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Society

Thomas J. Edwards: The NEA and Nuclear
War — Which is Worse?

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Grenada: Happy Days Are Here Again

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John Locke's View of Communism

Also: G. James Jason, Dean T. Smith...



Jack Kemp

Grenada: Strategic Necessity

By C. K. Littlewood

The humiliation that was the Iranian hostage crisis still lingers, painfully, in the memory. With its bold action in Grenada last month, The Reagan administra-

tion has served notice to the Eastern Bloc that intimidation and threats aimed at United States citizens abroad will no longer be tolerated. Yet this was merely a vignette alluding to deeper international relations policies of the new administration. Sending American troops to Grenada was the physical manifestation of only one aspect of current U.S. government beliefs.



Moscow and Havana have been effectively notified, too, that subversive tampering with unstable regimes in South and Central America while the U.S. idly spectates is now a thing of the past. Political, economic and (if necessary) military assistance will be the U.S. response to requests for help by peaceful, democratic nations — as in Grenada, where six Caribbean countries officially requested American intervention.

Trade routes through the Atlantic are vital to U.S. and NATO defense, and to the economic well-being of North America. Over half of America's imported oil is carried over these routes — with nearly 45 percent of this oil coming from the Caribbean area itself. A large portion of crude oil shipped from Alaska must likewise pass through the Panama Canal.

The United States is the primary trading partner of every country in the northern tier of South America (except for Havana-backed Suriname) — providing anywhere from 18 percent (Brazil) to over 50 percent (Venezuela) of their foreign imports. Soviet policy clearly envisions Russian interests lying in the disruption and/or destruction of this economic alliance. Moscow-Havana financing is beginning to find a foothold in the highly volatile, extremist governments of South America.

Strategically, the northern tier (including Grenada) represents an important geographic link for the NATO allies. Should an international crisis occur in Europe, nearly 75 percent of the men and material needed to reinforce NATO troops would travel through the Caribbean Sea. Obviously, the Warsaw Pact nations realize what is at stake in this area, and will employ any opportunity they might find to broaden their political influence in the region.

The Soviets do not have to directly control the sealanes along this route in order to threaten them; simply the ability to control them from an island-based airport (or submarine base) would be sufficient to disrupt the current machinations of the maritime trade routes. From one of these bases the Soviets (or their allies) could extend their sphere of influence far out into the Atlantic, increasing the possibility that nations dependent upon South Atlantic trade might seek as A.E. Lynch asserts, "...some sort of *modus vivendi* with Moscow."

By simply establishing a mere toehold in the northern tier region, the Cubans could challenge U.S. security arrangements in the Caribbean. This would force the United States to divert men and equipment from other parts of the globe. The institution of a communist regime in the area would not be necessary, political and social tensions being exacerbated by the *proximity* of a pro-Soviet government.

A five-year "cooperation agreement" between Cuba and the West African island nations of Sao Tome and Principe has just recently been established — further affecting the security of the Atlantic trade routes. One of the small islands is already being prepared as a military outpost. The construction of an airfield in this area would give Havana a base bracketing both sides of the Atlantic; allowing Castro (and the Soviets) increased strength in the United States' back yard.

Subjugation through intimidation is the immediate Soviet goal: a physical occupation is not requisite to

the aforementioned disruption of trade. A textbook example of this theory may be readily observed in Finland—a self-proclaimed "neutral" nation—which has succumbed to external Soviet pressures and become a pawn of the Politburo. Perhaps "neutered" nation would not be a misnomer.

It is this concept of indirect subjugation which made it so vitally important that the United States demonstrate a commitment to freedom and security in the region by taking swift, decisive action in Grenada. U.S. vacillation and hesitation over tense international situations during previous administrations has ceased.

President Reagan and his cabinet have quelled the fears of our closest allies by dispelling any impression of U.S. weakness or reluctance to act.

Recent Cuban activity in the northern tier has been concentrated primarily on Grenada. Havana provided much "aid" to the construction of a 9,800 foot runway on the island—long enough to accommodate any warplane in the Soviet arsenal. The presence of massive ammunition depots (enough to equip 10,000 men) in the immediate vicinity poses further, more troubling questions. Grenada's total military force does not exceed 1,200 men—what possible reason could exist for the sudden stockpiling of arms, barring ancillary motives of Moscow and her satellites?

The brutal execution of overthrown moderating leaders in Grenada was not only morally reprehensible, but was an affront to the tenets of international law. What value are such global strictures if they might be so readily transgressed? American intervention on the island was legitimate, *legal* and, without doubt, in the interest of international wellbeing.

Comparing the U.S. action in Grenada to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is ludicrous. A simple comparison of the facts and figures concerning the two situations — no matter how tenuous — would be more than sufficient proof for even the most biased perpetrator. The United States has already begun a withdrawal of troops from the area (much to the dismay of the vast majority of the populace!) This was not an "Imperialist Endeavor" as TASS would have the world believe, but rather a legitimate police action ensuring hemispherical security and the continuation of civil freedoms in the Caribbean.

C.K. Littlewood is a junior at UCSD.

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Letters

Dear Mr. Crocker:
Thanks so much for sending me the *California Review*. I would not leave home without it.

Yours faithfully,

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief
The American Spectator
Bloomington, Indiana

To The Circulation Manager:
I've heard that your paper is the liveliest school journal west of the Mississippi. Controversy arouses my interest. I would like to subscribe to your paper. I'm looking forward to reading your journal.

Sincerely,

Carl J. Morgans
Casper, Wyoming

Circulation Manager's Note:
Dear Mr. Morgans:
You heard wrong. *California Review* is the liveliest school journal in the world.

—CBC



Dear Editor:
The unsatisfactory negative criticism of computer assisted instruction made by Professor G.J. Jason (*CR*, October 1983) cries out for a rebuttal. This protest is not to say I would argue against Jason's reasons as to why CAI is viewed as a possible way out of the present public school crisis. The recent national studies which describe the decline in public school effectiveness points to the need to make drastic structural changes in our public school system.

On the other hand, Jason's attempt to equate CAI with the rise and fall of audiovisual education falls flat. There is no legitimate basis for comparing the two systems as Jason tries to do.

Jason rejects CAI because it is at present little more than a glorified if successful practice book. Here he fails to recognize that successful practice is the function with which public schools have had the least success. It thus is unreasonable to belittle CAI's essential purpose at present: the teaching the mastery of basic skills through practice.

Finally, Jason fails to realize that CAI is the enemy of progressive education. That is, it willfully accepts the acquisition of basic facts and skills in students as crucial to their attainment of higher standards of conceptual performance. Jason thus unnecessarily worries that the commitment of resources to CAI will sidetrack the realization of this latter goal.

Sincerely,

Patrick Groff
Professor of Education
SDSU

Dr. Jason's reply:
It is highly gratifying, indeed, to hear a Professor of Education speak out against "progressive" education, however indirectly he does so.

Groff rejects my comparison of the "computer literacy" fad with the audiovisual fad, but he conspicuously omits his reasons for doing so. Surely he would admit these similarities; AV and computer equipment are costly; both were/are being touted without substantial research on their efficiency having been done in advance; both were/are being pushed "from above" by Professors of Education and various administrators, rather than being sought by the hapless souls who must actually teach the students; and both were/are drawing attention away from basic skills education. No analogy is ever perfect, but some—including the one I drew—are indeed good.

However, that is not my major complaint with Groff's letter. I most object to his *ignoratio elenchi*. He ignores my central point: Even if CAI is a successful practice-book approach (and I do *not* concede that it is), practice-books are cheaper. With discipline and standards, a three-dollar book can be used to teach quite as effectively as a three-thousand dollar Apple. Without discipline and standards, *nothing* will work.

My worries are *not* unfounded. We need to focus *all* our resources on restoring discipline and standards in the schools. When this is done, and when all students have mastered the basics, we may want to buy expensive computers. But let's take care of first things first.

Dear Eric,
Congratulations on your latest issue, published despite left-wing extremist opposition. Students at U.C.S.D. have come to respect the *California Review* as one of the best arguments for socialism on campus. Keep up the good work!

Affectionately yours,
Alan Colley
Solana Beach



Dear Tom:
I am sorry for the delay in answering but I have been out of town. My travel schedule seems to be more extensive than when I was Chairman. I leave tomorrow for the Far East, not returning for over a month.

I do not see how we can get together this stay prior to your leaving Washington. However, I appreciate you asking for an interview for the *Review*.

Sincerely,

David Jones
General, USAF (Ret.)
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Review:
Your October issue has just reached us who are in Paradise, delayed due to our poor mail system. As the leading satirist among our company I was chosen to write a few words, despite my present condition. Reports fifty years ago of my death were not premature.

All of us in Paradise are thrilled by *The California Review*: I wish in my lifetime I had written and edited anything so humorous, so riotously funny, so right on target. Many people remember me as the man who wrote "The War Prayer," published after my death; now, after reading your *Review*, and watching the Russians use my poem and take advantage of mankind's normal desire for peace, I am sorry I wrote it. I hereby make an Eternal Retraction of my own *naseous paen* to surrender.

I have checked with the Almighty and he assures me that he is granting you over 100 years of life, time enough to see communism driven from the earth; and we have checked the Other Place, too, and are glad to report that they have places reserved there for every member of the present Associated Student council of UCSD.

With eternal gratitude,
Mark Twain
Paradise

California Review

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 Resptigh 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.

Fiat lux That Darling of the Left

While millions of Americans fawn over actress Jane Fonda adding additional revenues to her already immense fortune by purchasing her exercise and diet books, and by patronizing her spas or purchasing her designer clothing — thus also adding money to the coffers of radical husband Tom Hayden's "Committee for Economic Democracy" — there is another Jane Fonda Americans should not forget.

It is the Fonda who brought flowers to her communist hosts during visits to Hanoi. The Fonda who proclaimed, "Every American should get on their knees and pray we become communists." The Fonda who took her anti-Americanism all neatly packaged for dissemination so many thousands of miles and willingly consorted with, and aided and abetted the enemy in North Vietnam. It is the Fonda, no matter how hard she might try to forget, who threw her foul verbal excrement on American boys who were fighting, suffering, being tortured and dying for us and for freedom which cannot be forgotten.

Ms. Fonda's past is not new to most. What is interesting to note now is American sentiment toward Fonda, as it remains after so many years of image polishing, which has been expressed over the past several months as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has felt the wrath of the American public for its decision to "showcase" Fonda and her spouse as Very Important Persons at the June 18 launching of the Space Shuttle *Challenger*.

One who has joined in sharing distaste over NASA's decision, and one who can never forget Fonda's past, is Arizona Representative John McCain. He has written the National Aeronautics and Space Administration protesting their decision — a decision which should lead Americans to ponder the judgment of those who manage and run our multi-billion dollar space program — for the Congressman was in Hanoi (under very different circumstances) when Ms. Fonda arrived for a visit with her communist hosts.

McCain, a third generation naval hero who had been shot down while on a mission, was rotting away in a cell as a POW when he was ordered by his captors to appear on camera with Fonda. He refused to meet with her and thus contribute to their propaganda effort. For this refusal his communist captors broke both of his arms, and then refused him treatment.

The Congressman has no demur about Fonda and Hayden's right to attend the launching. However, he has questioned NASA's decision to honor individuals who so willingly, actively and unapologetically assisted our wartime enemy.

Representative McCain will remain deformed for the rest of his life as a result of Fonda's visit to North Vietnam. As for Ms. Fonda, well, she simply becomes a best-selling author and richer all the time.

—TJE

Lebanon's Uncertain Future By Carmelita Rosal

Lebanon's tortured history has evolved into a persistent struggle towards political settlement. Yet, Lebanon continues to be a hotbed of senseless killings. The Multinational Force (MNF) comprised of French, U.S. Italian and British military units dispatched to Beirut in an attempt to end the violence has been inundated in a small, but bizarre dress. On October 23, separate death tolls of more than 200 American servicemen and at least 26 French paratroopers were caused by horrid suicide-bombings. A terrorist group called the Islamic Revolutionary Movement claimed responsibility for the bizarre surprise attacks. These latest rounds of attacks against the MNF in Lebanon are designed to discourage Western powers committed to reestablishing Lebanon's independence and sovereignty. Nonetheless, the West must stand firm.

The US has three basic options in Lebanon: It can pull the Marines out, maintain them at their current level, or reinforce them. Any action should be contingent upon cooperation with US allies in the MNF. A unilateral American pull-out would only pose risky consequences. It would abandon Lebanon to Syrian and Soviet domination. It would undercut the credibility of American commitments worldwide. Rewarding terrorism only encourages it. Moreover, the Marines have become a visible measuring stick of U.S. credibility in the Middle East. Furthermore, the unilateral pull-out would diminish any potential U.S.-mediated Arab-Israeli peace accord and would also cloud the future of a U.S.-Middle East policy.

The US Marines are performing a thankless, but essential task in Lebanon. As a part of the MNF, the Marines hamper the Syrian adventurism in Lebanon, bolster the authority of the besieged Gemayel govern-



The Censorship of Ideas
by Raul Wassermann

There is a small problem at UCSD. For some unknown reason a set of students are "forced" to donate money to the Associated Students so this bogus organization can do with this money as it sees fit. A large percentage of this money goes to fund media that is mostly left of center, unless, of course, you consider the *new indicator*, with about \$18,000 worth of subsidies, center of the road. But it really doesn't matter what the political leanings of the *new indicator* are. What really matters is that the powers-that-be decided that with all the monies that were forced from a set of students, they were going to further the political aims of another select subset of students while censoring the rest. This system is called socialism, or redistribution of income. It is not different from a system of heavy government taxation to force a group of citizens to do what the government believes they would not do of their own free will. It is obvious that if the government believed that this would be done without the threat of force, there would not be any need of their involvement. One of the biggest problems arises when the issue as to who gets the benefits of redistribution comes up. The majority of the people are not interested in sub samples of their monies, but groups favored to receive such monies become very

ment and symbolize the Western commitment to Lebanon's sovereignty. The Marines should continue their Beirut dispatch until the Lebanese government can stand on its own feet.

While Marines are currently stationed in Lebanon, Washington must privately communicate to the Lebanese government that the Marines' presence is only temporary. President Gemayel must quickly form a government of national unity that includes Shi'ite and Druze leaders. A unified Lebanon will force a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

The 1976 de facto partitioning of Lebanon will be unrepealed unless the Gemayel government coordinates to expand its domestic support base. Otherwise the MNF withdrawal will be inevitable because no Western government will tolerate the sacrificing of its soldiers to reunify Lebanon while the Lebanese claim their own lives to prevent Lebanon's reunification.

Carmelita Rosal is a Junior at UCSD.

active and lobby to exert an undue amount of influence as to their role in society.

You also get divisiveness and anger among the population in a proportion that would not have existed had not the system been there in the first place. Assume for a minute that the government, in the interest to protect independence, got into the religion business. The people now would be taxed, and from those taxes the government would make sure all religions would be advocated. I think by now even the liberals would become skeptics. Well, religion is basically a belief in a certain set of ideas and principles. A philosophy of life.

Liberalism or conservatism fall within somewhat the same category. The reason the first amendment exists is because people knew, even in 1791, that if the governing body would have control of speech, or of the press the people would not be given news but propaganda. Assume again that in the interest of fairness the government would give the *New York Times* a billion dollars a year. The argument being that the newspaper is pretty good and by doing this, they can lower their prices to reach the poor who cannot buy it today. A super noble gesture, to say the least. What would happen to all the papers who would experience a drop in circulation due to the price difference between them and the NYT?

Well, the argument could go, that nothing would happen, because the people who want to buy other papers can still buy them at the same rate, and anyway, this measure is made especially to help the poor, so the rich could subsidize their own paper by paying higher rates if their circulation drops.

Oh, yes, anyway, by doing it this way we increase literacy among the poor which would create a more informed public which would be more productive which would lower unemployment which would make the United States the country it was meant to be. Well, that is just plain ridiculous! But that didn't stop the people at UCSD from instituting a socialist system which forces us to support groups who are bent on censoring us.

And yet...we wonder why a system like this is needed in a University anyway. When you have socialist institutions you are always open to the abuse of power, be it from the right or the left.

If socialist institutions are going to be the only game in town then we demand our right of participation, but we do hope that somebody comes to their senses and gets rid of them altogether.

Raul Wassermann is pursuing his doctorate in economics at UCSD.

In Review

■ Henry Fielding offers a Christmas song to the anglophobic, pacifistic, vegetarian, wimp:

When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
It enobled our hearts and enriched our blood;
Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good.
Oh! the roast beef of Old England,
And oh! the English roast beef.
But since we have learn'd from effeminate France,
To eat their ragouts, as well as to dance,
We are fed up with nothing but vain complaisance,
Oh! the roast beef of Old England,
And oh! the English roast beef.
Our fathers of old were robust, stout and strong,
And kept open house with good cheer all day long,
Which made their plump tenants rejoice in this song,
Oh! the roast beef of Old England,
And oh! the English roast beef.
In those days, if fleets did presume on the main,
They seldom or never return'd back again;
As witness the vaunting Armada of Spain,
Oh! the roast beef of Old England,
And oh! the English roast beef.
Oh, then we had stomachs to eat and to fight,
And when wrongs were cooking to set ourselves right;
But now we're a-hum! — I could, but, — good-night
Oh! the roast beef of Old England,
And oh! the English roast beef.

■ In Grenada, U.S. Marines along with troops from six Caribbean nations discovered several warehouses full of Soviet made weapons and ammunition alongside the new expanded airstrip at Port Salinas. The airstrip, of course, was not expanded to accommodate Soviet bombers but for handling all the increased tourism that is always generated by new Soviet deep water submarine ports. And all of those weapons? Why Grenada was merely trying to attract next year's Soldier of Fortune Convention.

■ The Marxist dictator of Suriname, Desi Bouterse, fearing that the Cubans might have planned for him what they had for Maurice Bishop on Grenada, has expelled Cuba's ambassador and advisors.

■ Soviet diplomats expelled from Grenada called the airport search to which they were subjected "humiliating" and accused U.S. soldiers of "man-handling" them. The search turned up 38 automatic weapons and several knives and bayonets—the preferred tools of Soviet diplomats.

■ The reaction of U.S. students at St. George's School of Medicine on Grenada to the U.S. action was overwhelmingly favorable. As one student remarked, "I've been a dove all of my life, but I just can't believe how well those Rangers came down and saved us. Those Rangers deserve a lot of credit. I don't want to say anything bad about the American military."

■ Noted feminist and *Hustler* magazine publisher, Larry Flynt cried that he had been denied his choice of counsel, screamed obscenities at the nine Supreme Court justices, and became the first person to be arrested *inside* the courtroom.

■ Janet Knaeble was found guilty of embezzling \$100,000 from Nabisco, Inc., despite her claim that the embezzling was done by one of her 16 different personalities (named Tarrah) which doesn't know right from wrong.

■ West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared an end to their criticism of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The two leaders emphasized that differences over Grenada are less important than unity within the Atlantic Alliance at a time when the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe is only weeks away. Uh, the U.S. is paying for them.

■ The National Council of Churches has published a new "non-sexist" lectionary. In the Council's version, God is not the "Father" but "Mother and Father;" Jesus is not the "Son of God" but the "Child of God;" and God did not form "man" but "a human creature." An appendix to the volume adds, "The image of God as father has been used to support the excessive authority of earthly fathers in a patriarchal social system."

■ It is estimated that the Martin Luther King, Jr. State — yes, State — Holiday will cost \$15.6 million in lost man-hours and \$700,000 in overtime.

■ In the sleepy hollow of Monterey, Norbert Schenk pleaded innocent to charges of vandalism, burglary, and discharging a firearm at an unoccupied building. Allegedly, Schenk believed that soft-rock radio station KWAV-FM had "poisoned his mind" and he blasted his way through its offices, unloading 50 shotgun rounds, and shooting the record "Never Say Die" right off the air.

■ In New Delhi, India, a political storm is blowing up over charges that beef fat has been mixed with cooking oil.

■ And UCSD Professor Reinhard Lettau has been censured and placed on a 3-year probation for spray-painting his treatise of government entitled "Killers for Reagan" on a campus wall.



■ Yuri Andropov, beware! Chico California, is considering an ordinance to make the detonation of nuclear weapons within the city limits an offense carrying a \$500 fine and six months in jail.

■ In Charlton, Massachusetts, a woman returned home to find her refrigerator raided and a strange man taking a bath in her bathtub. The man proclaimed he was exercising his "constitutional right to stay warm and dry." Police, however, arrested him. Will repression never cease?

■ In Hartford, Connecticut, The National Council of Churches turned down membership to a homosexual church. Council members excluded the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, a Hollywood based group, because of "unresolved differences regarding interpretation of the word of God, human sexuality, and Christian Unity."

■ And right here at the University of California, a group of academicians is trying to impose its morality on everyone else by calling "socio-sexual relationships" between students and professors "unprofessional."

■ November 3, was Revolution Day at UCSD. About 300 students gathered to hear the current wisdom on the invasion of Grenada, while the Communist Worker's Party passed out leaflets offering the alternatives through Soviet peace initiatives. "I'm really glad the invasion happened," mentioned one scribe, "now Afghanistan doesn't look so bad."

■ Jesse "Can I Have a Dream" Jackson filed for the Republic's Chief post, simultaneously asking for Secret Service protection — normally not given until the election year begins. He argued that the country would be badly shaken if he is assassinated like Martin Luther King.

■ *New Indicator's* Francis Freely on how student fees should be spent:

"What we want the leaders to do of this institution is to be responsible to our financial needs. If we say we want more money, we want them to go out and find it for us and not to give us this pie b*llsh*t."

■ In a major effort to end disparity between National Defense and "people's needs," the Democratic Party is sponsoring a program to pay farmers not to produce milk.

■ Reagan is now a shoo-in for 1984. Chuck "The Right Stuff" Yeager has thrown the President his support.

■ A recent *Guardian* article on sexual discrimination by Dena Rosen contained the following gem:

"Males and females are treated differently from the beginning of their educational careers. Johnny brings home a paper with a gold star on it and is praised for his competence and skill. Jane brings home the same paper and is told that she was lucky to have such an easy assignment. This example obviously doesn't apply to all children, but it serves to illustrate a common attitude that pervades education."

If you're going to deprive your argument of any credibility by not using legitimate documentation of "a common attitude that pervades education," at least come up with a more exciting example. We would suggest this:

"Johnny brings home a paper with a gold star on it and is praised for his competence and skill. Jane brings home the same paper and is mercilessly beaten by her father and told that this is a man's world in which women have no business getting gold stars on papers."

■ Ms. Rosen can take solace, however, in the fact that her argumentative technique is far more advanced than that of Chinese History Professor, Anthony Kane, who states, "The dirty word in America today is 'communist'... Calling Martin Luther King a communist is the only way a Jesse Helms or a Ronald Reagan can justify their racist attacks on Martin Luther King."

■ Former Mesa College AS president, John Swanson, who wrote a letter of resignation as "a ploy to smoke out my enemies," was shocked when the student senate accepted it. Swanson, who as elected in an election that drew 500 of Mesa's 16,000 students, had been criticized for appointing friends to positions and trying to intimidate his opposition with his "bodyguards," and threats like, "If anyone says anything against me I will choke you [sic] right there on the spot." But, of course, the real reason for the criticism was racism. As Swanson, who is black, stated, "I don't know if I am being criticized for my performance as a president or for my performance as a black man in this society."

■ Governor Deukmejian has ordered the drafting of legislation to expand the State Supreme Court, split it into two separate sections handling criminal and civil cases, and curtail the decision making of Chief Justice Rose Bird. The hoosegows beckon.

■ A poll taken by the Anti-Defamation League showed that 73% of the respondents disapproved of giving members of minority groups any special advantages. Only 6.3% of minority respondents supported special privileges for non-whites. Well, *The Peoples' Voice* and *Voz Fronteriza* may not represent the minority groups that they claim to, but they do represent a minority.

■ *The Peoples' Voice* and *Voz Fronteriza*, however, are no different from many other organizations which profess to "represent" the opinions of groups. A survey published in *Public Opinion* magazine questioned leaders and senior staffers of 74 "public interest" groups. As a whole, the respondents gave higher approval ratings to the Sandinistas (50%), and Fidel Castro (34%) than to Ronald Reagan (5%).

■ Think before you shoot up. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration says that the Cuban government is "facilitating" narcotics smuggling into the United States and using the profits to export guns through California to revolutionary groups in Latin America.

■ According to film critic Carol Olten, ABC TV's "The Day After" is of the same caliber as the movie "Beneath the Planet of the Apes."

■ UCSD Professor of History Armin Rappaport passed away at age 67. One of his many notable achievements was contributing the eagle to the *California Review* masthead. He will be missed.

Century of the Common Mind

By James Ralph Papp

Over the summer the National Endowment for the Humanities gave UCSD nearly a quarter of a million dollars for what is to be our Humanities Institute. The newspapers were full of a particularly silly thing some now embarrassed undergraduate said about *Julius Caesar* which prompted Professor Ronald Berman to plan the institute. It will re-educate San Diego high school teachers in philosophy, history and literature, so they can educate the students in them, stemming the flow of silly undergraduate utterances.

Although, unfortunately, I can imagine many people not being interested in this, I cannot imagine anyone thinking it is a bad and wasteful expenditure. The humanities in general, and the writers to be dealt with in particular, are necessary for moral and social awareness, political responsibility and good, even adequate, communication. They also transcend usefulness: philosophy, history and literature are enjoyable things which I should wish no intelligent individual to be without. However, one must ask why, if the humanities are so roundly favorable, they have been neglected in high schools.

Actually, they are not neglected. In classes for advanced or gifted students, Plato, Shakespeare, and the rest of that crowd are the writers being assigned. And when I talked to one teacher from a San Diego high school, Harriet Marrineo, she told me that it is primarily the teachers of advanced and gifted students, of which she is one, who are interested in the Humanities Institute. What are the others doing? They are teaching their classes how to write complete sentences (or sometimes complete words). Many of the students in these classes are, however, planning to go to college. The United States among the Western or Westernized nations has a particularly high percentage of people going on to higher education, several times that of Great Britain, for example. Most of us would say that that is a good thing, except that, from my experience, many who want to go to college cannot spell it.

Oscar Wilde wrote in *The Critic as Artist*, "...Just as the philanthropist is the nuisance of the ethical sphere, so the nuisance of the intellectual sphere is the man who is so occupied in trying to educate others, that he has never had any time to educate himself." Unfortunately, for many teachers being this kind of person is a necessity rather than a choice. Most high school teachers do not, like professors, spend their time

researching, writing articles and books and preparing lectures for new classes. The opportunity the Humanities Institute will give them to read or reread great books, listen to eminent lecturers and write long and numerous essays is marvelous for them and their students. That this is not done all the time by high school teachers and that it will be beyond the necessity or possibility of many is a judgment on the level the majority of high school students are at.

Why does the high school teacher have to spend most of his time just getting his students ready for their first real sentence, let alone a paragraph or essay? It is difficult to pinpoint the failure to any one of the thirteen years of education before college. Anyway, the salient feature is more that those thirteen years simply have not accomplished what they were intended to.

It is easy to blame the failure on the student himself or the parents, or on television, drugs or whatever. The teacher's job is to try to overcome these obstacles, and since many of them do one assumes that all can, given the proper training. But where one fails, the others have to try to take up the slack. Here the problem of bad training and low standards gets in the way. A good number, or perhaps bad number, of teachers are not versed in basic knowledge of, for instance, the English language, let alone the humanities. That is how they leave college and enter the high schools, and, unless they learn by mistakes on the students, that is the way they stay.

In part the fault is due to not weeding them out properly. I worked as a teacher's assistant for two years in the San Diego Unified School District. Although T.A.s are a lower grade of educator, they do impart their knowledge to students orally and by marking papers. I was given no test when I was hired. Later a test was instituted, which those already employed did not have to take, but I found myself one day explaining to a group of newly tested and hired T.A.s what a run-on sentence is. Throughout the year I found continuing evidence that the T.A.s were not only ignoring mistakes of the students but were giving them spurious information, changing correct things to make them incorrect. No one in charge, even when informed, made the slightest effort to either retrain or simply dispense with the incompetent employees, although each would deplore the situation — in

principle. Although I never took the entrance test, several reasonably educated and intelligent people I know who did take it were dismayed equally at its simplicity and the time and effort the other people were taking over it. Recently a teachers' entrance exam was administered in California, which an astounding number failed. I hope it was proportionately more difficult than the T.A.s' examination.



There is no other reason for so many teachers and teacher's assistants to perform so badly on their tests than a faulty high school and college education. The product of a bad education perpetuates bad education when he teaches. Many college students do not know plain English. They are working as high school T.A.s. Some graduate students do not know plain English. They are working as college T.A.s. These people become elementary, intermediate and secondary school teachers, and they produce students no more learned than themselves. The system is circular.

Professor Berman's Humanities Institute will try to break the circle by retraining teachers, although on a somewhat higher level than that we have been discussing. But one wonders why they were not given stronger training in the first place. In school the students need to be taught earlier; it has been done before, and some are doing it now. For college, we might "take a lead," which the English are so very fond of giving, from Oxford and Cambridge. These two universities consider three years of American undergraduate work equivalent to one of theirs, and perhaps that is only a slightly unfair estimation. The great value of their system is consistency: a tutor for each student in addition to the numerous professors and a structured three years rather than a collection of single-quarter upper division courses thrown together. I think the American mistake is that a lot of snacks make a four-course dinner. We have to ask whether UCSD really constitutes a humanities institute for undergraduates. If it does not, we need Professor Berman, to begin working on one for us, because in addition to retraining teachers we need to train them.

When talking about one aspect of education, one innovation, it is easy to go from there to a hundred other aspects. It is impossible to deal with all at the same time, either in thought or action. However, Professor Berman's innovation, and it is that, ought to be expanded to create more interruptions in the education circle or, more accurately, the education spiral. And unfortunately the present ignorance is entrenched not only in the humanities but in the most basic foundation of the humanities, simple use of the language.

James Ralph Papp is a sophomore at UCSD.

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Jews and the Totalitarians

Stalin's Secret War
by Nikolai Tolstoy
J. Cape
463pp., \$18.50

By Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

Reading Nikolai Tolstoy's book, *Stalin's Secret War*, is best done with Pepto Bismol nearby, for its description of life in the Soviet Union under Stalin is sure to turn the stomach. Although many works have been published detailing various aspects of Stalin's remarkably oppressive rule, Tolstoy's book conveniently pulls all of them together. It is a smorgasbord of death, tyranny, and fear, detailing a nightmarish world where truth and lie are one and the same.

Tolstoy's emphasis, however, is not simply to vilify Stalin by compiling piles of atrocities. His main argument is that Stalin waged two wars during World War II; one against the Nazis, and a far more important one against his own people. What caused this? Tolstoy writes, "If there is a consistent thread to Stalin's policy it is fear, a fear so absolute and omnipresent that one can safely claim that it governed his waking and sleeping hours." The Omnipotent One stayed in terror of an uprising by his own people. Thus the "dictatorship of the proletariat" quickly became the dictatorship of Stalin.

Despite their supposed ideological differences, Hitler and Stalin respected each other as men, as tyrants. Among other things, they were united in their hatred for Jews. It is this fact which crystallizes the true nature of Soviet rule over the Russian people.

James Parkes has written that the psychology of prejudice is based on insecurity. A study of forty bigots found that "Even if the patient appears to have won considerable success, and achieved a secure position for him or herself, closer examination reveals a basic feeling of insecurity, a basic inability to find any fixed moral standards in contemporary society, and genuine religious beliefs, and inner peace." The nature of Soviet life with its privations and purges, guaranteed that each of these conditions existed in the psychology of society. Jews were the natural targets of the resulting bigotry.

Though Stalin saw conspiracies against him everywhere, he felt particularly threatened by "this strange and secretive people." He feared they might be trying to form a Jewish state in the Crimea; they had corrupted his daughter by planting a Jewish husband



on her (for which he beat her); they tried to poison him in the famous "Doctors' Plot." Tolstoy accurately sums up Stalin's motive for anti-Semitism as being "a reflection of his hatred for any group of people who remained unassimilated, unatomized under his rule." Accordingly, the Leader of Peoples encouraged popular anti-Semitic reactions, which did increase dramatically.

Hitler's ferocious anti-communism was based in part on his identification with communism as a Jewish effort to rule the world. Yet when Stalin and Hitler became friends, the former curried favor by persecuting Jews. Not that Stalin lacked practice. During the first Five Year Plan in 1928, the government literally stole the peasants' wealth from their homes. Jews were especially tortured in efforts to force them to reveal their hidden valuables, since everybody knew Jews were rich.

The real action occurred after the Nazi-Soviet pact. When the two powers divided Poland between them, the Gestapo and the NKVD cooperated with each other in the task of exterminating Jews. Tolstoy relates how Jews captured by one army looked to the other for deliverance, only to find no difference in their treatment. "History is accordingly presented with the

Russia and Evil

By Dr. G. James Jason

President Reagan, by his characteristic and admirable candor, has created a furor among academics. His remark that Soviet communism is evil, indeed, is the focus of evil in the world today, seems to have ruffled professional feathers at a number of colleges. His view has been denounced as being inaccurate, simplistic, self-righteous and provocative.

It was none of these, and the reaction to his remarks by those academic critics reveals a frightening isolation from moral reality—a defect in them, not the President.

Let's consider the central issue. Is it accurate to call Russian communism evil? I believe that it is, if we make an elementary distinction (which the President, unlike many of his critics, had clearly in mind): the distinction between the Russian people and the authoritarian regime to which they are subject.

It is clearly true that the Russian people share little of the blame for what their government has done, since they have had little to say in who runs it and how it is run. I don't say that all the Russian people are blameless: some still feel warmth toward Stalin, and many appear to take great pride in the size of the empire their country controls. But since very likely most Russian citizens don't share such feelings, they can't be held to blame.

The Soviet system, however, is indeed accurately characterized as evil. Over its entire existence it has sought to extend its control over previously independent countries. It has of course done so by indirect subversion in every part of the world. But worse, it has done so by direct military intervention: Poland in 1939, Finland in 1939, the Baltic states in 1940, of Eastern Europe by 1948 (with reinterventions in 1956 and 1968), and more recently in Afghanistan. Its aggression continues unabated.

Besides external aggression, the Soviet system has always practiced internal repression of the highest magnitude. Early in its existence it set up a concentration camp system (of which Solzhenitsyn and others have so eloquently spoken), and by means of this camp system has exterminated far more people than the Nazis managed to do. Anyone desiring the gruesome details can read Robert Conquests' excellent

work *The Great Terror*; he puts the estimate of Stalin's work alone at twelve million dead in the camps and perhaps eight million killed in other ways (such as outright execution). How many died under Lenin, and after Stalin, nobody can even guess.

The reply is often made that such killings only took place under Stalin, and things are much rosier now. Such a reply strikes me as incredibly morally obtuse. The whole Gulag system—both the camps and the arbitrary police/court system it takes to fill them—still exists unchanged. That those camps are not as full as once they were (and they are even now far from empty) proves only that the social classes the Soviet government wanted to liquidate (the aristocrats, the kulaks, the devout Christians and the political opponents of the party) have indeed been extirpated.



Would those who say that the Soviet system is different now from the way it was in the Thirties and Forties have said the same about Nazism, had it survived and was now no longer killing Jews (because it had killed them all)? Put another way: does anybody doubt that if Andropov were to decide some new group were a threat to his power, they would be quickly exterminated?

If unrestrained imperialism abroad combined with genocide at home fails to make a regime evil, pray tell

extraordinary fact that Jews resorted to bribery and other desperate measures in efforts to escape from Soviet territory to the tender mercies of the Nazis." During the winter months of 1939, Jews were trapped in a no-man's land between the Nazi and NKVD frontier troops, without food or shelter. Any attempt to escape led to immediate death, rather than a lingering one from exposure or starvation.

One Jewish woman, who experienced internment in both Nazi and Soviet camps, claimed that only in the last days of the war did the Nazis catch up with the Soviets in brutality. "Things were declining to a Siberian level, and by the end of 1944 there was not a great deal of difference left..."

Of course Jews were not the only people to benefit from this workers' paradise. But how a government treats its Jewish population can serve as a general measure of its relative freedom. A regime that cannot tolerate diversity cannot tolerate Jews.

Tolstoy conclusively demonstrates how enraptured the average Russian was with the Soviet regime by surveying attitudes when the Germans invaded. Russian peasants and various minority peoples hated the government, actually welcoming the invaders as deliverers from an occupying power. "In the Baltic States and the Ukraine hundreds of thousands of people flocked to welcome the Germans, and volunteer for the various legions and militias recruited by the Wehrmacht and SS."

Under the circumstances, Stalin's fear of a mass uprising was justified. The slave labor camps, already filled, swelled to around 30 million. They became increasingly brutal as the vast killing machine stepped up its output. This particular industry exceeded its goals. Though the Russians did lose 20 million people between 1939-45, Hitler was responsible for only a third of this. The others died at the hands of the NKVD under a variety of pretexts — all based on Soviet fear.

Quite an expensive experiment in communism, eh? The lesson of *Stalin's Secret War*, is that matters haven't changed much. The camps still exist, and Jews are still persecuted with official sanctions. Tolstoy's book is recommended for anybody wishing to get a concentrated dose of the underlying evil supporting Soviet rule — government by intimidation.

Ralph Rainwater, Jr. is a senior at UCSD.

me what does?

Add to this wanton violations of the most basic rules of war, such as using biological and chemical weapons against even women and children (in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan), and the moral judgment becomes irresistible.

Given that the President's characterization was accurate, was it simplistic? Did it lead people to overlook important differences?

No. The critics are wrong in accusing him of being simplistic; indeed, they are themselves being simplistic about Soviet Russia. It is simplistic to overlook extreme differences in degree, to compare things which are in reality quite different. The internal oppression and external aggression of the Soviet empire is quantitatively so far in excess of that of the rest of the world, that it ought to be recognized as being qualitatively different.

By way of comparison, ask yourself what you would have thought had someone argued in 1940 that since England, France and America had colonies, they were really no different from Nazi Germany? Or that since America mistreated its minorities, it was no different from Nazi Germany? Wouldn't you have thought such a person incredibly simplistic, if not simple-minded?

The President sees this, but such is the state of moral confusion on campuses today that intellectual dishonesty is mistaken for sophistication.

We should also reject the charge that the President's remarks were self-righteous. For instance, Harold Berman has compared the President to the Pharisee and even to Captain Ahab (see his column in *Newsweek*, May 9). But Mr. Berman's reasons for saying this aren't clear. Is any condemnation of any country or government automatically self-righteous? When FDR condemned the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, was that the shriek of a demented Ahab?

I hardly think so. When the President observed that the Soviet system is evil, he was not saying that Russians are morally inferior to the wonderfully perfect Americans. He was instead expressing moral outrage against a government which has consistently

(Continued on page 10)

California Review Interviews

Congressman Jack Kemp is currently serving his seventh term in the U.S. Congress where he holds a leadership position as Chairman of the House Republican Conference. In 1981, Congressman Kemp was successful in getting major tax reform legislation passed. He has also pioneered efforts to reform Federal Monetary Policy. His Balanced Monetary Policy and Price Stability Act, which passed in late 1982, according to many analysts is one reason for the dramatic drop in interest rates. Jack Kemp was principle author of the Kemp-Roth tax bill.

Mr. Kemp is the ranking Republican on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the distinguished House Appropriations Committee. He has been named to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, and was an active delegate to the SALT talks in Geneva, the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism, and the U.S. Commission on Refugees. He is also a member of the influential House Budget Committee. Representative Kemp is widely acclaimed as a dedicated spokesman for human rights and in particular Soviet Jewry. He recently joined with United States Senator Roger Jepsen in forming CREED, the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, which is an organization devoted to improving the conditions of Christians behind the Iron Curtain. Mr. Kemp is the author of the book An American Renaissance: A Strategy for the 1980s.

Born and educated in Los Angeles, Congressman Kemp was graduated from Occidental College in 1957. Jack Kemp is a former quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills and was twice selected All-AFL quarterback. He was Most Valuable Player in the American Football League in 1965. He and his lovely wife Joanne have four children. Congressman Kemp was gracious enough to take time from his busy schedule to talk with CR's Proprietor, Thomas J. Edwards.

CR: Can we expect the economy to continue to improve?

KEMP: Yes, the only condition I would place on my unequivocal belief that the economy can and should grow throughout 1984 and 1985 is the question of where Paul Voleker and the Federal Reserve Board are in the coming days and months ahead. My concern is that the Federal Reserve Board, by artificially keeping interest rates too high, could very well—if not strangle—at least slow-down the potential of this economy for high rates of growth. And therein lies part of the dilemma. We have achieved tax reform, we've achieved some spending restraint, we've achieved regulatory relief. The one leg of this table that is not yet in place is to restore a monetary policy which will maintain or guarantee the value of our currency over a long period of time, and allow those interest rates to come down to single-digit levels, which I think would bring not only a great boom in the economy but also a world-wide potential for economic growth that would help pay-off much of that Third World debt that is souring very rapidly. So that is a strong condition, and I'm urging the Congress and the Administration to put pressure on the Federal Reserve Board for the type of monetary reform that will once again guarantee the dollar and make it "as good as gold."

CR: How do we get to bringing back the gold standard, or a commodity standard, and why is this so important?

KEMP: It is important because all of the transactions that we as individual Americans make, and people within the world global economy make, are, in one way or another, affected by the lack of a standard around which to make our contracts had to make our decisions. About 70% of world trade is denominated in U.S. dollars. So what happens to the dollar effects all of these transactions that go on daily, hourly and minute by minute. And, when the dollar is fluctuating in value, when rates of exchange are allowed to float—as they have since the break-up of the Bretton-Woods International Monetary System in 1971—in effect you have people having to guess the value of the *numeraire*. The measuring-rod is being changed hourly, and daily. And as a result it leads to less efficiency, it leads to a less competitive currency in world competition, and it is hurting our exports to the tune of about \$70-78 billion dollars a year. That means lost jobs, lost revenue for the government, and all sorts of perverse problems. So this is the key to restoring not only the U.S. economy but for providing for a world economy in which many of our neighbors in Latin America—and in the rest of the Third World—can begin to grow and expand their economies and put their people back to work. As you know, this has all sort of consequences for the U.S. in a global economy.

CR: Wouldn't institution of the gold standard open us up to blackmail, considering the fact that South Africa and the Soviet Union control some 85% of the world's gold?

KEMP: First of all, we would not go immediately to a full convertible currency. I am advocating, as an interim step, allowing for monetary policy to take into consideration a "price rule." In other words, if there is coordination between the Federal Reserve Board and the Administration—with the concurrence of the Congress—to defend the dollar, and the value of the dollar, by using the price of gold and/or commodity futures—that would be enough of a proxy for the general price level around which people could make their decisions over a long period of time without the fear that the government was going to either inflate or deflate. Having said that, interest rates would come down, and the dollar price of gold would be stabilized say somewhere between \$415 and \$435 an ounce. I don't know exactly what it should be, but we could experiment with getting the dollar price of gold back to where it has been for the last eight or nine months when we've had 7 and 8 percent economic growth. And then in the course of events in the next year—the second Reagan Administration—we would be meeting with our trading partners from Japan to West Germany and the U.K., and the other ten leading countries in the industrialized world, and we would agree that there would be a full back or forward move to a new Bretton-Woods type system. Where world central bankers would re-establish an international unit of account. I think an international currency, backed by gold, would work to the benefit, of world trade and better relationships between ourselves and our competitors. Now that's a long answer, let me put a footnote on it: we would not be held hostage to South Africa or Russia because there is enough gold in the free world, particularly in the central banks of the countries I just alluded to, to give us the credibility that goes along with a modified international gold standard. Also, you don't need a whole lot of gold. All you need is a pledge by the central banks to defend the dollar or the currency against gold, and on that basis you don't need—as Britain found out when it conducted a gold standard for more than two-hundred years—a lot of gold in the vaults of the treasury. Britain simply made a promise to make the pound sterling convertible, and that alone succeeded in taking the sterling premium out of

holding British pounds. So we would not be hostage to South Africa or Soviet Russia. Indeed, it would take away the value to South Africa, or, more particularly, the value the Soviet Union has gained from selling off its gold to earn the foreign exchange that is necessary for them to invade Afghanistan, and keep pressure on Poland, and to send its Cuban surrogates all over Africa and Central America at the whim and the will of the Kremlin.

CR: Should the Federal Reserve be abolished?

KEMP: It doesn't need to be abolished. I think it is far too independent in the sense that right now we have a fiat standard. There's too much power in the hands of our Central Bank. But the way to "democratize" the Fed is to make it responsible to markets, and the way to make it responsible to markets is to allow for the price of gold, the price of commodity futures, the price of other metals. In other words, you have a price rule instead of what we have today: simply the whim and the caprice of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board to decide whether or not they are going to tighten, or loosen, or raise interest rates, or lower

"The answer to unemployment is not to get General Motors to move from Detroit to Watts."

interest rates, or inflate or deflate. There is no control right now over the Fed and there should be. It doesn't take abolishment to get that control. Under Article I, Sec. 8 of the Constitution of the United States it says that "Congress shall regulate the value of money." And while I don't want Congress debasing the currency, or deflating the currency, I do think Congress and the Administration should put controls on the Federal Reserve Board to get it back to what its original function was—and what the soul function of monetary policy is—to give us an honest, sound currency. A currency that will act as an annuities account and a storehouse of value.



(CR file photo)

Congressman Jack Kemp

CR: Is the elimination of M-1 targets a first step?

KEMP: Well, we should abandon worrying about how many angels can dance on the head of M-1 and M-2 certainly. But you cannot just go back to an interest rate target which caused such inflation in the late 1970s. That's a Keynesian rule. I don't favor a money-supply target, nor do I favor an interest rate target. I favor a price rule because, again the purpose of monetary policy is to give us stable prices—prices that are not rising or falling, prices that are stable and honest, and that help lubricate domestic and international trade, and commerce and free enterprise.

CR: Would you explain briefly supply-side theory?

KEMP: Supply-side economics is just basically a restatement of the classical economic theories of Adam Smith, Jean Baptiste Say, Alfred Lord Marshall, and others. It is the belief that people respond to rewards. And supply-side economics is (I don't want to sound like B.F. Skinner) a major attempt to modify the behaviour of the U.S. and the world economy by re-introducing incentives and rewards into the economic life of our people by lowering tax rates, making our currency sound, lowering interest rates, reducing the regulatory burden on enterprise as well as on enterprising people, and getting spending down—which is inordinantly high—and having a sound and frugal fiscal policy. Again, it is a major world-wide attempt, led by the United States and the President, to increase the reward for men and women who want to work, produce and engage in savings and entrepreneurship. Recognizing that the ultimate source of wealth is not measured in a physical sense; it is measured by the ideas, the creativity, the ingenuity, the inventiveness and productivity of our people.

CR: What about the problem of deficits and supply-siders generally not being concerned about them?

KEMP: Supply-siders are concerned about deficits, but, in the main, do not believe that the deficit is the cause of high interest rates. Most supply-siders that I know believe that the high interest rate policy of the Federal Reserve Board, the breakdown in other words of monetary policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s, has caused a liquidity crisis and a horrible disequilibrium in world trade and in our capital markets. And therein lies much of the blame for the recession. The recession has caused the high deficits and high unemployment, and has increased spending. The way to get spending down and reduce the need to spend money for social programs is to get this nation back to high levels of output and production, and to encourage more job-creation in the private sector. So bringing down unemployment to five percent would not only have tremendous social benefits to our country in terms of minorities and inner-cities, etc., it would have also a very beneficial impact upon the deficit because at full employment there would be a budget balance—or at least an equilibrium to the extent that it would not be anywhere near what it is today. And it would be manageable as long as savings was rising and our economy was growing. A supply-sider puts more emphasis on economic growth and getting people back to work, expanding the output or our nation, than he or she does on just narrowly focusing on the deficit as the cause of all of our problems; which is the *old* Republican model that Herbert Hoover and other Republicans have used to the detriment of the Party and to the detriment of the country.

CR: What is the concept of enterprise zones?

KEMP: To many of us who believe that we can't have the recovery unless it impacts upon the lives of *all* of America's citizens—that we can't move this country ahead and leave anybody behind—we must recognize that a national recovery will not restore the growth potential of the inner-city unless we take compensatory steps, and one of the most, I think, humane or compassionate compensatory steps we could take would be to expand the entrepreneurial climate in the inner-city. 90% of all new jobs created in America are created by small, new business formations. What we need to do is to create a climate for small business job creation in the inner-city. That takes federal, state and local cooperation in deciding zones where you have high unemployment among minorities and teenagers, and a shrinking tax base and high welfare load. Those areas would be designated as enterprise zones which would qualify for compensatory federal, state and local tax changes—tax incentives—to create an environment

within the inner-city where we could help get our cities back on their feet. Not just from the standpoint of creating jobs but from the standpoint of making a healthier tax base for other social services which are important to those inner-city residents.

CR: Why does there seem to be fear, on the part of some, toward instituting this program?

"You cannot create employees without first creating employers."

KEMP: All sorts of reasons. We have the Democratic liberal left which doesn't want to give Republicans credit for a new idea. And *this* is a Republican neo-conservative idea. It comes out of the supply-sider's school. There has been tremendous bipartisan support I must say, I don't want to leave it on a partisan note. Bob Garcia from the South Bronx is my cosponsor in the House. Bill Gray, one of the leading members of the Black Congressional Caucus, from Philadelphia, is another cosponsor. So there is tremendous liberal-conservative consensus on this issue, and we've come a long way. The problem is that it is being held-up by the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Dan Rostenkowski, a big-city Chicago mayor. I guess he doesn't want to see Ronald Reagan cut a ribbon or designate Chicago as an enterprise zone because it's not his idea. Now that is a little harsh, but it's, uh,....

CR: Fair?

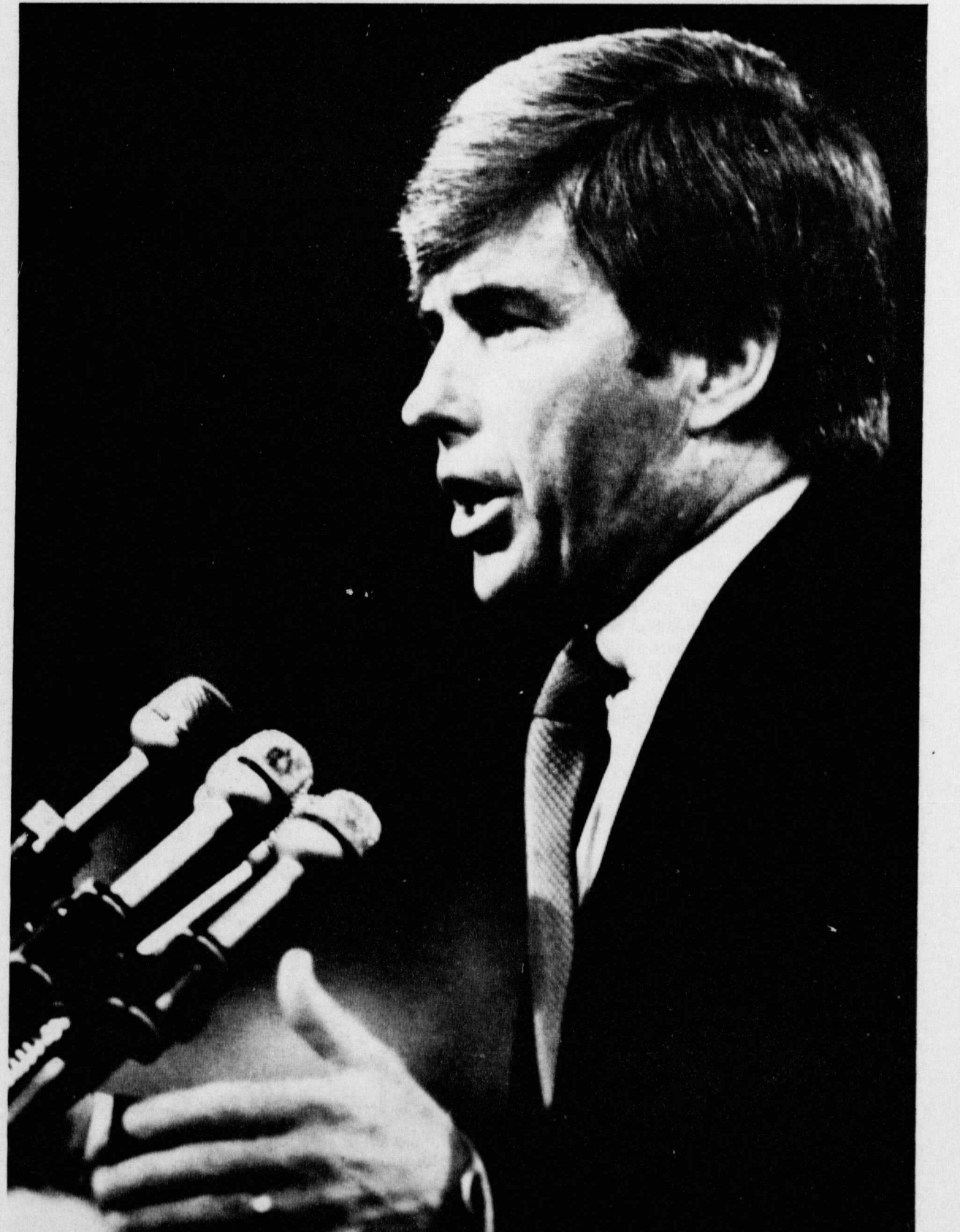
KEMP: ...Unfortunately justified. Then there are those who don't want to try anything new—there's always that idea. There are those who don't think it will work, and that's an honest view. But I think it is a risk well worth taking because we have such high levels of unemployment in the cities of our country, and we cannot leave people without hope in the barrio, or the ghetto, or teenagers or anyone else for that matter. I think it is a strong measure of hope that we're going to take action.

CR: How do you answer the charge that enterprise zones merely re-locate unemployment?

KEMP: It doesn't re-locate unemployment. We're not trying to create incentives to get businesses to move around the country. What we're trying to use as tax incentives are tax changes that affect small business and entrepreneurs. We're trying to create a climate for the entrepreneur on the basis that the answer to unemployment is not to get General Motors to move from Detroit to Watts, California. The answer to Watts California is getting indigenous entrepreneurial talent motivated, and expanded. The greatest talent Watts has, or South-side Chicago, or East St. Louis, or inner-city Buffalo, or Harlem is its own people, and encouraging men and women to go out and start businesses. That's where jobs come from. You cannot create employees without first creating employers. All of the new tax benefits are aimed at new employers, entrepreneurs, small business men and women—irrespective of their color, or their racial or national heritage.

CR: Would there be any restrictions on the types of firms which could issue enterprise stock or debentures?

(Continued on next page)



(continued from page 9)

KEMP: That probably would be one of the restrictions, yes, that you want to encourage people to invest in those enterprises so giving an accelerated right-off or a 50% deduction against taxes for people who invest in the debenture or the stock of any inner-city enterprise is one good way of getting seed capital into minority enterprise. This has been introduced by Charlie Rangel, the member of the Black Caucus of the Congress from Harlem, and I'm a co-sponsor. I think it's a very important amendment.

CR: Is indexing being sabotaged on Capitol Hill?

KEMP: There are those who want to remove indexing, but I think that's a blue collar working man and woman, populist issue. Ronald Reagan and Jack Kemp and, I think, the vast majority of the Congress are going to hold the line. We're not going to allow them to tear-up indexing, which everybody knows is the inflation-proofing of the tax code to protect people from allowing government to pass a midnight tax. You know, pushing people up into higher brackets with inflation.

CR: You were recently criticized in the national press, by a conservative columnist no less, for your support

of the Endowment for World Democracy. Why is this a worthy and not a wasteful program?

KEMP: If this country stands for anything, it has to stand for Jeffersonian Democracy. Not only for this country for this time, but for this country and for other

"This country has to stand for Jeffersonian Democracy."

countries for all time. As far as I'm concerned it's not a perfect program, but it's President Reagan's program to export democracy to the world behind the Iron Curtain, to Poland, to Soviet Russia, and South Africa, and Chile and El Salvador and everywhere else. And I know that sounds idealistic but at least we should help to be building institutions for democracy. Free labor, free enterprise, political parties throughout the world — and I think the President was

right in pushing project democracy and I'm proud to be a proponent. I believe in democracy! I think that people generally, in fact in almost 99% of the cases, would like to govern their own lives. And *that* is what democracy is all about.

CR: You are looked upon as one of the most charismatic leaders of our time, and you attract an extremely broad cross section of followers. In fact, a very prominent Democrat recently called you the John Kennedy of the Republicans. What does the future hold for Jack Kemp, and do you have any possible plans for a presidential bid you would like to share at this time?

KEMP: I hope to be in a position of great power and influence and authority someday where I can really help everybody in this country and the world. I've decided that I want to be Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

CR: Thank you, Congressman.

KEMP: I'll see you. I've got three minutes to catch a vote.

Students Oppressing Society

By C. Brandon Crocker

Many students declare that the government has an obligation to help students pay for higher education. The reasons given for this obligation are, of course, totally unselfish: education is the only way for the poor to break out of the trap of poverty and the proliferation of higher education benefits all of society.

A "positive externality" is an extra benefit obtained by society in addition to the private benefit enjoyed by the purchaser of a product. Since the potential purchaser does not include this "external" benefit in his decision of whether the cost of a product is worth the benefits, from society's standpoint, the good is under purchased. The notion that higher education carries with it a positive externality and hence should be subsidized to make up for the discrepancy between private cost and social benefit, is absurd. Benefits derived from higher education are solely private benefits. The value of one's education to the society is taken into account in a market (usually the labor market) in the form of compensation (i.e. salary, vacation time, etc.). Therefore, the benefit of an education to society is included in the prospective purchaser's calculation

of cost and benefits and internalized in the market for education.

The logic used to call the benefits derived by society from higher education "external benefits" can be used to call the benefits derived from the existence of 7-11 stores (or anything else that provides any good or service) "external benefits." By being open 24 hours a day a 7-11 store gives benefit to society (at least that part of society which does its shopping at odd hours). But this benefit is accounted for in the price we pay for the products. The same is true of education. Society benefits from one's education but pays for those benefits by providing one's income. All costs and benefits are considered in the individual's decision.

Advocates of a large government role in providing higher education also argue that higher education provides a more intelligent electorate. Education, however, does not imply intelligence. There is no compelling evidence showing college graduates to be more intelligent voters than the average person. Certainly, higher education has not created any uniformity of thought among college graduates on controversial issues.

Claims that higher education generates positive externalities are unfounded and dubious at best. The private benefits of higher education, though, are obvious and clear-cut. It gives one the capacity to get more out of life and more in the bank.

Nevertheless, there is a case for government aid to students. It is inefficient to have capable individuals waste away because, though the cost of an education is less than the expected benefits, they lack the funds. It is, therefore, proper for the government to aid these individuals. The government should make loans available to make sure that no person is restricted from pursuing a higher education because of a lack of financial resources and credit.

Government aid should take the form of loans only. The government ought not to be giving handouts to a group that will be earning incomes well above the national average. This amounts to taxing the poor to enable others to become well-off. Nor should the interest on these loans be subsidized. If the potential student feels that obtaining a college education is not worth the full cost then he should not go as it would be an inefficient use of society's resources. Furthermore, how can subsidizing interest rates paid by students be justified when everyone else, most of whom are poorer than a college graduate will be, have to face the market rate? Again, this is a tax on the poor for the benefit of the future upper and upper-middle classes. Allowing a grace period after graduation to give the loan recipient time to generate some income from his education to enable him to make the payments on his loan is the only break that is justified.

Loans with unsubsidized interest rates would allow a student to go to an expensive university if he thinks it is worth the price (since he will be incurring it after graduation), whereas current government loan programs (because they are subsidized) and grants have maximum awards which restrict the student's choice of universities. Unsubsidized interest rates would also solve the problem of wealthy families taking subsidized government loans in order to keep funds in high yielding CDs in a far more simple way than the means test introduced by President Reagan which caused so much righteous indignation among students.

One last restriction on government aid should be GPA requirements. A General Accounting Office survey in 1982 discovered that 20% of Pell Grant recipients were maintaining grade-point averages below their schools' graduation requirements. This is a waste. If a student's GPA stays below his school's graduation requirements for two consecutive terms, he should no longer receive government aid.

Higher education is not a right. It is a commodity which should be purchased if the expected benefit outweighs the cost. Since higher education does not involve externalities, private cost will equal public benefit. The only justification for government aid is when there exists inefficiency because the benefits outweigh the cost but the cost is still prohibitively high.

C. Brandon Crocker is a junior at UCSD.



(Continued from page 7)

gone beyond all bounds of civilized behavior, from its earliest days to the present. The Soviet Union is not evil because it fails to produce enough material goods to satisfy its people; it is evil because it does not and has never cared in the slightest about the rights of its own citizens, much less the rights of people in other countries. It equals even Nazi Germany in that regard, and while Nazi Germany is dead, the Soviet regime endures.

Finally, let us consider the charge that President Reagan's comments were provocative. Perhaps they were, but to whom? I doubt to the Soviets, because their propaganda machine is constantly at work vilifying us, and so they are likely to dismiss what the President says as being (on analogy with their own pronouncements) mere propaganda.

It seems to me that the only people provoked were the feckless American intellectuals. They were provoked because on the typical campus today, any serious attempt at moral judgment regarding communism is considered to be out of place.

Part of the reason for this is a considerable lingering sympathy for any socialist experiment, even one that so wickedly goes awry. But another part of the reason is the pervasive moral relativism on campus, one which views any moral judgment (except perhaps about one's own country) as being inherently meaningless.

Therein lies the sting of the President's candor. He made a moral judgment, and worse (from the academic point of view) a correct moral judgment. This is to some a most grave sin.

Dr. G. James Jason is Professor of Philosophy at SDSU and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.

The Folly of Industrial Policy

By Dean T. Smith

One thing that all of the Democratic candidates for the Presidency share is a commitment to a so-called Industrial Policy. Their belief seems to be that the economies of the modern, industrial states need some prodding or guidance. Stagnation, inflation and low productivity are not products of government intervention into a basically well functioning economy, they say. On the contrary, what we need is more — not less — government intrusion into the marketplace. Glenn, Mondale, and the rest, not to mention many liberal and socialist economists, suggest that what we should do is to "target" various industries. That is, offer them incentives such as tax credits, low interest loans and research support.

While at first glance one might suppose that such a policy would be a good idea, a bit of thought shows that there is virtually nothing to recommend it.

place. Industries that were once considered crucial to our economy have largely moved overseas, and resources have shifted to other areas. To assist and try to prop up today's failing industries is self-defeating. It encourages inefficiency and deflects scarce resources of capital, labor and energy away from more promising enterprises.

Assuming (unrealistically) that someone could come up with a scheme to select prime candidates for government assistance and intervention, the problem still remains of how to determine the proper levels of investment, work force and so forth, to best implement that plan. Our economic models, at best, only crudely approximate the literally millions of decisions of this kind that occur in the marketplace every day. Indeed, the market is the catalyst for those decisions. It alerts managers, workers and financial institutions — through

competitor gone, firms would grow lazy and the rate of technological innovation would fall. Since the major firms would be required to share information about production, it would be extremely difficult to break those ties in the future. An Industrial Policy, then, would lead to monolithic organization in major U.S. industries, the very thing that liberals have derided big business about for years. J.K. Galbraith's New Industrial State would be mandated.

The decision to target an industry would effectively preclude the formation of new enterprises in that industry. Entrepreneurs would be locked-out of certain fields of business. Perhaps the Feds would allow someone to start up a new firm — if he promised to toe the line. But mavericks with the intention of shaking up the industry would necessarily be *verboten*. For example, had the computer industry been targeted, there would have been no Apple Computer. The planners would never have allowed an upstart like Steven Jobs to come in and foul up all of their carefully orchestrated plans and schemes. If you saw the opportunity for profit in a targeted industry, maybe the government would let you in, maybe not. Whatever the decision a fundamental freedom would have been lost from the imposition of an Industrial Policy. No longer would individuals be free to enter a line of business in which they believed they could make money and create jobs. In this way too, innovation would be stifled not enhanced by an Industrial Policy.

On at least one level, those Democrats supporting an Industrial Policy are merely pandering to their perceived labor constituents. When William Fraser (head of the United Auto Workers) thinks about such a plan, he thinks of things like the domestic content law. This piece of legislation requires that all cars sold in the U.S. have some proportion of their materials and parts, usually over half, made in the U.S. This is justified on Industrial Policy grounds: the Japanese are "unfairly subsidizing" their auto industry, or some such nonsense. In fact, most Industrial Policy proposals suffer from this same problem. They look like protectionism; they smell like protectionism. Face it, there is simply no way that the Feds will sit by and watch a highly planned and expensive industry program go down the tubes in the face of import competition. Protectionism is an integral part of most Industrial Policies. The honest proponents will admit that, the others won't. After all, all of these would-be industrial planners all go to the same law and business schools. If the U.S. team decided to target a particular industry because of its potential success, chances are high that our competitors have their sights on the same one.

Given that the entire premise for an Industrial Policy is flawed, failures will occur. The forces of the marketplace cannot be fought forever, however much the liberal interventionists would like to believe it. Eventually, attempts to prop up a dying industry will be seen by all to be counter-productive. But who will get the blame? Why, the federal government which instituted the policy to begin with, of course. Critics will claim that the government didn't offer enough support and scream for more federal largess. Otherwise all of those workers in the obsolete industry would be out of work and on the dole, right? Turn around and the government owns that industry. Think it couldn't happen? Think again. Think Conrail.

What it all comes down to is statism. The liberals just get burned-up when they think about an economy running along, uncoerced by them. You see, they've got plans and things just aren't working out to their liking. Well, anyone who thinks that he can alter the course of economic change has delusions of grandeur which arise from a fundamental misunderstanding about the way things are. The "economy" is not a thing to be manipulated. Rather it is simply a name for the aggregated activities of millions of people. To manipulate the economy is to manipulate those people. This idea is at the bottom of any Industrial Policy. And it is precisely why an Industrial Policy is such a pernicious concept.

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Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that an industrial policy of any magnitude would undermine the still plausible (though weakening) belief that the U.S. government is committed to maintaining and promoting a relatively free, capitalist system. It would be one more step, and a large one at that, on the inexorable march towards statism.

Government intervention in the economy is nothing new, of course. For years the Feds have been using the relatively blunt tools of tax, fiscal and monetary policies to counter such problems as inflation and unemployment. But these "macroeconomic" tools have the disturbing quality of performing with long and unpredictable lags. Often by the time one of these government policies has taken hold, the problem it was to have corrected no longer exists. This is the primary argument that conservatives have characteristically put forth to counter the assertion that the government can effectively fine-tune the economy.

Now, in the face of one of the most severe economic down-turns since W.W.II, the liberal interventionists have become impatient with the lags and the somewhat passive role of macroeconomic tools. They want to get in there, at the industry or "microeconomic" level. They want to implement an Industrial Policy which would be a program of aid and support for firms in particular industries. Proposals vary widely with regard to specifics, but virtually all begin by identifying likely candidates for government support. How does one choose a target? Ah, there's the rub! Do we target winners or losers?

Neither choice is desirable, of course. In particular, the targeting of winners is bad policy. By winners we usually mean industries that the marketplace has already identified as having high growth potential, for example, semiconductors. But those are the very industries that need the help the least. They're doing just fine without government assistance, thank you. Targeting losers is just as bad, perhaps worse, because in doing so, one simply delays the inevitable. Fundamental changes are taking place in the world market-

prices, wages and interest rates — to opportunities for gain. To suppose that the government could somehow develop a program which would consider all of the opportunities at the firm level is absurd. In all likelihood, since it would be basing its decision or incomplete information, government intervention would lead to sub-optimal performances for firms in the targeted industries.

It also seems inevitable, given the inherent tendencies of our political system, that any Industrial Policy would soon degenerate into political cronyism. Industry groups would lobby the Congress to include their industries in any plans. Experience shows that they won't have to lobby too hard if they remind their congressmen of how many voters work in that industry back home. Consider the recent example of Michigan congressmen arguing for the domestic content law for autos sold in the U.S. Or, think about the favoritism that legislators shower on military installations in their home states. What reason is there to believe that things would be any different if a legislator could justify his favoritism by pointing to an Industrial Policy, which ostensibly is in the national interest? Constituencies would sprout up to ensure that any industry targeted would remain targeted, making it politically impossible to walk away from a failure. If a plan has saved several thousand jobs in a decaying industry, the government would find it very difficult to terminate that plan once it proved to be untenable. (Anyone who doubts this has only to look at the Reagan Administration's experience in trying to dismantle the Department of Education.)

Once the decision has been made to target an industry, not only has any pretense to free-enterprise been dropped, but Anti-trust policy goes out the window as well. Certainly, the activities of the major firms in the industry would have to be coordinated. Production quotas would have to be set, price guidelines imposed and information shared. Under this kind of regime, with the incentive to edge past one's

Robber Barons Off The Hook

Locke Redefines Positive Communism

E. Clasen Young

John Locke's Labour Theory of Property plays a major and contradictory role in Western political thought as subsequent ideology based on Man's perfectibility emerges. The early English and French socialists take the Theory as the philosophical foundation of modern socialism: the workers' right to the product of their labour and possession regulated by need.

Ideological development follows Locke with an application of Utilitarian theorist Jeremy Bentham, asserting that "of two individuals [...] he that has the most wealth has the greatest chance of happiness," but that "the excess in happiness of the richer will not be so great as the excess of his wealth." Or, in other words maximization of happiness requires equal distribution of wealth. Hence we have a Utilitarian dilemma, which is a conflict of whether to defend the 'haves' or the 'have-nots.'

Although Locke's tenets verily constitute an antithesis of the Hobbesian view, as they rest upon an interpretation of Human Nature being of rationality and goodness, they don't form an apology for collective land ownership. In its original context, Locke's epistemology reveals that all men are 'haves'. As he argues in *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690), they come to have a property "which God gave to mankind in common." Property, according to this reasoning, is that "which men have in their persons as well as goods." Locke limits the amount of property to which man has a natural right to "as much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of..."

Ownership of private property in this respect is a moral right. Each man has a right to own his person; each man has a right to own the labour of his person; and each man has a right to own that which he has mixed the labour of his person with. Positive community, that is, common ownership, is only a means to this end. Although the common belongs to everyone in the same manner, it belongs to them to use for the duty of acquiring the means necessary for individual "support" and "comfort."

Rather than arguing that "property" is of the common, Locke attempts to individuate the common gift within the constraints of each man's right to it: "I shall endeavour to show how men might come to have property in several parts of that which God gave to mankind in common, and that without any express compact of the commoners." He seeks the natural distribution of common property, which comes through each man's own "natural reason," i.e., his inclination toward self-preservation. Property, then, is the right which all men have, depending upon degree of will, to those things necessary for subsistence.



As he gives the world to mankind in common, "God [...] has also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life." Locke derives the right to preserve oneself from the fundamental law of nature, discussed in *Essays on the Law of Nature*, that mankind ought to be preserved; it follows in the *Second Treatise* that "every one [...] is bound to preserve himself, and when his preservation comes not in competition, ought he [...] to preserve the rest of mankind. Hence, property as such is an end of preservation while the concern of community is secondary.

Locke's Theory concludes that objects constituted by a person's labour on the common material are his own:

Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature has provided and left it in, he has mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property [...]. It being by him removed from the common state nature has placed it in, has by this labour something annexed to it that excludes the common right of other men.

One's labour turns earthly provisions granted for use into objects of use. This ability is one's dominion: "The dominion of Man [...] however managed by art and skill, reaches no farther than to compound and divide the materials, that are made to his hand; but can do nothing toward the making of the particle of new matter." Property is this right, bestowed upon every man in amount relative to the degree of reason and industry applied.

"Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature has provided and left it in, he has mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property."

John Locke, 1690

Locke brings the Theory to bear upon both spontaneous products of nature and land itself. The act of gathering "God's gifts," presumably for use, adds "something to them more than nature, the common mother of all, had done." Man—the labourer—has a property in his improvement of land, as Locke puts it, "the only chief matter of property [...] the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest," what he makes it to be and which did not exist before. Prior to cultivation, the land is "waste," provided by God for use; the amount of improved land which the labourer can call his own is only limited by the provided variables he can apply in its acquisition:

I think it is plain, that property in that, too, is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common.

The application of labour to the common land, accordingly, will necessitate individuation of such, and effect exclusion of common ownership.

Subduing or cultivating the earth, and having domain, we see, are joined together. The one gives title to the other. So that God by commanding to subdue, gives authority so far to appropriate. The condition of humane life which requires labour and material to work on necessarily introduces private possessions. Natural right is presupposed, while right to ownership is created. The justification of natural individuation is presented: it is not acquisition of one's own property solely for one's own uses, but acquisition of God's property for God's purposes. Accordingly, a property in something is the culmination of this natural right to the (provided) means necessary to preserve and comfort oneself.

Community is not restricted by private possession. The common remains common and men remain tenants in common. Fixed property in land does not necessarily have a natural foundation because complimentary and natural rights inhere in products of labour. In order to have property as the fruit of his own labour, Man requires land on which to work, and a right to exclude others while using it:

And therefore he that encloses land, and has a greater plenty of the conveniences of life from ten acres than he could have from a hundred left to nature, may truly be said to give ninety acres to mankind; for his labour now supplies him with provisions out of ten acres which were by the product of a hundred lying in common.

The common, as Locke tells us, is only for the individual to draw from, improve, and benefit from, and in this process, benefit others. Without the individuation, the land would lie as an "uncultivated waste;" an offense "against the common law of nature" would be committed.

The issue raised often at this point is the question of 'robbery,' the invasion of the inclusive rights of other positive commoners in a positive community. Locke contends that "robbery" is taking that which is more than one can make use of, "that which is more than his share and belongs to others; else he had took more than his share and robb'd others." Here, there is an avenue for a Marxian application, according to 'needs' vis-a-vis 'ability,' but with such an interpretation, an assumption would have to be made that everyone has a right to everything at one and the same time. As a consequence, the common would become the Hobbesian "war of every man against every man." This is not what Locke has in mind.

Implicit within Locke's Theory is his expedient: the redefinition of positive community. Because the common is provided for everyone to use for the duty of acquiring the means necessary for preservation, inclusive rights refer to means. Moreover, they exclude materials in the common for those made from the common — "those things necessary for support and comfort." Because each individual man has a right to his due share of individual "property," acquisition of it will not effectuate robbery.



The contextual misunderstanding of Locke holds that every commoner must have a right to everything, supposing that the whole common is 'property.' Though inclusive right expresses common property, it does not refer to the whole common, his property — the end or purpose of the common right. Therefore, one's share is to be derived from his use of the common. Locke's Theory denies positive communism because it refers to giving and taking as opposed to share and sharing. Common 'property' is only the right to it:

Though the water running in the fountain be every one's, yet who can doubt but that in the pitcher is his only who drew it out? His labour hath taken it out of the hands of nature, where it was common, and belonged equally to all her children, and hath thereby appropriated it to himself.

It is the commoner's duty, insofar as he is a commoner, to seek acquisition of that which supports and comforts.

Property in a society is an end product of that society. Robber barons only suffer the riches of circumstance.

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Pseudo-Radicals And Hatred Of Strength

By Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

In a speech before the "Russian Young Communist League" in 1920, Lenin declared a young Communist must study hard to be worthy of the distinction. He feared that students would "greatly prejudice the cause of communism" by simply "assimilating only communist slogans." Lenin demanded critical thinking of all students, saying at one point:

"If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired...he would be a deplorable Communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal...if a man says that he is a Communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a Communist."

We need not step outside communist ideology to criticize the radical alternative media at UCSD, for it is fun, and effective, to fault it on its own grounds. For the moment, forget the *California Review's* basic disagreement over philosophy. Rather, the campus radical papers destroy themselves on their own merits.

When a group advocates the overthrow of an existing social order and replacing it with another, one has the right to expect them to know their stuff. But any critical reading of *Voz Fronteriza* or the *New Indicator* reveals just how little they have truly assimilated communist thought. In fact, one wonders if they have assimilated any thought whatsoever.

First comes *Voz*, a paper which immediately makes it clear these people do not consider themselves Americans, despite their citizenship. The Sept/Oct editorial proclaims that the writers "are a people without borders. We are part of a people which has survived the constant attempts of the imperialists to divide us and separate us...we are all under the boot of Yankee Imperialism." Presumably, these are individuals still smoldering over Mexico's loss of Texas. Having rejected the American culture, which one is their model? Why, the Aztecs, of course, as an issue last year made evident.

What is most striking about *Voz* is its penchant for immodesty. Its stated goal is to "eliminate all causes (read "capitalism") which cause ill feeling amongst human beings and are responsible for the massive fear and generalized oppression in the world." Oh, the editors recognize the difficulty of this task, since they're merely "a lonely scream in the darkness," but at least they're trying.

What weapons does *Voz* use to effect change? Primarily rhetorical bombast. We discover that Reagan is "decimating" their people, though how this occurs is not stated. There is an embarrassingly poor parody of the Lord's Prayer, retitled "Prayers of the Fascist," which reads little better than a grade schooler's casual doodle. There are the expected stories of U.S. involvement overseas, complete with black-hearted fascist villains and noble, socialist minded peasants. Invocations of "worker solidarity" are regularly intoned for good measure.

As far as concrete analysis of what the Hispanic community can do to improve its status, well, there simply isn't any. A number of vague calls to "go on forward," and "Onward on to victory" substitute for thought.

Voz does not appear to recognize any contradiction between its very existence and the complaints it makes. The paper is funded with a grant of \$6,135 by the AS, a sign of oppression if there ever was one. Better still, it claims that our educational system has erased Hispanic memories of their past, yet on another page carries a letter pushing the Chicano Studies major offered at UCSD. A new journal for Hispanics, *Critica*, is slated to be published with program funds.

To top off the paper's inanity, the editors ask, "Has the destruction of Imperialism...taken place by shouting slogans and extremist rhetoric?" Yet that is all this paper offers. One looks in vain for any sign of theoretical sophistication. Lenin is quoted exactly once in an effort to absolve *Voz* of being moderate. This is moderation? Even worse, the prose stumbles along in ungrammatical English, lending the paper a foreign air. This wouldn't deserve mention if not that the primary writers are all graduate students. Imagine

— the possessing an advanced degree without a command of the English language. Oh well, perhaps it would be "cultural imperialism" to expect otherwise.

The *New Indicator* is a quantum leap above *Voz* in both appearance and its extent of coverage. Naturally it helps to receive \$14,478 from student fees for the '83-'84 school year. Communism has never come cheap, you know.

The attitude of the *N.I.* is best characterized as anti-everything. Its editorial stance is a pastiche of slogans gathered from whatever source will lend intellectual weight to their flimsy pronouncements. We find an anarchist here, a Trotskyite there, a little Marx for flavoring, all served up in a dish guaranteed to blanch the face of any knowledgeable person, regardless of ideology.

The *N.I.'s* argumentation tactic consists of two prongs. First, it destroys opposing ideas by putting

Given the inadequacies of these papers as communist, what is one to make of the students behind the words, the writers themselves? What does it say about people when they cry oppression, yet are funded by university money? What does it mean when they claim repression, yet are able to major in anti-capitalist studies at government expense? How is it they can advocate revolution so self-confidently, yet be largely ignorant of communist thought?

The answer lies in the character of these students, the root of their revolt against any existing order. Those repeated calls for mass action are efforts to mask individual weakness. (See *Voz's* drawing of armed Hispanics, their heads down, faces hidden by sombreros. Only one is caught in the act of sullenly glancing up, before he resubmerges himself in fortifying anonymity.) Pseudo-radical students are not attacking capitalism's ills because it is evil — they are whining about its emphasis on self-reliance. Underlying every



quotation marks around them, as if speaking sarcastically of Reagan, the U.C. Regents, or anybody is a refutation. Second, it calls opponents names. For instance, this paper is regularly denounced as the *California Rearview*, while the *Guardian* is renamed the *Disregardian*. This is remarkably clever wit. Like *Voz*, empty bombast is substituted for college level reasoning.

What type of analysis do these tactics lead to? Well, one can easily link Reagan with Hitler in this manner, as in their reaction to the Grenada incident. They assert Reagan's action was "not a spontaneous reaction," but rather,

"A lethal witches' brew conjured up by the CIA, multi-national hawks, and the AFL-CIO, aided and abetted by readily available opportunists who thrive on subservience to imperialism...The devious exploits of this snake pit would fill volumes."

The link to Hitler is casuistry at its worst, merely consisting of each snide sarcasms as, "Das peacekeeping fuhrer..." or "Hitler's dream is becoming a U.S. reality; Amerika uber alles!" Such intellectual dishonesty goes beyond polemics. It is the childish tantrum of a child who cries, "I hate you, so there!" and breaks into tears.

N.I.'s writing style ranges from the silliness of calling fellow contributors "comrade," to imitations of Pravda. The writers sound as if they are translating from another language.

argument lies this sentiment: "Society requires much of me, therefore I reject it. Where can I hide?"

The theology of communism justifies their resentment against the need to compete, their self-doubt about their ability to compete. Nietzsche characterized socialism "as the logical conclusion of the tyranny of the least and the dumbest, i.e., those who are superficial, envious, and three-quarters actors..." One might add that our socialists are poor actors too. Lenin would be ashamed.

This explains these writers' humorlessness. At heart they realize the absurdity of any philosophy promising Heaven on earth, if Heaven is a huge feather-bed. If they fail to be earnestly grave even for an instant, their ability to be self-deceivers vanishes. A genuine laugh would leave these papers without a staff.

Thus these people thrive on indignation, on egotistical self-sacrifice. Continual anger allows them to feel virtuous and morally superior. Give them what they desire and they would fade, wisps of nothingness with their foundations swept away.

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Indoctrination Through Fear

by Thomas J. Edwards

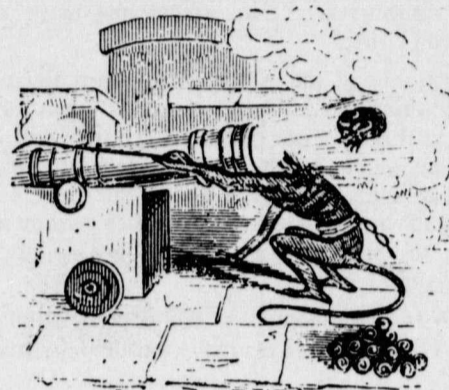
Unlike most nations of the world, America's public schools have historically been proudly patriotic and kept religiously free of political bias. Today, this sanctity of neutrality, which most Americans have taken for granted in our learning institutions, is being invaded and eroded. The National Education Association and a bunch of self-appointed "concerned" scientists (if you disagree with their point of view you are evidently unconcerned) have taken it upon themselves to promote the "teaching" of nuclear war to America's young, from grammar to secondary schools.

To facilitate this "teaching" the NEA has published and distributed a book to teachers entitled "Choices: a unit on conflict and nuclear war," which heavily favors only one choice, namely, an immediate U.S. nuclear freeze as "the means to avoid a nuclear war. Dr. Gary Bauer, Deputy Under Secretary of Education, says that Choices seems to be "carefully contrived to develop a mindset in our unsuspecting young people, by instilling them with fear, and to enlist them in a campaign to bring about American disarmament." The NEA's publication of Choices was too much even for the Washington Post, which ran an editorial on the unit on April 5, 1983. The editorial, entitled "Political Teaching," ended with the following:

At the conclusion of the course, children are urged to write to their elected representatives about nuclear war, to ascertain and publish the location of defense plants, research and development facilities and military bases in their area (Why, I ask?) and to collect signatures to place a referendum question on the ballot concerning nuclear policy. This is not teaching in any normally accepted—or for that matter, acceptable—sense. It is political indoctrination.

action of our government caused more death and destruction in one moment than in any other moment in history.

Perhaps, though, what is most shocking about Choices is the way in which the Soviet Union is presented. Russia appears throughout the NEA's publication as an unclear presence, described only as having "suffered many more casualties than the United States in World War II," (Is this an attempt to



somehow explain their behavior since the war?) and as being surrounded by some "unfriendly countries," as if the Poles and Afghans should be blamed for their hostility toward the Kremlin. It takes little imagination to realize that more than a mild dose of Solzhenitsyn will be needed to erase the images being placed into our nation's impressionable young minds.

One wonders why the students are not presented with all of the facts so that they can arrive at conclusions for themselves. After reading Choices and examining the leadership of the NEA the answer becomes childishly obvious—the leadership of the NEA does not want students thinking for themselves about this issue. They are afraid that young students might somehow believe what the President and other leaders of our nation tell them. NEA President Willard McQuire's feelings on this point were made clear on June 25, 1982, as he addressed the United Nations and offered this advice to mankind:

Our students must be taught to love, not hate. To respect others different from themselves, not condemn them for being different. And, the most difficult thing of all, we must teach our students that positions their government takes are not necessarily the right positions. And that they, like their teachers, have not only a right but an obligation to protest when their government's weapons, threaten our very existence.

Does one sense that McQuire wishes to break the sanctity of neutrality in the classroom, and, this being the case, that all objectivity has gone out the window?

A clearer indication of what NEA staff and leadership (not necessarily membership, which we will come to later) are advocating and working for can be seen in former executive director Terry Herndon, who was instrumental in the introduction of Choices. Mr. Herndon, had concurrently served as NEA executive director and president of Citizens Against Nuclear War, a coalition of 26 pro-freeze groups who were provided with free office space in the NEA's Washington headquarters. Herndon's freeze organization encompasses such groups as Educators for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists and numerous other groups "the titles of which," as Patrick Buchanan puts it, "should cause a reasonable man to release the safety catch on his revolver."

Mr. Herndon also seemed to note the lack of understanding in Choices about the Soviet Union, and so the NEA has recommended "the Short Story," "The Fate of Man," by Mikhail Sholokov, to help teachers answer the question "But who are the Soviets?" Teachers having trouble finding this publication in their local bookstore are referred to Progress Publishers in Moscow. Nothing further need be said of the content of this short story. Another NEA supplemental resource on world affairs for teachers comes from the Council on Interracial Books for Children. Entitled "Militarism and Education" (subtitled "Racism, Sexism, and Militarism: The Links"), this publication includes a question and answer section along the lines of the following:

Q. But aren't we risking our way of life if we allow the Russians to get ahead?

A. The \$1 trillion defense budget that President Reagan seeks for the next four years will do more to

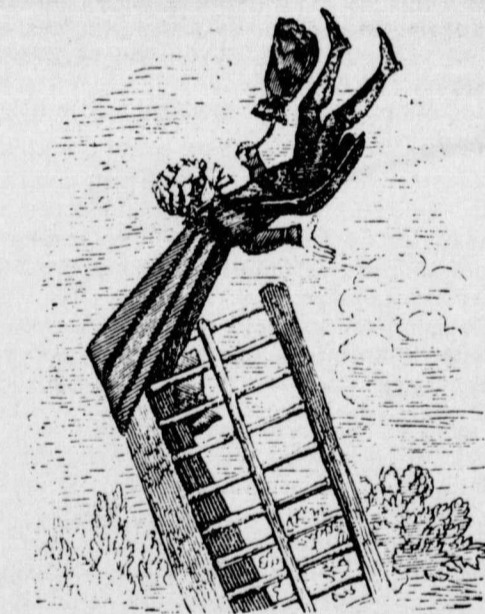
undermine our democratic values and standard of living than anything the Russians can do...

Q. But how can we trust the Russians? How can we be sure they won't cheat?

A. We can trust them as much as they can trust us...

Mr. Herndon is one fond also of irresponsible rhetoric as seen by one of his more innocent comments in a speech before the National Press Club in April, 1982, "The President may speak of our social programs as hungry stray pups to be spurned, but I speak to him of war machines which he pets and feeds without limit as ravenous lions which must be tamed lest they consume us all." Herndon's understanding of world affairs is as correct as his belief in the misconception that dollars spent for defense are dollars being taken from our ever increasing social programs, or, as he says, "children seeking food, destitute families seeking homes, and ignorant masses seeking schools." While it is true the cost of national defense is high and that we as individuals should never abandon the destitute or hungry, the only ignorant mass, in this case, is resting upon Mr. Herndon's neck.

Another example that National Education Association priorities are on things other than real education can be found in its "Hit List." Their most recent list of "undesirables" whom they will work toward defeating in coming elections includes 37 Republicans and no Democrats. One who was surprised to find himself on this list is Representative Chris Smith, of New Jersey. Congressman Smith has been outspoken in his support for educational funds, and so understandably wondered about the criteria used for placing people on the list. After efforts equivalent to pulling teeth he was told that four votes were used. In calling Smith "anti-education" the leadership of the NEA considered his vote on the nuclear freeze resolution, the Democratic budget, the Social Security compromise bill and one vote dealing with education funds for veterans—which the NEA, ironically, says he voted correctly on.



The NEA is adamant in that it will continue to "teach" nuclear war in the classroom, and that Choices will continue to be used. No wonder, for while they have failed at the polls, they have had tremendous success in twisting the opinions of susceptible children. According to the White House the President of the United States receives more than 100 letters a day on the subject of nuclear war—that is more than any other subject. However, these letters are not coming from mature adults. They are coming from terrified and indoctrinated children who have taken the unit on nuclear war; many have not yet learned to spell missile, nuclear or other fundamental words essential to the most basic understanding of the subject. If this is not evidence that the NEA has distorted objective young minds, a random sampling of excerpts from June 21 and 22 provides most conclusive evidence (the letters come from ages 4 through 18; spelling and grammar are not necessarily indicative of age):

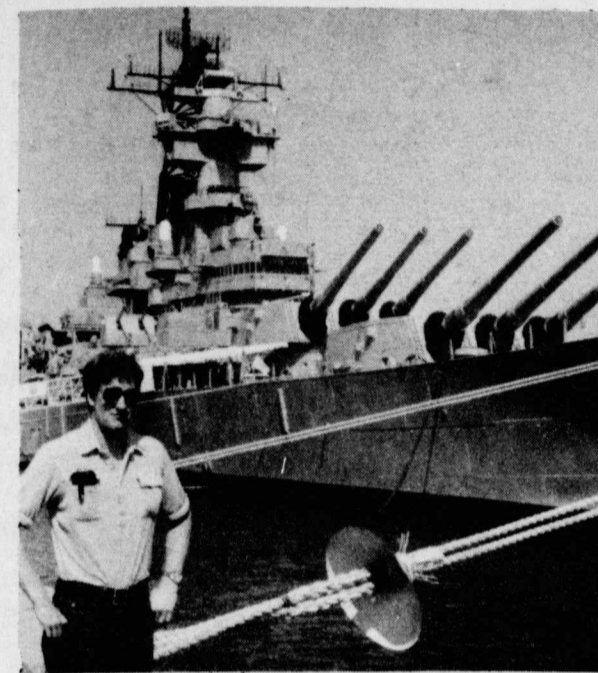
In our school, in seventh grade, we are learning about nuclear war. I am now terribly aware of being blown up!

Don't you feel guilty about spending all those dollars so you can kill other men, women, and children?

(Continued next page)

California Review

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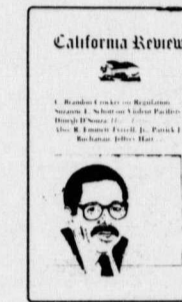
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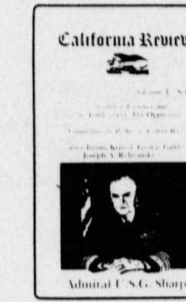
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(continued from page 14)

If we have a freeze the Soviets might stop or slow down their buying of missiles.

All I have to say is that you can not be plaining God with the lives of millions of people plesed as a fat and grandfatur tack into consideration the live of them you love as I do don't exalate any chance of nuclear war or acedent if not for you for the children of fucher.

The Russians are our neighbors, and they're human beings just like us. Why should we blow the world apart just because we don't agree with the Russians? I myself don't have anything against the Russians.

President Reagan I'm counting on you to stop the Nuclear Weapons race, because it's a wrongfull thing to do.

I What peace. Right back.

We have declared our classroom a nuclear free zone. We did this because we want to live and grow up in peace.

You are intimidated by the Russians. They would never strike against us. Just go out on a limb and totally unilaterally disarm the U.S. from any Nuclear Weapons. Keep one powerful bomb to use in realiation if necessary.

Why do we have to pay for the death of someone else? I thought all men were created equal. If they were we would not even be thinking of blowing up the U.S.S.R.

If that's all you want to achieve is complete destruction, you're a sick man!

Mr. Reagan, I really don't like Nuclear Weapons

because it is powerful. It can kill millions of people in minutes. I hope you will follow my advice. I'm afraid of Nuclear Weapons. I feel very sick, sad, and bad about them.

Reading these letters made me fell "sick" and "sad," for it makes no sense that the largest teaching union in our country is wasting precious time and resources politicizing the classrooms. Not only that, but the NEA is doing an incredible disservice to its members, many of whom—unlike their union—are working hard to correct the fact that all too often the children cannot read or write when they graduate, and the majority of whom supported President Reagan in 1980.

ABC's airing of "The Day After" is of little political importance when compared to what the NEA is doing in our schools. In fact, their effort to brainwash American children through pro-freeze instructional material is a national scandal. Oddly, were a new right organization to attempt the same, the screams and shrieks of dismay would reverberate off the Potomac for months, if not years. Yet when the NEA attempts to propogandize the young, the silence is almost deafening.

After the NEA dominated the Democratic National Convention in 1978, they claimed their goal was "to tap the legal, political, and economic power of the U.S. Congress. [They had the power of the Presidency tapped in Jimmy Carter.] We want leaders and staff with sufficient clout that they may roam the halls of Congress and collect votes to reorder the priorities of America." Any organization which has built a track record such as they have does not deserve to be taken seriously on any issue, let alone the education of America. The National Education Association is

dangerously close to losing all credibility, and the last bit of parental trust it holds, should it continue to deviate from its founded purpose: promoting the education of children. With its recent performance in this area, as reported by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, doesn't the NEA believe this is a task great enough?

Thomas J. Edwards is a sophomore at UCSD, and the son of an NEA member.

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Program

November
25, 26, 27

Ravel: Fanfare
Ravel: Rhapsodie
Espagnole
Ravel: Piano Concerto
Ravel: Daphnis et Chloe

December
1, 2, 3

Mozart: Symphony No. 39
Martin: Concerto for
Seven Winds
Mendelssohn: Overture
and Incidental Music: A
Midsummer Night's
Dream

December
9, 11, 13

Handel: Messiah



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