

Barry Demuth: Gary Snyder and The Louisville Slugger

P. Joseph Moons on Soviet Military Intelligence

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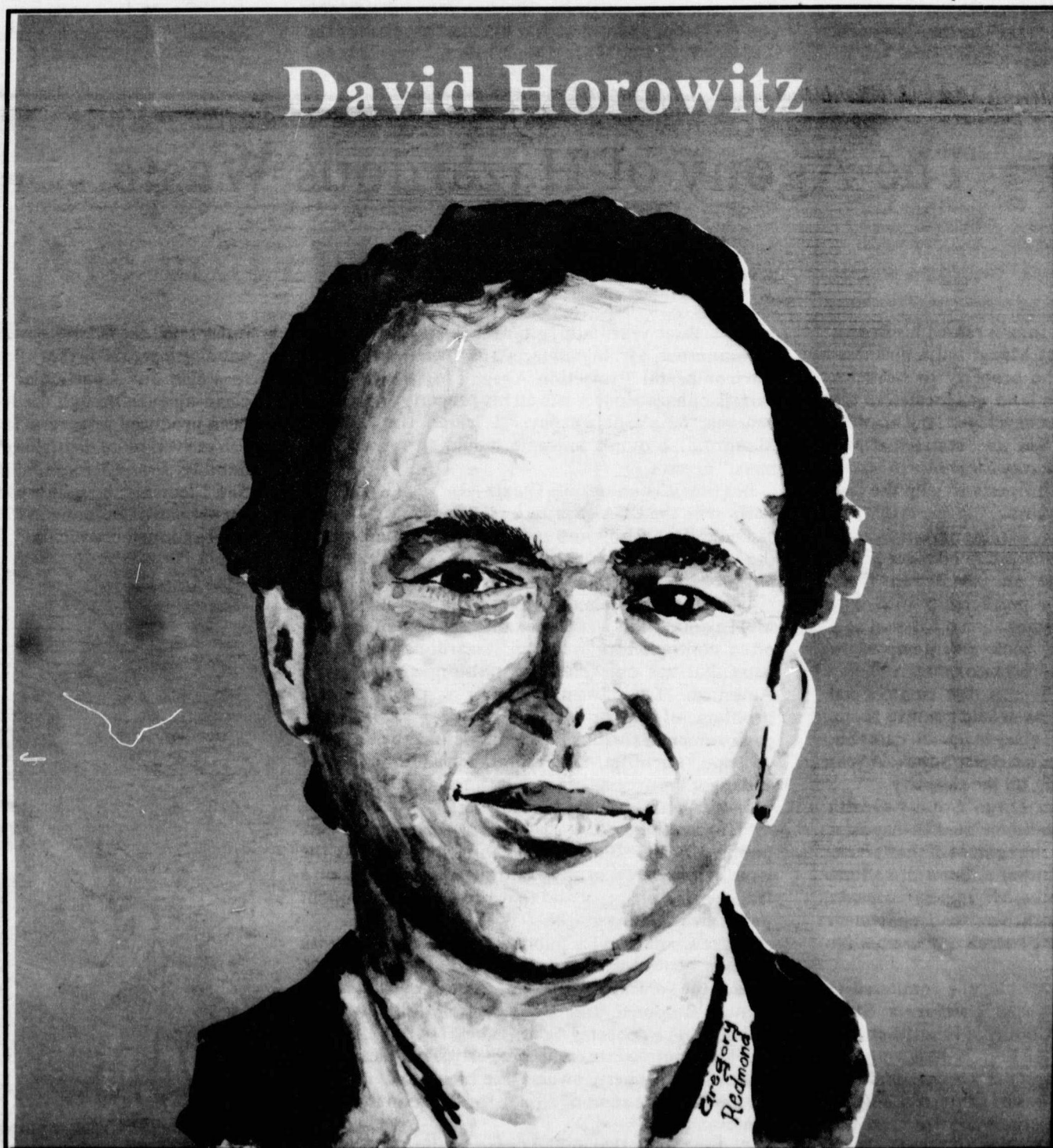
Bryan Bloom: Life at Berkeley

Samuel J. Spounias: Dismantling Shanties

Carol Beaucage: Dismantling Fetuses

Also: James D. Spounias, Kurt Schlichter,
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David Horowitz



Resurrecting The UCSD Shanty

by Samuel J. Spounias

It must be tough being a leftist at UCSD. Institutions such as Berkeley and Dartmouth have had "shanty-towns" last for quite a long time. Long enough, in fact, to arouse the indignation of any rational person who can see through the guise of another silly communist-inspired ploy. However, as of this writing, the UCSD shanty no longer exists within the realm of reality. Unless, of course, the members of the left have saved the pieces of shanty to resurrect it.

I must admit that I do applaud the university police for removing that unsightly erection. Maybe UCSD's little known Department of Urban Studies and Planning made itself useful by advising the administration that the leftists just had no business building a structure without a permit and without complying with the building codes.

Last year the smelly beasts of burden camped outside the Cluster Undergraduate library and made public nuisances of themselves by not bathing and living in musty sleeping bags that stank of marijuana smoke and who knows what else. With the presence of assorted insect infested mattresses and sleeping bags, it appeared that the student-victim whose schedule required passing through Revelle campus would be forced to see, smell, and hear the filth that these "student protestors" have to spew. But, it appears to be gone thanks to some good, old-fashioned scrubbing with lye.

Fortunately, I had a chance to observe the writings, symbols and slogans that appeared on the supposed "anti-Apartheid" shanty. Many walls of the shanty were occupied with slogans of an extremely racist nature. Such inflammatory statements as *NO YANKEES, GRINGOS OFF OUR LAND*, and *CHICANOS WILL KICK THE U.S. OFF MEXICANO LAND*.

It appears as if the violent and vocal members of "La Raza" (the Mexican word for "race" for those deficient

in Spanish,) are preparing to declare war upon the United States for acquiring this territory after the Mexican-American war of one hundred and forty years ago.

Once these Mexican Marxists succeed in reclaiming the Western United States for "La Raza," I suppose they will be the first to attempt to ship all Blacks in Aztland back to Africa along with the Chinese back to China and Anglo's back to Angololand. What about those of non-pure backgrounds? Maybe these rabid racists have a skin-color chart or some other means (that would make the likes of Adolph Hitler blush) of determining who belongs where. Fortunately, such chicano chicanery is limited to a small minority, not the decent majority of AMERICANS of Mexican descent who cherish the U.S. with its opportunities and freedoms.

What ever happened to *ONE WORLD ONE PEOPLE, PLEASE* -- that sappy mushy slogan that graces the rear bumpers of polluting, oil-burning "vintage" Volkswagens (founded by Fourth Reich utopian Adolph Hitler as *der Vunder Kar*)?

A real gem was *SUPPORT CO—OPS NOT WAR*. Are the two mutually exclusive? Can we have co-ops only without war? *SUPPORT PEACE NOT WAR* makes more sense, guys (meant generically, of course, to include gals as well). Stalin supported Co-ops as he led Russia through World War II and towards World War III while murdering thirty million Russian people. Stalin realized the ultimate alignment of co-ops and war in his nonviolent endeavor to bring socialist human rights to Russia, just ask the millions of the dead.

RED POWER and *FIGHT BACK* also appeared. The part about fighting should worry those who cherish justice and order. Just like the "hippies" of the

sixties, the leftists of the eighties are prone to violence and disorderly conduct (why else do armed security forces need appear at their rallies). They have even gone so far as to throw buckets of red paint upon military recruiters at the Career Center. They provoke violence and then call the police "fascists" for protecting good law-abiding citizens. But then again, with *RED POWER*, one can do no wrong.

By the way, there were actually one or two words dealing with the subject of Apartheid. *WE WILL NEVER BE FREE UNTIL OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE FREE* deals with Apartheid. But the truth is that leftists will never be free, even if Apartheid and all forms of slavery in the world were abolished tomorrow. Their own ideology enslaves them.

Will there be another shanty at UCSD as of this writing? A source close to the *Review* at Groundwork books who is surreptitiously known as "ground hog" will let the *Review* know the status of the shantys. Ground-hog's signal is that he will emerge from hibernation to see his shadow or not: shadow means shanty, no shadow, no shanty. But if groundhog sees his shadow, the new shanty will insult the intelligence of all rational beings. While the leftists claim to fight racism and social injustice, their shanty, that stood for less than a week, symbolized nothing other than chicano racism and other assorted nonsense.



Samuel J. Spounias is a senior at UCSD.

The Agony of Hazardous Waste

by Chuck Bolcom

In the spring of 1980, Mel Ingalls rented his Brown Field property to Mr. Albert Mangrum, a businessman, who wanted to use the property to store his construction equipment. The land was located in the Otay Mesa Valley, a strip of undeveloped land near the California-Mexican border. The lease stated that Mr. Mangrum would dig the necessary backholes to install electricity and water on the property to gain the free use of the property for two years.

But in that ensuing summer, Mr. Mangrum decided not to dig the backholes but instead to house over 200 barrels of hazardous waste on the Brown Field property. Having formed a partnership with Mr. Herman Alvarez, Mr. Mangrum agreed to serve as a waystation for Mr. Alvarez while he attempted to transport the barrels down to Mexico.

Mr. Ingalls noticed the barrels that summer and asked Mr. Mangrum when he would remove them. Mr. Mangrum declined to give an exact date but promised to move the barrels in the near future. A year passed with the barrels sitting on the property.

In June of 1981, the San Diego County Health Department received a complaint and sent an inspector to Brown Field to determine the content of the barrels. The results showed a substantial amount of sodium chloride and within two months, Mr. Ingalls received a letter from the County Health Services Department requesting that he clean up the barrels or face possible civil and criminal penalties.

For the next two years, Mr. Ingalls continued to receive notices from both the California State Department and San Diego County of Health Services requesting that he clean-up the barrels. Believing that any response to a state or local agency might be interpreted as an admission of guilt, Mr. Ingalls ignored these notices and continued to urge Mr. Mangrum to move the barrels.

Finally, in June of 1983, the Environmental Protection Agency stepped in and transported the barrels to a licensed hazardous waste disposal site. The clean-up took two days at an expense of \$200,000.

Now, three years later, after repeated assertions of his innocence, Mr. Ingalls faces a \$54,000 fine from the Environmental Protection Agency for housing 210 barrels of hazardous waste on his property. A fine, he believes, he shouldn't pay, "I leased the land to Mangrum...I didn't know it would turn into this mess," he says.

But time is running out. The six-year saga is winding down with the EPA offering a settlement. Mr. Ingalls can pay \$54,000 now and end the matter, or he can sue the other participants and face the possibility of paying \$200,000.

The unsettling tale of Brown Field and its owner, Mel Ingalls, offers a rare peek into the befuddling and often contradictory world of hazardous waste, an issue that has quickened the pulse of almost every American. Toxic waste remains a public health problem of startling complexity — a growing environmental threat shaped and defined by an array of legal, scientific, and moral considerations that endanger the dreams of small businessmen, real estate investors, and innocent homeowners.

"I agree the system isn't fair at times," says one public official. "But that isn't the issue. What is the issue, is how we clean up hazardous waste that lies on a landowner's property and that presents an imminent public health danger."

Indeed, concerns for public safety often collide with notions of justice in the world of hazardous waste. Under the federal law, the Comprehensive Environmental Response and Conservation Liability Act, (CERCLA) a property owner is held strictly liable for any hazardous waste on his property. That means that unknowing property owners like Mel Ingalls may end up paying large sums of money for the actions of their renters.

"I don't think that public awareness is that high as to how far-reaching the liability provisions of the statutes are," says David Mulliken, a specialist in hazardous waste law at the firm of Latham and Watkins. Since the passage of CERCLA, several federal courts have

interpreted the federal law to include joint and several liability, a provision that allows the federal government to single out a particular party for the cost of the clean-up even though the hazardous waste may have been produced by several individuals or companies.

Yet even more disturbing is the issue of retroactive liability. Frank Krogman, a small businessman from San Clemente, bought a parcel of land outside of the small town of Romona in 1966 that included 62 barrels of abandoned chemicals.



In May 1984, after owning the land for over eighteen years, Mr. Krogman was informed by the San Diego County Department of Health Services that those 62 barrels constituted hazardous waste and that he had to

(Continued on page 11)

Letters



Dear Sirs,

I know "California Review" as one of the best conservative magazines in the States. Unfortunately your magazine is not available in Poland even at the U.S. Government agencies. So is the situation with for example "Chronicles of Culture" or "Reason."

I am extremely interested in problems concerning conservative thought and practice in the U.S.A. but there is no possibility to obtain any current literature here. Is it possible for you to send me some current and back copies of "California Review" free and without obligation?

Looking forward to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,
Wieslaw Polakiewicz
Poznan, Poland

Dear California Review:

Thank you for your latest issue. I enjoyed it very much.

Please send me your journal from May issue for a 3 year subscription.

And will you send me your back issues one copy each issue I encircled?

Kazuyoski Kanai
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Editor:

The San Diego chapter of NOW recently distributed a scathing letter attacking a report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission's report recommends an end to "set aside" federal contracts. This procedure establishes minimum quotas for minority and female owned business to assure that they get federal contracts regardless of how uncompetitive a bid they submit. NOW states that "one thing is certain, without minority and women-owned businesses being allocated a portion of government contracts, many of these businesses would not be able to compete with white-male-owned businesses that get the largest lucrative share of government monies." In other words, it's a given by these feminists that women and minorities really can't hack it in the entrepreneurial arena. The tired canard about the old boy network precluding women from getting ahead in the world of business does not apply to federal government contracts. Although imperfect, such contracting is reasonably objective, with the lowest bid meeting the specifications usually winning the competition. Make no mistake: NOW long ago gave up its goal of equality for women. Today its goal is simply to use government coercion to gain for women what NOW readily admits it believes women are incapable of earning on their own. I refuse to be categorized as an inferior competitor in the business world. I call on us all to reject such sexist views from either chauvinist men or patronizing women.

Sincerely,
Mary Walton Yost

Dear readers,

The "Stop Aids" poster, printed in the last issue, was both nauseating and obscene. As artist for the California Review, I did not draw this, nor do I support printing obscene images. Sometimes however, it is necessary to speak out in grotesque images. A more effective image for this poster would be that of the devastating aftermath of this self inflicted disease. What needs to be shown, is that the immoral crimes of these pervers will not go unpunished.

Obscenity makes light of the crime being committed. The reality of the grotesque truth forces us to come to terms with the results of sin.

Gregory Redmond
Artifex Maximus

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Credo: Imperium et libertas.



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



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

In Review

■ Attention UCSD students, are you looking for a way to save some extra money on things like, shoes, clothes, shampoo, deodorant, soap, toothpaste, and perhaps even your rent? Then join the staff of the *new indicator*. It's a great excuse to look, think, and smell horrible. And if you ever need a place to stay, you can always help build another shanty.

■ The Bulgarian government is now denying that its Turkish minority population (which was forced to adopt Bulgarian names last year) ever existed in Bulgaria. Using a "30-year-long anthropological and morphological study" the government states that only "pure Bulgarians" have lived in Bulgaria since the Middle Ages.

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■ David Jenkins, the doubting Bishop of Durham, has criticized the Church of England's recent reiteration of its belief in the virgin birth and the resurrection of Jesus Christ, for not being "more open, relaxed and creative."

■ Anti-apartheid protestors, however, are becoming more open, relaxed and creative. In the Hague, Netherlands, a black man and a white woman stood naked in the rain in front of the South African Embassy with a sign reading "Love Is Not Dead." No arrests were made.

■ France and Spain have agreed to exchange about an acre of land each on their border after the Spanish accidentally erected a statue of Luis Companys, their last Republican President before Franco, on French soil.

■ BEWARE OF CASUAL CONTACTS! The Rev. Henry L. Scott Jr. of St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C. has defrocked himself because of a curse he says was put on him by a witch. The witch, it seems, was a girl he dated when he was a "happy-go-lucky college student," and who has since kept him in "bondage" to some mysterious sin. Uh huh.

■ *The Guardian*, mouthpiece for Matthew Cronin's mendacious screed upon the *California Review*, refused to print our rebuttal of his malicious and unfounded charges. We, therefore, print our rebuttal here and await some explanation from Mr. Cronin and his publishers.

Matthew J. Cronin's broadside against the *California Review* in the 27 May 1986 issue of the *Guardian* was a grotesque and libellous smattering of misinformation that no responsible publication would have had the gall to print.

Mr. Cronin says that three years ago the *Review* glorified the rape of a New Bedford, Massachusetts woman at the hands of eight drunken lunatics in front of other cheering primates. The *Review* implied that 'justice was served' for the lustful men." The quotes around the phrase "justice was served" are Cronin's. Nowhere in the *Review* did those words appear. Nowhere was their meaning implied. Nowhere was the rape glorified.

Moreover, contrary to Mr. Cronin's allegations, the *Review* has never accused Dr. Wayne Cornelius of being a communist, the *Review* has never printed any articles by anyone named Kevin Phillip, the *Review* has never argued that blacks in this country or in Africa are incapable of governing themselves and the *Review* has never argued that homosexuals should be quarantined and attacked.

Has it become *Guardian* policy to employ columnists who can neither read nor understand the English language? *California Review* thinks the *Guardian* owes us an apology and perhaps some future legal fees.

■ CAPITALISM IN ACTION: A hostage crisis was averted at a Methodist Church in Harrietta, Michigan when congregation members took up a collection and bought their captor's gun.

■ Bureaucracy In Action: Staff at the Probate Registry of Wales, whose copying machine had broken down, were ordered to send everything requiring copying, not to the nearest copying shop but to London 150 miles away.

■ Recently a Los Angeles man was pronounced dead in his home by paramedics only later to be found alive by a deputy coroner called to take the body away. Supervising Deputy Coroner Phil Spada said the man had gone to a shed behind his mobile home, his wife reportedly became worried because he had been on medication, and she feared he might have taken too many pills. She called Los Angeles Fire Department paramedics, who broke into the shed and found him sprawled across his workbench. They pronounced him dead at 3:35 p.m.

"He showed all signs of death," Spada said. "...Pallor, he was white, there was no sign of breathing or heartbeat." Foothill Division police officers called for the coroner at about 4:20 p.m. When Deputy coroner Phillip Campbell began making a routine examination before removing the body, he thumped the heavyset man on the back and saw that his mouth suddenly opened. Campbell reached into the throat, pulled out a wad of chewing tobacco and cleared the passage. Then he told police to recall the paramedics.

■ In Iran, a man sentenced to death by stoning, the sentence for running a prostitution ring, escaped from the pit in which he was being stoned and broke through a circle of 160 guards. He was soon recaptured, but according to Islamic Law, the man's feat repeals his death sentence and his case will be reviewed.

■ In New York the Iranian ambassador to the U.N. --protected by diplomatic immunity -- was nabbed trying to shoplift a \$100 raincoat. Unfortunately, the ethnocentrism of American law prevents his being stoned.

■ The Iraqis, meanwhile, have been charged with torturing Iranian prisoners of war. According to an Iranian spokesman, "We have reports from released Iranian POWs that they were forced to watch sex films, which disturbed them."

■ CR reminds all patriots and freedom-lovers everywhere that June 14 is Flag Day in America so make sure on this day that the Stars and Stripes are flying high behind your white picket fence.



The Illiberalism of Campus Liberals

By Les Csorba, III

Education Secretary William Bennett recently asserted an unpopular truth about how some students are not interested in free speech on the campuses. In return, Mr. Bennett has been heavily criticized by ivory tower leaders who deny that the problem of campus hooliganism exists.

In a speech before the American Jewish Committee, Bennett correctly pointed out that "instead of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge, campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of a fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise revolutionary consciousness, frustrate the government, discredit authority and promote a radical transformation of society." Bennett has noted that in recent years a "significant body of opinion on the campuses ... openly rejects the democratic ethic." But other educators, closer to the academic fortresses, are blind to this disturbing development.

President John Chandler of the Association of American Colleges (AAC) denounced the secretary's comments as "exaggerated." Dr. Ernst Benjamin, Secretary of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) discounted Bennett's comments, saying that "radicalism on campuses has declined." Dean Donald Levine of the University of Chicago didn't "recognize" the Secretary's description of American Universities.

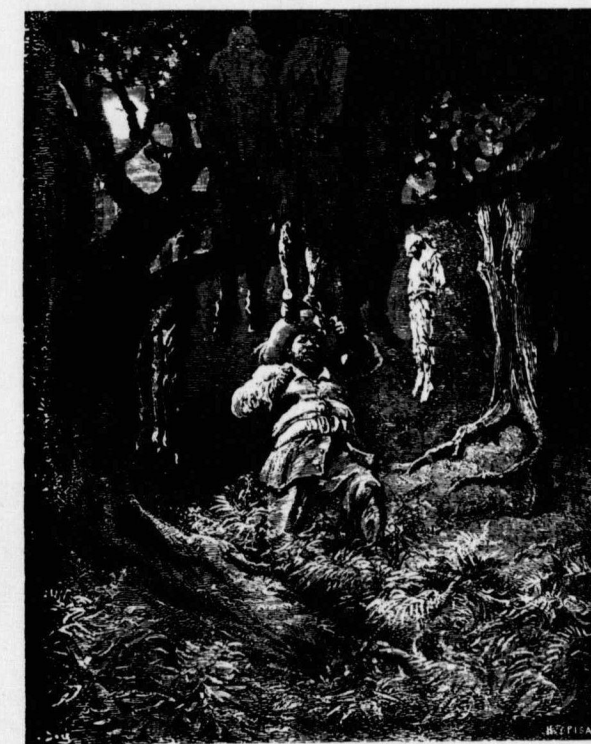
Either these administrators of the academy haven't been beyond their desks for awhile or they're being dishonest. Maybe both. While today's students tend to be more career and family oriented - thus more passive politically - the active politicians on the college campuses are the assorted leftist radicals, who erect illegal shanties, threaten college administrators, organize "non-violent" pledges of resistance, punch campus security officers, harass traditional student journals, and most notably, shout down conservative guest lecturers.

Mr. Bennett pointed to the familiar cases back in 1983 when Jeane Kirkpatrick and Caspar Weinberger were denied their free speech rights in the face of violent stormtroopers at Berkeley and Harvard. Most academic organizations, however, including the AAUP, have denounced the tactics of campus radicals during those events. But, their silence regarding the increase of campus disruption and the growth of violent campus groups during the last few years is seriously suspect.

University of Chicago Dean Levine's unfamiliarity with the problem is shocking considering that recently some of the worst oppression has occurred at nearby Northwestern University. When invited Contra leader Adolfo Calero attempted to speak last spring, students and faculty members rushed the stage and threw blood on him. One English professor was quoted as yelling: "He has no right to speak ... He'll be lucky to get out of here alive." The speech was cancelled. Accuracy in Media Chairman Reed Irvine's speaking engagement at Northwestern this winter was interrupted eleven times by militant students. Irvine was able to conclude his speech after inviting one of the disrupters to the podium who was later dragged out of the building by campus police.

Last spring at the University of California, Berkeley, Maranatha Christian Ministries were showing the anti-abortion film, "Silent Screams", when campus hooligans stormed the hall and destroyed the tape. This past winter at the University of California, Davis, one pro-disinvestment student engaged in his own form of campus terrorism when he called in bomb threats while UC President David Gardner was speaking. Others threatened to kidnap Gardner's daughter. At the University of California, San Diego, last fall, Nicaraguan opposition leader Arturo Cruz's speech was drowned out when campus radicals chanted slogans and pounded drums.

This past April, J. Michael Waller of the Council for Inter-American Security accompanied by a Contra spokesman, attempted to speak on three Massachusetts campuses but was met by student and faculty militants. At U. Mass, Amherst, several dozen protesters jeered: "No freedom of speech for fascists."



Security was forced to end the event after dozens of demonstrators outside the building brandished wooden crosses as clubs. At Harvard, they were hustled out of the hall after disruptors stormed the podium shouting "Death, death, death to fascists." The Contra spokesman was hit in the eye by an egg and knocked to the ground. At Wellesley College, disrupters threw eggs and pigs blood on the speakers. Guards at U. Mass. and Harvard said that they have not seen such violence since the Vietnam War.

The liberal *Boston Globe* rightly denounced the disrupters as "stormtroopers of intolerance" and as "enemies of open discourse and political freedom."

In practically every case mentioned above (and in many others that could be mentioned except for lack of space), the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), one of the fastest growing radical campus organizations in the country, has proudly

admitted to committing these repressive acts. Sadly, however, in almost every free speech abuse on the campuses today, weak-kneed administrators have failed to enforce campus regulations in punishing those guilty of suppression.

In InCAR flyer distributed at Wellesley college titled "NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH FOR FASCISTS", advocated the use of violence to prevent "extremist" (their word) speakers from speaking. It boasts of its successful efforts that "drove Adolfo Calero off the speaking platform" at Northwestern. In another flyer distributed on California campuses, InCAR writes that campus conservative groups like Accuracy in Academia must be "violently crushed ... it cannot be stopped by peaceful picket lines, singing or praying ... we openly unite with the communists in revolutionary communist progressive labor party in our common fight against racism." And so on.

Other radical groups which reject the "democratic ethic" that Mr. Bennett discusses, include the violent Youth Spartacist League, the Young Communist League and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), all active in suppressing the rights of those precisely they accuse of abusing civil rights.

Liberal Wayne State President David Adamany, unlike the illiberals who ignore the left-wing campus repression, recently recognized that, "the whole nation knows that faculty members, students, academic administrators, and some governing boards have in recent years silenced unpopular speakers - especially those on the right. The shame for those of us who are active liberals is that we do not join in a chorus of condemnation of our colleagues when right-leaning speakers are kept off our campuses by threats or are silenced by disorder."

Conservatives like Jeane Kirkpatrick are reluctant to accept college invitations for fear of their safety. Many are victims of a chilling effect that liberals like to talk about. Even Mr. Bennett last year was a victim of the campus illiberalism when the University of Pacific in California cancelled his scheduled commencement address after they succumbed to threats by radical students and faculty members. His crime: support of education budget restraint.

The illiberalism of liberals has permeated many of the major college campuses today and is a dangerous disease that will spread if not confronted. Administrators of the academy who deny the reality of this sickness and refuse to punish those responsible are engaging in a deadly form of academic appeasement, which may result in the resurrection of the bloody campus battlefields of the sixties.

Les Csorba, III, is Executive Director of Accuracy in Academia and Executive Editor of *Campus Report*. His articles have appeared in *Human Events*, *New Guard*, *USA Today*, and a number of academic journals.

Murder is Murder...

By Carol Beaucage

"Well, I'm personally opposed, but I would not impose my opinion on others. Each woman should be able to decide for herself what's right for her..." Of late, innumerable statements akin to the one above have been made by people ranging from students to politicians. The pervasive, persuasive type of double-talk is, by its very nature, self-contradictory and fraught with inconsistency.

Abortion is an either/or issue. Either it is absolutely wrong, or it is a definite right. Ambiguity has no place in this controversy. If one would not herself have an abortion because she knows it to be the taking of an innocent and defenseless human life, yet favors

"choice," she stumbles into an irreconcilable moral dichotomy. If abortion is, in fact, the taking of an innocent and defenseless human life, then it is this whether committed by that woman herself, or by any other. On the other hand, if abortion is legal and acceptable for other women, why should she refrain from having her own pregnancy terminated, if she so choose? It is like saying, "I would never kill someone I did not like, but if someone else wants to murder someone who bothers him, that's his decision."

What must be conceded is that there is at least the possibility that the life of an unborn child is at stake in each decision to, or not to, abort. Granted, it has not

been conclusively proven that the fetus is fully alive and human from conception, but as the age at which a premature infant can survive ex utero, for example, continues to decrease, even below the point where it would once have been considered nonviable, and as complex physiological (nervous system, etc.) functions are being discovered to develop extremely early in the fetus, more evidence is suggesting that the baby is, indeed, a discrete human being all along, simply at a less advanced stage of life than we have attained. This

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In Review

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■ Anti-apartheid protestors, however, *are* becoming more open, relaxed and creative. In the Hague, Netherlands, a black man and a white woman stood naked in the rain in front of the South African Embassy with a sign reading "Love Is Not Dead." No arrests were made.

■ France and Spain have agreed to exchange about an acre of land each on their border after the Spanish accidentally erected a statue of Luis Companys, their last Republican President before Franco, on French soil.

■ BEWARE OF CASUAL CONTACTS! The Rev. Henry L. Scott Jr. of St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C. has defrocked himself because of a curse he says was put on him by a witch. The witch, it seems, was a girl he dated when he was a "happy-go-lucky college student," and who has since kept him in "bondage" to some mysterious sin. Uh huh.

■ *The Guardian*, mouthpiece for Matthew Cronin's mendacious screed upon the *California Review*, refused to print our rebuttal of his malicious and unfounded charges. We, therefore, print our rebuttal here and await some explanation from Mr. Cronin and his publishers.

Matthew J. Cronin's broadside against the *California Review* in the 27 May 1986 issue of the *Guardian* was a grotesque and libelous smattering of misinformation that no responsible publication would have had the gall to print.

Mr. Cronin says that three years ago the *Review* glorified the rape of a New Bedford, Massachusetts woman at the hands of eight drunken lunatics in front of other cheering primates. The *Review* implied that 'justice was served' for the lustful men." The quotes around the phrase "justice was served" are Cronin's. Nowhere in the *Review* did those words appear. Nowhere was their meaning implied. Nowhere was the rape glorified.

Moreover, contrary to Mr. Cronin's allegations, the *Review* has never accused Dr. Wayne Cornelius of being a communist, the *Review* has never printed any articles by anyone named Kevin Phillip, the *Review* has never argued that blacks in this country or in Africa are incapable of governing themselves and the *Review* has never argued that homosexuals should be quarantined and attacked.

Has it become *Guardian* policy to employ columnists who can neither read nor understand the English language? *California Review* thinks the *Guardian* owes us an apology and perhaps some future legal fees.

■ CAPITALISM IN ACTION: A hostage crisis was averted at a Methodist Church in Harrietta, Michigan when congregation members took up a collection and bought their captor's gun.

■ Bureaucracy In Action: Staff at the Probate Registry of Wales, whose copying machine had broken down, were ordered to send everything requiring copying, not to the nearest copying shop but to London 150 miles away.

■ Recently a Los Angeles man was pronounced dead in his home by paramedics only later to be found alive by a deputy coroner called to take the body away. Supervising Deputy Coroner Phil Spada said the man had gone to a shed behind his mobile home, his wife reportedly became worried because he had been on medication, and she feared he might have taken too many pills. She called Los Angeles Fire Department paramedics, who broke into the shed and found him sprawled across his workbench. They pronounced him dead at 3:35 p.m.

"He showed all signs of death," Spada said. "...Pallor, he was white, there was no sign of breathing or heartbeat." Foothill Division police officers called for the coroner at about 4:20 p.m. When Deputy coroner Phillip Campbell began making a routine examination before removing the body, he thumped the heavyset man on the back and saw that his mouth suddenly opened. Campbell reached into the throat, pulled out a wad of chewing tobacco and cleared the passage. Then he told police to recall the paramedics.

■ In Iran, a man sentenced to death by stoning, the sentence for running a prostitution ring, escaped from the pit in which he was being stoned and broke through a circle of 160 guards. He was soon recaptured, but according to Islamic Law, the man's feat repeals his death sentence and his case will be reviewed.

■ In New York the Iranian ambassador to the U.N. — protected by diplomatic immunity — was nabbed trying to shoplift a \$100 raincoat. Unfortunately, the ethnocentrism of American law prevents his being stoned.

■ The Iraqis, meanwhile, have been charged with torturing Iranian prisoners of war. According to an Iranian spokesman, "We have reports from released Iranian POWs that they were forced to watch sex films, which disturbed them."

■ *CR* reminds all patriots and freedom-lovers everywhere that June 14 is Flag Day in America so make sure on this day that the Stars and Stripes are flying high behind your white picket fence.



The Illiberalism of Campus Liberals

By Les Csorba, III

Education Secretary William Bennett recently asserted an unpopular truth about how some students are not interested in free speech on the campuses. In return, Mr. Bennett has been heavily criticized by ivory tower leaders who deny that the problem of campus hooliganism exists.

In a speech before the American Jewish Committee, Bennett correctly pointed out that "instead of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge, campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of a fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise revolutionary consciousness, frustrate the government, discredit authority and promote a radical transformation of society." Bennett has noted that in recent years a "significant body of opinion on the campuses ... openly rejects the democratic ethic." But other educators, closer to the academic fortresses, are blind to this disturbing development.

President John Chandler of the Association of American Colleges (AAC) denounced the secretary's comments as "exaggerated." Dr. Ernst Benjamin, Secretary of the American Association of University

Professors (AAUP) discounted Bennett's comments, saying that "radicalism on campuses has declined." Dean Donald Levine of the University of Chicago didn't "recognize" the Secretary's description of American Universities.

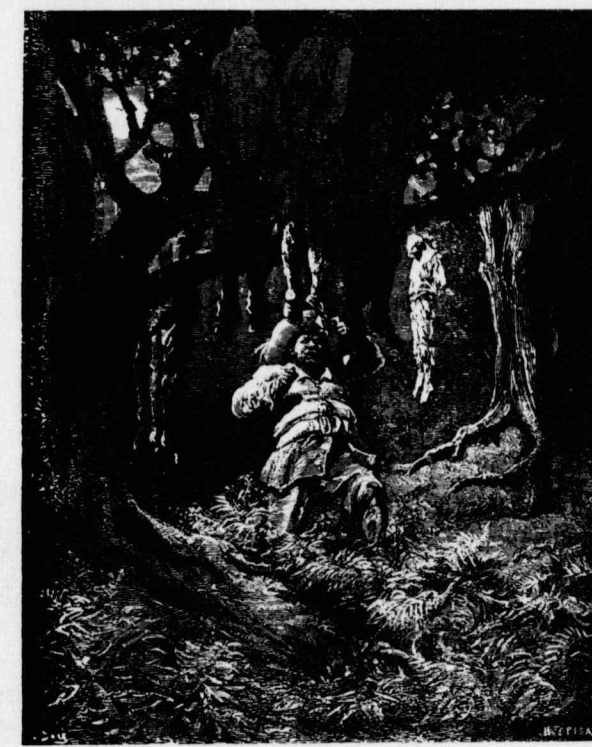
Either these administrators of the academy haven't been beyond their desks for awhile or they're being dishonest. Maybe both. While today's students tend to be more career and family oriented - thus more passive politically - the active politicians on the college campuses are the assorted leftist radicals, who erect illegal shanties, threaten college administrators, organize "non-violent" pledges of resistance, punch campus security officers, harass traditional student journals, and most notably, shout down conservative guest lecturers.

Mr. Bennett pointed to the familiar cases back in 1983 when Jeane Kirkpatrick and Caspar Weinberger were denied their free speech rights in the face of violent stormtroopers at Berkeley and Harvard. Most academic organizations, however, including the AAUP, have denounced the tactics of campus radicals during those events. But, their silence regarding the increase of campus disruption and the growth of violent campus groups during the last few years is seriously suspect.

University of Chicago Dean Levine's unfamiliarity with the problem is shocking considering that recently some of the worst oppression has occurred at nearby Northwestern University. When invited Contra leader Adolfo Calero attempted to speak last spring, students and faculty members rushed the stage and threw blood on him. One English professor was quoted as yelling: "He has no right to speak ... He'll be lucky to get out of here alive." The speech was cancelled. Accuracy in Media Chairman Reed Irvine's speaking engagement at Northwestern this winter was interrupted eleven times by militant students. Irvine was able to conclude his speech after inviting one of the disrupters to the podium who was later dragged out of the building by campus police.

Last spring at the University of California, Berkeley, Maranatha Christian Ministries were showing the anti-abortion film, "Silent Screams", when campus hooligans stormed the hall and destroyed the tape. This past winter at the University of California, Davis, one pro-disinvestment student engaged in his own form of campus terrorism when he called in bomb threats while UC President David Gardner was speaking. Others threatened to kidnap Gardner's daughter. At the University of California, San Diego, last fall, Nicaraguan opposition leader Arturo Cruz's speech was drowned out when campus radicals chanted slogans and pounded drums.

This past April, J. Michael Waller of the Council for Inter-American Security accompanied by a Contra spokesman, attempted to speak on three Massachusetts campuses but was met by student and faculty militants. At U. Mass, Amherst, several dozen protesters jeered: "No freedom of speech for fascists."



Security was forced to end the event after dozens of demonstrators outside the building brandished wooden crosses as clubs. At Harvard, they were hustled out of the hall after disruptors stormed the podium shouting "Death, death, death to fascists." The Contra spokesman was hit in the eye by an egg and knocked to the ground. At Wellesley College, disrupters threw eggs and pigs blood on the speakers. Guards at U. Mass. and Harvard said that they have not seen such violence since the Vietnam War.

The liberal *Boston Globe* rightly denounced the disrupters as "stormtroopers of intolerance" and as "enemies of open discourse and political freedom."

In practically every case mentioned above (and in many others that could be mentioned except for lack of space), the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), one of the fastest growing radical campus organizations in the country, has proudly

admitted to committing these repressive acts. Sadly, however, in almost every free speech abuse on the campuses today, weak-kneed administrators have failed to enforce campus regulations in punishing those guilty of suppression.

In InCAR flyer distributed at Wellesley college titled "NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH FOR FASCISTS", advocated the use of violence to prevent "extremist" (their word) speakers from speaking. It boasts of its successful efforts that "drove Adolfo Calero off the speaking platform" at Northwestern. In another flyer distributed on California campuses, InCAR writes that campus conservative groups like Accuracy in Academia must be "violently crushed ... it cannot be stopped by peaceful picket lines, singing or praying ... we openly unite with the communists in revolutionary communist progressive labor party in our common fight against racism." And so on.

Other radical groups which reject the "democratic ethic" that Mr. Bennett discusses, include the violent Youth Spartacist League, the Young Communist League and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), all active in suppressing the rights of those precisely they accuse of abusing civil rights.

Liberal Wayne State President David Adamany, unlike the illiberals who ignore the left-wing campus repression, recently recognized that, "the whole nation knows that faculty members, students, academic administrators, and some governing boards have in recent years silenced unpopular speakers - especially those on the right. The shame for those of us who are active liberals is that we do not join in a chorus of condemnation of our colleagues when right-leaning speakers are kept off our campuses by threats or are silenced by disorder."

Conservatives like Jeane Kirkpatrick are reluctant to accept college invitations for fear of their safety. Many are victims of a chilling effect that liberals like to talk about. Even Mr. Bennett last year was a victim of the campus illiberalism when the University of Pacific in California cancelled his scheduled commencement address after they succumbed to threats by radical students and faculty members. His crime: support of education budget restraint.

The illiberalism of liberals has permeated many of the major college campuses today and is a dangerous disease that will spread if not confronted. Administrators of the academy who deny the reality of this sickness and refuse to punish those responsible are engaging in a deadly form of academic appeasement, which may result in the resurrection of the bloody campus battlefields of the sixties.

Les Csorba, III, is Executive Director of Accuracy in Academia and Executive Editor of *Campus Report*. His articles have appeared in *Human Events*, *New Guard*, *USA Today*, and a number of academic journals.

Murder is Murder...

By Carol Beaucage

"Well, I'm personally opposed, but I would not impose my opinion on others. Each woman should be able to decide for herself what's right for her..." Of late, innumerable statements akin to the one above have been made by people ranging from students to politicians. The pervasive, persuasive type of double-talk is, by its very nature, self-contradictory and fraught with inconsistency.

Abortion is an either/or issue. Either it is absolutely wrong, or it is a definite right. Ambiguity has no place in this controversy. If one would not herself have an abortion because she knows it to be the taking of an innocent and defenseless human life, yet favors

"choice," she stumbles into an irreconcilable moral dichotomy. If abortion is, in fact, the taking of an innocent and defenseless human life, then it is this whether committed by that woman herself, or by any other. On the other hand, if abortion is legal and acceptable for other women, why should she refrain from having her own pregnancy terminated, if she so choose? It is like saying, "I would never kill someone I did not like, but if someone else wants to murder someone who bothers him, that's his decision."

What must be conceded is that there is at least the possibility that the life of an unborn child is at stake in each decision to, or not to, abort. Granted, it has not

been conclusively proven that the fetus is fully alive and human from conception, but as the age at which a premature infant can survive ex utero, for example, continues to decrease, even below the point where it would once have been considered nonviable, and as complex physiological (nervous system, etc.) functions are being discovered to develop extremely early in the fetus, more evidence is suggesting that the baby is, indeed, a discrete human being all along, simply at a less advanced stage of life than we have attained. This

(Continued on page 10)

Breaking with Berkeley

By Bryan Alan Bloom

Berkeley is the zenith of disgusting. I know; I spent the last two years there pursuing my Master's Degree in Business.

In most peoples' minds, Berkeley equals liberal, and they are right. I have heard many students proclaim Berkeley "The Peoples Republic of Berkeley" and refer to the Daily Cal (UC Berkeley's school paper) as "Pravda By The Bay."

I have spent many hours listening, observing, and noting the activities at Berkeley. From first glance it seems as if the Berkeley liberals are a mass of unorganized splinter groups with little power attributed to each. But just try to oppose one of these groups in any way — this will change your mind rapidly. If you sit back and watch as one of these groups is attacked (and this can be any attack from a real attack to a complete fabrication of an attack on the group's part), what you see develop will leave you with your jaw hanging down, a look of complete surprise on your visage, and a sickening feeling in your stomach as it is made clear to you that these liberal groups have a discernable central policy backed by manpower, and endless streams of money. They fight as a team, are relentless in their pursuits, and you, my friend, are their despised enemy.

The on-campus heart of the campus is Sproul Plaza; it is also, not surprisingly, the locus of all the demonstrations and liberal power structure. My first day at UC Berkeley was an eye-opener. As I walked through the Plaza a young man approached me (I learned later that he was a member of the Militant Marxist-Leninist Spartacus Youth League) and asked me if "I knew about Reagan's war on Nicaragua?" Before I could utter a word he asked me to contribute thirty-five cents for their newspaper which would "enlighten me" and "raise my conscience" on some of the "relevant" issues in Berkeley. I looked down at the paper and in big bold red letters the headline screamed "UNCLE SAM — GO TO HELL!". Sickened, I told him to get out of my way and I walked on. I stood back to look at the hundreds of young faces, mostly undergraduates, innocently impressionable, walking through the plaza on the way to class. There were about twelve Marxists stopping students as they walked by; some students bought the paper, some I'm sure later went to the meetings and were taught how to "raise their consciousness" enough to hate their parents, American values, and "the system" in general.

I walked on and came to the section of Sproul Plaza where various groups and clubs had tables set up. I walked up to one table, which had various books on Marxism scattered over it. A middle-aged (professional) student is lounging behind the table. He wears beat up blue-jeans and an old T-shirt. He has a beard (how did you guess?), is smoking a pipe and looks as if he would be entirely comfortable sitting in a bean bag chair in the middle of some "touchie-feelie" encounter group from the 1960's. In my two years at Berkeley I ran into hundreds of these characters, all formed from the same exact mold — which has yet to be broken, but needs to be.

The guy is bored since his table is largely being ignored so he strikes up a conversation with me. He goes on and on about the teachings of Marx et al. and I begin to ask questions and ask for explanations for Soviet failures on all fronts. He stops me to agree and to make the point that indeed the Soviet Union is a failure because it is a capitalistic society just like the United States and he makes it clear to me that the two countries differ only in that Soviet style capitalism is state run. I explained to him that he suffered from an acute case of "absence from reality" just as his hairy-legged girlfriend began emitting invectives at me.

The Berkeley liberals despise yuppies and trends, but if these same liberals would open their eyes, and listen to their own words, they would only despise themselves. In 1984, the Berkeley leftists were obsessed with the food situation in Ethiopia, and Black Africa in general. Everything was Ethiopia. The issue was forced on students every day at school with leaflets and leftist organized demonstrations replete with speakers blaming Reagan and Capitalism in general for the problem. At Blondie's pizza shop, close to campus, a color poster hung all year which depicted starving black skeletons with outstretched hands and read "Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, victims of our affluent lifestyle." Then in 1985, after summer vacation, not one word was heard about Ethiopia from the liberals. One could only assume, that since the righteous Berkeley Liberals were no longer forcing

Ethiopia down your throat, that there no longer was a problem in Ethiopia; maybe over summer vacation the problem had all gone away because of the hundreds of anti-Reagan demonstrations the year before.

Oh! But not so fast. Now there was a new liberal issue to be force fed to the Berkeley masses — South Africa's Apartheid. The Berkeley community was transformed, almost overnight from an Ethiopia motif to a South Africa motif; but of course Reagan and The West were still the favorite scapegoats. Next year there will be a brand new liberal issue to be forced on the masses; a Berkeley liberal's work is never done. Maybe some year the issue will be Soviet human rights violations, but don't hold your breath.

In Berkeley, the mindset is negative, everything is "anti"; anti-nuclear, anti-capital punishment, anti-US, anti-war etc... The only liberal issue described as "pro" is "pro-choice" on abortion. There is always, according to the liberals, an ongoing "fight" or "battle" on some "front" that must be "won." They don't even stop to ponder the ironic connotations of their "battle to fight war."

On campus, one of the more popular and visible clubs is "Students against Reaganism." This group of crazies has elevated anti-Reaganism to an art form. I think a better title for the president of this club would be "Minister of Propaganda."

Another very popular club is "Students against Intervention in Central America." In reality these students are only against American intervention and should really quit hiding and call themselves "Students for Communism in Central America," which elicits the observation that if you have the word "for" in the name of your club, the liberals will take one cursory sniff and label your club as right-wing/fascist. While at Berkeley, I helped form a chapter of the great club, Young Americans for Freedom, and I can assure you we did not receive a hearty welcome.

The UC Berkeley student body is, and has been since the 60's, run by leftists of all types. Less than 13% of all students vote in the yearly ASUC (Associated Students of UC) election that determines who will form policy, run their school, and where millions of dollars of student funds will be allocated. The Berkeley liberals are activists and come out, en masse, on election day; thus a few liberals can elect many liberals to office since so few students vote at all. It is general apathy among the majority of students that enables Berkeley liberals to maintain the on-campus political stronghold they maintain.

Let's look into the mind of the ASUC's latest President, Pedro Noguero. Mr. Noguero is very worldly, and would you find it surprising that he was invited to attend the Soviet Unions' Moscow Youth Festival last summer? By the way, the official slogan for the Festival was "for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship" — I'm sure the Afghans would get a big kick out of that one!

The New York Times reported that in preparation for the Festival, the Soviet government sealed off the city from the surrounding villages, reducing the daily population by 2 million people. Vehicular traffic into the city was by permit only and visitors were required to wear large plastic identification cards with a photograph. In addition, 1 million people were cleared from the city, about 80% of whom were elementary and high-school age students — I thought this was a "Youth Festival."

You can easily determine for yourself that Mr. Noguero is a clear-thinking realist by his statement to UC Berkeley's Newspaper, *The Daily Cal*, upon his return from the peace-loving Soviet Union; "I was impressed by the fact that the Soviet people, or most of them that I spoke to, and I spoke with all types of people, support their government, support their

system. They have complaints, like most people do about things that they don't like such as the unavailability of fruits and vegetables on the market, or the style of clothing that's available in the stores, but for the most part they're behind their system...."

In last year's ASUC elections, something happened which revolted me. One of the coalition parties — of which there are close to ten — running for office ran on the theme "The party that represents all students." *The Daily Cal* misprinted this party's theme in the election ballot to read "The party that represents all white students." It was later discovered that one of the *Daily Cal*'s leftists had taken the liberty of rewording the sentence. He was slapped on the wrist of course, but it was too late and the intended damage was done. Just another tactic in the liberal arsenal.

The ASUC is supposed to be nonpartisan, but would you be surprised to find out that it isn't? Guess which side the ASUC leans towards.

A good friend of mine at UC Berkeley, Brad Sparks (see his Nuclear Winter cover article in the 11/15/85 issue of *National Review*), related to me how he discovered, much to the chagrin of the ASUC, that the ASUC (using student body monies) had bankrolled liberal candidates by printing literature endorsing candidates and ballot propositions. Luckily an info number was given on the literature; Brad called. As he suspected, he was advised on who to vote for. Brad did some checking. He discovered that the info number was, believe it or not, the office number of Congressman Ron Dellums.

Here were student body fees, blatantly being used for partisan left wing politics, against student wishes or knowledge; a clear infringement of student's constitutional rights. In other words, unknowing students are being used to finance Berkeley left wing politics, just by paying tuition. Brad hopes to stop this practice; he is currently in court suing the ASUC. As Brad puts it "you should not have to be forced to pay for politics of any kind in order to go to public (tax-supported) school."

The Berkeley city politics mirror those at the University. Four of the five city council members were elected on the Marxist ticket, and the fifth is no hawk, I can assure you. Any normal American citizen (there are few in Berkeley) would revoke his last meal while observing the antics which in Berkeley go under the name of city government.

I still remember hearing the liberal candidates for president speaking on campus in 1984. Sonia Johnson, running for president on the Feminist ticket, told a huge crowd of embracing women that America's most important issue and mission is "... to end all violence and discrimination against women." I heard Angela Davis, speaking to a crowd of campus communists, tell her followers that "although he is a right-wing conservative, communists should vote for Mondale, since he has a better chance of winning (than she) and he is sympathetic to the inevitable revolution."

One nice sunny day, there was a noon time rally on campus to commemorate the free-speech movement; the moment you begin to mention free speech to the local liberal activists, they waste no time in pointing out to you, that "the free-speech movement" began in Berkeley, on the UC campus. After witnessing the activities that day, I would rather call it "the speech movement" with speech defined as verbal proselytization of liberal ideology, while at the same time barricading other points of view from being voiced. A few of us conservative activists decided to display our five by 40 feet banner which reads "USSR OUT OF AFGHANISTAN" at the top steps of the so called free-speech rally. Of course logic dictates that we would be welcomed with open liberal arms to display our disgust with the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; after all the list of human rights violations there is endless, and we all know these Berkeley liberals are thoughtful and caring. Well, we found out that in Berkeley, logic almost never dictates, and the same liberals that march in front of the Medical School labs in protest of violation of animal rights, vehemently oppose any opposition to violation of human rights in the Soviet sphere, as this would be "confrontational" and does not aid the Soviets' program for peace.

The agenda for the free-speech rally was the typical anti-Reagan, and anti-capitalism rhetoric. There were about twelve of us, and we decided it was time to make our statement so we unrolled the huge blue and white banner and walked through the crowd up to the top of the rally. We then turned the banner around so the liberals could see it. Almost immediately began the shouts of "Fascist!" and "no freedom of speech for Fascists!" This went on for some time, and then some

of the long-hairs starting pushing and bumping into us. We were clearly outnumbered by the bloodthirsty clan, but we held out. I can tell you that I slept that night with a sense of pride that I have not experienced since.

It is interesting to note that any liberal, or leftist, point of view, which is not yet generally accepted, is considered an "alternative" point of view by the liberals; until that point of view is accepted. This powerful tactic is being used in other liberal warzones, such as the promotion of homosexuality as an "alternative" lifestyle; thus the implication is that "alternative" is not "bad" but just another of our many choices.



On the other hand, any conservative viewpoint, whether generally accepted or not, is never bestowed the status of "alternative," but is immediately branded as "fascist" or "right-wing," and of course is then subject to hyperbole and bitter opprobrium by the Berkeley liberals.

Any reasonable observer of the political goings-on in Berkeley can easily see the huge amounts of rhetoric and propaganda attached to every liberal activity. Almost all of the propaganda would, if necessary, be Soviet approved in an instant, but imagine having the opportunity to experience actual Soviet-produced propaganda? I had this unique opportunity twice. The first was during free-speech week. All week there was an old man standing in the middle of the plaza yelling out "Free posters from the Soviet Union." These posters, were pro-Soviet, anti-nuclear war posters, paid for by our peace loving friends in the USSR.

The second opportunity I had was on a wintery morning on the way to class. I stopped to pick up the school paper and noticed a huge stack of little booklets. I took one. The booklet was an all color, expensive, 126 page example of Soviet propaganda entitled "What Peace Means to Young People." The publisher is the Novosti Press of Moscow. The book is filled with photos of the Soviet Union. All the people in the photos are slim, good-looking, smiling, and amazingly American looking. The booklet is divided into about 35 small chapters each depicting a Soviet comrade who narrates his/her story and plea for peace, and of course some mention of how the Soviet Union is constantly striving for world peace. No mention is made of the Soviets' buildup of nuclear weapons, or their invasion of Afghanistan, etc... In one chapter titled (believe it or not) "Military Service For Peace," a comrade by the name of Siegfried Posselt tells how proud he is to serve as commander of a "modern anti-submarine ship," while in the next sentence he explains how it is the US who threatens Western Europe by deployment of missiles there. He goes on (try not to laugh), "The Socialist countries, including the GDR, are not threatening anyone, and have no wish to terrify anybody. ... The NATO militarists should part with their illusions. They are making a mistake in underestimating the capabilities of the socialist countries' community and the peace-loving forces..." Some of the titles of other chapters include: "At One With The Workers," "The Price Of Trust," "Sashka's Philosophy," "Peace Comes First," and "Man Deserves A Tomorrow."

In Berkeley, bumper stickers are numerous and ludicrous. The most common and popular bumper stickers are, "No Vietnam War in Central America,"

"Arms are for Hugging," "Freeze-Voter," and "US Out of Central America." A classic site and an endangered species everywhere, except in Berkeley (where this species thrives and has attained protected status), is the unkempt long-hair in a smoking old VW bus with the bumper sticker "Reagan '84/War '85."

In sum, Berkeley is a sickening, festering swamp of liberalism and communism, which is not drying up, but seeping into surrounding environs. It is an evil example (in our own country) of what socialism inflicts on people; not freedom from want, but eternal dependence on others, poverty, and oppression. I defect!

Bryan Bloom recently received his MBA from U.C. Berkeley and is currently undergoing electro-shock therapy in San Diego.

California Review

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California Review Interviews

David Horowitz was one of the founders of the new left political movement of the 1960's and a leading anti-Vietnam war activist. He received his BA in English literature from Columbia University in 1959. In 1961, he received his MA at U.C. Berkeley. Mr. Horowitz authored the first book about the new left entitled *Student* (1962). In the mid sixties he went to England to work for Bertrand Russell at the Peace Foundation and to help organize the International War Crimes Tribunal that resulted in intense scrutiny of American military actions in Vietnam. While in England, he also wrote *The Free World Colossus* (1965), which was a highly used text of the new left. In addition, he spent time in Sweden during this period. In January, 1968, he returned to the United States and became editor of *Ramparts*, the flagship publication of the new left and the largest circulation among its members. He published a third book, *Empire and Revolution*, in 1969. In the mid-1970's, Mr. Horowitz left *Ramparts*, stopped being active, and began a political evolution that would span 10 years. By 1984, he had completely severed any ties with Marxism. That November, Mr. Horowitz cast his vote for Ronald Reagan. He co-authored with Peter Collier the best selling book *The Rockefeller*. They also collaborated together for a second book, *The Kennedys*. He received a Guggenheim fellowship in 1979 and authored *The First Frontier*. This April, he spoke at his alma mater, U.C. Berkeley, in support of Nicaraguan freedom fighters. Mr. Horowitz, who was in the midst of completing his soon to be released book, took time out and spoke with CR's *Rebelle Dux Emeritus* C.G. Alario.

CR: Joseph Epstein, editor of *The American Scholar*, has written that even though Marxism has been discredited generally, it is "very much a going concern in American universities." Could you comment on this statement?

HOROWITZ: Many political activists of my generation, having failed as Marxist revolutionaries during the Sixties, have found refuge in the university. As a kind of feudal institution, the university is an appropriate setting for them since Marxism has its roots in the reactionary opposition to the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. The ivory tower provides a perfect vantage from which to pontificate criticisms of American society measuring its incomparable freedom and productivity against the fantasy standard of imagined Marxist futures.

CR: In a recent essay ("My Vietnam Lessons") you state: "My political activities in these years were inspired in part by the belief that America was not living up to its democratic ideals at home or abroad." Later you add, "Like today's young radicals, my priorities reflected a double standard. I judged other countries and political movements by the future. I imagined they could have if only the United States and its allies would get out of their way." As one of the founders of the New Left, did you ignore or just dismiss this 'double standard' at the time?

HOROWITZ: I wasn't even aware of it. Socialism is an infantile fantasy, but I thought it was a real possibility then — as does everyone who calls himself a Marxist. If you believe that the kind of society envisaged by Marx and other socialist writers could actually exist, then of course you are extremely critical of American bourgeois democracy. But once you see the emptiness of this faith in a kingdom of heaven on earth, you acquire a whole different set of standards. Most dramatically, you begin to realize that we could lose the benefits of the actual society in which we live — by any practical standard the best that mankind has achieved. Nobody has produced anything better, particularly not the left. If leftists were really interested in the plight of "Third World" countries, they would try to help them become more like the United States. In fact, however, leftists are working tirelessly to help the rest of the world become more like the economically bankrupt and politically repressive states of the Soviet bloc.

CR: How important was idealism as a driving force behind the New Left?

HOROWITZ: Very. Idealism is appropriate to youth, and the left is a movement of the young. Even today the primary energy of the left is a campus energy. The good in Marxism is all in its ideas; the bad

is its reality. The young don't have the life experience to alert them to the evil inherent in Marxist doctrine, which makes them vulnerable to the left's appeal.

CR: How did you react when your idealism was confronted with reality, such as the events following America's defeat in Vietnam?

"What triggered my release from these radical illusions (leftism) was the murder of a friend of mine by a leftist group."

HOROWITZ: I had many sobering experiences rather than just one. As I wrote in "My Vietnam Lessons," I had expected the American "ruling class" (as I then perceived it) to hang on at all costs to Indochina. Which did not happen. The historical experience of my generation showed me beyond any possible doubt that politics (not reducible to any economic "basis") was a primary factor in determining the course of nations, and therefore that Marxism was a false and dangerous guide to action. The United States obviously could have won the war, but was constrained by moral and political considerations which overrode any imperialistic motives. (Marxist societies have no such constraints, as we can see in the current genocidal campaign the Soviets are waging in Afghanistan.) America's withdrawal after the fall of Saigon in 1975 invited Soviet expansion — again a reversal of what I had expected. The left today says if only Washington would be conciliatory towards the Soviets there would be peace. The history of the last decade shows how fatuous and dangerous this proposition is. Military aggression in Afghanistan, imperialist intervention in Africa and a massive nuclear buildup were the Soviet responses to American moderation and withdrawal after Vietnam. Strictly from the point of view of world peace, the policy of the left is a strategy for disaster.

CR: Did you ever consider the negative consequences that your political activities could produce, and did you consider your activities (as some conservatives of the day claimed) might be treasonable?

HOROWITZ: A good question. I did not. Take the disarmament issue. During the 50's and 60's when I was active, the United States was overwhelmingly superior to the Soviets militarily. It did not seem to me that a drastic reduction of the military budget might jeopardize American security. The situation is now dramatically different. One of the most striking evidences of the irresponsibility of the left is its disregard for the impact of its political activity on American security. During the "second cold war" which began with the Soviet interventions and aggression at the end of the seventies, the left has consistently minimized the significance of the Soviet threat and ignored the realities of the balance of military power, acting to weaken the United States and its democratic allies. An essential feature of the leftist mentality, an essential element in maintaining a left perspective is ignoring such consequences of its political activity. During my three decades in the left, it never occurred to me or any of my political comrades and associates that what we were working to destroy could not easily be restored, let alone bettered.

Many of our actions in regard to the Vietnam War would have to be regarded as treasonous except for the fact that war was never officially declared — and I think you must take this into account. Neither Kennedy nor Johnson ever put the allegiance we owed this country on the line, which created a moral and political confusion with untold consequences. Generally speaking, I do feel that there is a segment of the left that can be accurately described as "fifth column," i.e., activists who are relentlessly hostile to America and committed to its enemies. But one has to be very careful in labelling political opponents "traitors" (which is precisely what the left itself does), lest one destroy the democracy one is trying to preserve.

CR: Did the New Left have a strategy to enlist moderate students in their radical protests?

HOROWITZ: The left still does. The history of the left shows that it is committed to dishonest politics. Having failed to persuade people into its camp, it attempts to manipulate their allegiance. The well-worn tactic of the left is to mobilize sincerely concerned people around "single issues" like anti-apartheid, the "nuclear freeze," "sanctuary," etc. But if you take a closer look you will see that the organizers and hardcore activists in all these movements have a total — and ultimately totalitarian — agenda. The anti-apartheid hardcore, for example, is not really interested in the welfare of black people in Africa. If they were, they would be out in the streets protesting the systematic starvation and massacres of hundreds of thousands of Africans by the Marxist regime in Ethiopia. What the "anti-apartheid" hardcore is really interested in is promoting a Marxist-Communist revolution led by the African National Congress, the result of which will be the same economic misery and political oppression black Africans now suffer in Ethiopia, Mozambique and other revolutionary states where the left has triumphed.

If someone had said such things to me when I was a leftist I would have considered them outrageous, yet it is obvious now, looking back, that the New Left never cared at all, for example, about the South Vietnamese whose cause we proclaimed as our own. This is clear from the way the left has abandoned the South Vietnamese now that they have been conquered by Hanoi and by the way leftists attacked Joan Baez and others who attempted to give moral and political support to the boat people and the NLF veterans imprisoned by the new Communist order.

The left has no regard for actual human beings. It is only interested in exploiting the issues of human suffering for its own self-aggrandizement and power. The left seeks out issues that will appeal to moderates and liberals (and which fuel its own sense of moral superiority) but its real strategic intent is to involve large numbers on a single issue and to push them towards a confrontation with the legal system. The hope is that this conflict will "radicalize" them and recruit them to the revolutionary cause.

"If leftists were really interested in the plight of 'Third World' countries, they would try to help them become more like the United States."

I sat at a dinner table recently with the mayor of Berkeley, Gus Newport, who likes to call his city "the People's Republic of Berkeley." How easy it has become to celebrate police states in campus communities. (Or is there a "people's republic" I missed that is not a police state?) You would need a microscope to detect a difference between Gus Newport's lifetime political commitments and those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At this dinner, Gus was talking to a city council member and political clone named Nancy Sellars. It was the day after 29 UC Berkeley students had been arrested during an anti-apartheid demonstration and Gus and Nancy were discussing how an issue could be framed for the next stage that would be liberal enough to pull in moderates but radical enough to provoke the police into making more arrests, thus escalating the confrontation. After listening to their tactical discussion awhile, I summoned a tone appropriate to the civility of the occasion and said: "I don't believe what I'm hearing: the mayor of our city and a city council member plotting illegal insurrection!" Deadly quiet ensued. "Oops," I broke the silence; "have I ruined dinner?" The tactical discussion remained dormant for the remainder of the evening.

CR: Could you comment on avowed Marxist professors, such as Saul Landau for the Institute for Policy Studies, who teach frequently on the campuses?

HOROWITZ: Saul Landau is somebody I have known for more than 30 years. He has no academic credentials that I am aware of, whereas for 30 years he has been a committed and loyal supporter of Communist totalitarianism all over the world. When I was editor of the new left magazine *Ramparts*, we ran an article in praise of Solzhenitsyn, whose heroic account of the gulag archipelago had just appeared. Landau wrote us a long "private" letter attacking us for "betraying" the left because we gave "credibility" to Solzhenitsyn. Landau argued that by giving space to Soviet crimes we were detracting attention from alleged U.S. atrocities in places like Chile. Latin America has been Saul's specialty. He is a longtime, loyal ally of Fidel Castro with whom he has a personal relationship and whom he has supported in all the dictator's depredations and crimes against the Cuban people. If a career devoted to political mendacity and totalitarian tyranny constitutes qualification for a university position, then Landau certainly qualifies. But what a descent in academic standards is here implied.

"Strictly from the point of view of world peace, the policy of the left is a strategy for disaster."

CR: Do you think that all Marxist professors are merely political activists?

HOROWITZ: That would be too broad a generalization. Although Marxism is a bankrupt ideology — refuted by history and by theoretical argument for over 100 years — and hardly merits intellectual respect, there may be some university Marxists whose commitment is primarily academic.

CR: What is it that keeps some of your former activist-colleagues, like Abbie Hoffman, clinging to that 60's idealism?

HOROWITZ: It's hardly idealism at this point. Abbie is my age: old enough to know better and old enough to care. In explaining the continued left commitments of some members of my generation, you have to understand that there are significant rewards for being a radical "leader" even in Reagan America. Hoffman, for example, is an international celebrity, with all the privileges that accompany celebrity. And he gets to eat his cake too, having the moral aura of an "idealist" and martyr to boot.

CR: How long did it take you to break with Marxism?

HOROWITZ: Years. My parents were Communists. I was 17 when Khrushchev gave his famous report on the crimes of Stalin. I inherited a Marxist tradition that was in crisis. A lot of my intellectual work (on Marxism, on imperialism, on revolution) was an attempt to rescue the tradition from its failures and answer the questions that its checkered history provoked. By the time of Vietnam I had worked out certain solutions, but the War overtook them: nobody in the New Left was even concerned with the questions anymore. When the war was ended, these issues became suddenly urgent to me.

CR: Was there one specific event or situation that began your alienation from your previously held Marxist views?

HOROWITZ: What triggered my release from these radical illusions was the murder of a friend of mine by a leftist group. There was nothing I could do.

David Horowitz

My life would have been in danger if I told what I knew and my comrades on the left would have denounced me as an agent of the system. The group that had murdered her had been proclaimed the "revolutionary vanguard" by the left, which had shielded it from police scrutiny and thus encouraged its crimes (which were numerous). In other words, my left did for this gang precisely what the old left had done for Stalin, and the New Left for Castro and Mao, and what the current left is doing for Ortega and the ANC (who have certainly tortured and probably murdered more blacks than the South African police).

CR: Could you differentiate the radical generation of the 80's from that of the 60's.

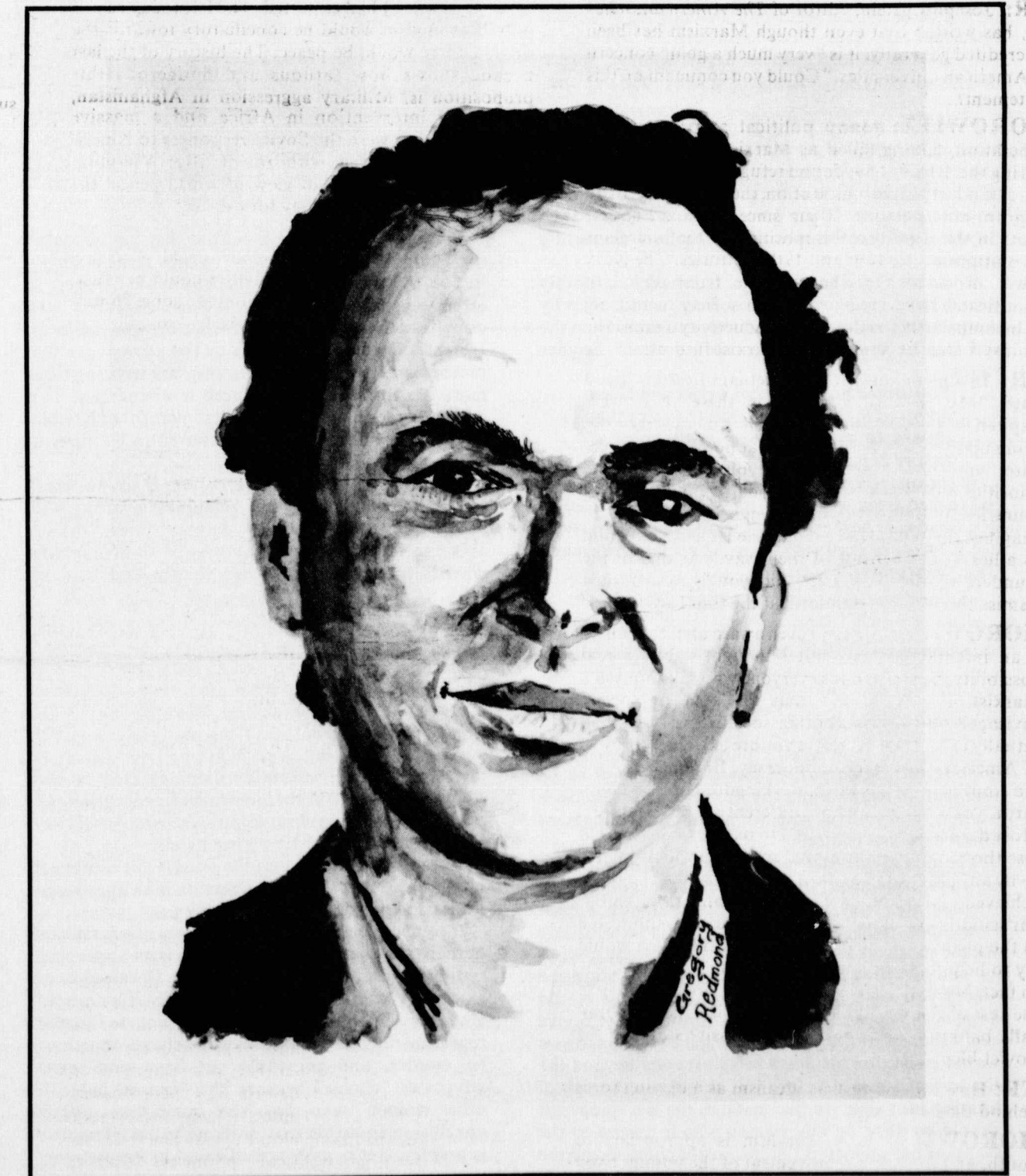
HOROWITZ: In my view, there has been a degeneration of the left in the intervening years. The 60's movement was more idealistic and open and innocent than this one. Its leadership was idealistic; Communists were despised, as they deserve to be. Communists were tolerated (I view that now as a mistake), but they were not considered political partners as the current left seems to regard them. The leadership of today's left seems to me far more ideological and cynical than that of my generation. We, after all, came on the heels of "de-Stalinization," when one could reasonably entertain the hope of a regeneration of the Marxist enterprise. After the atrocities of Maoism and Castroism and the proven durability of Soviet totalitarianism, what historical basis can there be for such a hope?

I have no respect at all for the diehards of my generation whose political mission is to mislead today's campus idealists and take them down the

radical path. I am referring to the ex-comrades of mine who staff the *Nation* magazine, the Institute for Policy Studies, the *Guardian*, the *Monthly Review*, NACLA and the like. These people have been through the same historical experiences I have. They have no excuse for continuing to pander to totalitarianism, for working to undermine American security, and for fostering the illusion that the left is some kind of progressive movement to improve the lives of ordinary people.

"The left has no regard for actual human beings. It is only interested in exploiting the issues of human suffering for its own self-aggrandizement and power."

The whole historical record shows that the success of leftists results in the poor and oppressed being worse off — politically, economically and socially — than they would otherwise have been. These aforementioned ex-comrades of mine are true exemplars of what the dissident writer Alexander Zinoviev calls "Homosos" or *Homo Sovieticus*: extreme reactionaries in the van of extreme progress.



Exploring the Endless Myths of Poet Gary Snyder

By Barry Demuth

It was a recent editorial by George F. Will that inspired me to challenge the authenticity of *Turtle Island*, a 1975 Pulitzer Prize award winning combination of poems and essays written by Gary Snyder. I found many of Snyder's poems such as, *The Dead By The Side Of The Road*, *I Went Into The Maverick Bar*, *The Call Of The Wild*, and *Without* to offer more to the reader than one can describe with words. Unfortunately the last section of *Turtle Island* is devoted to essays in which Snyder offers reforms to the current way of life. Needless to say I was beginning to have my doubts.

In an entertaining piece, George Will charts the history of the Louisville Slugger baseball bat. Making a plea for its continued use in the major leagues as opposed to the lighter aluminum bats, which are widely used in colleges but remain prohibited in the major league, Will states:

Colleges, those incubators of heresies, use aluminum bats for a grotesque reason: they last longer. But immortality is not a virtue in things that should not exist at all.

I discovered that the Louisville Slugger was not just any ordinary baseball bat carved from just any ordinary tree. Rather, the Slugger is carved from ash trees that grow surrounded by other trees who serve to protect the ash from wind-twisting forcing the tree to grow straight toward the sun. The result is wood with the perfect strength required for the musical "crack" when heard produces the delight of many fans, young and old.

In an essay titled *The Wilderness*, Snyder states, "I don't like Western Culture because I think it has much in it that is inherently wrong." Snyder goes on to say that he feels that the West, among other cultures, carries these destructive seeds. To buck his argument he further elaborates on various countries that have in the past for various reasons exploited their forest; thereby causing considerable damage to the environment.

I began to wonder if Snyder has participated in the game of baseball or perhaps if he were a fan. I do not know why but Snyder seemed like the type of character that has played a little of the game Americans call their favorite pastime. If my assumption is correct, then Snyder is guilty of this misconduct that he so eloquently opposes.

Given his age, if he has played baseball, he certainly would have used a bat carved from wood, thereby contributing to the use of materials extracted from the soil that he appears to be concerned about. Snyder states:

You would not think that a poet would get involved in these things. But the voice that speaks to me as a poet, is the voice of nature herself.

I am curious to know what type of advice the baseball bat carved from wood of a tree, would have to offer Mr. Snyder as he steps up to the plate and prepares to use it to make contact with a little white ball made from "Horsehide."

(Continued from page 5)

considered, the import of this dispute begins to be revealed: it merits more than relegation to the back burner, or dismissal with a noncommittal statement about personal choice.

The idea of carrying an unwanted pregnancy to term is often impugned by those who are not certain whether the fetus is yet an individual with a constitutional right to life. Yet this very uncertainty should motivate the consideration, if nothing else, of an anti-abortion stance. Would you bury someone whom you were not positive was dead? One would hope not! You would no doubt do your best to revive him if there were any chance he might be alive, and you would insist that his death be ascertained beyond the shadow of a doubt before you would run the risk of burying him alive. In like manner, the last thing that should be done by any woman who is unsure of the status of her unborn is to have an abortion. Come the

As I read on, it became obvious that while pretending to be genuinely concerned about the environment Mr. Snyder was a lion masquerading in sheep's clothing. Snyder has like so many others of his era has chosen to profit from criticizing the society in which he chooses to inhabit and exploit. In *The Wilderness*, he states:

But a culture that alienates itself from the very ground of its own being—from the wilderness, the wilderness within is doomed to a very destructive behavior, ultimately perhaps self destructive behavior.



To argue that we are a culture that has alienated itself from the very ground of its own being is simply fiction. A case in point is the Louisville Slugger. In order to produce the slugger, the manufacturers have done exactly the opposite of what Snyder indicates. Instead of closing their eyes to the advantages that mother nature has offered us, they are utilizing these materials that she has produced in abundance. This delicate practice enables a critical element of baseball to be maintained; commonly referred to by many as *tradition*.

Snyder appears to have a handy, ready-to-install reform for everything that he thinks is wrong with society. On the community, Snyder states, "sharing and creating, the inherent aptness of communal life—when large tools are owned jointly and used ef-

ficiently." This notion of man living collectively is a farce. Man is not a collective being. He never has been and there is no evidence in sight to support the idea that someday he will be.

It is the elements of power and strength that rule man. Those who have it through whatever means will use it to their advantage over those who do not. As a result of this conflict man becomes an aggressive, self-serving, envious, greedy, and often violent being. History has proved this time and time again through countless wars. Man has never been able to live with man, nor does he enjoy working side by side in groups to produce goods that will in turn be shared by all. On the contrary, man seeks to create and produce goods in order to profit. By allowing members of society to purchase needed items eliminates the need for man to share. This "inherent aptness" (collectivism) Snyder refers to is only a dream reflecting the type of thinking that was common among leftists during the sixties.

As for the military, Snyder is of course critical, but offers no reform, rather a command. He states "...and don't be drafted into the military." He gives no reason or theory why he has come to this conclusion. What is obvious is that Mr. Snyder sees no need to protect the system that we have fought long and hard to maintain.

Proudly displaying his face on the back cover of *Turtle Island*, smiling no doubt because he is pleased with the profits his work will bring him. Snyder goes on to say in a section titled *Four Changes*:

Solid waste: boycott bulky wasteful Sunday Newspapers which use up trees. It's all just advertising anyway, which is artificially inducing more energy consumption. Refuse paper bags at the store.

Obviously, to Mr. Snyder, the Sunday edition is full of capitalistic rhetoric that is only in print to perpetuate the evils of this system. As for the amount of advertising, perhaps there is too much, nevertheless, without the money generated from it the publication would be unable to print.

Lastly, as I was getting ready to retire *Turtle Island* to the shelf, I noticed something worthy of recognition. While thumbing through the pages, I discovered that many of Snyder's poems were extremely short in length although they are given an entire page in the book, needless to mention the rest of the page was wasted. Furthermore there are twelve pages that contain a sum total of ten words. This sure is an enormous amount of wasted space from a man who advocates boycotting Sunday newspapers because they consume trees. Perhaps Gary Snyder should practice what he preaches, or not preach at all.

In a world of utter-endless chaos that is desperately in need of improvement, improvements can be made. However, not by those who become victims of hypocritical thinking. Gary Snyder does offer some relief, but only in the form of laughter, received while reading *Turtle Island*.

Barry Demuth is a senior at UCSD.

Moreover, there is no acceptable middle ground in this issue: one must be either in favor of abortion on demand, or in vehement opposition to it. Either it is "Every Woman's Right To Her Own Body," or it is gratuitous slaughter of proportions heretofore unknown in this country. In the ruling of the Supreme Court regarding the battle of *Roe v. Wade*, either women have been granted a long-denied freedom, or a de facto random death sentence has been conferred upon the unborn, resulting in a bloodbath among the most heinous in history (approximately twenty million fetuses have been legally aborted in the United States since 1973). But we must make up our minds.

Carol Beaucauge is a sophomore at U.C. Irvine.

Whence The Threat To Security: Soviet Military Intelligence

By P. Joseph Moons

The GRU, (Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye), is the Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet Union's General Staff. Established in 1920 by Leon Trotsky, the GRU is a formidable, hierarchical intelligence gathering apparatus operating worldwide. Viktor Suvorov, a pseudonym for a former GRU officer stationed in Vienna, Austria, has stated that the function of the GRU is "to prevent a collapse of the Soviet Union from an external blow."

This mission is accomplished on four fronts. On the military front, everything regarding the world's armed forces and their leaders is of interest. The military-political front is concerned with relations between countries. The military-technological front watches for new weapons and technological advances that might have military applications. The military-economic front monitors the "industrial potential, energy, transport, agriculture, the presence of strategic reserves and vulnerable areas of the world's economies." If information on all four of these fronts can be supplied to military leaders at the proper time, and if the intelligence is used correctly, then any threat to the Soviet Union from any country in the world can be averted.

This powerful and important organization has its officers operating under cover around the world as military attaches, diplomats and industrial-trade representatives. The 10,000 operatives in the GRU are mainly army, navy, and air force career officers. Many GRU officers are graduates of the Military Academy of the Red Army and almost all have completed postgraduate training at the Military Diplomatic Academy in Moscow.

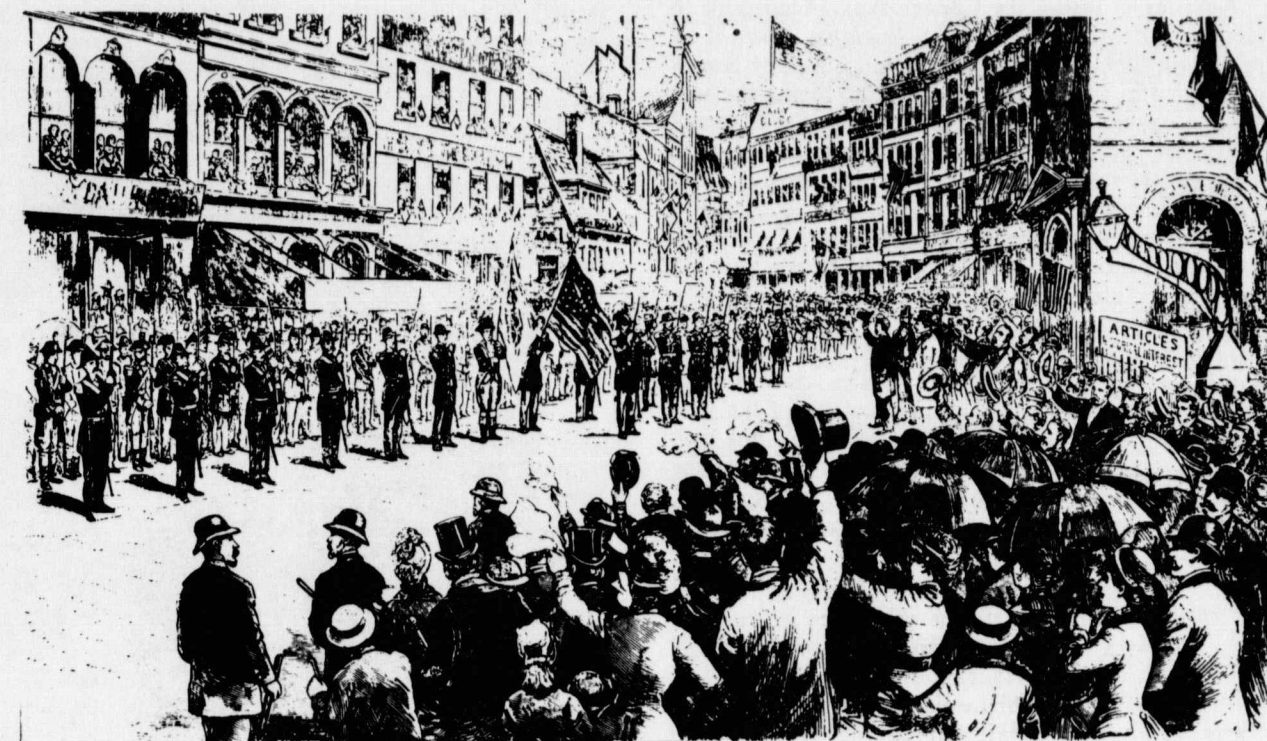
Under the direction of the GRU, the undercover agents and other "illegal" operatives (those who enter a targeted country illegally), steal government documents, recruit indigenous agents, plant disinformation, assassinate undesirable leaders if necessary and procure military hardware and technology. These operatives are able to carry out their missions at anytime.

Because of their diplomatic cover, many agents can bring valuable, technologically advanced equipment through the Soviet embassy in a host country without having the local police intercept them and inspect their cargo before it is flown off to GRU headquarters in Moscow. In fact, the Soviets now attempt to get the same military hardware from different sources in separate parts of the world so as to insure that by some means the best possible piece of equipment is available for analysis.

GRU operatives comprise between 15 and 20 per cent of a Soviet delegation's personnel. The GRU residency exists parallel with the KGB's and the "clean" diplomats as well. Espionage in New York at the United Nations is extensive. It is estimated that the Soviet network, including GRU and KGB, and ideological collaborators among Soviet officials employed by the UN Secretariat, totals 1,000 people. Obviously, there are many potential spies at the U.N.

The number of GRU agents increases with the importance of the country and its technology. Undoubtedly, America hosts a large contingent of GRU operatives who are gathering information on U.S. military technology. The Soviet Consulate in San Francisco is an excellent jump-off point for GRU agents going into California's technologically-abundant Silicon Valley. The security of advanced, technical projects is not as important to workers as it should be. Horror stories of workers leaving sensitive documents on their desks and people walking unchecked into and out of supposedly secure areas still exist. William Casey, Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, has called Silicon Valley a "high-tech super-market for the Soviets." GRU agents appear to be having a field-day in America and other free-world countries.

As stated earlier, the GRU, like all of the Soviet military, is hierarchical and centralized. Each department and directorate has its own task and all intelligence flows upward to Politburo and Ministry decision-makers. Under the GRU's First Deputy Chief, there are six directorates: the first four control intelligence operations and agents in different sectors around the world, the fifth directs operational intelligence and the sixth directs radio-technical intelligence. The fifth directorate also covers the activities of the 16 military districts, groups of forces, and fleet military intelligence. Each military district has an Intelligence



Directorate which controls a Department of Reconnaissance, a Department of Agent Intelligence, and a third, the Spetsnaz Department. This last department is perhaps the most deadly and feared of the three.

Spetsnaz forces operate deep behind enemy lines for extended periods of time and are often inserted prior to the commencement of large-scale hostilities. These forces have several missions: conduct reconnaissance and tactical operations against naval facilities, command, control, communication and intelligence centers, radar sites, power systems and, most importantly, nuclear weapons sites.

A Spetsnaz unit has two elements: agents and detachments. Spetsnaz agents are recruited by an intelligence operative and carry out terrorist acts against infrastructure facilities. Such targets include power-plants, transportation facilities and water supplies. These acts are designed to affect the morale of the greatest number of people and to weaken their will to fight. Spetsnaz detachments are the elite of the Soviet forces; they are either air-dropped or amphibiously maneuvered into position. Their mission is to destroy the target government's nuclear weapons and

delivery systems and murder political leaders. It will be a difficult task to track down and eliminate Spetsnaz units during wartime. Currently, the peacetime strength of Spetsnaz forces is estimated to be 27,000 to 30,000 troops.

The true test of America's defense against Spetsnaz infiltration will come during wartime. America can, however, inhibit the work of GRU agents in this country by simply reducing the size of Soviet delegations here and by introducing tighter security measures everywhere foreign agents may operate. The GRU is such an effective organization because it works in many Western countries. These nations' very freedoms (like that of the individual to associate with whomever he wishes) are detrimental to their security. In the United States, we pay a price for our freedom. Yet, by being aware of their work, we can diminish the GRU's ability to operate successfully in America.

P. Joseph Moons is a junior at UCSD.

(Continued from page 2)

transport the barrels to a hazardous waste disposal site.

"I was unaware that I was doing anything wrong. Like I said, the barrels had been there, maybe ten, twenty, forty years before I bought the land," says Mr. Krogman. "I think they were unjust in making me pay for hauling the damn stuff out because...it was there when I bought the land. I didn't put it there."

With small businessmen and property owners growing resentful, business leaders, government officials, and toxic waste specialists have increased their efforts to inform the public of hazardous waste. Small and large businesses have formed the Industry and Environmental Association of San Diego County while officials from the Hazardous Waste Management Unit have appeared at business luncheons. Last month, the consulting firm of Woodward-Clyde Associates conducted a seminar titled "Contamination Assessment in Property Acquisition," at the Kona Kai Club.

But many find their efforts go unnoticed and others question the lasting impact on a public awareness campaign. "You're always going to find owners of businesses, owners of property, that are surprised about how much liability they have when it comes to toxic materials on their property," says Larry Aker, manager of San Diego County's Hazardous Materials Waste Management Unit. Especially when a small businessman is starting out. Developing a product, finding a suitable market, controlling distribution patterns, increasing profit margins — the small businessman's list of priorities rarely includes the dangers of hazardous waste.

For the businessman or property owner who owns or produces hazardous waste on a limited basis, the paperwork required by federal law seems endless.

According to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, every generator of hazardous waste must fill out a "manifest form" that documents the composition of the waste, the transporter of the waste, where it was delivered and who accepted it. If the generator cannot send a completed manifest form with signature of the transporter and the disposal site operator, he must notify the EPA through written correspondence.

Confusion, anger, endless bureaucratic red tape — is there any hope for the small property owner or businessman in San Diego? The answer is yes according to Dave Mulliken.

Some federal courts, including one in California, have concluded that CERCLA does not include joint and several liability and that liability must be apportioned according to the facts of the case. In addition, the same federal court concluded CERCLA did impose retroactive liability and that the constitutionality of such liability would also depend on each case.

Good news for the small businessman who maintains a deep pocket and who can afford long, drawn-out, legal proceedings. However, Bill McCubbin, a Southern California developer, recommends another avenue for the real estate investor, he states "I want the seller to warrant that he doesn't know of any contamination problems on the property. I also want to examine the site myself," he says. "It's fine when a seller doesn't know about a problem but that doesn't change the facts. The clean-up might cost fifty dollars or several million. I don't know and I don't want to know. If I find out too late, I'm history."

Chuck Bolcom is a free lance writer living in San Diego.

On Quackery

By James D. Spounias

America is losing the Cancer War. According to medical "Pravda," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, Drs. John C. Bailar III and Elaine M. Smith concluded in their study that "we are losing the war against cancer." The two doctors from the Harvard School of Public Health admitted that while statistics may be skewed to "convey any impression from overwhelming success against cancer to disaster, the realistic 'age-adjusted mortality rates' revealed that cancer mortality had 'a slow and steady increase over several decades, and there is no evidence of a recent downward trend.'"

The two Drs. concluded that "These comments about lack of progress are in no way an argument against the earliest possible diagnostic and the best possible treatment of cancer. The problem is the lack of any substantial recent improvement in treating the most common forms," noted the Drs., adding that, "research opportunities in other areas of cancer prevention may well merit sharp increases in support, even if this requires that current treatment-related research must be substantially curtailed."

The crux of this well researched and authoritative article is that *preventive methods* must be sought in order to defeat cancer, or at least to tame it. Interestingly, in California — often cited as "that place where anything goes," there are some of the strictest laws regarding medical treatment of cancer. California state law, under the guise of the "anti-quackery" laws, dictates that it is a crime for physicians to treat cancer by any method other than surgery, radiation, or chemotherapy.

This anti-quackery law neglects to consider whether the patient who is receiving treatment outside of the three accepted methods has suffered any damage. The health of the patient has no bearing upon the guilt of the physician under this quackery doctrine. The state's only concern is the method of the treatment, and whether "conspiracy to commit quackery" may be involved.

Thus, this law is an enigmatic departure from the well-constructed civil malpractice laws; the acid test for malpractice rests upon the *proven* damage of the victim, and consequently, the physician is punished in accord with his malpractice.

Conceivably, under the malpractice laws, a doctor could hideously damage a patient using the approved methods, and at the most, lose his license, and some insurance company's money; but, under the quackery law, a doctor could help a patient with unapproved methods, and consequently be sent to jail, after losing his medical license and reputation, of course.

If one considers the above conjecture to be merely an implausible meandering of a paranoid mind, *think again*. The situation is real, and a case is on appeal right now. The doctor's name is Bruce Halstead, MD and he faces a 4-year sentence in a state prison and a \$10,000 fine, along with the utter destruction of his reputation and life's work. The crime he has been convicted of is treating cancer with methods outside of the purview of the state's dictum, but certainly not outside the *sanity* of the medical establishment.

Dr. Halstead does not typify the image of the stereotyped quack. He never asked his patients to put their crippled children to the television screen for healing, nor did he prescribe *ice-water enemas* to cure cancer.

Dr. Halstead heads the World Life Research Institute which is an international biotoxicological center that maintains one of the largest libraries in the world on dangerous marine animals, environmental carcinogens, pollution, drugs from the sea, traditional medicine covering a period of 3,000 years in all the major civilizations, a vast assemblage of artworks on biodynamic organisms and herbology. He and his institute has served the U.S. Department of Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force, Public Health Service, National Library of Medicine, World Health Organizations, United Nations and many others.

The treatment that Dr. Halstead flirts with was an herbal concoction, nutritional product that comes from the Orient and appeared to have excellent health giving properties. The people who sold the herbs did so in a way that could be construed as quackery, but they plea-bargained their way to safety and helped a task-force from the American Medical Association, American Cancer Society, National Institute for Health, Food and Drug Administration and the State of California charge the licensed physician for daring to utilize the product. Medical-scientific facts were not



part and parcel of the trial — daring to use any remedy not on the accepted list is the violation.

Dr. Halstead is appealing his conviction, and now that he is not acting as his own attorney, he feels he has a good chance to reverse the decision. Dr. Halstead and others point out how unjust the California anti-quackery code is, and the charge that the "medical establishment" uses it to suppress thinking and research not in step with accepted dogma.

The use of the codified anti-quackery statute is neither justice nor science, according to Halstead and his supporters, especially since the statistics show that we are not winning the war on cancer. Halstead suggested that one of the reasons the members of the task force against quackery targeted him for prosecution was due to his work on promising new research with a substance known as "dithiolthione" which is both a cancer and radiation fighter. The product is said to have "significant preventive-cancer, preventive-radiation and preventive-mutagenic effects."

Dr. Halstead claims that he "had been offered an exclusive opportunity by Johns Hopkins University to commercially develop a nontoxic nutrient derived from cabbage." Dr. Halstead also noted that "studies conducted at Johns Hopkins have shown that mice and rats fed dithiolthiones had a significant elevation in biochemical reactions that tend to destroy the activity of carcinogenic and other toxic agents. It has already been determined that there is an intense cancer-preventive action by this product."

Dithiolthione, Dr. Halstead added, "has the remarkable ability to selectively protect normal tissues, but not protect cancer tissues. In other words, if a patient was taking chemotherapy, dithiolthione would protect the body from the disastrous side effects of the chemotherapeutic agent, but would not protect the cancer from destruction."

Dr. Halstead said the John Hopkins proposal dealt with the commercial development of dithiolthione. "Although the dithiolthiones have been known for 25 years to exist in cabbage and other cruciferous plants, the exact chemical structure of these compounds is not known. Before we can go into production, the work currently in progress at Johns Hopkins University on the isolation and extraction of the specific dithiolthiones present in cabbage must be completed."

Despite this impressive background and current promising research venture with an undisputed medical giant, Judge Martin Rowen, guided by the prosecution, imposed six other impositions upon Dr. Halstead, in addition to the 4-year jail term and \$10,000 fine:

1. That Halstead must turn in his medical license to the California Board of Medical Quality Assurance.

2. That he must never practice medicine again.

3. That he must desist from identifying himself as a doctor or an MD, and those credentials must be stricken from his curriculum vitae. The designation MD cannot appear on his letterhead or be written after his name.

4. That he must desist all professional activity in the health care field, including serving as a practitioner, medical advisor, medical expert, lecturer, consultant, naturopath, or use any other terms or designations associated with health care.

5. That he is to desist from any professional or scientific activity within his World Life Research Institute, and he must remove himself from its board of directors.

6. That he must sell, close or completely divorce himself from his medical clinic.

Judge Rowan and a jury, following the ill-conceived bureaucratic rule of nonsense in the anti-quackery law, handed down a conviction, and if this appeal is denied, *ruined* the life of a man who hurt no person, nor broke the *spirit of medical law*. Dr. Halstead dared to test an alternative, and to assert that alternative thinking is necessary in the war against cancer.

Winning the cancer war is something that the medical establishment is yearning for, but that state law will simply not allow. No person complained to the state about Dr. Halstead, the state sought him out and virtually entrapped him.

The anti-quackery law is unnecessary. Malpractice laws are more than adequate for protecting victims of incompetent doctors. Dr. Halstead is a victim of this unnecessary, Coercive, and insane law that thwarts research and treatment which is desperately needed if America will ever win the cancer war. Why would such an enlightened, liberated state, California, allow for such medical/scientific repression?



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On Giving Enough Rope...

By Kurt Andrew Schlichter

Capital punishment is perhaps the most basic civil rights issue imaginable. It does not involve merely free speech, or the right to worship freely or the right to assemble. Rather, it involves the basic issue of the right to life, and the arguments against it touch on such questions as what exactly "cruel and unusual punishment" is, what "due process" means and even involves racial "equal protection" issues. The death penalty is thus a polarizing issue that cuts to the very core of civil rights. Lined up on both sides of the issue are equally dedicated people who believe that they are on the side of justice. As a result, capital punishment remains as one of the most divisive and perhaps the most important question in the civil rights field.

Capital punishment has always existed. What varied was the method, and human beings have rarely been as resourceful and imaginative as they have been in discovering new and exotic ways to kill one another. The ancient Athenians forced Socrates to sip deadly hemlock tea for "corrupting" the youth of the city-state. In Rome, another city-state heralded for its enlightenment, criminals and other undesirables were regularly tossed to the lions as both punishment and entertainment. The Roman's knack for executions also provided Christianity with its symbol, the cross, upon which the Christian Messiah Jesus Christ had been nailed after his condemnation.

During the middle-ages executions were usually decapitations carried out by swordsmen, although axes were also commonly employed. Among the headsman's victims were two of Henry VIII's wives and countless other monarchs, nobles and various unlucky commoners. Of course, beheading was not the only way to execute the condemned. Witches were regularly burned at the stake, political opponents were impaled upon sharpened stakes, rebels were drawn and quartered and others were killed through various garrotings, dismemberments and hangings.

With the advent of the nineteenth century the death penalty began to become "civilized," in the sense that supporters began to require less "cruel" and less slow means of execution. The object, particularly in Great Britain and France (with its Guillotine), changed from causing both pain and death simply to inflicting death. However, death was inflicted for a long list of infractions, including stealing fruit from trees. Hanging was the method preferred in England. It was relatively clean, economical and, if done correctly, quick. One hangman, a Mr. Charles Duff writing in his 1927 *Handbook On Hanging*, tells of the pride the executioners took in snapping the condemned's neck instantly, as opposed to waiting for him to die of slow strangulation. He also mentions the Hangman's shame at botching a hanging, and includes a complete table of weight-drop distances to spare the novice executioner such humiliation.

In the United States capital punishment followed a similar course. It was "civilized" here too. Hanging, as immortalized in countless Westerns, had been the method of choice. However, since Americans did not seem to have the same talent for it as their British cousins, executions were often long, unpleasant affairs, convincing reformers that new alternatives had to be found. One was the electric-chair, a device hailed as being instantaneous and "painless," claims now known to be totally false. Another advance was the gas chamber, wherein cyanide pellets fall into a tub of acid, producing the gas which eventually kills the prisoner. The latest advance in the field is the lethal injection, wherein the condemned is strapped to a gurney as the poison flows through an IV tube into his veins. Death has been made as clean and as painless — to the witnesses at least — as is possible. Many states currently use lethal injections, including Texas, while a few, like the prolific Florida, retain the electric chair, or the gas chamber, as does California. Hanging remains the method in a few states. In Utah, the condemned has his choice of being either hung, or, as Gary Gilmore chose, shot.

The death penalty is always a divisive and hotly debated subject. It concerns the State sanctioned taking of human life, and there is no greater power the State possesses. The foremost question to be asked is the basic moral question which renders all other unimportant. Does the State have the right to deprive someone of his or her life? It is an admittedly difficult question. Some would argue that no one, in the form of the State or of individuals has the right to kill for any reason. However, this is the argument of only the most committed pacifist. It is generally agreed that

both the individual and the society possess the right of self-defense. It makes little sense to argue that under no circumstances may a person defend his or herself, or his family or property. That would simply place the individual at the mercy of those without such moral strength. Likewise, a society, manifesting itself in the form of the State, must be able to defend itself. Moral, non-violent resistance may have worked in India against the British, or in the South during the Civil Rights era, but could hardly have stopped Hitler's tanks, or the Soviet tanks of today. Likewise, passive resistance could not have spared JFK from Oswald's rifle.

A society has the right to defend itself. The question is whether capital punishment is a form of self-defense. If it deters or prevents murder then it certainly qualifies as a form of self-defense and could thus be considered a legitimate response. Deterrence, whether involving H-bombs or the noose, always stirs up an argument. Some studies have stated flatly that the death penalty by no means deters criminals from committing murder. There could be a number of reasons, if this assertion is in fact correct. The



criminals could simply be unafraid of death, an unlikely circumstance. They could think capture unlikely, or that they would probably never be executed even if convicted. Another school of thought says that the death penalty does in fact deter murder. Some police officers recall a time when bank robbers would check their accomplice's guns to make sure they were empty so that no one could kill someone and send them all to the chair. Another example of the deterrent value of swift and sure punishment involves the Pennsylvania State Police. For a long time only the most insane criminal would dare kill a State Trooper for the simple reason that the murderers never seemed to be taken alive. They always seemed to be killed escaping or resisting arrest. Such vigilantism is hardly to be applauded but is illustrative of the effectiveness of certain capital punishment.

With such a controversy it is difficult to objectively decide which study is the more accurate. One unarguable fact is that capital punishment is the ultimate preventative. No one who has been executed has ever killed again. This fact above all others stands out. Even the liberal Ed Koch of New York City pointed out that simple fact. Repeat murderers do exist. Edwin Kemper killed his grandmother, spent a few years in prison, was released and promptly went on a rampage through the Santa Cruz mountains that left many young women dead. Life in prison, without the possibility of parole, could conceivably replace capital

punishment. However, there is no such thing as "life in prison." First, prisoners can, and do, escape. There is an escapee wandering somewhere in Idaho who was convicted of gunning down two game wardens. Second, life without possibility of parole actually means life without the possibility of parole for now. Laws change and the crime is forgotten. Los Angeles Police officer Ian Campbell is still lying in his grave, while Gregory Ulas Powell, the man who shot him in the face in that Bakersfield onion field and was originally sentenced to death, is on the verge of parole. Powell's accomplice is back in prison. He had been paroled but was later caught using heroin. There are many examples of this kind of terrible injustice.

Without question there have been injustices committed in implementing the death penalty. Mere children wait for execution. The poor are probably more likely to die for murder than a comparable rich killer. If some studies are true, then a black who kills a white is more likely to be sentenced to die than a white who kills a black. It seems, however, that the logical answer is to execute those white murderers too. There is also the question of innocent people being executed. A death sentence is final. After it is carried out there is no appeal. That is the reason for the elaborate and

complicated legal procedure upon which the Supreme Court has insisted. It is a troubling fact that someday an innocent person may die, but the lives that capital punishment will unarguably save make the risk a worthwhile one.

Is state sanctioned killing justice? Is it right to kill for a killing? Is it punishment or merely vengeance? Capital punishment raises basic questions both in its theory and in its flawed application. The answer to the first query must be a resounding yes. A society has the right to protect itself and its people. Moreover, ultimate evil demands the ultimate response. A killer by his actions forfeits his life. A subjective argument? True, but polls indicate that over two-thirds of Californians agree. As for the last question, that of punishment vs. vengeance, the answer is unclear. The death penalty is an often visceral reaction to unspeakable evil, whether in the form of murder or, rarely, treason. However, that visceral response is not the fault of society but of the criminal. Perhaps the death penalty is simply vengeance, but if it saves one innocent life, does that really matter?

Kurt Andrew Schlichter is a junior at UCSD.

Uniting the States Under the English Language

By Justina M. Flavin

While English has always been the unofficial language of the United States, there is currently an organization attempting to make it our country's official language. U.S. English, under the guidance of California's former senator S.I. Hayakawa, is a national public interest organization working to pass a Constitutional Amendment which would declare: "The English language shall be the official language of the United States." As insignificant as it may seem, this wonderfully simple amendment could make dramatic changes in two American institutions: elections and education. First of all, it would mandate that all voting materials be printed in one language — English, thus saving hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars. Secondly, it would restrict the amount of government funding allocated to bilingual education programs and further stipulate that the money could be used for short transitional classes only. But while all this may seem like a good idea to the American taxpayer, the liberals and special interest ethnic groups (mostly Hispanic) are combining forces in an attempt to defeat it. By using buzz-word filled phrases such as "taking away our cultural awareness," "robbing us of our ethnic heritage and pride," and "social alienation," they are using their flawed reasoning as a means to deceive.

The first myth being perpetrated concerns the printing of ballots in several languages. Ethnic groups claim that if ballots are printed only in English, fewer members of these minority groups will vote. What these groups seem to forget is that in order to become a naturalized U.S. citizen, a person must, by law, be able to read, write and speak English. Therefore, being a voter implies a knowledge of English; thus an important question arises: Why should there be a need to have voting materials printed in other languages?

The second area targeted for reform under the English-only amendment is bilingual education. Currently there seems to be no agreement upon what the term "bilingual education" means, and as a result, there are several types of programs being funded by the government. The method for teaching English preferred by U.S. English is short term and known as English as a Second Language (ESL). The ESL program is an immersion program in which children are taught the basics of the English language in a short period of time. They are placed in a regular classroom where all subjects are taught in English, and they must communicate with their classmates in English. A program of this nature is extremely effective because children learn quickly, and are forced to use the language. Learning a foreign language is no different than learning anything else: A person does not learn how to tie his shoes, multiply fractions, or ride a bicycle by watching someone else do it. He learns by practicing.

In contrast, the transitional bilingual education program is another ineffective government program laden with bureaucratic machinery. This program gives students instruction in their own language in academic subjects, separate English language instruction, and attempts to segment the population through "ethnic awareness" classes. Under the program, the

child is first evaluated for the amount of instruction needed in his native language and then an individualized plan is designed for each student. As it is now, many students spend a good part or even all of their school years in these bilingual programs, graduating from high school still not understanding English. Why does this happen? One reason is some bilingual education teachers do not really want their students to learn English. The longer teachers can keep Pablo, Juan, or Fernando from becoming fluent in English, the longer they can show that their job is essential and thus maintain it. Some of these teachers will not allow their students to take English fluency exams for fear that some might pass and then be put back into a traditional class.

Another weak argument used by these teacher-bureaucrats is that if the students are taught academic subjects in their native language, they can continue to keep up with their English-speaking classmates. However, a problem arises when one realizes that there are many idioms and concepts that cannot be translated accurately from one language to another. In addition, a recent study of 150 Los Angeles high school seniors, mostly from Spanish speaking countries, who were not native English speakers, contradicts this claim. The study showed that these students, who were immersed in an English language program, had comparable grade point averages, occupational choices, and college plans to those of their native English speaking classmates. Secondly, studying English as a separate subject for one hour a day just does not provide a sufficient amount of exposure to the subject in order to gain fluency. Anyone who has ever studied a foreign language will tell you that the only way to learn it is to speak, read, write, and think in that language all the time.

The need for a Constitutional Amendment as proposed by U.S. English appears to be vital. The longer nothing is done, the less likely the amendment will have a chance to succeed. Those against it are a well organized group who are trying to feed off of the government for as long as they can, using the plight of the disadvantage foreign immigrant as a front for their activities. This becomes even more obvious when one goes back in history and considers the same situation faced by the immigrants who came to the U.S. before such programs existed. There was nothing to aid them; rather, they were eager and willing to help themselves in this land of opportunity. Bilingual education programs for their children did not exist, programs which Education Secretary William Bennett has described as "a failed path" costing the government \$1.7 billion in seventeen years. Concurring with that opinion is Richard Rodriguez, a Mexican American scholar who himself went through bilingual education programs. He has said that using a native language reinforces separatism and prevents minorities from advancing beyond their ghettos.

The United States has long been known as a melting pot of all races and nationalities of people. As Americans, we have a right to be proud of our diverse backgrounds, but we also have a duty to unite ourselves under the common bond of the English language that identifies us as Americans. Recognizing this, we can thus unify ourselves and truly make it possible to become "one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Justina M. Flavin is a senior at UCSD.



Merit Pay For Teachers

By G. James Jason

Productivity in education is a topic which includes a number of hotly contested issues: tenure, merit pay, the validity of peer review and student evaluations, and so on. The attitude of most of us educators seems to be that education is not a business and that reward based on productivity is not a concept which applies to our profession.

This attitude was very apparent in the outcry raised by the largest teachers' union to President Reagan's recent call for merit pay. One can just imagine what he would have faced if he had gone so far as to criticize the tenure system!

The public seems just as clearly to have a different attitude. A recent *Newsweek* poll (conducted by Gallup) indicated that 71% of the people approved of

changing the tenure/seniority system to make it easier to fire poor teachers, while only 23% disapproved. Eighty percent of the people surveyed approved basing salaries on merit, while only 15% disapproved. And 90% approve of competency testing for teachers, with only 6% disapproving.

We might continue to ignore the public's sentiment on the matter of holding teachers to performance standards, except the crisis in education is so damned apparent. The decline in SAT scores, the recent poor performance of teachers on competency exams, and everyday observation of the educational inadequacies of recent graduates all indicate that some truly massive problems exist. Even those most deep in dogmatic slumber were awakened by the recent frightening

report, *A Nation At Risk* (written by the National Commission on Excellence in Education), which likened the decline of US education to an act of war.

In the middle of a crisis in education we cannot cling to the notion that our profession is so utterly unique that common sense practices elsewhere do not apply to us. Specifically, we ought to realize that the principle underlying business and industry — namely, that one must reward performance and penalize nonperformance — applies to us as well. I would like to sketch out a few ideas about how such a principle can be implemented. I will focus my remarks on the community and four year college levels, as I am most familiar with them.

The notion that students must be held to perfor-

(Continued on page 15)



Bryan Bloom in that den of liberalism at U.C. Berkeley, Sproul Plaza

— Defender of Freedom

(Continued from page 14)

mance standards is now grudgingly conceded by even soi-disant "progressive" educators. This means regular testing and either advancing or holding back students on the basis of those tests — rather than on the basis of "effort" or "good conduct." It also means establishing tight standards (a "C" average, say, and no "F's") for participation in sports or other extra-curricular activities. This also means requiring students to write essays, especially in their humanities courses.

As I said above, this much is now conceded by everyone. The real resistance arises when it comes to assessing teaching performance, and rewarding superior work. Ironically, resistance comes from both sides of the fence.

On the one hand, many teachers and their union officials oppose merit pay because they suspect that the supporters of it are insincere, and argue that it is impossible to assess objectively teaching performance. A typical comment is this:

Plainly put, there are no valid or objective means by which to measure good teaching. The illusion that we can measure teaching competence is borne out neither by the literature nor by fact.¹

On the other hand, many taxpayers have been very reluctant to pay more money for schools. The main reason seems to be that recent decades of explosive growth in spending on education has not resulted in an explosive growth of genuine literacy.

To be fair to the taxpayers, I doubt that it will be possible to get them in the mood to pay for superior performance until they see a genuine effort to assess teachers and get rid of the incompetents. To be fair to the teachers, until such time as people seriously grasp the idea that good teachers deserve roughly the same pay as (say) engineers — teachers will continue to suspect insincerity.

However, I want to come back to that argument against rewarding on the basis of performance, the one that questions the possibility of objectively assessing such performance. Seeing that so much weight rests upon that claim, it would be wise to examine it.

It seems to me that the biggest obstacle to clear

¹Dennis, Lawrence "Why Not Merit Pay?" *Contemporary Education* Vol. LIV No. 1 Fall 1982 p. 20.

thinking regarding judging teaching performance is a fundamental unclarity about the nature of judgment. Judgment is not mere calculation: you do not judge what your weight is, you measure it directly. Or to use a better example, you do not judge which car gives the best gas mileage, you merely look at the EPA measurements.

Judgment is not a mere matter of measurement or calculation. It involves weighing factors against one another in a non-mechanical way. For example, to judge which car is best for you involves weighing factors such as initial cost, maintenance cost, gas mileage, interior size, and so on. The factors being weighed may each be quantifiable — but that is another matter.

Failure to distinguish judgement from simple measurement undermines many of the attacks against merit pay. For instance, many colleges rely upon student evaluations as a measure of teaching effectiveness, and the argument is often made that this is a very inadequate measure. The various criticisms seem to center around the quite correct point that "good teaching" and "popularity" are not at all synonymous terms, and that student evaluations tend only to measure popularity.

I agree that student evaluations alone are not a measure of good teaching. But I would ask their critic whether they should not be used as a measure of one of the factors to be considered in judging the quality of teaching. This is a more subtle question, in that it does not presuppose that there is some single quantitative measure of teaching performance. Isn't popularity a factor in good teaching?

Clearly it is. Teaching another person is quite unlike programming a computer in this respect (among others): getting the cooperation of the student, getting the student in a receptive state, is essential before any transmission of information can take place. In this regard, judging a teacher is like judging a doctor: proficiency in the subject is important, but so is bedside manner.

Of course, the popularity rating of the teacher should be compared with the popularity average for that course. The student rating of a Physics teacher ought not to be compared with that of a Modern Dance instructor.

Popularity can be "bought" with high grades. For this reason, any judgment about teaching quality should include consideration of the average grade,

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assigned by that teacher in that course. Again, along side this should be the average grade for that course for comparison. Comparing graduate seminars (where grades tend to be high) with lower division science courses (where grades tend to be low) is a rather misleading thing to do.

Besides student evaluations and assigned - grade data, several other factors ought to be measured. The percentage of students dropping the class (again as compared to the normal rate for that course) ought to be considered. If a teacher can retain students while giving relatively low grades, that says something about the quality of the teaching.

Another important factor in assessing teaching performance is student performance. Besides being entertained, do the students learn in this person's class? In the case of lower-division courses, joint final exams help give information about teaching success. If Professor A and Professor B both teach "Intro to Statistics," and A's students score significantly higher on an exam not designed by either teacher, then that is evidence that A is a better teacher. (I said "evidence," please note, not "absolute proof").

In upper-division classes, joint exams may not be practical. In that case, including copies of the syllabus and exam questions may suffice.

I do not want to get bogged down in excessive detail. I think my point is clear enough: if one is seriously interested in objectively judging teaching performance, it is not terribly difficult to devise a package of measures upon which sound judgments can be made. And objectivity is reached if impartial people make the same judgments faced with the same facts.

If we as a society want to make our educational system as superbly successful as our engineering enterprises, we ought to adopt the same governing principle: pay, really pay, for talent — but demand that that talent produce at a level high enough to justify the reward. Unless such a bold point of view is adopted, I fear that our educational system will remain mired in mediocrity.

Dr. G. James Jason is professor of Philosophy at Washburn University and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.

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