she is not yet a person. She cannot reason, communicate, or carry out goal-directed activity nor does she have a noticeably greater consciousness than she had two weeks ago in the womb. Her cries of pain do not count, all because she does not yet possess the necessary personhood-granting qualities required to make her a member of the "moral community." For when it comes to human rights, as we have been told, the policy is "Members only."

Now it does not take an ethical giant to see that this is ludicrous and monstrously barbaric. Infants do have a right to be protected from such

atrocities. We have even legally codified this right in our laws under the prohibition against child abuse. But if babies are protected, then why not the unborn? For as was shown above, the attempt to point out any relevant difference between the unborn and the newly born cannot consistently be made.

What is more, it seems that if we abandon a genetic-based account of who is fully human and therefore fully deserving of human rights and instead place restrictions and boundaries around these rights from *within* the species itself, we have then unwittingly opened up another Pandora's box.

Besides the fact that on this account some would qualify for dignity and some would not, there is also created a *hierarchy* of traits which bestow upon us varying degrees of personhood. For if people *acquire* their value and basic human rights through various traits (the ability to reason, communicate, etc.), then those possessing these traits to a higher degree quite literally would possess more "personhood."

For if the qualities which bestow upon an individual their value, worth, and rights are present in a greater degree, then it seems undeniable that their corresponding worth, value, and rights will also be present in a greater degree.

Those, therefore, who are more rational, more self-motivated, and better able to communicate have, if we are to be consistent, a greater right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This line of reasoning creates a cast system of competency and worth which completely destroys any idea that "all men are created equal." It disturbingly justifies such perversities as "Dyslexics please use back of bus" and "Stutterers need not apply."

Is it not far better to grant that all members of the human species innately possess a worth and dignity of their own, regardless of whether they are elderly, adult, infant, or unborn? And does not this worth bring with it a right to live and grow without fear of unwarranted death no matter what the age?

The only possible negative reply I can think of would be from one who claims that the unborn are utterly

dependent, that they are living by the grace and good will of their mother. But can this reply hold water? Is someone's worth to be measured by their degree of dependency? Do I suddenly lose most of my worth when an accident befalls me and I become dependent upon the care of others?

Does a newborn infant only have a very small degree of worth because he is only slightly less dependent than an unborn child? For my part, I think it would be appalling to view the handicapped as intrinsically possessing less worth simply because they are more dependent upon others. Listen to one philosopher,

"Suppose someone were to say to you, 'You don't count; you are too dependent.' This would be an outrage. If this were used as a reason for killing you — that you were perceived as being in the way — it would be regarded as a terrible injustice."

It should not be too difficult, therefore, to see that one's level of dependency does not measure an individual's human worth.

I therefore conclude by asking each one of you reading this article to seriously ask yourself where you ground your beliefs in human worth. I believe that if my reasoning is sound, I have shown that erecting standards of personhood which must necessarily be met for membership in "the moral community" is a dangerous and pernicious doctrine. It leads to the dehumanizing of many less-fortunate and less-able individuals, such as the mentally handicapped and newborn infants.

A far more compassionate view, in my opinion, would be to ground human worth in membership in the human species, thus bestowing basic human rights upon all humanity. I encourage you to think long and hard on this topic. Give this issue some serious reflection. I realize that, in an article of this size, there is not enough room to examine all the facets of the abortion debate. There are issues I have not been able to address, but I do think that what I have presented here is soundly reasoned and roughly whole in and of itself. I therefore offer it to you as a springboard for deeper reflection.

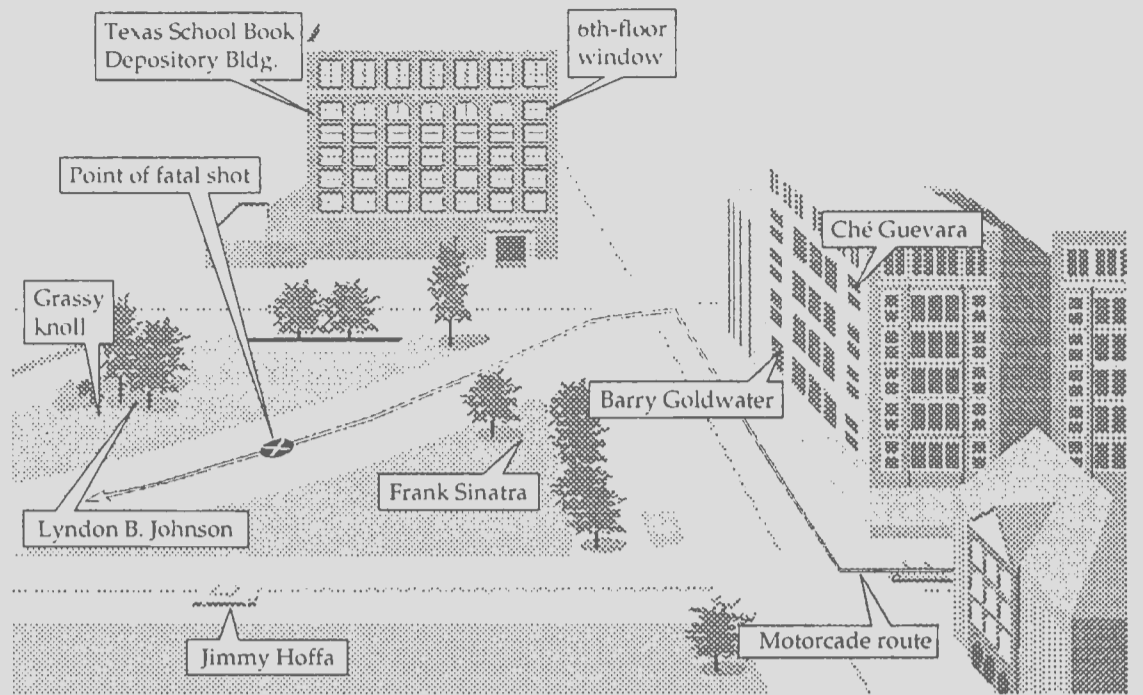


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Oliver!



We rest our case.

Essay by Michael Fogarty

Oliver Stone is a spoiled child roaming vindictively through the household of U.S. history. Reprimanded by the culture of his parents, his tantrum directs him toward something he can smash. Now, those curios on the high mantelpiece he could not reach as a younger director await his inspection, but Stone does not see the responsibility that comes with the opportunity to touch fragile things. 

Oliver Twists the Truth

By Kurt Andrew Schlichter

There you go again, Oliver Stone, playing with the truth. By now, the furor over Oliver Stone's latest film, "JFK," has died down somewhat. Even by the loose standards of the liberal establishment, Mr. Stone's bizarre and paranoid vision of an all encompassing conspiracy by the military-industrial complex and its running dog lackeys to slay the saintly President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was hard to swallow.

As a result, Stone was slammed by liberals like Tom Wicker as well as conservatives like Tom Bethell. The mainstream establishment has come together, rejected Stone's assertions, and moved on to bicker over the economy. So far, so good.

There is one problem. The entire world is not made up of the established media. For those of our generation "JFK"—along with Stone's other films as well as similar "political" entertainment—represents the truth.

The young thinker who enthusiastically applauded Stone's vision during the screening I attended is not going to read the various critiques and will certainly never check the results of the Warren Commission's investigation for himself. No, he will continue to believe the truth as revealed by Oliver Stone, and he will pass these insights on to anyone who will listen.

Why are the young adults of today so vulnerable to charlatans like Oliver Stone?

Continued on next page

Certain events comprise the American psychological constitution. Wars, depressions, scandals, and celebrations sit in varying places of respect on our historical mantelpiece. When an artist borrows something from this conspicuous mantle, he has a duty to treat it responsibly. The creators of *Glory* did just this. Oliver Stone has juggled and dropped an heirloom. It doesn't matter that he juggled it skillfully. He dropped it. He defaced it with his revisionist crayons.

Only someone who has no respect for history could repeat himself as often as Stone has. This time it amounts to a reckless attack on a generation's ability to comprehend November of 1963.

Can we not comment upon anything we choose — regardless of our ignorance? Of course, but there is an ethical consideration. UCSD's own Prof. Philip Kitcher, writing on another topic, makes a point relevant here:

"... the question of what counts as sufficient evidence is not independent of the political consequences. If the costs of being wrong are sufficiently high, then it is reasonable and responsible to ask for more evidence than is demanded in situations where mistakes are relatively innocuous."

Stone's evidence is certainly not sufficient, and few will defend his particular choice in conspiracy theories. He and his defenders argue that what is really important is to create a "counter-myth." What is at

issue is the idea of an "official truth" about the President's assassination and the need to offer an alternative—no matter how paranoid.

Now then, are Stone's cavalier accusations innocuous? In Manichean fashion his superhero attacks exiled Cubans, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the dreaded "Military-Industrial Complex." Besides having killed Kennedy, what do these groups have in common? It's obvious: they don't like Communists. Not one bit. This is an attack upon those forces that have dealt blows to Marxist-Leninists everywhere. Given the scope and importance of the fight against such a destructive creed, *can* any attack upon these parties not be taken seriously?

Clearly Stone hates anti-Communists and is enamored of Jack Kennedy. This is a puzzling conjunct because Kennedy was one himself. But who among the Kennedy idolaters remembers that? Stone is in love with his personal image of a reformed JFK: the sort of man who wouldn't have traumatized Oliver in Vietnam or exacerbated the Cold War.

It shouldn't need to be said that discovering misappropriation of government power is a good thing. It *shouldn't* need to be said, but Stone rides roughshod over common sense. Once the "counter-myth" has been wiped-away, it seems that this is the only message: conspiracy is bad. It is a shame Oliver Stone used great-grandma's vase to prove gravity.

Continued from previous page

There are many reasons. The failure of our society to insist on a reasonable understanding of history for students is one factor. Without a knowledge of what was happening during the early Sixties, a moviegoer is susceptible to any lie or distortion Oliver Stone feels inclined to offer.

Stone wants Kennedy to be murdered because of his opposition to Vietnam, but there is a slight problem in that Kennedy did not oppose intervention in Vietnam. Rather, he was instrumental in beginning our commitment. Stone does the simple thing. He simply lies, making Kennedy a peacenik, and the members of the audience leave, nodding their empty heads.

Likewise, Stone is the ideal filmmaker for a generation of Americans more likely to know Axl Rose's zodiac sign than who fought whom in the Civil War. He is a damn good director, we must give him that. His films, while not technically perfect, are well-crafted and always interesting if

not exciting. Much like my old communications professor, Herb Schiller, he spreads unmitigated nonsense, but he sure does it well.

I fell for it myself when I saw "Platoon" during my senior year at UCSD. Vivid, compelling, and emotionally disturbing, "Platoon" is a riveting portrayal of men at war. It was not until later, as an Army officer leading my own platoon during the Gulf War, that I realized how ridiculous much of that film was. I couldn't know that until I actually went to war. I cannot estimate how many people asked me if my experiences were "like in Platoon." That's Stone's secret: use enough truth to get the audience to buy into the film, then change any facts that get in the way of the message.

Dishonesty abounds in Stone's other films. "Midnight Express," which Stone wrote, makes a hero out of a seedy little drug smuggler and bashes the Turks for not being particularly kind to an American who deals dope. In "Salvador," the heroes are naturally the communist guerillas fighting to install the kind of worker's paradise so much of the world has spent the last few years trying to escape.

"Wall Street" shows capitalism as it is (at least as it is imagined in college faculty lounges): a cruel and inhuman system designed to bring the greatest amount of misery to the greatest number of people. The rest of his films including "The Doors" (a tribute to the drug-addled and ultimately rather tiresome would-be rock-god Jim Morrison) each twist the truth in support of Stone's vision.

Stone likes to play the part of the heroic outsider fighting "The System," but in reality he is a dishonest little man reveling in the glory his fans lavish upon him. To play that role he will lie and distort without a second thought. If Stone told me the sky was blue, I would look out a window and check.

However, many of our generation are not so skeptical about what is placed before them. Look around a political science class sometime. Watch carefully as the teacher lashes into "Reagan's cowboy imperialism" or trashes the President or otherwise genuflects before the altar of political correctness. Then look at the students, and see how many, eyes wide yet oddly blank, are nodding in solemn agreement with whatever idiocy the professor is putting forward.

No, Oliver Stone is not an aberration but simply another left-winger who, his ideas in retreat around the world, has launched a guerilla campaign against the truth. Whether it is Stone in the movies or "Designing Women" on television or irritating rock stars spouting off about rainforests, the young generation is being targeted. The Left has been discredited around the globe for all to see, but to see one's eyes must be open.

I am sorry to say that many of us born in the '60s and early '70s go through life with our eyes resolutely shuttered to truth and knowledge. It is upon that blank slate of mind that people like Stone seek to chisel. It is time to open our eyes and seize his hammer.

— Kurt Schlichter, a 1987 graduate of Third College, co-edited CR during 1986-87. He is currently in his first year at Loyola Law School.

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The World As We Know It

By Andrew Hardister

"Free the mind prisoners," black spray paint on a wind whipped sheet. His banner mesmerized the hungry who gathered around his soap box. A tall man, with a tie-dyed turban and eyes of fear and secret knowledge, he had already attracted a hive of aspiring social reformers who received every word with serendipitous smiles and dizzy nods. They were young, so they understood that the wide world is a great sponge, with an enemy in every pore, waiting to suck up their dreams of a drug-induced utopia. Their pain came from the injustice of a rational society and they ached to destroy forever the father figure of industrial capitalism. The guru of the moment held court in College Square and began to recite the litany of secret truth.

"Stephen King, whose real name is Esteban Rey, and George Bush, his political puppet, are the true Kennedy assassins! They are now part of a trilateral commission plot to resurrect the frozen body of Elvis Presley so that our Constitutional right to abortion will be erased. The FBI has been following me. The CIA wants me dead! Henry Kissinger held me hostage until Don Henley sold me to the Soviets. The mayor of this town is an agent for world-wide militarization. The space shuttle was designed for the atomic destruction of the Third World."

The gaping students knew the truth of his words. This raw emotion transcended rhetoric. They could feel it in their post-adolescent bones.

"The world is big, the



world is great, the world is out to get you!"

They sang the song of freedom. The guru released them from the cold iron shackles of reality.

"Every famous person works for the CIA. It's what they call covert operations. The leaders of this university have lured you here to imprison your minds in a web of societal double standards and cultural oppression. The

only way out is to accept the challenge of anarchy and embrace chaos as absolute freedom of the soul. Anything you do is moral, as long as it can be perceived as anarchy. Free spirits must unite to destroy the rational oppressors of the ignorant masses.

"Only by uniting, only by sharing in a holistic sense, only by living on the doorstep of America, can we transcend the winds of change that blow through the basement of freedom's golden highway until it winds through the stars of a universal brotherhood of men and women across the globe, across this great blue orb, spinning through the empty void, this cosmic hotel, this garden of evenly raked soil where all seeds grow in a unitary splendor, this spectacle of global injustice we call Earth!!!"

The weeping audience rose to its collective feet. Love filled the air. The guru led them in a medley of Sixties peace hymns. For a moment, the world had meaning.

Then, somewhere far off in the distance, a student went to class.

The Song of the Guru

By Andrew Hardister

Chase yourselves;
the world is violent.
chaos captures all who wait!

Hide yourselves;
they're out to get you.
Stephen King and Contragate!

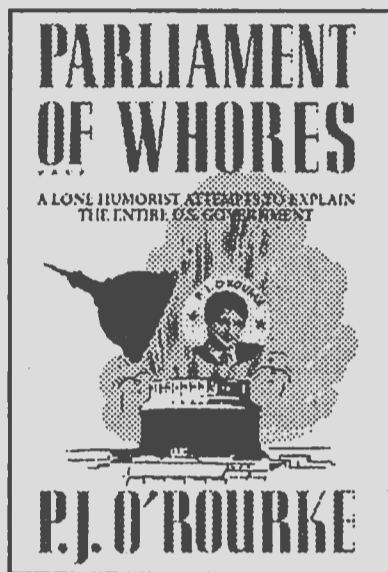
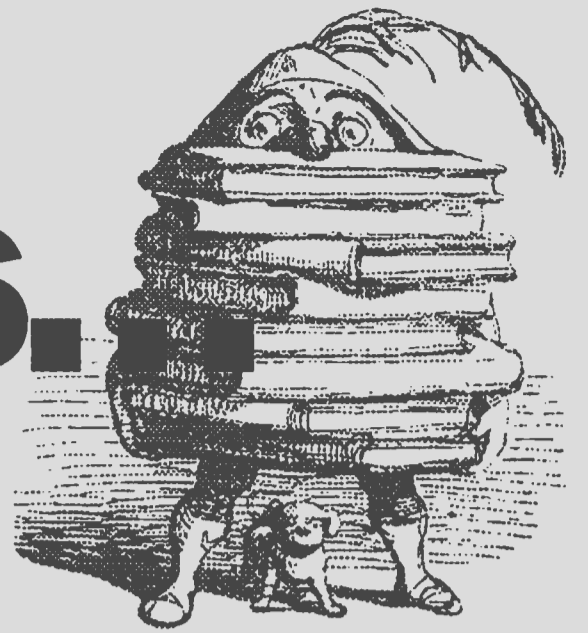
I've escaped.
I've come to warn you.
Drop your school books, raise your head!

The CIA
will soon destroy you.
The rich and famous want you dead!

Anarchy:
the only answer.
Rules will kill you in your sleep.

Follow me,
to peace and freedom.
Don't be led like mindless sheep.
Don't be led like mindless sheep!

Book Reviews.



Parliament of Whores by P.J. O'Rourke

Atlantic Monthly Press, 233 pages, \$19.95

I really pity the perpetually oppressed, those poor, misguided saps who constantly snivel to anyone that happens to within earshot about the raw deal they've been handed by Fate. Why pity? Simply because the perpetually oppressed are too busy playing protest songs on their guitars, thinking up clever chants about George Bush, and being so gosh darn outraged all the time that they forget to see the inherent humor in the hell-bound handbasket that is modern day America.

"But how can you find *anything* funny," the perpetually oppressed will lament, "when there's all this suffering and injustice and misery in the world?" And then they start to yammer about migrant Canadian crack addicts who support *Roe v. Wade* and despise western culture, which misses the point entirely. Humor is essential for tackling society's problems because, if for no other reason, it allows us to encounter the slings and arrows of everyday life with hope instead of resignation. Without humor, mankind is doomed to be overcome with problems instead of solutions, and this makes us bald, unhappy, and likely to listen to obscene amounts of Tracy Chapman songs.

Perhaps that's why P.J. O'Rourke begins *Parliament of Whores* (Atlantic, \$19.95) with a quotation from Horace — "What stops a man who can laugh from speaking the truth?" The answer, of course, is nothing, which O'Rourke goes on to prove in the ensuing pages.

Parliament of Whores is a book about American government, which is to say it's about inefficiency, waste, and ineptitude.

O'Rourke paints a picture of democracy that is anything but flattering. "Giving money and power to government," O'Rourke writes, "is like giving whiskey and car keys to teenage boys." Hardly a complimentary observation of the American political structure, but it is funny. Out of this humor arises pinpoint accuracy.

The structure of *Parliament of Whores* represents what O'Rourke calls "a kind of Devil's Civics Text," satirizing the 1988 presidential election, the three branches of government, bureaucracy (what many would call the fourth branch), government policy, and special interest groups. As with the best kinds of satire, *Parliament of Whores* does not deal with exaggerations or hyperbole. O'Rourke embraces reality in all its bizarre splendor, from the most boring Democratic presidential candidate in captivity to an agricultural policy that pays farmers to grow nothing but weeds. We laugh because it's a picture of government that we recognize.

About the 1988 presidential election, O'Rourke writes, "We had a choice... between Democrats who wanted to tax us to death and Republicans who preferred to have us die in a foreign war. The Democrats planned to fiddle while Rome burned. The Republicans were going to burn Rome, then fiddle." This assessment is more than just humorous, it's right on the money. Truth is not only stranger than fiction, it's funnier.

It is impossible to discuss the "point" of *Parliament of Whores* without some trepidation. After all, in his introductory essay to *Republican Party Reptile*, an earlier anthology, O'Rourke criticizes satire that emphasizes message over humor. "People who worry themselves sick over sexism in language and think that the government sneaks into their houses at night and puts atomic waste in the kitchen dispose-all cannot be expected to have a sense of humor," he writes. "And they don't. Radicals and liberals and such want jokes to have a 'meaning,' to make a 'point'. But laughter is involuntary, and points are not."

While O'Rourke doesn't try to educate his readers with every joke, he does reach specific conclusions about the problems of democracy. The flaw lies in a populace that isn't "willing to learn facts, let alone face them." Any form of government is doomed to be run by the ignorant and self-serving.

Unfortunately, in a democracy, that means the population at large, or as O'Rourke concludes, "the whores are us."

Yet, *Parliament of Whores* is not intended as a condemnation or rejection of democracy. Certainly, O'Rourke is not advocating a complete overthrow of the U.S. government. The "point," such as it is, is to make people laugh at the folly of government—at the folly of themselves. With laughter comes recognition, the possibility of weighing different alternatives, the ability to find a way to reach that seemingly far off light at the end of the tunnel. And I don't think you can find a better reason for reading a book than that. Even if you *are* perpetually oppressed.

— Philip Michaels



Destructive Generation

by Peter Collier and David Horowitz
Simon & Schuster, 366 pages, \$9.95
(Paperback)

These former editors of *Ramparts* have written a text of rare authority. During the Sixties, Horowitz and Collier delved extensively into the New Left and achieved a prominence in that community. For this reason, their gradual shift to classical conservatism is all the more fascinating. *Destructive Generation* is a literate, autobiographical, and merciless assessment of the Left in our time. However, it is not simply an analysis of Leftist politics; it is chart of maturity, intellectual life, and living.

Far from being a purely abstract analysis, *Destructive Generation* spins its tale anecdotally. This is very much to the point: to eschew the naked metaphysical abstraction on which the Left relies. Collier and Horowitz make their points with numerous references to usual suspects like Tom Hayden.

While they do not paint Hayden as a central figure — more a political opportunist — they quote from his autobiography: “We of the Sixties accomplished more than most generations in American history.” Here, in their consistent tone of self-criticism, these reformed New Leftists ask:

“Is Hayden thinking of the defeat of America and the resultant genocide in Southeast Asia? Or perhaps the disintegration of civil order and the eruption of violence in American cities? Perhaps he has in mind the explosion of the social epidemics of the '80s — ‘feminized’ poverty, AIDS, drugs, and drug-related crime — which resulted from the heedless

assault on The System that took place in the Sixties.”

The passage of time has not made their past more palatable and there is not a hint of affection for it. This book works because Horowitz and Collier seem to be personalities as interesting as the subjects about which they write. They cried once “McCarthyism!” and denied (with villains like Noam Chomsky) the post-war genocide in Southeast Asia.

Given their past, they can ask some daring questions: Why was there ever a House Un-American Activities Committee? Why an investigation of that sort? “Because the Communists concealed who and what they were; because they presented themselves as progressives and patriots even as their covert actions were revealing wholly different values and intentions.”

Horowitz himself was a “red baby.” His father, a hard-line Stalinist, similarly gave himself to the Idea but could not eventually reconcile the reality that emerged with Khrushchev’s revelations.

The real tragedy of HUAC is not Robert DeNiro’s victimization in another of Hollywood’s self-congratulatory Leftist flicks. It is the propaganda value it has held for Communists: “McCarthyism is no longer a term that means character assassination and reckless disregard for due process. McCarthyism means anti-Communism itself.”

As for Communism itself? The numbers are so bewildering it becomes a point of distanced, intellectual debate. They ask, “did Stalin kill twenty or thirty or sixty million of his own countrymen to create the socialist future in the USSR? Did Mao kill twenty or thirty or fifty million during his Great Leaps and Cultural Revolutions? How many millions of dead people can dance on the head of the socialist pin?”

Because of the reverence for the Idea and the easy perversion of truth, Leftism avoids coming under fire. They explain that, “even though Marxist socialism is a doctrine that has exploited, impoverished, and murdered more people than any other creed in our time, the Communist (and neo-Communist) Left remains part of respectable society in a way, for example, that the heirs of Nazism never could.”

Further, *Destructive Generation* has something to reveal about patriotism. Just as anti-Communism has been redefined as McCarthyism, patriotism has been redefined as jingoism.

What does it mean to be a patriot? To love this country? So many on the left say they love their country, but when you ask them what they actually love about it, you’ll get answers that amount to: “I love my ability to fight everything this country stands for.” They love to harangue against religious zealots, to declare their radicalism in the *kaffehaus*, and they love using the First Amendment to litter the marketplace of ideas with aberrant ideologies.

Why aberrant, destructive ideologies? The Left has an intense distaste for accumulated Western tradition. What began as “a chic hatred of America,” has replaced “any intention to make America better.” Even though the alternatives are not considered, the dominating status quo must be overturned. Joe Six-pack is reviled as anti-intellectual and a dupe of The System: “the source of radical innocence about the socialist future is radical

hostility toward one's own community."

That innocence, the chasing of political fashion, and immaturity took their toll. Just as absurd bell-bottoms dilated and neckties took on an amazing girth, the fashionable of the Movement were forced ever-leftward. Suddenly, non-violence was a joke, Martin Luther King, Jr. was a "Tom" and murderers were merely victims of a racist system (who had a way of biting the hand that fed them).

However, something occurred to them: "We realized that one cannot live the 'life of promises' without remaining a child." Immaturity is the root of Leftism. There is an eternal hope that socialism can spring anew. "If one beginning didn't work out, there would always be others that might. This, we eventually came to realize, is the pathology at the heart of Leftism, the desire that makes it truly an infantile disorder."

Collier and Horowitz arrive at a classically conservative philosophy. Still, they distance themselves from Modern Conservatism (though they voted for Reagan in '84). They emerge with a philosophy of pessimism and newfound respect for tradition, having experienced the horrors of the Idea behind the New Left.

In the end, one feels pity for these lost people who could find no individual existential security. They realized themselves merely in the collective in the collective and the Idea. They squandered their lives on a cause based upon hatred of American culture and the idolatry of the Idea rather than compassion and realistic reckoning. Because this idea still thrives today, I cannot recommend this book highly enough.

— Javier Mendez

Politics, Markets, and America's Schools
by John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe
The Brookings Institution, 331 pages,
including appendix

For America's public schools, the last decade has been the worst of times and the best of times," wrote authors Terry Moe and John Chubb. "Never before in recent history have the public schools been subjected to such savage criticism for failing to meet the nation's educational needs — yet never before have governments been so aggressively dedicated to studying the schools' problems and finding the resources for solving them." The authors set out to join the debate on how to solve them problem with America's schools.

That there is a problem seems to be universally agreed upon, given that SAT scores have been dropping since the 1970s, twenty-five percent of high school students drop out, up to half drop out in major cities, and there has been no reading progress since 1970. However, what to do about this problem is not universally agreed upon, and many waves of reform have been attempted over the last twenty-five years, apparently with little

effect.

Chubb and Moe argue that it is not a lack of resources, parental involvement, or teacher's competence that is the root cause of the malaise in the school system, though these are important. It is in fact the system itself that is the problem, and to solve the problem requires radical restructuring. While the last chapter focuses on how this new structure might look, the bulk of the book sets out to empirically prove that the organization of the school is a very important aspect of how students learn.

To do this, they use data from a nation wide survey of 60,000 students at over 1000 schools both public and private, which asked 220 questions about the students, the schools, and the staff and faculty. Also part of the survey was an academic achievement score taken the student's sophomore year, and a re-test of the same students their senior year. The authors also examine the change in school governance and control over time.

The discussion starts with a history of the development of the current school system which is based on the idea that there is "one best system" of education which encompasses all schools. This has not always been the case, the authors argue, prior to the 1930s schools were generally local affairs which were tailored to the needs of the neighborhood and community. During the Progressive era the schools were lumped into systems and eroded the autonomy of each school. This created large bureaucratic systems where decisions are made far from those who interact with the students and parents.

Real change, they argue, is limited by the deeply entrenched interest groups of educational administrators, school board members, professionals and teachers each of whom has a stake in the present system and might lose in the course of a major change in the system structure. Hence all criticism and reform up to this point has taken place within the system, and the role of the system itself has never been seriously questioned.

Having set up the problem, Chubb and Moe spend much of the rest of the book setting up the statistical analysis which seeks to tease out the causes for differences in student achievement. They are careful to take the most conservative assessment since many of their findings fly in the face of the conventional wisdom on the subject. The discussions on their statistical analysis are comprehensible to anyone who has taken a statistics course [say Social Science 60] and they use nothing much more complex than linear regressions so there is no feeling that they are trying to snow the reader with a lot of complex hand waving.

Some of the findings are rather surprising. What turned out not to be statistically relevant was the percentage of the school that was black or the schools economic resources. Rather, student academic gains between sophomore and senior year were found, after correcting for other aspects, to be a result of first, initial levels of student achievement; that is, students with high initial scores improved at a greater rate than did students who started with lower scores.

Tied for next in importance was the school organization and the socioeconomic status of the student's parents. These two factors were each about two-thirds of the importance of the

student's initial performance. This corresponded to about half of a year's achievement. The other factor was the socioeconomic level of the general student population. This factor was about one third as important as the effect of the student's initial score in predicting their performance.

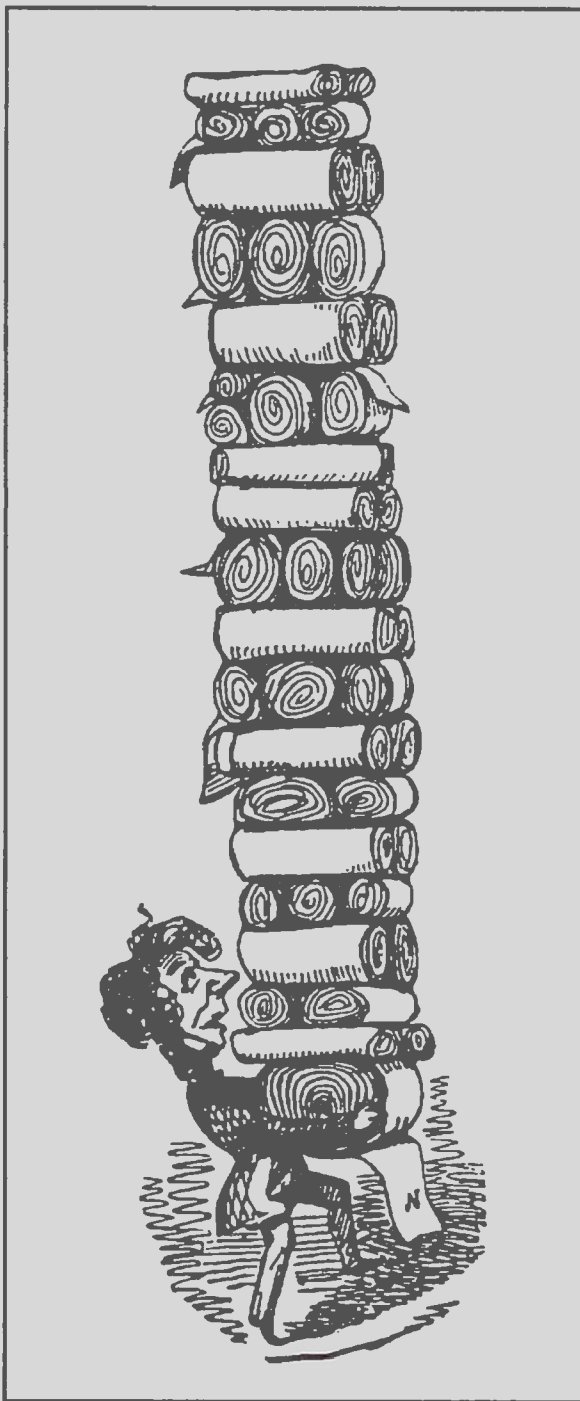
This is surprising in the sense that "conventional wisdom" has long held that what mattered was expenditure on the schools, the socioeconomic background of the family and the other students as well as the effect of particular policies.

Thus policy has been centered on improving the socioeconomic mix of students and on individual policies such as more homework. Granted that expenditure on schools matters, since buildings, books, teachers, and chalk are needed, it could not be determined that the current level of differences mattered in statistically meaningful way except that better funded schools tended to be better organized, but controlling for organization left little difference between well and poorly funded schools. Moreover, a bit more than half of the better organized schools had funding levels that were below average.

A brief look at the factors behind school organization and school policy will help the reader to understand how these findings were derived.

School organization was an index of ten factors. These were two factors of academic emphasis: an index of graduation requirements and priority that the school attaches to academic excellence; two indicators of leadership: the principal's motivation and the esteem in which principals held their teachers; two indicators of personnel: teacher professionalism (influence, efficacy, and absenteeism) and staff harmony (cooperation, collegiality, and principal's vision); and finally, the educational practices of the school: how students are assigned to classes, aggressiveness of academic tracking, the amount of homework assigned daily, the amount of time spent on administrative routines, and the fairness of discipline.

School policy was separated from school organization by subtracting one at a time one of the above factors in order to demonstrate that the addition of a "policy" does not an effective organization make. Not only did individual policies not seem to have independent effects, not having one or the other made little difference in the overall effect of school organization. It was also determined that the organization of the school affected the probability that a student would be put on an academic track (e.g. more academic courses) which did have, not surprisingly, an impact on how a student did academically. The percentage of students in an academic track itself was an influence on school organization, but when removed from consideration, had only



a modest effect.

What does this all mean? The authors argue that given that we cannot influence in a constructive way the student's original score (except in a circular way by improving schools), or the student's parents socioeconomic level, we are left with improving the organization of the school and, to a much less effective extent, the improvement of the socioeconomic status of the other students. Unless very considerable increases in funding are to be made, the net effect is not likely to make the degree of improvement that is desired.

Looking at the schools that fell into the well organized category, the authors found that they tended to be private (though not all private were well organized) and public schools tended to come from small school districts in rural areas, though there were large numbers of well organized urban schools and poorly organized rural schools. The reasons cited were the degree of central control from the school district. Rural districts and smaller urban districts, tended to give principals more leeway in setting policy, the tone of the school, and handling personnel matters. Private schools tended to not have a central authority dictating organization

and principals were given a freer hand, though not in all cases (particularly in large religious districts).

Beyond the theoretical level, the case of Manhattan's District No. 4 was cited. District 4 serves 14,000 students from pre-kindergarten through the 9th grade. In 1973 it ranked last in reading and mathematics out of New York City's thirty-two districts. Half of the families were headed by single females, 80 percent qualified for low income free-lunch programs because of low income, 60 percent were Hispanic and 35 percent were black.

Starting in 1974 a program of alternative schools built around distinctive themes, philosophies, and programs was developed with the district's encouragement for teachers to put forward their own proposals, and, with the consent of the district form their own schools. To accommodate the vast number of new schools proposed, schools were identified with programs not buildings so that one building could house several different schools.

The schools had substantial autonomy. The district did not have centralized control over admissions, the school's programs, methods, or structure. The district did help parents through orientation sessions, information on schools, and lessons in decision making. This meant that teachers, parents, and students were encouraged to think of themselves as the "owners" of their school and take responsibility for it. If the school fails to attract

students, then the school fails. The need to attract students and the proliferation of different kinds of schools meant that schools and students matched up quite nicely with each other with 60 percent getting their first choices, 30 percent their second, and 5 percent their third.

The change has been very effective. 15.9 percent of students read at their grade level in 1973, 62.6 percent were doing so by 1987.

District 4 had moved from the bottom to the middle of New York City's ranking of its districts and students were "dramatically" more successful in getting into New York's selective high schools far exceeding the city-wide average.

The authors' prescription for improving the nation's schools is to follow this model of freeing up the ability of groups to form schools and to compete for students who are free to move from school to school.

Chubb and Moe hold up this East Harlem model for the rest of the country,

but argue that it has one inherent flaw: in East Harlem, the innovation is utterly dependent on the visionaries who are in control of the districts' elected structure. Should they be replaced by others who do not share the same vision, or who are motivated by other interests, the whole system could just as easily be undone.

This, the authors say, is beginning to be done in East Harlem. A similar fate seems to befalling the Coronado high school where a visionary principal was replaced by a less than adequate one which has led to a systematic removal of its exciting programs.

The solution, according to the authors, is to put all of the schools on a market based system where the existence of the school is dependent on its ability to attract students. It must have the appropriate safeguards to ensure that all students have a place somewhere, and must remove the possibility of re-assertion of control by the center.

The authors spend the last part of the book, about fifteen pages, outlining a number of options that would allow a wide variety of schools to be started, students and parents as a mechanism for informed choice, and a greatly reduced role for elected officials in constraining that choice.

The effect of this system would be to provide the incentives, which are currently lacking, for schools to serve the needs of the students and parents who are the people most directly affected by a school's success or failure. Elected administrators have to serve many masters, the majority of whom are not parents or students, thus leading to the wandering goals of the existing system.

Chubb and Moe not only clearly articulate this, but provide the empirical data which allows the reformer to understand what exactly needs to be addressed by the reform and develop a more coherent overall plan.

—Paul Eykamp

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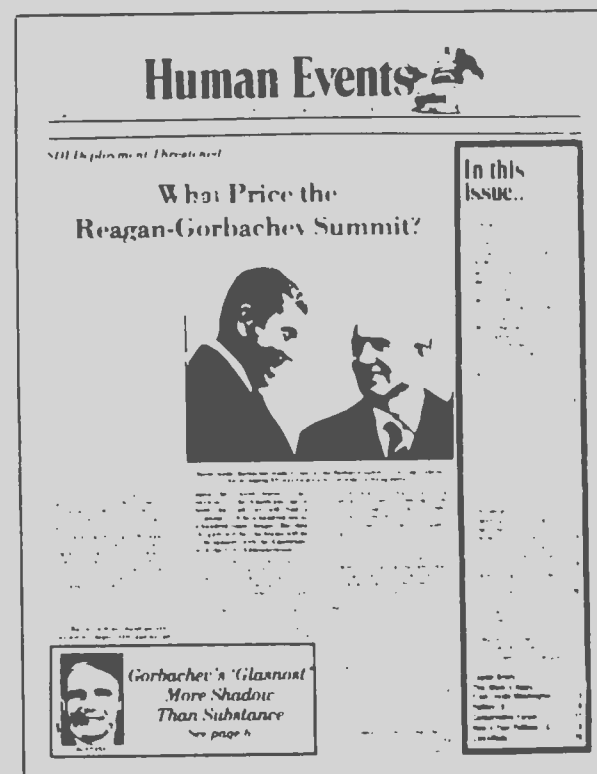
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Parting Thoughts...

One of the merits of democracy is quite obvious: it is perhaps the most charming form of government ever devised by man. The reason is not far to seek. It is based on propositions that are palpably not true — and what is not true, as everyone knows, is always immensely more fascinating and satisfying to the vast majority of men than what is true.

—H.L. Mencken

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When ideas fail, words come in very handy.

—Goethe

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Suppose you were an idiot and suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself.

—Mark Twain

◆◆◆

Why should people go out and pay to see bad movies when they can stay at home and see bad television for nothing?

—Sam Goldwyn

◆◆◆

By the time we've made it, we've had it.

—Malcolm Forbes

There is a crucial distinction between the education we received and that offered now. We were sent to study and learn the truth — the truth about God and man of which the Catholic Church had been the custodian since the death of Christ. Today, children are sent to school to participate in some joint "search" for a truth they are told is either unknowable or has no greater claim to belief than someone else's "truth." Education becomes a moral scavenger hunt, with teachers and students participating together; and we ought not be surprised, when the hunt is over, at what some of the children have brought in.

—Patrick J. Buchanan

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Sunday: A day given over by Americans to wishing they were dead and in heaven, and that their neighbors were dead and in hell.

—H.L. Mencken

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Bathe twice a day to be really clean, once a day to be passably clean, once a week to avoid being a public nuisance.

—Anthony Burgess

There are more of them than us.

—Herb Caen

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Prison will not work until we start sending a better class of people there.

—Laurence J. Peter

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There is no dishonesty into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall than that of defrauding the government.

—Benjamin Franklin

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

—Richard Ingrams

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Human beings are designed for paradise. How is it our lives are such hell?

—Edward Bond

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Privilege is privilege, whether it is due to money or intellect or whether you have six toes.

—Philip, Duke of Edinburgh

◆◆◆

Problems are only opportunities in work clothes.

—Henry J. Kaiser

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