

Brooke Crocker on Third College

Sherry Lowrance: Enemies of Eros

California Review

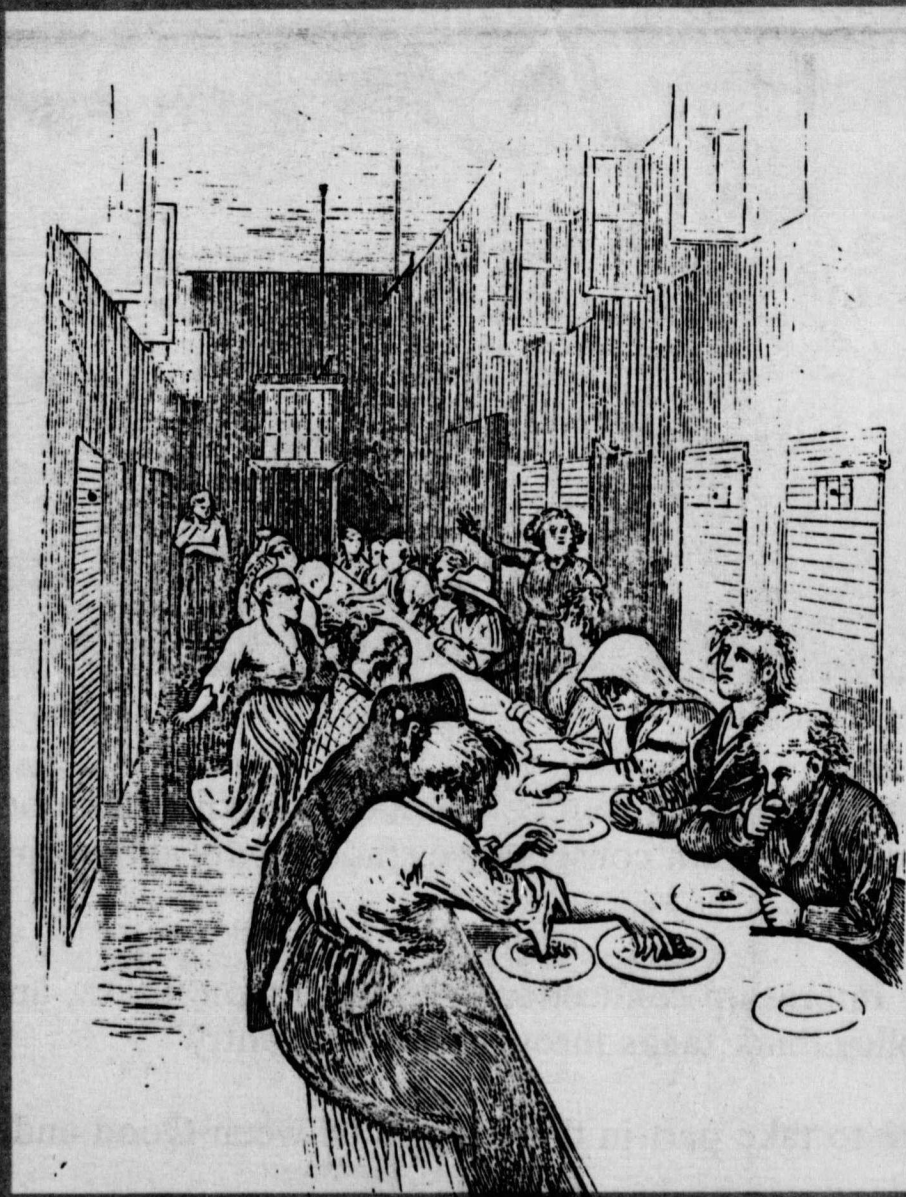
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Letters

Editor:

In reply to Sherry Lowrance's fair-minded survey of feminism (CR, May 1990): Prof. Kathy Shevelow describes feminism as "a range of positions," but warns against considering any group as characteristic.

True enough, but she obscures the division of feminists into two main camps: (1) the mainstream, led by NOW and Ms., mostly liberal, which includes millions of women and men; and (2) the fringe, in many small fractions, mostly radical, comprising a few thousand women. Admittedly, size isn't everything: the radicals can exert influence far greater than their numbers warrant, by intellectual innovation and creative tactics.

Lowrance states that "conservatives [...] would not take a consensus in favor of 'equal rights' as necessarily a sign of growing feminism." Why not? The traditional definition of feminism is "the doctrine which declares the equality of the sexes and advocates equal social, political, and economic rights for women" (Funk & Wagnalls, 1961). By that measure, most American men and women, including many conservatives, could be described as feminists. Trendies are free to try to redefine the term, but each person may choose among competing definitions.

To the extent that conservatives support authority, they are unlikely to fight for the rights of women—or of men. For an active "conservative feminism," one might look to libertarians.

Tahanga Research Association
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Editors' Note:

Yes, most Americans, and most conservatives believe in equal rights for



women (e.g. that the rights included in the Constitution be equally valid for men and women). Where conservatives, and many other Americans, part from feminism is in the belief of "equality of the sexes" (a rather broad term, which not even the radical feminists believe 100%), and the far reaching implications of that belief.

Also, Libertarians should keep in mind that liberty without authority is anarchy. The French recently observed the 200th anniversary of the prime demonstration of that fact.

Editor:

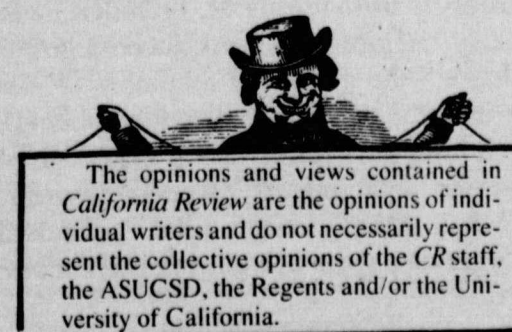
Last summer, a recently divorced acquaintance became a born-again Christian. She also became an anti-abortion activist, proud of having been recently arrested for blocking the doors to a local abortion clinic. When asked, "Are you willing to adopt one or more of those unwanted children?" she

(Continued on p. 15)

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In Review

■ The June 5th election contains another slew of huge bond issues, including another one for "higher Education Facilities" (Prop 121). Perhaps if 121 passes, UCSD will lose a few more eucalyptus trees and get another multi-million dollar faculty lounge.

■ The "Treaty Oak" in Austin, Texas has stood for 500 years. 150 years ago Stephen Austin signed a peace treaty with Indians beneath it, giving the tree its current name. A year ago, however, Austin city officials discovered that the tree had been poisoned by herbicide. Despite costly efforts to save the tree, half of it has died and the rest is not expected to survive. The man accused of the vandalism, Paul Cullen, was convicted last month and sentenced to 9 years. Most everyone, including the defense's attorney thought the sentence was lenient. Many Austin residents would like Cullen to decorate the tree by hanging from it.

■ Commenting on the high divorce rate, comedian Rita Rudner says "When I meet a guy, the first question I ask myself is: Is this the man I want my children to spend their weekends with?"

■ The balance of trade just improved. Japanese high roller Akio Kashiwagi, after having been ahead \$9.6 million, ended up losing \$10 million playing baccarat at the Trump Plaza Hotel and Casino in Atlantic City.

■ The Sacramento Public works Department has sponsored a "Manhole Terminology Change Contest" to come up with a "non-sexist" alternative to "Manhole". So far, however, the contest has not generated much interest. Sacramento engineering manager, Thomas Finely, who is in charge of the renaming likes "person-access chamber."

■ In Glasgow, Scotland, two drunken bank robbers were caught after they tried to use a taxi as a getaway car.

■ In Azerbaijan, Ilias Djaforoun became a widower after 103 years of marriage. His wife Khatyn, was 121. Ilias is 124.

■ East Berlin may have problems keeping its people, but reportedly storks are settling in East Berlin in record numbers.

■ Imagine visiting your future grave site, and finding it occupied. That happened to 78 year old Yong Yu Min when she went to check up on her plot in a Catholic Cemetery in Kuala Lumpur, and found it occupied by some man who had apparently been buried there by mistake.

■ It seems that the changes in the Soviet Union are not to the liking of some in the west. American Communist Party chairman, Gus Hall, for instance, doesn't like all the

Stalin bashing. "I think the Soviet historians are exaggerating. I thought Stalin was a good leader."

■ On May 5th, the people of Pilsen, Czechoslovakia were allowed to celebrate the liberation of their city by American troops in 1945 for the first time in 42 years. About 50 surviving members of General George Patton's 3rd Army took part in a veterans parade. During 42 years of Communist rule, school children in Pilsen were taught that their city was liberated by Soviet soldiers wearing American uniforms. Gus Hall probably believes it.



■ In Texas, Leslie Elaine Perez has come under pressure to exit the race for the Harris County Democratic party chairmanship due to recent revelations at being a transsexual, president of the Houston chapter of Gay and Lesbian Democrats of America and of having been convicted in 1961 of a shooting and torching murder of a Houston man. Perez sees his opponents as "redneck, conservative folks."

■ Finally. The Uruguayan government has legalized duelling.

■ The Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq has decreed that Iraqi men can kill their mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, aunts, nieces, and female cousins for adultery. We would frown on this, but we don't want to appear ethnocentric.

■ In order to help people deal with stress, Norway has instituted "Dial-a-Poem."

■ Sandy Carson of Jacksonville, Florida took weight off the easy way. Doctors removed a 65 pound tumor from Carson's abdomen. Carson said, "I though I was just fat."

■ The durable Rosalie Searles of Vandilla, New York has won the distinction of being run over twice in the same day with out being seriously injured. Mrs. Searles was first run over by her husband, and later by a fireman, both of whom had been drinking.

■ Georgia state legislator, Democratic Rep Beverly Langford has introduced legislation calling on the generally assembly to assess "the extreme danger of cane toad licking", in which Langford states "when licked raw is a powerful hallucinogen." Rep Langford says his bill is actually only a joke. Sounds like Georgia taxpayers are getting their money's worth.

The Purpose of the University

By Brooke Crocker

What is the purpose of a university? It is a question not often asked anymore, but it certainly is a question that people should be asking. Third College has recently almost, sort of, kind of, maybe decided on a name for itself: Martin Luther King, Jr. College. It seems like a good choice, King was a great leader who helped to improve the country for all her citizens. Yet I find it strangely ironic.

Third College professes to be a college of diversity. It focuses on Third World studies and excludes Western culture from its curriculum. This very college which now proposes to name itself after Martin Luther King, Jr. excludes from its curriculum the very sources which inspired Dr. King. King acknowledge that he studied and was inspired by Martin Luther, John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and other thinkers from the Western tradition. Third College requires its students to read none of those sources. Third college provides its students with an education that excludes the likes of Plato, Mill, and Smith and provides instead an education based on the generic concept of Third World studies.

This returns me to my initial question, and that is: What is the purpose of the

university? I would answer that the purpose of the university is to turn out thoughtful, civilized citizens who know about the world—not brainwashed, politicized people who can spout off on various aspects of the Third World but who cannot explain their own culture's political and social traditions.



I think it is very important to have knowledge of other cultures' history, literature, and thought. I do not think anyone should be educated in a vacuum. However, that is just what Third College is doing. It excludes the very culture people should understand the most, the one in which they live. It cannot be assumed that

people understand the thought of the West just by living in a Western country. (For God's sake, a large portion of American junior high school students cannot even find the United States on a map!) I am for a core curriculum that would expose students to the great thinkers of the West and would give them an important grounding in the concepts that helped to form their nation. Yet, I would not exclude other cultures. By all means, include them. One's education can only be furthered by the more one sees, hears, and reads about the world around him. The student will not only learn about diversity, but about the similarities among people.

Third College is exclusive—it excludes one of the most dynamic and important cultural traditions under the guise of diversity. It is not only Third's fault that it does so, but the fault of the whole university system which does not really seek to educate its students. Third College has rethought its name, too bad it has not rethought its academic program.

Brooke Crocker is a junior at UCSD.

The Soviet Union and the Rule of Law

By Roger Wodehouse

The Soviet Union is now playing a new game. Now, according to Mikhail Gorbachev and Edvard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Union believes in the rule of law, and will not succumb to the independence movements of the Baltic States, which do not conform to the Soviet Constitution.

This is all pretty interesting coming from a country which for more than 70 years has thumbed its nose at such bourgeois notions as the rule of law, opting instead for the Marxist dictum that everything is moral that advances the cause of communism. The annexation of the Baltic States in 1940, certainly, was far from "legal." This new Soviet embrace of rule of law, however, is no ideological conversion; it is merely a ploy to keep the Soviet empire from falling apart, while at the same time deflecting Western criticism.

The line being given up by Shevardnadze and Gorbachev regarding the attempts of Lithuania to regain its independence is that Lithuania, and every other Soviet "Republic," must be bound by the terms of the Soviet Constitution. Surprisingly, this argument has been echoed by many of Gorbachev's supporters in the United States. After all, they say, how would we feel if California tried to secede from the Union?

Any analogy between a U. S. state and a Soviet Republic—especially the Baltic

States—is absurd. The U. S. Constitution carries the force of law in California because by freely joining the Union, California accepted it as such, and since that time has had a voice in amending the document. This is not the case with Lithuania or any of the other Baltic States. The Baltic States did not freely consent to joining the Soviet Union—they were compelled by force of arms. And since that time the people of the Baltic States have been subject to a totalitarian regime.



legally, therefore, the Soviet Constitution has no legitimacy in the Baltic States.

Just as the Soviet Constitution carries no validity in the Baltic States, Soviet calls for payment for "Soviet property" are also specious. A lot of that "Soviet property" used to be Lithuanian, Latvian, or Estonian property. And what compensation do the Baltic States deserve for having their economies ravaged by communism? The Baltic States owe nothing to their Soviet oppressors.

The United States has never recognized the 1940 Soviet annexation of the Baltic States. Nevertheless, the Bush Administration has declined to recognize officially the new Lithuanian government, instead calling for negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union to iron out a procedure with independence as the end. The reasons given by the Administration are, arguably, sound—Lithuania may have a freely elected government, but it hardly has the ability to rule as long as Lithuania is occupied by Soviet troops and police. The reality of regaining independence after 50 years of occupation is more complicated than signing a declaration.

If the Baltic States are to achieve independence peacefully—which is their only choice given the military realities—they will have to negotiate with the Soviet government. Never, however, should the Baltic States accept the notion that they must use the Soviet Constitution to guide their independence efforts—nor should the United States ever try to pressure the Baltic States into that position, for doing so would be a *de facto* recognition of the 1940 annexations as legitimate. That is something that much of the West has rightly refused to do for 50 years. The world should keep the pressure on the Soviet government to negotiate the independence of the Baltic States, regardless of what the Soviet Constitution says.

Roger Wodehouse is a senior at UCSD.

Casualties of the Sexual Revolution

Enemies of Eros
Maggie Gallagher
Bonus Books, Inc., Chicago
283 pages \$18.95

By Sherry Lowrance

Maggie Gallagher's book *Enemies of Eros* makes the astonishing claim in its very first sentence that America today is one of the most sexually repressed societies in history. I find this astonishing because I had been taught, undoubtedly like most other people, that Victorian England and other long ago and far away places were truly sexually repressed, and people today are much better off because we do not have to deny our sexual natures. Nevertheless, Gallagher's book provides a well-written and researched argument against the sexual liberals of today.

The book, which is subtitled "how the sexual revolution is killing family, marriage, and sex and what we can do about it," goes about explaining just that: how the social reforms of the sixties and seventies have succeeded in eroding the institutions of family and marriage, and have actually made the plight of society worse than before. "The cardinal rule of the new repression is simple," she writes, "you must never, never, allow yourself to suppose that men and women are different except, as a wit once remarked, for a few anatomical peculiarities 'that don't matter except on special occasions.'" This new credo is to be "amenable to social control, to manipulation of sexual liberationists or social reformers or visionary utopians." However, the main casualties of the cardinal rule are women, Gallagher asserts.

Whether or not gender is a cultural or biological phenomenon does not concern Gallagher, but what is very important to know is that gender - sex roles, that is - are necessary to the survival of society. The contributions of women, especially as in connection with the family, are important, even essential, to society. She notes that men can also assume the traditionally female role of caring for children, but they have been even more reluctant to do so ever since the social and sexual revolutions of the sixties. With the devaluation of work in the family (if women don't want to raise children, why should men?), the wide availability and use of abortion (women choose to bear children instead of aborting, so raising them is the responsibility of women), and the sheer force of the maternal instinct, women overwhelmingly are given the responsibility of raising children. When combined with the increasing problem of male abandonment, women and their children fall into poverty. "A crucial purpose of sex roles is to prompt men to take responsibility for their progeny," she explains. "Creating a male role in the family insures women the support we require in raising children, and children the fathers they need. Gender-neutral social institutions render men

unreliable even while making women more dependent on men."

Gallagher then goes on to explain how the "contract model" wreaks havoc on families when institutionalized into social legislation: "The backdoor way to destroy the family is through contract. Re-imagining bonds of kinship as bonds of contract leaves women and children dangerously vulnerable. But making contract the basis of kinship is more than dangerous, it is false." Social reformers believed that permanent family ties are repressive and should be replaced with ties of choice, to be dissolved at will. However, this leads to the shako of the family, which in turn can contribute to the crisis confronting society today - teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, child/spouse abuse, and divorce.

Traces of the contract model can be



found in such places and no-fault divorce laws, in which marriage can be dissolved at the request of one spouse. Gallagher calls no-fault divorce laws "the murder of marriage" The State has decided not to

allow anyone to accept lifetime commitments, she explains.

The legalization of abortion is another reflection of society's commitment to the contract model, according to Gallagher. "Only in this generation," she says, "have we created the dangerous fantasy that planned parents are better parents and that 'accidental' children are less valuable, less happy, less wanted than children who have been made to order." Turning children into objects of choice, she says, does not appear to rescue them from poverty, battering, or sexual abuse. Actually, quite the opposite appears to be true. According to Gallagher, "an intact family, planned or unplanned, offers children the safest haven in an increasingly dangerous world."

Gallagher has written an incredibly fascinating and thorough book dealing with the social aspects of the family. Written in an easy, conversational, and often humorous style, she treats many divergent aspects of the family, marriage, and children and ties them all together in a coherent and convincing thesis. It will appeal to anyone with a strong sense of family, although it may not convince die-hard liberals or libertarians. Anyone with an inkling of an open mind, however, will undoubtedly be positively affected in some way by Gallagher's ideas. This book should be read by ever feminist and non-feminist, male and female, that is interested in gender issues. And, as Connie Marshner asserts, "*Enemies of Eros* ought to be required reading in every college's women's studies program."

Sherry Lowrance is a sophomore at UCSD.

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Capitalism and the Environment

By C. Brandon Crocker

The rapid depletion of landfill sites, evidence of damage to the ozone layer, acid rain, and other concerns, have focused public attention on the environment, and driven home the point that the "economic externality" of pollution does, indeed, have real effects on third parties. No doubt, this is why Earth Day 1990 received so much attention. What is more difficult to understand are the attacks launched on corporate America as part of the Earth Day events.

Protesters in New York, for instance, tried to disrupt trading at the New York Stock Exchange, carrying signs and shouting slogans denouncing U.S. corporations for poisoning the environment. Throughout the country, in less publicized protests as well as in editorials in the media, corporations were roundly denounced for putting profits ahead of the environment. What all these protesters missed, however, is the fact that corporate America, reacting to public desires, has been at the forefront of developing and implementing new products geared toward environmental concerns. U.S. and foreign business enterprises over the past few years have introduced cleaner burning gasoline, more recyclable packaging products, ways to recycle plastics, plastic substitutes that are biodegradable, and many other items. Tuna companies are now even marketing "dolphin safe" tuna, caught without a certain type of net that sometimes traps dolphins, believing that such a product will be well received by consumers.

Just as food companies altered their products and marketing plans in response to the oat bran health craze, companies are trying to make their products attractive to environmentally aware customers—and are doing so without any edicts from the government. The reason is simple. Companies believe that consumers want products that are "environmentally friendly," will favor such products over comparable alternatives, and, in many cases will even pay more for such products.

Companies are developing and marketing more environmentally minded products because that is what the market is demanding. And in a capitalist, free market system, successful companies have to meet the demands of the market. But in addition to recognizing and responding to the current demand for "environmentally friendly" products, by creating wealth so effectively, U.S. corporations, and capitalism in general, has allowed us to take much better care of our environment than have non-capitalist economies.

It is no coincidence that the former communist countries of Eastern Europe have among the worst environmental problems in the industrialized world. The openness that has come about from the revolutions of 1989 has made apparent to the West enormous environmental problems in Eastern Europe, especially in the areas of air and water pollution. Not only were

these communist command economies insulated from any public demands for reduced pollution, but the communist economies were so inefficient and poor that they would not have been able to pay for environmental improvements anyway. An



economy which can barely feed and house its people is not going to switch from burning cheap high sulfur coal to something cleaner and more expensive.

Certainly, U.S. corporations are responsible for much pollution. But it is doubtful that many of the protesters outside of the New York Stock Exchange want to return to a preindustrial society without cars, modern health care, or affordable ready made clothing. This being the case, the best way to have an industrial economy that is both responsive to, and capable of accommodating, environmental demands is to allow free market capitalism (and that includes the New York Stock Exchange) to operate.

Brandon Crocker is CR's Imperator Emeritus.

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California Review Interviews

William Tucker is author of the new book, *The Excluded Americans: Homelessness and Housing Policies* (Regnery Gateway). Mr. Tucker is an award winning journalist whose work has appeared in Harper's, The New Republic, The Atlantic, National Review, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, and other distinguished publications. Recently, Mr. Tucker took time to speak to CR's editor's on the homeless and housing policies in the United States.

CR: Briefly explain how the housing market works.

TUCKER: You build new housing and pretty soon it gets to be old housing, and by the time it gets old a lot of people can afford it. When it has been around long enough, it loses a little of its luster and style changes and most people get to buy or rent something that comes down to them second or third hand. Housing stays around a long time. In fact, I did not even realize

it when I wrote the book, but it is regarded as so permanent that the term "real property" is used to differentiate it from personal property for tax purposes. The idea is that personal property is movable and perishable, but real property is attached to the land itself and becomes part and parcel with the land and is considered virtually permanent.

When people complain about not having enough housing, it can be for one of two reasons. It can be that not enough new housing is being added to the stock, or that the housing that should be staying around for a long time is being used up or being destroyed prematurely. When people complain about affordable housing, that really is a meaningless term. There is no such thing as affordable housing--its like saying affordable money.

CR: Is it fair to say the more economic freedom, the lower the rate of homelessness?

TUCKER: Yes, that is true. In the 1950's, 60's, and 70's we had more poverty in this

country but less homelessness. We were going through this tremendous housing boom, and also we had a less regulated housing market, which allowed housing to become available more quickly. It did not take long to build housing because there were not too many restrictions on building. You see this almost universally. Housing markets tend to be highly regulated whether a country is socialistic or capitalistic. Whatever kind of government you have at the national level, you have a lot of regulation at the local level. Even Hong Kong, the paragon of international free trade and free enterprise, has very, very strict rent control. Great Britain is a great example of how a national housing market is regulated. The local councils have tremendous power over zoning and planning. More than 80% of the housing was being constructed by the city councils. And what they did since the War was to put in affect a planner's dream--you don't allow the suburbs to grow but leave these green belts of countryside, and you build lots of vertical high-rise apartments at the edge of the city limits. Consequently, Britain has

A Look at the Homeless

By Brooke Crocker

If you were tuned to HBO on Saturday night May 12, you would have seen Comic Relief 1990 with celebrities making us laugh and attempting to make us donate money to a worthy cause. But some of those celebrities may be part of the problem. For example, Lauren Hutton lives in a rent-controlled apartment in Greenwich Village with a fireplace, loft, and wall to floor mahogany paneling for only \$469.70 a month. Sigmund Rothschild, descended from nobility, pays a mere \$568.24 a month for his apartment with a 22 foot ceiling, hand carved woodwork, and cathedral windows. It would seem that the rich have got it very easy and the very poor have got no where to go, or so says William Tucker in his book, *The Excluded Americans: Homelessness and Housing Policies*.

There have been many theoretical reasons for the homeless situation but Mr. Tucker places the blame rather squarely on the shoulders of rent control, zoning, and self-indulgent yuppies. Tucker notes that one of the major causes of the homeless problem is lack of housing construction in major urban markets. The policy of rent control has enabled celebrities, like the aforementioned Hutton and Rothchild, as well as Mia Farrow, and former Mayor Ed Koch, to pay incredibly cheap rent, but at the same time has made building rental housing a poor economic proposition. Anti-growth restrictions have added to the problem especially to the drastically increased prices of California housing.



The Excluded Americans: Homelessness and Housing Policies
By William Tucker
Regnery Gateway, 389 pp., \$24.95

\$10,000 and \$40,000, and another 9% making less than \$10,000. Not exactly lifestyles of the rich and famous. Tucker notes that most landlords have worked their way up to that independent position. A heart wrenching story related in the book is of an elderly black landlord who is fined and thrown in jail for failing to provide heat for squatters in his building, while the "paperwork class" lives comfortably at their incredibly low rents.

What can be done to solve such situations? Tucker does not seem very sure that zoning or rent control regulations can be overturned, though they have in a few cities. Tucker argues that government aid to the homeless and those in need of housing should be in the form of vouchers, as used by the Reagan Administration. Vouchers are praised for allowing low-income citizens to establish themselves in their local housing market.

The book, stylistically, is a bit slow going at first, which could discourage some readers. The argument that is made, however, is a compelling one and the book quickly becomes hard to put down. The stories of injustice and of the inadequacies of the government controlled housing market are enough to drive one crazy. This is an intriguing and important book, certainly worth its cover price.

Brooke Crocker is a junior at UCSD.

Homelessness Expert William Tucker

never really developed a suburb the way we have, and now they are having terrible housing problems. The same thing happened in Japan. One of the strangest things you see right in the middle of an urban area will be a little farmer with a field of rice. They have ridiculous zoning protection for farmers, so you have a tremendous waste of land. They have very strong tenant protection--it is impossible to get anybody to move; they stay in single apartments for their entire lives. So, these countries tend to suffer from cramped and uncomfortable living arrangements.

I think what we have seen over the last 10 to 15 years in this country, with the rise of homelessness, is really the outcome of much more highly regulated housing markets, in terms of new construction and single room occupancy hotels. These hotels were totally private and they did a terrific job of accommodating poor people. It was cheap housing and highly secure housing; the desk clerk was the tenants' close friend. This is where people used to live, but these hotels were always targeted by urban

renewal projects. It has been shown that in the last 20 years 75% of these hotels have been lost. They were not lost because they had become unprofitable or that the demand was not there, they were lost because they were zoned out, regulated out, or they became apartments.

CR: Explain how rent control benefits the well-to-do and the well connected.

TUCKER: This is a very sore point in a city like New York that has had rent control for several years. The only dent I have been able to make in the wall of silence that

"Single Room Occupancy hotels were lost because they were zoned out, or regulated out."

surrounds New York housing was when I found out some of the low rents that celebrities and public officials have in New York. People always say they are only isolated incidents. But the fact is that the studies that have been done show that the whole general drift of benefits has been toward the more affluent. The Arthur C. Little Company up in Cambridge, Massachusetts did an extensive survey of the benefits of rent control in New York City and they found that in poorer neighborhoods there was hardly any effect whatsoever because the people are paying

market rent. The places where you are seeing the biggest rent differentials are in the most affluent areas of Manhattan, the upper east side, the upper west side, and Greenwich Village. The most basic explanation when you think about it is that rent control tightens the housing market. There is not a city in the U.S. with rent control that does not have abnormally low vacancy rates--below 3%. When you get a tight housing market money is going to decide who gets the house. If the money is not paid to the landlord, it is paid to a superintendent, or you buy the apartment

"Everybody in New York has to be a real estate manipulator to survive."

from the previous tenant. The people with the most money and the most pull will get the available apartments. There is always some poor person who has managed to stay in his apartment for several years and pays only \$75 a month instead of \$175. But those savings are inconsequential when compared to the person who has an upper east side apartment who is paying \$1,200 instead of \$2,400. When you have this kind of system someone is going to get knocked off the ladder, and it almost always is the poor people. Everybody in New York has to be a real estate manipulator to survive. In the Soviet Union there has always been a certain amount of prestige for those who could best hustle the system, and certainly having a rent controlled apartment system in New York, people have to have some sort of way to beat the system.

CR: Does rent control encourage bad landlords and force good landlords out of business?

(Continued on next page)

THE EXCLUDED AMERICANS



(Continued from page 9)

TUCKER: Yes. There is kind of a collection process. In the first place, once you break the social contract under which we all live—that you exchange goods voluntarily—whatever you get, you pay for. Rent control assumes that in this one case you can skirt the rules—we will have landlords supply tenants unwillingly and involuntarily and at a price lower than the market value. So what happened is one the landlords are resigned to the fact that they are not going to get what they could get, they become reluctant to provide services. Producers will respond in one of two ways, either they will sit back and disinvest or reduce production, or they reduce the quality of the good. If you are only going to pay 75% of the value of the good you will only get 75% of the quality. This is what happened in Germany under national socialism—the whole economy, not just rent was on price controls—the outcome was that goods got shoddier and as prices went down the quality of the goods went down. So

what a landlord will do is let the quality of the good deteriorate. What makes housing a good target for rent control is that it is a fixed resource. If you tried to fix the price on hamburger or stereos, stores would move out of those areas. Landlords cannot do that. In the long run they can disinvest, but

"Does Teddy Kennedy really think that Robin Williams knows anything about the homeless worth Congress' attention?"

the quickest and easiest thing to do is to let the service itself deteriorate. The peculiar thing that happens in rent control is that as services get worse tenants ordinarily would go elsewhere, but with rent control the

market is shrinking, and tenants find themselves facing a situation where things are getting worse and worse and yet it is becoming harder and harder to find anything different. What suddenly happens is a war between the tenant and landlord. The tenants hate their landlord, yet they are married to him and cannot get a divorce. Tenants take the landlord to court every time a lightbulb goes out to force the landlord to fix it, and get the rent reduction for the diminishment of services. What happens is that the tenants wise up to the fact that they can get rent reduction for diminishment of services, and they can diminish services themselves. When it comes to making the repairs, the tenant decides to prevent this to keep the rent reduction. When I talked to people in Santa Monica, they said they have to call the police many times to deal with people who won't let maintenance workers into their apartments.

(Continued on page 15)

The Coming Push for National Health Insurance

by Terree P. Wasley

Conservatives and free-marketeers across the country have cause to celebrate these days. For the first time in decades, Congress has eliminated a welfare-state program. Repealing the catastrophic care plan for the elderly has raised hopes that future spending sprees on health care will face insurmountable opposition in Congress. *The Wall Street Journal* even remarked that this recent defeat has killed for now any further attempts to socialize American medicine.

Despite this remarkable success in rolling back one program, now is not the time for those who believe in free markets to relax. If current wisdom is correct, the Bush Administration has a unique window of opportunity through which to propose major reforms to this country's ailing health care system, bringing it back into balance with our free-market convictions.

The Administration must act now, for to wait may allow an opportunity to pass that might never come again. Those who believe government can best provide for our lives are already working behind the scenes for passage of a comprehensive national health care plan for all Americans—and their target date is 1990.

Calls for some kind of national health care program are coming from a variety of sources. The rapid escalation in health care costs, particularly in the 1980s, and attention to the fact that approximately 30 million Americans lack health care insurance, have raised demands for some kind of universal solution.

Not too surprisingly, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. used its national convention in November to kick off a major campaign for national health insurance legislation. However, what has amazed some are voices from the business community speaking out for more federal government involvement in health care. Ever-rising health care costs, due to government interference and a perverse system of incentives and controls, have so frustrated American business leaders that some have now resigned themselves to failure and are asking the government to bail them out.

Many experts believe that it is currently impossible to undertake a national health care program of any kind, because of Federal budget deficits. Despite this, polls are showing that Americans see the deficit as less and less of a threat and that they are concerned about those who don't have access to health care because of its current high costs. Because of that concern, and if skyrocketing health costs are not slowed, some health care experts, such as Harvard University professor Robert J. Blendon, predict that national health care will become a major issue during the next few years.

Socialized medicine, the word normally used for a national care program, conjures up vivid images in most Americans' minds. One sees Soviet citizens dying because of a lack of adequate medical care, British citizens waiting for months to undergo a simple procedure or surgery, rich Europeans

paying under the table to get their names pushed to the top of a waiting list, and Canadians hopping the border into the U.S. to have procedures done, rather than wait months or maybe years in their homeland.

No one, including most members of Congress, expects the American people to accept a socialized system like that of the Soviets, with its centralized control of every aspect of health care. Recent attention given to the severe problems besieging the British national health care system has prompted Prime Minister Thatcher to institute some market-based reforms and has turned proponents away from that example. However, many bills recently introduced in Congress would provide for a



system of national health insurance modeled after the perceived success of the Canadian health care system.

One of the bills receiving the most attention is Senator Kennedy's "Minimum Health Benefits for All Workers Act." This bill would require all employers to provide health care insurance for workers and their dependents. Besides being a major intrusion by the government into individual and business decisions, the bill would increase health insurance costs by \$100 billion, result in a loss of one million jobs, and spawn a further escalation in medical price inflation. One cannot overlook that mandated benefits are really transfer payments in disguise, with all the pernicious economic consequences of such transfers. A study by the National Center for Policy Analysis estimates that as many as 25 percent of the uninsured lack health coverage because current state-mandated benefit laws make it too expensive.

Governor Michael Dukakis has been touting his new Massachusetts universal health insurance program as a model for the nation, and politicians in some states have believed him. Under the Massachusetts program, all companies with more than five employees that don't provide insurance are required to contribute as much as \$1,680 a year for each employee to a pool providing health insurance to people without coverage. Interestingly, a year after the plan has gone into effect, it is facing severe budget shortfalls, and hospitals and businesses are concerned they will be left footing the bill for skyrocketing costs.

Many politicians have praised the Canadian system of health care as successful in providing satisfactory health care at lower costs than the United States. But the problems inherent in any health system based on social insurance or direct government funding are already showing up in the Canadian program. These endemic

flaws should give pause to U.S. lawmakers eager to adopt a plan similar to the Canadian one. The underlying problem with any social insurance system is that patients make little or no contribution to the cost of their care. What follows is the exorbitant increase in the demand for health care services, and the resulting price controls, rationing, income controls on physicians, shortages of equipment, deterioration of medical facilities, and long waiting lists. Canada has exhibited all of these symptoms, and many Canadians routinely cross the border into the U.S. for treatment. Price controls, rationing, and waiting lists do put a lid on health care spending, and that is exactly why many politicians can boast that Canada spends less on health care than the United States. But is that the quality of health care Americans want?

Now is the time to reverse the trend toward nationalizing our health care system and replace it with a free market. The creation of Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s, their continued expansion, and the addition of a crazy quilt of health care programs by both the Federal and state governments have virtually destroyed Americans' access to reasonable and efficient health care.

Government intervention has our health care system caught in a vicious cycle of government-encouraged demand that drives up costs, bankrupts Federal and state budgets, and leads to still more infusions of money and program expansions that encourage additional consumption. Only the elimination of government interference and a return to a free market in health care will end the move toward nationalization. Only a free market will break the spiral of ever-increasing medical costs. As Ludwig von Mises wrote, "The pricing process of the unhampered market directs production into those channels in which it best serves the wishes of the consumers as manifested on the market." Only a free market in health care will allow individuals maximum choice in meeting their health care needs.

Terree P. Wasley is an economist in Washington, D.C. who has worked on tax and health care issues for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Goldwater Institute, and The Heritage Foundation. This article is adapted from one published in the January 1990 issue of The Freeman.

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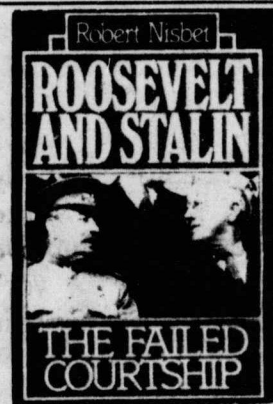
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Why Johnny Throws Blood

By C. Brandon Crocker

Universities have not lived up to their reputations as places where people can take part in open exchanges of ideas in the search for truth. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Adolfo Calero, and even George Bush are routinely shouted down, pelted with objects, and otherwise abused when they come to college campuses to speak. Recently, many colleges, including UCSD, have instituted vague rules to protect racial minorities, homosexuals, and other groups from "derogatory" statements--the result being a further reduction in the free flow of ideas, with professors even becoming reluctant to discuss such topics as the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany, for fear of being accused of violating the new rules.

For universities to return to their educational mission, these new gag rules need to be dropped. But more than that, universities have to take a positive step to increase their students' ability to take part in reasoned debate. With its compulsory writing program, UCSD has the ability to take this step if only it makes the necessary alterations to make the program effective.

Those students and (yes) professors who hurl epithets, eggs, and pigs' blood at people trying to explain an opposing point of view display not only a lack of decorum but also their own serious intellectual shortcomings. A functioning democratic society demands intelligent debate. This requires that participants possess the mental capacity, and the willingness to apply that capacity, to generate reasoned argument. People resorting to censorial tactics show their inability to satisfy this requisite. Trying to disrupt the free flow of ideas is an attempt to protect oneself from having to defend one's own views; it is an act of intellectual cowardice brought on by inadequate or developed intelligence and a disrespect for the democratic process.

The perpetrators of these acts usually offer some rationalization for their conduct. One favorite is "No free speech for fascists," with the definition of "fascist" evidently being "someone with whom I disagree." As dangerously shallow as this argument is, it is probably more a creation of ignorance or laziness than of intellectual dishonesty. This cannot be said of the contention that shouting down a speaker is an exercise in free speech. Rights are not absolute. One's rights end where they infringe upon those of others--otherwise no one has any exercisable rights.

The purpose of this essay, however, is not to discuss the merits of free speech, but rather what the university can do to help protect it. Universities appear reluctant to take the appropriate and necessary action to end the tyrannical excesses of campus censors and thugs, namely expulsion (or in the case of professors, dismissal or revocation of tenure). But universities can take other steps to stem the growth of intellectual intolerance while at the same time raise the general level of eloquence of their civilized students.

UCSD, apparently recognizing the need of college graduates to be able to write, has a compulsory two-term writing course. The program differs at each College (in the words of a former Muir writing tutor, "differing writing theories float around the writing departments like sewage in the Pacific") and some TAs do try to teach students in a manner approximating the approach I will advocate in this paper. But on the whole, judging from my own experience, and from talking with current students, the course is largely a waste of time. Far too often the classes either focus



on churning out a required number of pages or are used by the TAs as a means to try to indoctrinate their students. (Concerning the latter, when I went through the Warren Writing program several years ago it was a

requirement to view at least one film in the Committee for World Democracy's film series. More recently, I was surprised to hear of one TA who tried to convince her captive audience that Stalin's purge trials were justified). To insure that each course is worthwhile, the University needs to increase the standardization of content and direct that content more effectively towards developing students' powers of reasoning and analysis.

Aside from a knowledge of grammar, the single most important ingredient in good writing (or speaking) is a well thought out argument. The TA I had for Warren Writing several years ago assigned one essay on nuclear weapons. During discussion of the papers, she admitted thinking that the argument in favor of the U.S. having many missiles was based on the belief that somewhere in the atmosphere opposing missiles would collide and, therefore, the side with the most missiles would strike enemy territory. *No one* could write a good essay on the subject of nuclear weapons and strategy with that level of understanding. Before one can produce a logical and

persuasive essay, one must first gain a knowledge *and* understanding of the arguments of all the participants in the debate.

The stress of the first course in the series should be not on writing, per se, but rather on developing the ability to analyze arguments. The opinion development process must be consciously separated from the opinion articulation process. Merely asking a student to express his opinion does not drive home this crucial point.

Identifying the ideas and assumptions that underpin a particular argument is essential to understanding that position. Debates are often of little value to the participants due to the fact that each side argues from a different set of premises which are never made clear to the opposing parties. Before jumping into a debate, students need to dissect these underlying beliefs carefully, and determine which ones they find convincing and which ones they find invalid. This will not only help students build their own opinions but will also help them recognize the assumptions being made by others. The crucial ideas and assumptions used in building one's own argument then need to be brought out and justified when explaining that argument. Likewise, an opponent's premises need to be explicitly addressed in a convincing rebuttal.

Only after having acquired a thorough understanding of the complexity of the issues should students be asked to express their opinions. Writing on a subject is relatively easy once one has developed a clear understanding of the ideas that drive the different arguments concerned. Moreover, the finished product is more likely to address the salient issues, and do so in a logical fashion. Only at *this* stage does practice in actual writing become a truly productive exercise.

This approach to teaching, however, requires a high degree of competence from the instructors. The graduate students from an array of disciplines who currently teach the classes may very well not be qualified to teach rigorous argumentative analysis. Therefore, the University needs to make more of an effort to attract and train qualified instructors.

By studying the opinions of others, students are more likely to see the value of allowing a diversity of opinions to compete in the marketplace of ideas, as almost all arguments bring up legitimate concerns which should be addressed. Possessing a greater level of argumentative skill, students will also be less likely to run away from debate by calling their opponents names or by preventing other from speaking. Instead, they will be encouraged to become articulate participants.

Certainly, anarchists, the weak-willed, the weak-minded, and other incorrigibles will not rush to trade their bull horns and buckets of pigs' blood for typewriters. Nevertheless, the university atmosphere would be a little more conducive to the free and open exchange of ideas, and isn't that something a university should promote?

C. Brandon Crocker is CR's *Imperator Emeritus*.

The Rise of the Tenured Radical

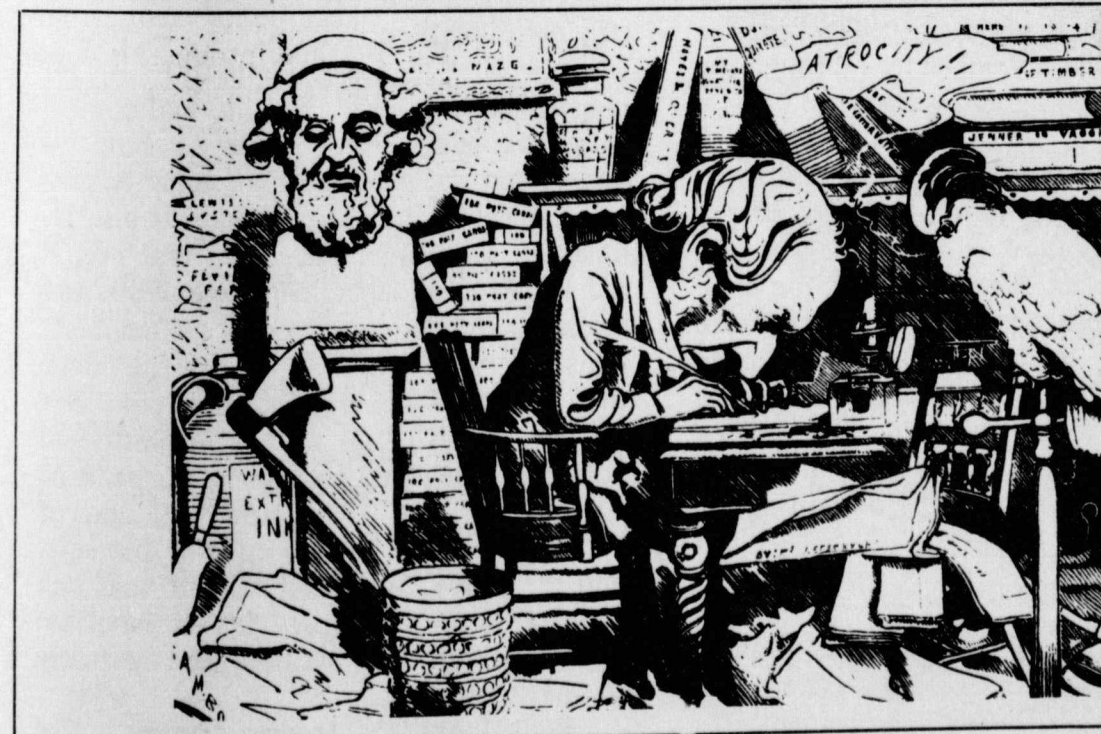
By Roger Kimball

It is no secret that the academic study of the humanities in this country is in a state of crisis. Proponents of deconstruction, feminist studies, and other politically motivated challenges to the traditional tenets of humanistic study have by now become the dominant voice in the humanities departments of many of our best colleges and universities.

There are, of course, differences and even struggles among these various groups. But seen from the perspective of the tradition they are seeking to subvert--the tradition of high culture embodied in the classics of Western art and thought--they exhibit a remarkable unity of purpose. Their object is nothing less than the destruction of the values, methods, and goals of traditional humanistic study.

Princeton University's Elaine Showalter, for example, has called for a "complete revolution" in the teaching of literature in order to enfranchise "gender as a fundamental category of literary analysis." The University of Pennsylvania's Houston Baker touts the Black Power movement of the 1960s as a desirable alternative to the "White Western" culture he sees enshrined in the established literary canon. And Duke University's Fredric Jameson propounds a Marxist vision of criticism that promises to "liberate . . . us from the empirical object."

What we see throughout the work of these and many other academics is a thoroughgoing animus to the traditional values of Western thought and culture.



The institutionalization of the radical ethos in the academy has resulted not only in an increasing politicization of the humanities, but also in an increasing ignorance of the humanistic legacy. Instead of reading the great works of the past, students watch movies and peruse second or third-rate works dear to their ideological cohort; instead of reading widely among primary texts, they absorb abstruse commentaries, resorting to primary texts only to furnish illustrations for their pet, critical "theory."

Since many professors have been the beneficiaries of the kind of traditional education they have rejected and are denying their students, it is the students themselves who are the real losers in this fiasco. Presumably, they enrolled in a liberal arts curriculum in the first place because they wished to be educated. After four years they will find that they are ignorant of the tradition and that their college education was largely a form of ideological indoctrination.

The issues raised by the politicization of the humanities have application far beyond the ivy-colored walls of the academy. The denunciations that are sounded so insistently within our colleges and universities these days are not idle chatter. They represent a concerted effort to attack the very foundations of the society that guarantees the independence of cultural and artistic life--including the independence of our institutions of higher education.

Indeed, behind the transformations contemplated by the proponents of feminism, deconstruction, and the rest is a blueprint for a radical social transformation that would revolutionize every aspect of social and political life, from the independent place we grant high culture within society to the way we relate to one another as men and women.

It is precisely for this reason that the traditional notion of the humanities and the established literary canon have been so violently attacked by politically correct-thinking academics. As the cultural guardians of the ideals and values that

the new establishment of tenured radicals. Often they are among the most highly paid professors--the professors for whose services our leading universities bid against each other in little-publicized contests.

Nor is the influence of these professors confined to the present moment. At many prestigious institutions, they are precisely the people helping to shape the future by making faculty appointments, overseeing promotions, and devising the educational program in the humanities--efforts at self-propagation that virtually assure their continued dominance for another generation.

The truth is that when the children of the sixties received their professorships and deanships, they did not abandon the dream of radical cultural transformation; they set out to implement it. Now, instead of attempting to destroy our educational institutions physically, they are subverting them from within.

Over the last two decades, what we have witnessed in American higher education is nothing less than the rise of a new academic establishment, the establishment of the tenured radicals.

Roger Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion* and author of the new book, *Tenured Radicals*. Distributed by the *Collegiate Network*.



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Recommended Summer Reading By UCSD Professors ...

Dr. Sanford Lakoff Professor of Political Science

I recommend three works of history, the first two of which I have read, the third of which I have bought with the intention of reading over the summer:

- 1) Simon Schama, *Citizens*. This is an engrossing panoramic account of how and why the French Revolution occurred—and how and why an excessive zeal for civic virtue became a license for terror and ferocity.
- 2) Jean-Devis Bredin, *The Affair*. A thorough account and explanation of the Dreyfus case—very important not just to understand the struggle over human rights and democracy in France but the subsequent fate of both in Europe in the twentieth century.
- 3) Leonard W. Levy, *Original Intent and the Framers' Constitution*. An attempt to adjudicate the dispute over judicial

interpretation between liberals and conservatives by the best scholar now working in this field.

Dr. Paul Saltman Professor of Biology

Prince of Tides by Pat Conroy, Houghton Mifflin: A terrific novel in the Southern tradition. Sensitive. Moving. Great characters.

Parting the Waters by Taylor Branch, Simon & Schuster: Superb biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. Honest. Insightful.

The Periodic Table by Primo Levi, Random House: Brilliant series of character sketches correlated with the chemical elements and their characteristics.

Dr. Ronald Berman Professor of Literature

Daniel Boorstin: *The Americans: The Democratic Experience*
Hugh Thomas: *History of the World*

The above are not the most distinguished histories ever written, but they fill an important vacuum in educated knowledge about America and about the origins of modern American life. They are long, and will take a long—and enjoyable time to read.



And By CR's Members of the Pantheon

H. W. Crocker III '83 Brigadier Editor Emeritus Editor, Book Publishing House

Gone with the Wind
by Margaret Mitchell
The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston,
by Siegfried Sassoon
*The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the
19th Century English Gentleman*, by Mark
Giraour

Three well-spoken and honest guides to that which once was and that will need to be again if the aristocratic virtues of courage, honor, and refinement are not to be completely extirpated by the materialism, selfishness, and permanent immaturity of mass man.

Eric Young '84 President Emeritus Attorney

Each year, as the air thickens and the goons, fleas and other pests invade the beach that is my residence, summer arrives. Travel to a less populated recluse comes to mind. I invariably retreat to an outlying portion of the county and take "the book," *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain* (edited by Charles Neider; Bantam, 1957).

I have read, recommended, reread and rerecommended, lent, and retrieved my copy of this compilation over the years. The pages are yellowed. The binding is held together by yellowed tape. I wouldn't trade this yellowed treasure trove for anything. The writing is terse, sarcastic, ruthless, and insightful as to the human soul. Twain's

bashing of the icons of his day is powerful today and will remain powerful forever.

Mark Twain had interests other than exposing the buffoons of his time, however. Twain enjoyed travelling the world (and of course, telling us about it). The frontier method included not only a trek through the outback, but staying and working in it for a while.

Jobs in Paradise by Jeffrey Maltzman (Harper and Row; March 1990) is a source book for the modern, educated trekker who has to finance his own way. While the book offers such practical advice as "how to improve your chances of landing a job in paradise," the book's real value is its profile of hundreds of employers in exotic places. It gives descriptions of the jobs, the perks, the downsides, and the tips on getting the job.

For instance, it profiles the tropical beach resorts like "Dunk Island" in Australia's Great Barrier Reef which hires water enthusiasts, entertainment directors and even five "farmers" who operate the island's private farm, dairy, and horse corral.

Unfortunately not all of the *Jobs in Paradise* descriptions are as glorious as "Hell's Canyon Adventures" or "Hurricane Creek Llamas." For example, the Taman Impian Jaya Ancol Dreamland theme park in Jakarta, Indonesia sounds a bit bogus to me. Employees earn RP 3,500 per day (approximately U.S. \$2.00), and have to live in Jakarta, a most dangerous vacation spot. Jakarta is the kind of place where Mark Twain found himself at his worst during his adventures abroad. However, Jakarta, and other places in *Jobs in Paradise* are the stuff of a Mark Twain short story.

C. Brandon Crocker '85 Imperator Emeritus Assistant Vice President, Real Estate

If it is important to know the nature of communism, then *Witness* by Whittaker Chambers (Regnery Gateway) is an indispensable book. But in addition to being the single best book to help us understand the ideology that many believe to be dying in the East, *Witness* is also an outstanding study of the forces that propel individuals into ideological movements, and a fascinating character study of Chambers, himself. All the above reasons are more than enough to recommend this book. But *Witness* is also an important historical document, unveiling little known aspects of America in the 1930s and 40s, and of course, the stories of intrigue, espionage, and the Hiss-Chambers case will hold just about anybody's interest. It's the shortest 800 page book ever written, and certainly the most powerful.

Paul Johnson's *Modern Times: The World From the Twenties to the Eighties* (Harper & Row) is an exceedingly well written and insightful modern history. It is an excellent and enjoyable way for any student to make up for a lack of modern historical knowledge, or to get a fresh view of the history he thinks he knows, and to understand better the situation of the world.

Friedrich Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty* (University of Chicago Press) provides one of the best positive arguments for the importance of individual liberty and the rule of law. Among the many people influenced by this work is Margaret Thatcher, so you can be sure it will be on the syllabus for very few philosophy or political science courses.

(Continued from page 3)

replied to the effect, "If I could afford it, I would."

When asking others of the anti-abortion persuasion, their response was the same, claiming the issue at hand is the killing of human life. What about the rights of all those homeless, unwanted children, mostly minority children, who are alive, waiting for homes, waiting for would-be parents to adopt them. Aren't they deserving of a decent life? Don't they have a right to have a home and parents who will love them and take care of them? I don't see the anti-abortionists standing in line to care for the thousands of homeless, unwanted children.

If abortion were made illegal, who would be responsible for all of the additional children? We'd be creating more children that no one wants. The government (i.e. the taxpayer) will be forced to take care of these homeless, unwanted children. The government is no substitute for a loving parent.

It appears that the anti-abortion camp's priorities have become confused and twisted. On the one hand, the anti-abortionists want to save those yet unborn lives, but are unwilling to take responsibility for them once they are born.

Abortion is a personal choice and should remain so. The anti-abortion advocates should refrain from wanting government to force others to comply with their beliefs. They should instead concentrate on educating women about the options to abortion; counsel women on the consequences and related responsibilities of sexual activity, and educate them about the availability and use of contraceptives. They should work to remove government from the adoption industry and deregulated it to speed the adoption process, lower its cost and make it more humane. They should put

their money where their mouth is and support charitable organizations to help women keep children who want them, and help others contend with unwanted children by way of adoption. If the anti-abortionist were really concerned about children, their charitable organizations would provide prenatal care and nutritional education, medical and nutritional services and economic support to their clients. If they insist on bringing children into the world, then they should assume full responsibility for them.

The pro-choice advocates should refrain from using government to force others to pay for abortions. They should put their money where their mouth is and support charitable organizations to help women contend with unwanted pregnancy by way of abortion.

If a woman "chooses" (we were born with free will, remember?) to have an abortion and she determines that abortion is in her physical, emotional or spiritual best interest, and she "chooses" to live with the consequence of that choice, then neither the anti-abortionists, nor the government should be given the power to take that "freedom of choice" away.

Mary Szterpakiewicz
Escondido

Editor's Note:

In your discussion of "right" to an abortion, you have conveniently brought forth a separate question to obscure the matter. The first question is, is the fetus a human life, and if so, can the taking of innocent human life be justified? You ignore the first half of that question—even implying that it is irrelevant—and since it is difficult even in the most extreme circumstances to answer the second half of

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Most states allow the rent to go up when people move. So suddenly it becomes more profitable for the landlord to get rid of tenants because the more you turn apartments over, the higher you can get the rents. Finally, it all comes together and the landlord says "Look, my long term tenants are the ones that are killing me." The best way to get rid of people is to make life miserable for them. Most landlords do not go the whole way to becoming a Dracula landlord, but the fact is other landlords will, and you get very ruthless people in the market.

CR: You see homelessness as largely the result of zoning and rent control imposed for the benefit of the majority, which seems to make you a critic of democracy. Can you elaborate on that?

TUCKER: I think that I am not a critic of democracy but I am cautious of democracy in the same way the Founding Fathers were, and the way DeToqueville was. There are excesses of the majority and what can happen is that the majority can vote to circumscribe the rights of a minority, and that is what rent control and zoning is. The irony is that America is such an affluent country that the poor are a minority and anybody seeking marginal housing is a

the question affirmatively, you seem to have ignored it as well.

The second question you pose is who should care for their own children. No, the government shouldn't, and not even anti-abortion activists should have to shoulder that responsibility. That responsibility clearly lies on the shoulders of the parents. Of course, we do not live in a perfect world. Some parents do abandon their children or abuse them. The fact of where the responsibility lies, however, is constant. Your argument, then, logically comes down to the proposition that parents can rightfully absolve themselves of their parental responsibilities by killing their children—if, indeed, the fetus is a human life.

In order to justify your position on abortion you cannot rely on the argument of who will care for unwanted children—you have to come to grips with the question of when human life begins. And science has taken away all reasonable doubt that human life certainly begins sometime before birth (is not a being with distinctively human brain waves and which has the ability to survive on its own, outside of the womb,— which is the case after about 20 weeks—, a human life?)

Your libertarian views are soaked with the language of "freedom of choice," and I suspect that your position on abortion is a natural outcrop of the philosophy that self-fulfillment is the primary political right. But there are higher values than self-fulfillment—justice, for instance—and the primary goal of good government is the application of justice. Yes, we are born with free will. But this free will does not absolve us from our responsibilities, nor does it alter the fact that right is different from wrong.

--Alan Foster

Neither *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* have reviewed the book.

CR: How does one balance economic opportunity with what many people consider the benefits of restricting development?

TUCKER: It is a question of who sees the benefit. I think it is obvious that the benefits of protecting the environment have to include those people who are already in the environment. There is an overlay of people who have already achieved what they want and are more concerned with other people reaching their level than moving up higher themselves. I think that is basically what has happened to housing. The great irony of this whole thing is the housing that ordinary Americans live in would be considered palaces in some parts of the world, but we still have this difficulty with people at the bottom who cannot find any housing whatsoever. How much play and opportunity do we allow as opposed to the conservative and constrictive element of the people who are already established. Everybody hates developers, people don't want things to change. It always seems the one wrong place to build a building is right down the street from me. The fact is you have to accept this process of change, or accept the negative effects which may not be distributed evenly, but concentrated on the bottom of society.

CR: Are you confident that rational arguments, such as yours, can carry weight against the combined forces of self-interest and the left-wing celebrities?

TUCKER: I'm quite sure that it can, but if I had to bet on it, I would say obviously not. In fact, no manor paper in a city with a homeless problem has reviewed the book.

<p>"If we are to abolish the death penalty, I should like to see the first step taken by our friends the murderers." -- Alphonse Karr</p>	<p>"A fly, Sir, may sting a stately horse and make him wince; but one is but an insect, and the other is a horse still." -- Samuel Johnson</p>	<p>"Count it the greatest sin to prefer mere existence to honor, and for the sake of life to lose the reasons for living." -- Justinian</p>
<p>"Because the road is rough and long, shall we despise the skylark's song?" -- Anne Bronte</p>	<p>"In a consumer society there are inevitably two kinds of slaves: the prisoners of addiction and the prisoners of envy." -- Ivan Illich</p>	<p>"Men talk of killing time, while time quietly kills them." -- Dion Boucicault</p>
<p>"What's not destroy'd by Time's devouring hand? Where's Troy, and where's the Maypole in the Strand?" -- Rev. James Branston</p>	<p>Parting Thoughts By Rory Cheeney</p>	<p>"One can live in the shadow of an idea without grasping it." -- Elizabeth Bowen</p>
<p>"Cheer up, the worst is yet to come." -- Philander Chase Johnson</p>	<p>"Memories are hunting horns whose sound dies on the wind." -- Guillaume Apollinaire</p>	<p>"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." -- John Bradshaw</p>
<p>"Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth And delves the parallels in beauty's brow, Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth, And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow." -- William Shakespeare</p>	<p>"We love peace, as we abhor pusillanimity; but not peace at any price. There is a peace more destructive of the manhood of living man than war is destructive of his material body. Chains are worse than bayonets." -- Douglas Jerrold</p>	<p>"We all come to the same end, soon or late: Our lots are shaken from a single urn To speed us forth, on death's swift bark, into Unending exile." -- Horace</p>

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-- Arthur Miller
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