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CALIFORNIA REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO VOLUME XI, No. 1

## Is Truth Dead?

The Decline of Values in the Modern University



**ALSO:** Christopher Menthe on the Culture War, Shaun Carpenter looks at the morality of work, and Robin Hood



# CALIFORNIA REVIEW

*"Imperium et Libertas"*

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## From the Pen of the Editor:

This is the first issue of the California Review this year and as you can see we have a new bold, sleek format. Those new to reading the Review are probably unfamiliar with our mission and the political philosophy that for the most part undergirds the ideas found herein.

We are unapologetically a journal of the Right. Our hope this year is to provide this campus with inquiries into university life and a defense of the ideas that have made Western thought and culture so successful and ultimately to show why they are good not just better.

This issue we focus on the subject of truth and the modern university. Political correctness has helped bring some of the fads that thrive at the

university to the public's attention. This issue, however, attempts to go the heart of the issue and investigate the charge that is given to the university the guardian of our civilization's highest ideals.

In addition, we at the Review come to learn; not to study "dead white males" because we can identify with them.

On the contrary, the individuals who have shaped history have ideas to present and things to say that are valuable to every human being.

The questions that face our civilization are not completely new nor unknown to the ancients. We come to them humbly with the hope that we can know our past not in order to worship it but learn from it. To do otherwise is to cheat ourselves and our fellow man.

Matthew Robinson  
Publisher

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# In Review...

■ WHY DID ROBERT FULGHAM HAVE THE Minneapolis Chamber Orchestra tune to the sound of a refrigerator (stage left) prior to performing his "Variations on a Theme from Kindergarten?" According to the maestro himself, "All refrigerator motors... hum in 60 cycle waves of B flat major."

■ FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER IS QUITE an animal rights activist. While fishing in Klamath Falls, Oregon, he urged kids to release the fish that they catch and eat hamburgers (that is, mammals) instead.

■ THE NEWEST SHOWPIECE OF the thriving metropolis (pop. 5100) of Hightstown, N.J. is a state-of-the-art fire truck. It cost \$456,000, but it sported a ladder that can reach blazes up to 135 feet in the air. The tallest building in Hightstown: 40 feet high.

■ LAST CONGRESS, HOUSE MEMBERS TOOK 4,000 trips paid for by lobbies with an interest in legislation. First on the list with 98 lobbyist-financed trips was Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo. And third on the list was Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill. (Chair of the Tax-writing Ways and Means Committee). His spokesman claims Dan used the trips for a legitimate purpose: to tell the people that "they are undertaxed and should be paying their fair share." We can bet that Rep. Dan knows what to do with the extra cash.

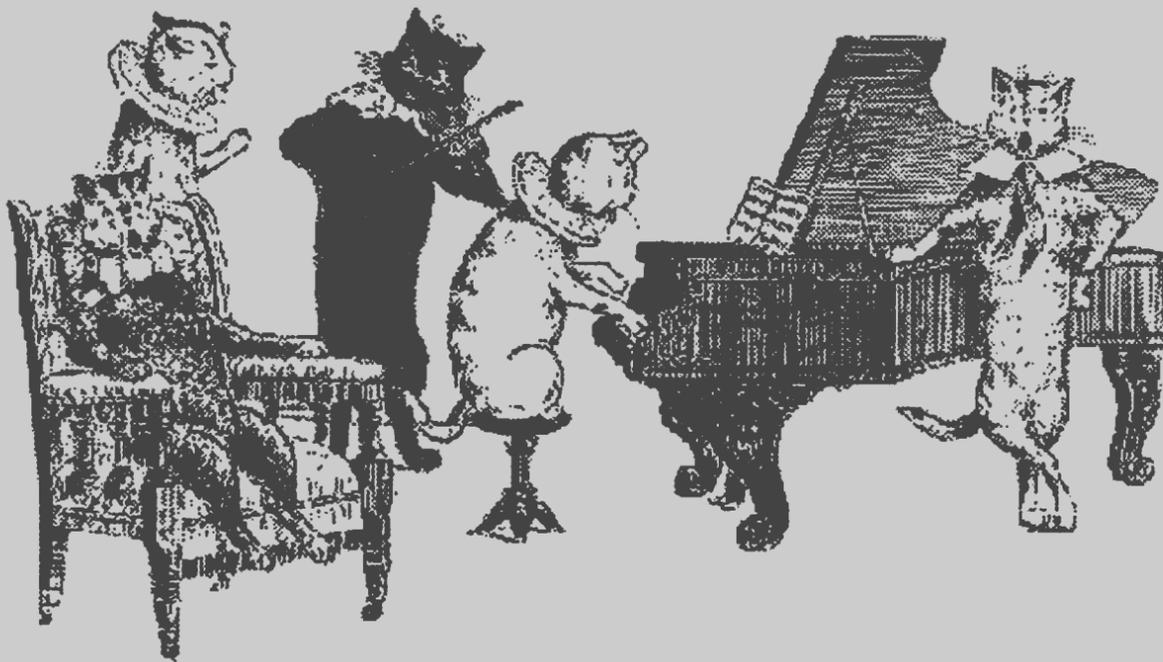
■ IS IT A V.A. ART PROJECT? IN ROTHERHAM, England, a robber known as the "superglue bandit" broke into a 71-year old woman's apartment, stuck her to the refrigerator, and left with \$50. Perhaps his artwork symbolizes the deep frustration with the current status quo of discrimination against glue users.

■ WE DON'T KNOW WHY, BUT MICHIGAN LAW once prohibited hitching a crocodile to a fire hydrant.

■ PRESIDENT BUSH SEEMS TO BE RATHER popular

in Kuwait. There has been a growing trend among Kuwaiti women to name their sons after the brave George Bush. "Abdulla George Bush al-Mutawa" has a certain ring to it.

■ SPEAKING OF NAMES, "GEORGE" RANKS ninth on the list of most popular names among 40 year old men. "Barbara," similarly, ranks ninth among 40 year old women.



■ FROM THE DUMB CROOK FILE: A MAN WAS recently arrested in connection with a robbery in Portland, Oregon. How was he caught? It seems he left his dog at the scene of the crime. Police traced him through the dog's tags.

■ IN THESE TIMES OF UNBALANCED BUDGETS AND supposed belt-tightening, the Center for Disease Control has found enough of our tax dollars to grant \$200,000 to the National Association of Black and White Men Together for "Hot, Horny and Healthy" workshops, which feature races to see how quickly participants can fit a condom over a dildo.

■ WHAT'S THE FUSS OVER ARIZONA'S MOUNT Graham? Scientists want to build several observatories, one of them housing the world's largest optical telescope. Environmentalists want construction halted immediately to keep from destroying prime habitat of the Mount Graham red squirrel - an endangered 8 ounce rodent. Further

complicating the issue is a group of Apache Indians, who claim that the telescopes will desecrate holy ground.

■ MOONBEAM FOR PRESIDENT? FORMER California Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. has reportedly formed an exploratory committee as the first step in a possible run for the presidency next year. As the man who refused to live in the governor's mansion and instead slept on an old mattress on the floor of an apartment, drove an old Plymouth instead of the governor's limo, and has wholeheartedly embraced Zen Buddhism, we at the Review think he could put some spice into the institution of the Presidency.

■ AND YOU THOUGHT Sununu was bad! According to a report by Roll Call Report syndicate, House members in 1989-90 took 900 taxpayer-financed trips

abroad with an average cost per trip of \$11,000.

■ STATE ASSEMBLYMAN AND FORMER SIXTIES hippy Tom Hayden will teach a course on "The Environment and Spirituality" this fall at Santa Monica College.

■ ARACHNOPHOBICS OF THE WORLD, STAY away from South America! The world's largest spider, almost a foot long with one inch fangs, is found in the coastal rainforests of Surinam and Guyana. This huge arachnid feeds on — you guessed it — birds!

■ WE KNEW YOU COULDN'T TRUST IRAQIS. A captured Iraqi tank recently ran amok in a British military base parking lot. Two cars were flattened and seven others were damaged following problems with the tank's clutch.

■ AN AUGUST 29TH AUCTION IN LONDON featured a twig from John Lennon's hedge and a slice of toast that George Harrison was served for breakfast on August 2, 1963.

# Robin Hood: Prince of Marxists

◆ While you were traveling through Sherwood Forest you were ambushed by his 'Somber Proletarians'

By Matthew Robinson

One of the disappointing factors about political correctness is that it has descended into the ridiculous. It has become a kind of tragi-comedy and perhaps what has doomed the looney Left's ideas more than anything else has been its descent into the utterly fantastic.

It has been a kind of nightmare journey into the minds of the Left with their paranoia and schizophrenia at imperialists and dead white males under every rock.

In recent months it has become clear that strange things are afoot in the modern university and that things have generally taken on a smell quite a bit worse than Denmark.

But, of course, one disappointing fact about the whole matter is that all the deconstructionists, reader response theorists, neo-marxists, radical feminists, and semioticians get to have all the fun.

I mean let's face it, when there's an infinite number of interpretations to a text, well it can be fun when you get to make up the rest. Ah, the joys of the meaningless and the enlightenment of barbarians.

In fact, an innocent day at the movies becomes a safari through the jungles of PC. For instance you thought when you saw *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* that it was just an adventure movie.

Well, PC has made its way to Hollywood. While you were romping through Sherwood, you were in fact ambushed by Robin Hood Prince of Marxists and his band of Somber Proletarians.

Yep, what is one of the noblest stories in the Western imagination was in fact a graveyard tour of Marxism.

In this movie you have it all: multicultural appeal, feminist excitement, proletarian uprisings, Marxian vanguards swinging through the trees, upside down crosses and a beautiful return to nature with an environmental wedding. 100 percent PC. 100 percent B.S.

With a good Marxian interpretation, I would have to say Robin Hood was great. An unqualified "10" when it came to knowing the laws of history.

Remember how many times we were told that he was no longer the snotty son of a noble? He was now aware "how strong people were when fighting for their country." He now seemed vanguard of the proletariat.

The old Robin Hood legend had far to much of the bourgeoisie notion of high ideals. Kevin Costner walked around with a king-size guilt complex. He seemed to do everything with a somber look. Even better was when our anti-hero met up with the men of Sherwood.

These weren't men fighting for their lives but were an extract of the masses. Old Robin "Karl Marx" Hood had to force the high morality of the proletariat into revolutionary activity. Robin made the peoples of the wood conscious of their oppression.

Oppression I almost forgot to use this gem of a PC term. Boy, was this movie loaded with it. Everything was heavy and somber like it was filmed by some Third World yahoo who only says *Nicarragua* (note the authentic accent). But wait there's more.

Azzid was hero of the day. A perfect commercial for two hours of multiculturalism. It was interesting at first but soon it seemed that Islamic culture was being lorded over the West.



Azzid was a walking house of invention and tolerance: telescopes that didn't come into use for almost 200 years and were in fact of Italian origin. Gunpowder originally Chinese. The dashing Moslem was very interesting but we were always learning how great a guy he really was. I was ready to become a convert because he was so superior to the drunken sop of a priest, Friar Tuck. We always had to be reminded how barbaric and intolerant the West is.

Marianne was the attempt to please the Thelma and Louise crowd. First you have to get rid of the "Maid" part of the name. Too sexist. Then we introduce her pounding on Robin. Black Armor and weapons? Oh, please. With a nice kick to Robin's groin, we are ready for a curtsy.

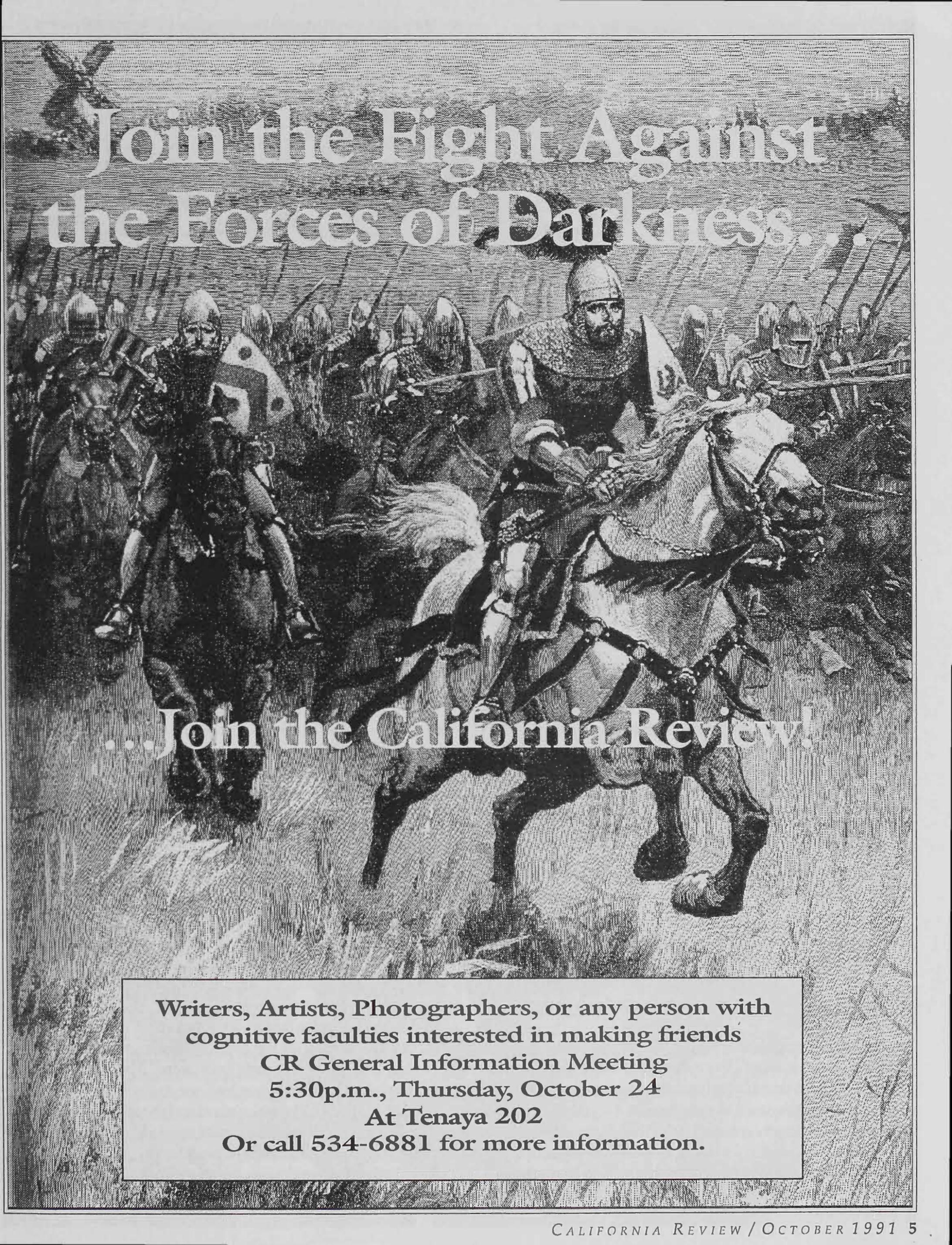
And what a drag she was. She was always judging Robin with the kind of finally-got-into-the-revolution-bit.

Unfortunately her Thelma and Louise shot didn't last and she was taken by the Sheriff. And then she was rescued by Robin. Go figure.

Finally we have Azzid's speech about joining the revolution. He was telling the masses about the fight and I expected his last sentence to be "workers of the world unite!"

The people were stupid but once they were conscious of their chains ecotopia was only one step around the corner. No styrofoam at this wedding in the middle of Sherwood which looked like a woodstock scene.

So they lived happily ever after.  
—Matthew Robinson is a Junior at UCSD



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# IS TRUTH DEAD?

◆ Traditional liberal education is threatened by revisionists, relativists, and the forces of the politically correct

BY MATTHEW ROBINSON

In 1854 John Henry Newman wrote his famous essay on the "Idea of a University." In his simple and still noble definition he referred to the university as a *studium generale*, or "school of universal learning." His pages are a tribute to the inquiries of the human mind that distinguish man from beast. Man that questions and seeks wisdom. According to Newman, the university was a place to "imbibe in the invisible spirit of genius." A haven for man to ask questions of his fellows and of himself and to seek understanding in the books which shaped history.

These are the goals of liberal education. And as the word liberal indicates it seeks to set the student free. Newman and those who hold to the traditional ideal of liberal education see the university, its role and atmosphere, as a place to seek truth. By truly knowing the ideas and history that has shaped modern thought one begins to know oneself and understand the ideas that are presently shaping the world around him.

The university as Newman contended is a great and noble institution of civilization. Education is one of the "greatest and incessant occupations of man." Newman felt that the university, even its location should help contribute to the role of the university in educating the student.

But even more broadly the university represents the aspirations of man in civilization's quest to defend against barbarism and transmit what one generation has learned to the younger generations in an effort to preserve culture. Education is the delicate tie that binds culture together and the university is one of the most important aids to that education.

Contrast these ideals with the modern university environment. It seems especially appropriate to consider this question about the university and its mission as another university year begins. Just as important as the very role of the university is the atmosphere that surrounds it.

The university, if it is to be a place for the confluence of ideas and the challenging of the student's mind, must be a

place that accepts questions about the most important ideas. Justice, nature, love, good and evil are eternal questions which should find there most dedicated interlocutors on the university campus.

Challenging this idea of the university and the environment necessary for its survival are some very complex forces. The common ground that unites the gamut of ideas like multiculturalism, women's studies, Afrocentrism, third world studies is political discontent with society and the Western liberal tradition that has formed it. If left unchecked these forces will destroy the university. Why this will destroy the university is the object of this essay.

Attention to present perils has been drawn by the advent of political correctness. It is not PC, however, but the ideas that undergird it that threaten to destroy the university. It is important to understand this point because mere political discontent does not breed the same kind of desultory and varied attacks on ideas that presently threaten the university. At the university different ideas are healthy and even helpful. The submerged assumptions of political correctness are not of this nature.

On this university and others its most visible manifestation has been in the words and ideas that are found appropriate in political dialogue. "Fighting words" policies form a rather vague rubric against which can be applied to statements which inflame others. But it is not the attempt to create an atmosphere without racial slurs that is objectionable but the dominant cultural environment.

One quickly learns that some ideas are "in" and some ideas are "out." More recently the belief that some groups are "victims" and some groups are "oppressors." These preceding statements should in now way lead one to think I am complaining because I cannot stand and shout Nazi slogans.

It is the unchallenged premises of these ideas that are leading the American college to accept some questionable ideas. At root is an understanding of truth or

misunderstanding of truth that threatens the university.

For example, at UCSD there is a required class called Ethics and Society. This class attempts to inquire into some of the most difficult political questions: the role of women, the morality of abortion, ethics in business, and the morality of affirmative action. I came to this lower division class after having a number of upper division classes of philosophy and political theory, and I was amazed how muddled the questions were with terms that were not defined and which hampered debate.

But underlying all the difficulties of discussing these questions without a common moral vocabulary was the strictures that were put on the debate by the prevailing philosophical attitudes at the university.

Society was continually implicated in the injustices that face the individual. Egalitarian justice was a constant rule applied to society. But no answer could be found to these questions because all the questions were seen to hinge on the arbitrary constructs of our culture.

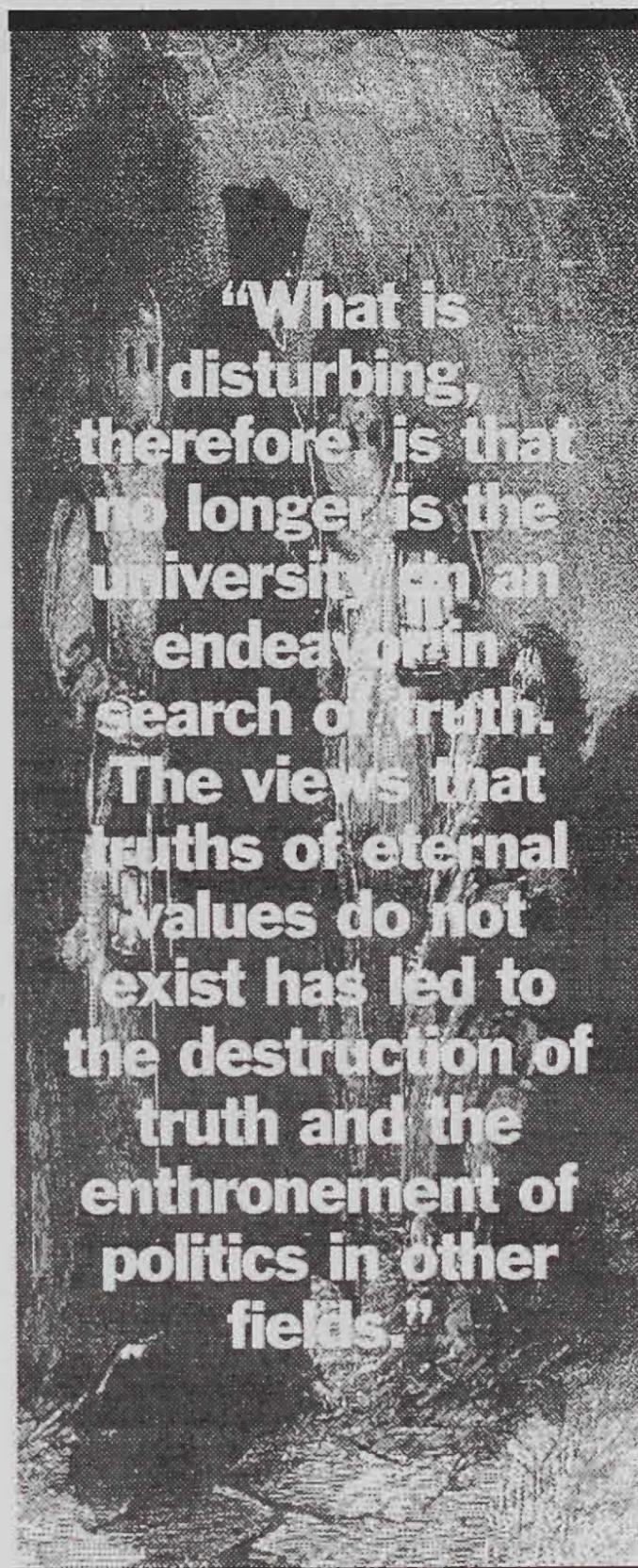
One was left in the lurch by every discussion because certain ideas were accepted a priori without discussion. That is, the idea that morality is purely arbitrary and hence no answer to political debates is possible.

What is disturbing, therefore, is that no longer is the university on an endeavor in search of truth. The views that truths of eternal values do not exist has led to the destruction of truth and the enthronement of politics in other fields.

For example, consider the views of Stanley Fish of Duke University's literature department: "Once you have subtracted from the accidents of class, race, gender and political circumstance what is it that you have left?" This is a form of nihilism on which is erected the morally acceptable views of the politically correct.

But what would lead one to jettison certain moral ideas in favor of those that are politically acceptable? What is even worse is the plurality of truth that seems to pervade the dialogues on the modern campus. It is no longer a plurality of ideas, which is normal for a democracy but a general disregard for any possibility for moral answers to be reached. The death of truth has negated the reason for these questions to be asked.

The idea which undergirds the rise of



P.C. and the many ideas and visions that are contained beneath it is essentially a relativistic one.

Nietzsche in one of the most famous passages of literature writes about the man who declares that God is dead. He delivers his speech in the marketplace with a fanatical drive to inform people about the consequences of this monumental event in the history of man. That man would find himself most at home in the modern university.

The reason to ask the questions which marked a traditional conception of the university like Newman's are predicated on the belief that there is truth to be known. Universities have increasingly moved toward research in sciences with the conviction that the truths of nature are ascertainable.

But a certain hypocrisy has gripped the

modern university where multiple answers to questions regarding the proper direction of culture and civilization are acceptable.

For this reason I believe political correctness should not be viewed as aberration but the inevitable manifestation of politics when debate in the moral realm fails. When I cannot comfortably support an idea that fits into the climate of debate because it is politically unwise or taboo I am being forced to apply political considerations to my ideas.

As soon as a moral and cultural consensus is challenged politics must move to force. On the modern university the subtle cultural ethos is challenging the once dominant liberal Western tradition.

The recent challenges to views of history, ideas of multiculturalism, Afro-centrism, are the challenges to Newman's idea of a university. University discourse is fragmented and subject to political agendas.

Political correctness is not a conspiracy but its different aspects are united by the desire to attack status quo of Western thought. What hitherto united Western thought was the atmosphere of debate of man searching for truth answers to the question of "why?" and "What is justice?"

In order for the exciting tradition to survive one must be able to appeal to truth. Abolish truth and the common ground between the great thinkers is rent asunder and the capacity for any thinker whether man or woman, black or white, to choose right and wrong is destroyed.

There is nothing outside the human experience to appeal and contradictions can appear between competing ideas and all are right. Right becomes the political group in power of institutions and all become oppressed no matter what is said.

In the Hippias Minor Socrates describes the power that truth exercises over the human spirit. Truth, like so many philosophers stated before, is a light. It bestows a moral charge on the individual. For a university to survive there must be truth or everything is chance and mere vagary of opinion.

The excitement of the university Newman described is not a physical place but point for the soul to find absolutes to guide one's life. If the ideas of liberty are to survive they must be carried on the wings of virtue.

It is indeed a heavy load but the excitement of asking what is right is perhaps what education is all about.

# Why Are You Here?

## ◆ A collegiate's guide to the examined life

By Christopher Oleson

Approximately twenty-four centuries ago a robust Athenian named Socrates stood trial for disturbing the status quo. His alleged crime? Corrupting the minds of the youth and believing in deities of his own invention. These charges, however, only served to mask the prosecutors' true motives.

You see, Socrates had an incorrigible habit of interrogating fellow citizens who claimed to possess knowledge or wisdom which he himself lacked. His relentless inquiries, fueled by his passion for truth, brought him great unpopularity as he exposed

moral and rational consciousness and to voluntarily shrink ourselves into a form of life which is less than human.

It is one of the many tragedies of human history that Athens succeeded in committing her great sin against philosophy. In 399 B.C. Socrates willingly drank a lethal dose of hemlock at the behest of the Athenian authorities.

Socrates' immortal spirit, however, lived on. It remained in the minds and hearts of his followers and laid a solid foundation for all future western philosophical thought. In fact, it would not be missing the mark to say

that the Socratic ideal of devotion to the truth is one of the principle causes for the birth of the modern university.

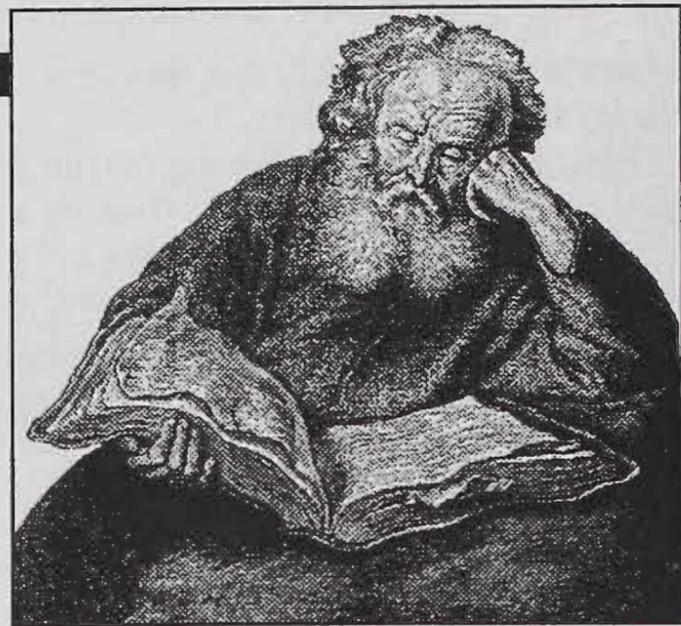
You will be thankful to find out that there is a point to these rather lengthy introductory remarks. My intention is to remind us all of the principles that lie at the very root of the modern university. Truth, virtue, and human

excellence were once thought to be noblest ends of human endeavor. The earliest students of higher learning had no thoughts of six digit salaries or luxury sedans.

In the ancient and medieval world, an education was an opportunity for a glimpse at reality, and, more importantly, a chance to explore the nature of virtue. Plato once said, "If you ask what is the good of education, the answer is easy - that education makes men good, and that good men act nobly."

Now the really hard part comes. Ask yourself honestly, "Why am I here at this university? For what purpose did I come to college?"

If you are now a freshman, the answer to this question is particularly pressing as it will shape your thought and behavior for at least the next four years, and in reality, for the rest of your life.



If the answers you came up with yielded images of wild parties, kegs of beer, one night stands, or perhaps large future paychecks, then this article may not be for you.

If, on the other hand, your answer was "to excel in a field of study", "to grow as a human being", or "to find out who I am", then this article may be quite helpful. For my aim is to share some ideas that will aid serious college students in their search for truth.

So where does one begin a collegiate's guide to the "Examined Life"? I believe there is no better place than with each student individually. Your personal attitude towards your role as a student will make all the difference in the world.

In my three years at college I have noticed that there are basically two types of students, the "passive" and the "active." The passive student is by far in the majority. True to form, his attitude toward his academic pursuits is passive. His reading assignments and term papers only get in the way of time better spent out partying, at the beach, or just hanging out.

Admittedly, there is a place for all such activities, but the passive student has not yet learned the intrinsic value of knowledge, or what a precious gift his education really is. He is here for a good time, for a door-opening diploma, or perhaps because he is merely expected to by his parents.

These, however, are not very noble reasons. It is unfortunately common for a "passive" student to graduate from this university without ever really having challenged himself to really think or without ever having pondered the deeper questions posed by human existence.

The active student, of the other hand, realizes that ideas have consequences, that human thought has tremendous impact on the shaping of our lives. The active student

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**"In my three years at college I have noticed that there are basically two types of students, the 'passive' and the 'active.' The passive student is by far in the majority. True to form, his attitude toward his academic pursuits is passive."**

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the incoherence of his neighbors' beliefs. Life in Athens would be much more peaceful if this gadfly were out of the picture.

What was Socrates' defence for such behavior? It was rather simple: "The unexamined life is not worth living." Socrates was convinced that to live one's life without ever having pondered the deeper questions posed by our enigmatic existence was a crime against one's humanity.

This was the crime of Socrates' accusers, men who put stability and comfort above truth, men who suppressed thoughtful reflection and chose rather to lead a shallow and cartoonish existence.

To casually eschew such questions as "Does God exist?", "Is there an objective meaning to human existence?", or "What is the nature of justice, virtue, and goodness?" would be to ignore the fact that we have a

is a questioner.

Have you ever wondered what justice really is? Do you know what makes something good or evil? Is it merely human custom or does there exist some transcendent moral order to which we are all subject? Do you realize the consequences of adopting either point of view?

If any of these questions evoke even a spark of curiosity in you, then you have the makings of not only a fine student of truth, but also of a human being capable of contributing something significant to the human experience.

Such curiosity is why you should be here at college. Armed with an articulate and inquiring mind and conscious of the need to strive for the honest truth, you will go a long way in developing a real depth of humanity while here at college. There are, however, some pitfalls which lie in your way.

For this reason, a discerning attitude is absolutely necessary when in the classroom. To think that your professors are always a depository of truth is not only foolishly naive but downright dangerous. Your professors may have more schooling and more knowledge than you, but many of them are inexcusably biased and, more often than you think, uninformed.

It is one of the dismal hallmarks of American academia that many professors today are the temple slaves of some particular "-ism" which they have chosen to deify: Marxism, deconstructionism, post-modernism, pluralism, feminism, multiculturalism, (insert your racial heritage here)-centrism, and the list goes on and on. Imagine any conceivable way of viewing reality and there is an -ism out there to match it.

The only problem with this ocean of "-isms" is that they are almost all in contradiction with one another in at least some respect.

Do not be surprised if your anthropology professor teaches you something completely contradictory to what you learned the day before in your sociology class, which, in turn, is again contradicted by your humanities instructor the following week.

You see, we no longer attend a University but a Multi-versity. Our institutions of higher education no longer possess any principle of coherence which brings unity to the diversity of academic disciplines.

Due to the tidal wave of ideologies,

knowledge, or sometimes, what professors propound as knowledge, can become skewed in a quagmire of jumbled ideas and opinions. Truth, however, is coherent and unified.

And, as opposed to the prevailing desire for everyone's thoughts and ideas to be equally acceptable, truth is intolerably narrow minded and unmercifully insensitive. It doesn't care what color your skin is, how much money you make, or what gender you are. It stands its ground regardless of any attempts at distortion from the right or the left.

Winston Churchill once wrote:

*Truth is incontrovertible.*

*Panic may resent it,*

*Ignorance may deride it,*

*Malice may distort it,*

*But there it is.*

This is good news to those who are interested in discovering truth, as I hope we all are. Aristotle began his *Metaphysics* by stating, "All men by nature desire to know." If this is true then everyone, regardless of ideology, should have something in common: a desire to understand reality. This mutual common ground should lead to fruitful dialogue which is what the university environment was originally created for.

I hope that is why you are here, but not all who are in college share this same ideal. The passive student comes to mind. More often than I'd like to think, this sort of student

subscribes to the philosophy of hedonism, the view that ultimate fulfillment lies in stimulating as many nerve endings as one can before one becomes plant fertilizer.

These people, unfortunately, are not too interested in exploring the perennial questions facing humanity or in dealing with the realities of the human condition. Regarding this kind of person, Bertrand Russell put it best when he said, "People would rather die than think. And they do."

My genuine hope is that you will not take these words as a scornful sneer from an ivory tower but as an earnest plea from a sincere student, that you will take a keen and reflective interest in the unending drama known as the human experience, and that you will pause often and ask the eternal question: "Why?"

Take your education seriously and realize the rare and wonderful opportunity you have while here at college. Zealously pursue the *True* and the *Good*.

Learn as much as you can about as many things as you can. Search for answers to the perennial questions about God, nature, morality, and freedom.

Find a balance in your life with respect to work, study, and play, and do not shrivel your humanity by refusing to reflect on the beauty and mystery of human existence.

Life is too grand a thing not to ponder it.  
—Christopher Oleson is a Junior at UCSD

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## Who's to Judge? Who, Indeed...

By Brandon Crocker

The wealth generated by free enterprise has allowed Americans leisure and material pleasures unparalleled in history. Even more dramatic of a success, however, has been that scored by liberals and civil libertarians over the past 30 years in freeing us from the restraints to "self-fulfillment" posed not by economics but by social traditions.

Americans are now well-versed in the "value free" ideology of modern liberalism. We are reminded in film and press that the real danger to America is posed by Jerry Falwell, the Religious Right, and those who would try to impose *their* morality on the rest of us. Stock phrases of "You can't legislate morality," and "Who's to judge?" are seen by many as the ultimate, irrefutable argument. Personal values are "in," Eternal values are "out."

No universal standards of judgement, no truths, are allowed to exist that may compromise the individual's right to self-fulfillment. So now we have churches debating whether they should junk the teachings of their faiths in order to conform to the new value free religion by ordaining homosexuals and by removing adultery from the list of sins.

The popular culture pounds us constantly with the message that sex is a consumer item to be acquired and enjoyed, and that casual sexual relationships are no big deal. Abortion advocates carry the day using arguments based not on when life begins, but on "privacy," "quality of life," and "personal choice."

The problem with this elevation of self-fulfillment and "personal values" is that it  
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necessarily weakens the power of public moral suasion to keep destructive behavior in check.

As a result, unrestrained by guilt or public disdain, individuals who otherwise would suppress desires for traditionally unacceptable avenues to personal fulfillment, now accede to those desires—often with detrimental consequences to both the individual and society. There is right and wrong—not just “lifestyle choices”—and to deny this simple truth leads to a disintegrating society.

With the devaluation of moral codes and the focus on self-fulfillment, it is easy to understand how Americans were so slow to condemn “casual” drug use until its consequences became so catastrophically self-evident. Perhaps with the boom in teenage pregnancy, venereal disease (AIDS being only the most deadly), broken families, and drug abuse and related crimes, Americans will wake up to the fact that those restraining, traditional social mores were of some value after all.

—Brandon Crocker is the CR's  
*Imperator Emeritus*

existence of a God and any form of inherent human rights.

This is one reason why the brutality in the name of communism has been committed by many communist leaders. The softer forms of socialism recognize only one “natural right” (of unknown origin): the right of each person to be absolutely equal in condition. This is in direct contrast to Lockian liberalism, which allows for inevitable differences in the abilities of people and the outcome of their activities.

That the denial of Lockian natural rights allows the growth towards socialism seems clear, but what causes the denial of natural rights may not be.

The strength of atheism in the Western powers, though not the only factor, certainly is a very important part of the waning of Lockean liberal theory, and thus the increasing dominance of socialism. Atheism, which denies the existence of a God who bestows inherent rights on humans, requires a different theory.

Either each person is naturally equal because of a common lack of meaningful origin, resulting in socialism, or no person has any natural rights, which paves the way for tyranny.

This is not to say that societies based on a belief in God are not ever tyrannical. History has shown many examples of tyranny in the name of God.

Early Puritan colonies were often guilty of religious intolerance. The Church of medieval Europe was oppressive and full of corruption, and Muslim societies, who until recently did not separate church and state, never have been known for good human rights records. But these societies were not based on a theory of inherent human rights; they were attempts at theocracy.

America, however, is a country founded on the theory of Lockian natural rights. Take, for instance, the words in the Declaration of Independence: “...that they (men) are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these, are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Denying these rights could not only lead to socialism, as said above, but could also undermine the foundations of the country.

What effect this could have is unknown. It could go entirely unnoticed, or it could lay the foundations for despotism. It would probably be better to not have to find out.

# Locke's Victory

◆ The right to life, liberty and property will always prevail over the unrealistic and tyrannical quest for egalitarianism

By Sherry Lowrance

Human rights have historically been safer in societies based in the natural rights of man. America, for example, was founded on Lockean natural rights theory, and though far from perfect on human rights, has done better than other societies.

Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was freer and more just than the feudal societies that Lockian liberalism supplanted.

Certainly when we look at Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union of the past, which did not recognize human rights at all, it is obvious that liberal societies at the worst do not compare to the Stalinist disregard for human rights and life.

Although we are currently witnessing the apparent triumph of natural rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, up until recently the trend in most of the world was towards communism and military dictatorships. And in spite of the communist world's apparent rejection of socialism, much of the Western world is still moving in that direction.

One of the main reasons for this is the rejection of the natural rights theory as explained by John Locke. He put forth the idea that man was created by God, and given



reason and the ability to exercise it. Therefore each man, regardless of rank, has rights inherent to being a human (the right to “life, liberty and property”) given to him by God.

This theory arose against the existing feudal system, in which man was inherently unequal, but still stands in contrast to socialism, in which each man is forced to be equal.

Socialism appears to have a tacit admission of some form of natural rights, although most socialistic theories either deny or do not acknowledge the existence of a God as the source of these rights.

Communism, probably the most extreme form of socialism, outright denies the

# The Morality of Work

◆ When the consciousness of man was created, a renegade god sprang forth with the need to justify man's existence

By Shaun R. Carpenter

The judgement of modern man on the morality of work has now reached the antipode of that expressed in his earliest beginnings.

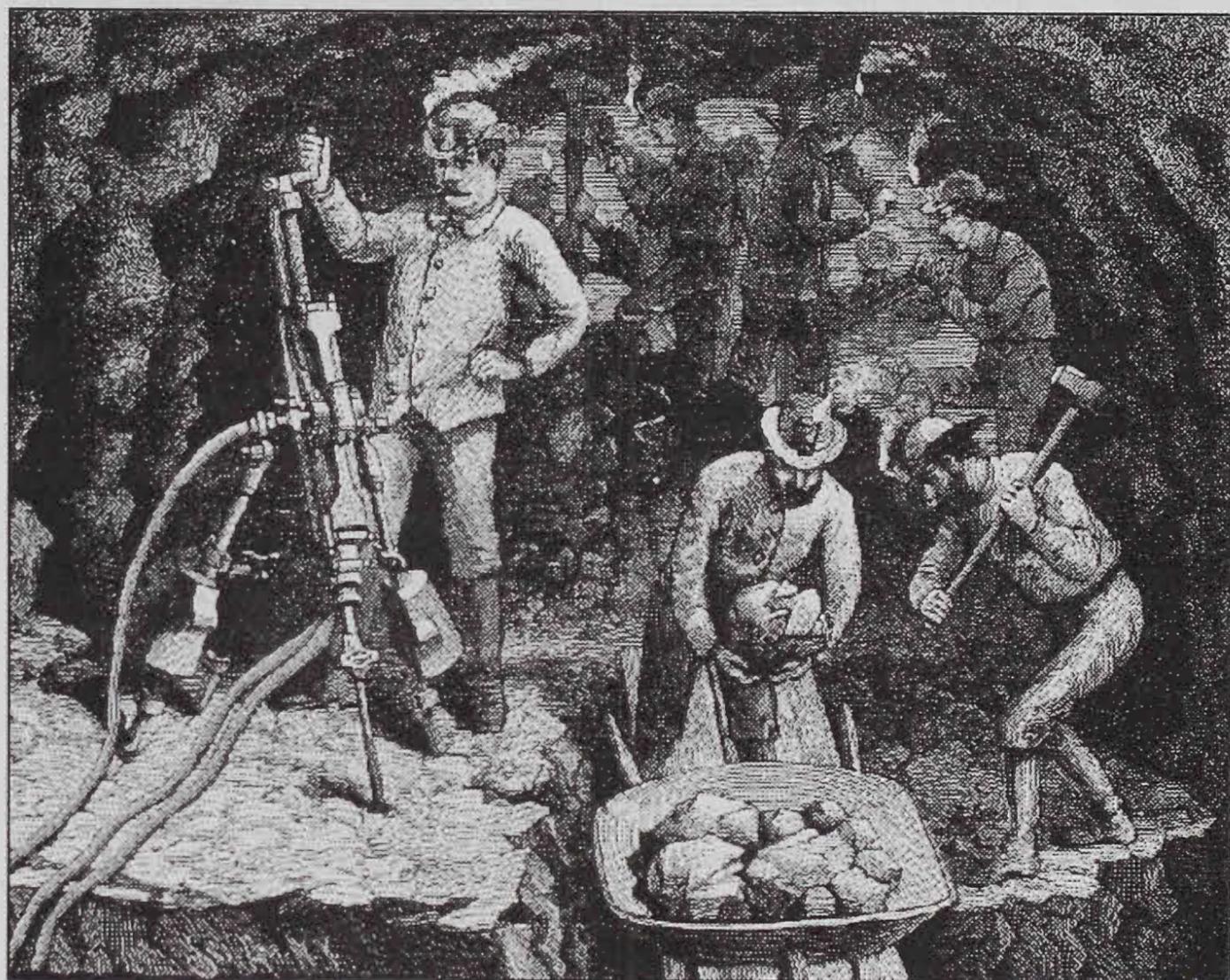
To the Bronze Age aristoi of Homer, manual labor was a vulgar form of occupation. In Hades, the ghost of Achilles passionately yearns to live once more, even if he must be as one of the lowest class of mortals; not the slave, but the craftsman for hire who must use his mental powers and physical skill to earn a living instead of more noble pursuits. Imagine Achilles incarnated as a blacksmith, a carpenter, or hundreds of years later—a stonecutter.

When Socrates rejected the work of his quarry for the enlightenment of thought he engraved a seemingly eternal truth into the tablets of history: "knowledge is virtue". Physical work became subordinate to mental work when it did not contribute to furthering man's knowledge.

From this point charge philosophy exploded onto the world, heralded as the mother and queen of all other arts and sciences.

The Industrial Age, epitomized by modern American culture, is in spirit completely opposed to Socrates' maxim. The hard work of colonists and immigrants translated into a philosophy of usefulness embodied in Franklin's inventions. Thought became channeled to serve the purposes of work, which in turn ensured an "improved" existence.

Consequently, the institutions of work now reign as the bloody fingered tyrant of man and Communism, Socialism, and Capitalism form its raw, irritating blisters. The most respected people become the doctors, lawyers, and executives, all of whom



use their mental powers to earn a living instead of to search for higher truth.

The homeless philosopher is branded a worthless "hippy" who needs to "get a job" if he really wants to find what truth is. Now, "work is virtue," and thus, America has produced no philosophers but multitudes of "artists" who earn their living alongside everyone else.

But let us put aside this dry style and disregard the insignificant "morality" of work. Nature requires each organism to live and that is all. Existence and the perpetuation thereof is her only concern.

During the competition for this solitary prize, mechanisms of strategy were employed enabling various organisms to exist at a "higher" level.

Seeing ourselves as the highest, we of course utilize a neurocentric criteria as the measure. Out of an organic development of consciousness, the embryonic intellect was born for the sole purpose of serving the body.

Thus, many creatures "lower" than man

have and use intellect, albeit rudimentary, to perpetuate the existence of their species. Ants build anthills; birds build nests; and man builds cities. Thus, all products of the intellect are natural, even such "eyesores" as slums and litter.

Yet when the consciousness of man was created, a renegade god sprang forth fully formed as if out of the head of Zeus himself. This renegade, whom we all must serve, is the frenzied, sorrowful, human need to justify existence. No other organism confronts this dilemma; it is a purely human condition.

As a separate entity, for which I will borrow the term "primordial pain," it is responsible for the systems and institutions that now dominate the human will; the will to create ever new systems to meet the needs of a growing mind.

Each institution must satisfy the intellect and therefore is forced to agree with its respective counterpart in the system, i.e., new ideals of science induce fundamental

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changes in religion.

This new type of work, the creating and destroying of belief systems, becomes the task of the philosophers, elite men who "forsake the body" for higher pursuits. The philosopher's work is a necessity for life of the same importance as the work of the farmer.

Oh yes, I can hear it too, "Man can not live on bread alone." I contend, though, that the relationship of the needs of body and soul is inversely proportional such that when the need for physical survival is high, higher ideals will be few and simple.

The spread of a religion in its early days is usually a simple placebo for the hard labor and disease of the age. And where death and poverty is rampant today, simple religion may be found in abundance.

In the modern "civilized" world, however, *sovereign* religion has all but become extinct in the wake of higher consciousness. The idle mind needs a more complex interaction of artistic ideals in order to fill the void.

Now religion gives up its sovereignty and becomes one of the many parts of a healthy life-diet. We come to worship a collection of "ologies" and "isms," with their morsels of science, art, music, philosophy, and religion.

But how does this apply to our subject of work? The reader is sure to ask this question because they ask it of all higher minds. They want to know the usefulness of convoluted thought for practical living. "You think about life instead of just living it," they say.

And they are right.

Whatever heights the mind of man may attain will not change our circumstance in the universe.

But right also is the philosopher who says to the masses, "Rise above your animal existence: Search for the truth!," because without the search for and hope of actually finding truth, man's need for the justification of himself will grow unmanageably large causing the desolation of the soul which is prevalent today.

Thus, there is a symbiotic relationship between the philosopher and the masses; just as, in order to breathe, the shark must constantly swim through the depths with jaws agape while miniature fish dart in between his jagged teeth, nibbling at small morsels of flesh lodged there during the last meal, preparing the needle-sharp rows for the next attack, thus will the masses extract

from a philosopher singular ideas which feeds millions until the next philosopher smells blood in the water and attacks again.

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**"Oh yes, I can hear it too, 'Man can not live on bread alone.' I contend, though, that the relationship of the needs of body and soul is inversely proportional such that when the need for physical survival is high, higher ideals will be few and simple."**

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The dilemma for the *thinking* college student preparing to enter the working world comes down to an excruciating balance between life as one of the "masses" and as the "philosopher."

Working nine to five in a dead end job or chasing after success are the destinies of many. Most of your weekend will be spent

having fun, or basically recuperating just enough to start the next forty hour week.

Then you get married and have a family and getting away from it all becomes a priority. You will become organized and develop an efficient schedule.

The question of "man's need to justify his own existence" will seem insignificant in the midst of the rush of life. You will unknowingly buy into the stock salvation of the day, junk bonds made up of some philosopher's hard-earned thought that has trickled down through the ages into the institutions of your time. But ignorance feels wonderful, you know.

If this future horrifies you, though, then maybe the path of the philosopher is the one you should take. Search after truth at all costs. Covet your time above all else. Think. Read. Become a commanding voice in the realm of scholarship and ideals. Develop systems and imperatives which render life comprehensible. Discover laws of truth by which to live. Find a way to justify man's existence and then become a martyr for your new ideal.

And when you've come to the end of your life, realize that you have only satisfied a simple need—to understand, and that is all.

—Shaun Carpenter is a Junior at U.C. Berkeley

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## Real Diversity in the University

By David Bernstein

"Diversity" is the new shibboleth of the self-appointed campus race monitors. They demand "diversity" of almost every kind—race, gender, sexual orientation, even physical ability. What these folks won't countenance, however, is diverse *opinions*.

As a black college student at the University of Maryland I learned this truth the hard way. As a black conservative, I was ostracized by the very people who claimed to value difference because I was, well, different. They didn't mind that I was black, of course, but College Park's politically correct student leadership seemed to prefer ideological lockstep within their "diverse" student body.

Fortunately, I was never subjected to the kind of overt intolerance that many black conservatives endure, but there was always a palpable disdain for me and my views among other minority students. One black



sophomore, for example, explained to me that "white people are puttin' those ideas in your head. Another of my peers wrote in the student newspaper that black conservatives must be "neutralized" (whatever that means). Still another person once complained, "you

just don't understand. It came as no surprise, then and when the president of Maryland's Black Student Union refused to work with me and the other black College Republican when we wanted to bring conservative black speakers to campus.

Like many black college students, I found the student leadership's attempts to insulate me from diverse opinions condescending and antithetical to the idea of a university education. Black collegians should learn to appreciate the rich heritage of intellectual debate and dissent that has defined the black American experience.

Men like W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., did not share a single set of ideas. Each came to this own conclusions through study and honest reflection. If any of us hope to understand the "black thing" referred to by those popular T-shirts, we must try a little study and reflection of our own.

In 1905, W.E.B. Du Bois scolded a young black girl when he explained that, "there are, in the U.S. today, tens of thousands of colored girls who would be happy beyond measure to have the chance of educating themselves that you are neglecting. He further warned her that, "ignorance is a cure for nothing... every time a colored person neglects an opportunity, it makes it more difficult for others of the race to get such an opportunity. Do you want to cut off the chances of the boys and girls of tomorrow?"

The campus diversity mongers should ponder Du Bois' words. Each time we refuse to consider diverse opinions, we are "neglecting an opportunity" to learn. Each time a minority student leader demands "solidarity" from his peers he makes it more difficult for others of the race to get such an opportunity. And ignoring or extinguishing "western culture", in the curriculum is truly a cure for nothing.

Perhaps more important, this desire for intellectual unanimity and separation threatens to undermine more than 25 years of civil rights gains. Black Americans are closer than ever to being treated by white society simply as individuals, but now many minorities themselves assert that race is the defining characteristic of every person.

How quickly we forget that this was the very attitude that made slavery possible, that has kept apartheid alive in South Africa, and that delivered Jews into the Holocaust.

I, for one, would rather the average American did not believe that all blacks act a particular way because they are black.

Similarly, I would rather not toss aside many of the great works of science, philosophy, and literature just because their authors were white.

Black collegians can understand and appreciate James Madison, John Milton, and Charles Darwin—just to mention a few examples—as well as any white student. To suggest otherwise is racism in its pristine form.

My college experience has not left me as discouraged as it might have because I believe there has been a quiet reawakening of independence among most young minorities.

During the past year I have met several other young college graduates who agree that we need more genuine diversity-diversity of thought.

Together we have begun a magazine, appropriately entitled *Diversity*, which will explore issues of race and culture free from pressures to conform to the new, self-imposed stereotype. I hope this modest effort will spark other young minorities to break free from the orthodoxy as well.

—David Bernstein is the editor of *Diversity* magazine.

Subscriptions to *Diversity* are available free of charge to all college students, professors, and administrators by calling (800) 225-2862.

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## Thurgood Marshall: Good Riddance

By Brandon Crocker

If America is lucky, Thurgood Marshall's retirement from the Supreme Court *will* mark the end of an era. Marshall promoted the corrupt judicial philosophy exemplified by former Chief Justice Earl Warren.

A professor of law from Berkeley recently gave a commencement address at UCSD's Warren College praising Earl Warren for using not the Constitution, but *his own personal values* to judge issues coming before the Court.

Marshall, who once called the Constitution an instrument of oppression, certainly had no problem following that example. This philosophy of constitutional government has dominated places like Berkeley and Harvard for years, but it is a far cry from what James Madison and the other framers of the Constitution had in mind.

The purpose of the Supreme Court is not to judge the efficacy or wisdom of public policies, but only their constitutionality. A Justice's personal opinion should have no bearing on the judgement of constitutional issues. If it does, that Justice is going beyond his constitutional authority and usurping power from elected legislators and the people.

A Justice acting on personal political, moral, or other beliefs, instead of on the language and intent of the Constitution is placing himself above the law.

In the dark last days of the Roman Republic, Cicero poignantly stated that "We

are all subject to the law in order that we may all be free." To allow exceptions is to invite tyranny.

Yet many liberals, accustomed to a liberal activist Supreme Court enshrining their liberal values and policy goals as "constitutional rights" see more danger in Supreme Court Justices who follow the Constitution than in those who are willing to manipulate it for political ends—witness the shameful confirmation hearings of Robert Bork. If the integrity of constitutional government is to be preserved, Supreme Court Justices must bind themselves to following faithfully the Constitution, (a philosophy called "judicial restraint") and reject the temptation to judge on personal moral or political grounds — be they liberal or conservative.

If the Constitution is allowed to be undone by anything less than the rigorous process of amendment, and if we condone its alteration by the personal whims of Supreme Court Justices, we weaken all of the Constitution's safeguards against tyrannical government.

This is what we should keep in mind when judging Clarence Thomas' suitability as a Supreme Court Justice—and in judging the quality of U.S. Senators who would demand that a Supreme Court nominee pledge his support to certain policy positions rather than to the Constitution.

—Brandon Crocker is the CR's *Imperator Emeritus*

# Losing the Culture War

By D. Christopher Menche

Culture quiz: France, China, Vietnam, Mexico, America.

Pick the odd man out.

If you guessed "America," you are correct. The new philosophy of multiculturalism claims that, unlike the others, America has no native culture. Stripped of ideological considerations, however, the facts about the American people are inescapable. There is an American culture which should be cherished by the universities and supported by the government.

I am not referring to the fact that we all eat hot dogs, hamburgers and pizza, turkey for Thanksgiving, go to baseball games, watch countless hours of TV, or explode fireworks on the Fourth of July. These things are superficial; they are not the point at all.

The American culture is not white or black. It is the creation of all the races and ethnic groups who have come here. Multiculturalists who identify "American

culture" with the dominant white race only, forget that the cruelties of ages past were shared experiences.

Slavery made slave-owners of whites and slaves of blacks, two classes of Americans who grew up side by side as the nation matured. Regardless of color or ethnicity, Americans share customs, habits, history, and a *Weltanschauung* that is distinctly American and *sui generis*. If it remains a dream for all Americans to consider each other brothers and sisters, it is still true that we *are*.

The multiculturalist view is purely a domestic invention. Foreigners, whose objectivity is not skewed by political considerations, take the idea of an American culture for granted. Luigi Barzini, in his last book discussing the possibilities for European unification, finds the idea of the United States as a cultural *tabula rasa* overly romantic. "Europeans who have been to the United States, met Americans in Europe, or consulted an

encyclopedia or an almanac are certain it is a nation, a great nation, inhabited by people as typically what they are as the inhabitants of any other nation ( British, Swedes, Hungarians, Chinese, Iranians, or Kurds ), recognizable by their language, clothes, habits, tastes, and the food they eat."

Why is it that a European can make such an obvious statement while an American making the same claim would be branded a racist? Could it be that Europeans, with their sense of history, can see more plainly what politically-minded American theorists in their eternal present choose to ignore?

Most Americans speak only one language, and two wide oceans give this continent an island mentality, as if the United States were the whole world, if not the universe. There is a tendency therefore to magnify the differences between Americans all out of proportion to their actual size. In some ways the

remarkable *uniformity* of American culture renders it invisible to us.

American individualism is also responsible for this attitude. In our zeal for uniqueness, we forget what we hold in common. Individualism is itself an American cultural trait.

Foreigners describe Americans as the most "extravagantly individualistic" people in all the world, whose odd habit is to want to believe that they are all so different.

It is the history of the United States, however, distorted by multiculturalist myopia, which is often presented as evidence of American disunity. Mistakenly, multiculturalists present their "salad bowl" image of the American population.

Although it is true that all Americans have foreign roots, the truth is that these have meaning for only a small handful of Americans.

Of course, there are outsiders who live in the United States. An older Vietnamese man once talked to me about how important the Vietnamese community was to him, because through his language and religion he kept in contact with *his country*. He did not mean the United States, but Vietnam.

This phenomenon is not limited to non-white groups. Even the English, the Scottish, and the Irish, who have a long history in the United States, have close-knit communities of new immigrants, people for whom "my country" is a land across the sea.

Of course, every American has a cultural heritage that his immigrant forefathers brought to the proverbial melting pot. No matter how long ago it was, most Americans recall with pride that their ancestors did not spontaneously generate here. Also, little Italies and Chinatowns exist in the middle of perfectly American cities, anomalies clinging to foreign cultural identities.

However, the links to other countries are sentimental, not real. I describe myself as a mixture of German, Austrian, Polish (Jewish and Catholic), French, English, and Scottish, but this is for the benefit of genealogists. Echoes of these foreign cultures are not part of my life.

The Germany, Poland, and Austria I hark back to are memories my great-grandfathers had of places which no longer exist. To bludgeon a metaphor beyond all hope of redemption, my salad leaf, like those of most Americans, has been so cross-pollinated and has adapted so much to the

local soil that it is a new species entirely.

Multiculturalists nonetheless assert that I am European. The accusation is false. Unlike my friend who thought of his country as Vietnam, I cannot claim "Europe" as my country. Indeed, any American who has been to Europe is struck by how very different it is from North America.

Even "Mother England" is a different culture with different customs and values. We are not Englishmen. We are the luckless rootless castaways from another continent,

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**"It is the history of the United States, however, distorted by multiculturalist myopia, which is often presented as evidence of American disunity. Mistakenly, multiculturalists present their 'salad bowl' image of the American population."**

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who began arriving with Jamestown settlers in 1608 — nearly four centuries ago — separated by the better part of three centuries from Europe's history, and on our own since before the French Revolution. We are homeless outside this Republic.

So we call ourselves Americans. The call was put out to all the world that we welcome anyone to join us and call themselves Americans.

Between 1820 and 1990 over fifty million immigrants arrived. Within a generation or two these immigrants felt themselves to be Americans, and came to regard the land they lived in and its history and values as their own. They assimilated.

That is the proper way to read American history.

The nobler picture is not entirely beautiful, of course. White Americans inherited the custom of slavery from Europe and, as this fertile soil made everything grow, so did that cruel system. Prejudice has

marred the country's history.

In fact, from "No Irish Need Apply" to "Kill the heathen Chinese," it seems no ethnic group has been spared the national epidemic of racism. Nonetheless, the nation has grown and matured. The fellowship of all Americans has won out over racism in most areas.

Today, however, under the banner of cultural diversity, this practice of assimilation has been challenged and discredited. They have muddied the noble aim of cultural diversity programs, that is, to make traditionally very ethnocentric

Americans wake up and appreciate that the rest of the world has much to offer and that Americans are not superior because they have bigger cars. Today, Coretta Scott King proclaims at UCSD that there is no such thing as an American culture, and that all who disagree with her are racists.

My reaction is swift and angry. Who am I then? What did prior immigrants assimilate to and add to? Are we being insulted as cultureless barbarians? (This would not be the first time.) So what are we, as a people? To quote the Frenchman Crèvecoeur in 1782, "What then is this American, this new man?"

It is important to realize that American culture is emphatically not what multiculturalists call *white* American culture. Extremists claim that whites and blacks have two distinct, irreconcilable cultures. This is myopia at work again. Black culture shares so much in common with the rest of American culture, that these extremists have had their hands full trying to create differences.

The African revival of the 1960's was the invention of separatist anti-white professors digging up the pre-colonial history of Africa and claiming it as "Afro-American" by virtue of race connection. African dress, African names, and the new Islamic movement are affectations.

African culture is probably as foreign to most black Americans as it is to white Americans. In fact, it is a raging insult and injustice to black Americans to disinherit them thus. Blacks are Americans; they are no more Africans than whites are Europeans.

Let us examine the American culture.

Our speech is remarkably uniform. Non-Americans have difficulty distinguishing between any but the most extreme varieties

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of regional dialect in the U.S. England, is slightly smaller than Oregon, yet possesses more diversity in accent than our continent.

Our religion is distinctly American, despite the myriad of sects. American Protestant churches are not hierarchical state-supported institutions as are most European churches. American churches vote for their interpretation of the Bible at large conventions, often in hotel convention rooms, in a way that the Archbishop of Canterbury would never understand. There is even a new denomination which calls itself (laughably) "non-denominational Christian," and practices this broad American Protestantism outright.

Even American Catholics are identifiably American. Pope John Paul II has been visibly rattled by the stream of proposals coming to him from Americans about abortion, celibacy, and contraception. American Catholics want to debate church policy, and would probably support direct election of the next pope, complete with nominating



office and a "vice-pope," because Americans are psychologically incapable of dealing with special elections.

This is not the obedience to the Authority of the Church that God's representative on Earth is accustomed to. Most European countries have Catholic political parties pushing the Pope's political agenda, but American Catholics tend to obey Washington first, Rome second.

American Jews, too, with their Reform,

Conservative and Orthodox branches, gave splintered like their Christian counterparts into numerous sects, rejecting authority as is so typical of Americans, in favor of a sort of "choose your own religion."

Music, too, is more shared by Americans than divided between them. Jazz clubs exist in every major city, probably even in Minneapolis, and it is not uncommon for "urban hicks" in their monster trucks to cruise around town with rap music blaring from their speakers. The largest country and western bar (by its own billing) is in Southern California.

Nevertheless, proponents of multiculturalism overlook these facts because they do not fit in with the "salad bowl" theory of America. Multiculturalist dogma insists that "American" is not a cultural identity.

The reason for this misperception is painfully clear. America, unlike other nations, chooses not to look at blood before granting citizenship. In its generosity, America allows any foreigner to live here five years and call himself an American, and rather than responding with gratitude, some conclude that the title *American* is to be valued cheaply.

Membership in American society is not the privilege of one ethnic group, and is not to be had for the price of a citizenship application. It is, uniquely in the world, an effort of will, and embracing of the values and ideas that have flourished here for more than three centuries.

Every nation needs a homeland. The United States is the homeland of American culture and deserves to be treated as such. I proclaim that America has just as much right to be a nation as France, China, or Mexico. We have earned it.

The United States of America should be proud of the cultural heritage that is unique to these United States and that the vast majority of its citizens claim as theirs, and the government should respect, encourage, and cherish this American heritage, and it should be taught in the schools and universities as the American culture.

Only then will cultural diversity be a positive force awakening American students to realizing that, as Americans, we live in a world full of diverse cultures, and when we take our place alongside the great giants of Europe and Asia and Africa, we should humbly step into the world.

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# Losing Our Religion?

◆ The separation of Church and State is an issue which has plagued America since its founding. How high should the barrier be? Can the government and religion co-exist?

By Maximillian Kilgore

In his famous "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia," Thomas Jefferson wrote that: "Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested his supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; ...that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry..."

Jefferson's ideas in the "Bill for Religious Freedom," and his unyielding dedication to freedom of thought, ultimately evolved into the religious "establishment" clause of the First Amendment, which states: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The words, like those used in the freedom of speech clause, are explicit enough. But, like the freedom of speech, there always seem to be exceptions to the rule.

The United States is a country founded on religion. References to God abound in our most sacred civil documents and institutions. We pledge allegiance to the flag, "...and to the Republic, for which it stands, one Nation under God." The Declaration of Independence proclaims: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are *endowed by their Creator* with certain unalienable rights..." Every piece of United States currency bears the phrase "In God we Trust." There are countless other examples.

It should be quite clear, then, that the purpose of the Establishment clause in the First Amendment was not to eradicate

religion in American society, as some contemporary critics would suggest, but to allow for its free exercise and to prevent one particular religious faction from dominating the others — or, in other words, to ensure that "our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions."

Mainstream Americans are — for the most part — a religious people. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that in this day and age, government has its hand in virtually every aspect of our society to some extent, especially in this day and age. Therefore, Government inescapably finds its fingers soiled by religion to a degree. But there is a growing popular sentiment that perhaps religion has no place in America whatsoever.

The religious tradition of America is slipping. It would appear as if some factions in this country would like to see the government not only separate itself from religion altogether, but take a hostile stance toward it as well.

The question we face here is whether or not minimal government affiliation with religion necessarily indicates some sort of respect for its establishment or somehow hinders its free exercise. The Supreme Court has, from time to time, offered us a reasonably clear — but by know means unanimous — answer.

Justice Hugo Black wrote in his dissent in *Zorach v. Clauson*: "It is only by wholly isolating the state from the religious sphere and compelling it to be completely neutral, that the freedom of each and every denomination and all non-believers can be maintained." But in matters so important as



religion, neutrality toward it in some cases could actually amount to its repression.

On several occasions, the Supreme Court has found it necessary to rule against the government in certain matters of religion because state interference amounted to a certain degree of religious persecution. For example, the Court has held that the government cannot force an individual to choose between his or her religion and their livelihood (*Sherbert v. Verner*), nor can state-funded universities prevent religious groups from using university facilities simply because such groups advocate a religious ideology and engage in worship ceremonies (*Widmar v. Vincent*).

But a vast majority of the arguments for a "high and impregnable" wall between church and state are based on the ludicrously false assumption that the state's stance in religion should maintain a sort of "adversarial neutrality."

I disagree.

The Supreme Court should allow for the states to reasonably accommodate religion, so long as the state does not favor any one particular religious faction, or fund religious institutions. Nor should the state be allowed to condemn any particular religious ideology. The First Amendment clearly prohibits such state action, but remains flexible enough to allow pragmatic accommodation.

The Court takes its most reasonable stance on religion in the aforementioned *Zorach v. Clauson*. In that case, the Court held that New York City's system of releasing students from its public schools for a period during the

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

day to receive religious training was not unconstitutional under the First Amendment. In delivering the opinion for the Court, Justice William O. Douglas wrote: "[W]e find no constitutional requirement which makes it necessary for government to be hostile to religion and to throw its weight against efforts to widen the effective scope of religious influence."

In *Zorach*, the New York Public School District was merely accommodating its schedule for outside religious instruction, much as it would accommodate its schedule for a guest lecturer or "career day."

"This program may be unwise... from an educational or community viewpoint," Douglas wrote, "That appeal is made to us on a theory... that each case must be decided on the basis of 'our own prepossessions.' Our individual preferences, however, are not the constitutional standard. The constitutional standard is the separation of Church and State. The problem... is one of degree." Indeed, the New York Public School System was not forcing any of its students, directly or indirectly, to obtain any religious instruction, nor was it penalizing those who did. In short, the program was neither advocating nor repressing the free exercise of religion, and was therefore consistent with the mandate of the First Amendment.

*Lynch v. Donnelly* is a rather famous case from a few years ago in which the Court decided that the First and Fourteenth amendments do not prohibit a municipality from including a Nativity scene in a Christmas display. The City of Pawtucket, Rhode Island included a Nativity scene, or *crèche*, in its annual Christmas display for almost 50 years. The *crèche* was included among other figures generally associated with Christmas, including Santa Claus and his reindeer. The Court rejected the argument from the American Civil Liberties Union that "by including the *crèche* in the Christmas display, the City... 'tried to endorse and promulgate religious beliefs,' and that 'erection of the *crèche* has the real and substantial effect of affiliating the City with the Christian beliefs that the *crèche* represents.'"

The antagonists in that case were looking too hard for something that wasn't there to begin with. The object in question was passive in nature. It was not moving, nor was it preaching a religious doctrine from hidden

loudspeakers. It was an object appropriate to the time, place, and manner in which it was displayed — it was a recognized symbol of Christmas being displayed during the Christmas holiday.

---

**"But a vast majority of the arguments for a 'high and impregnable' wall between church and state are based on the ludicrously false assumption that the state's stance in religion should maintain a sort of adversarial neutrality."**

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Perhaps if a large neon sign were affixed to the top of the *crèche* declaring "Jesus is the Reason for the Season," or extolling the public to attend St. James Episcopal Church on Christmas Day for holiday services, then there would have been a real case. But, as it was, it appeared as though the ACLU was simply looking for a good fight. Thankfully, they lost.

Again in *Lynch*, as in *Zorach* (and the famous *Lemon v. Kurtzman* before it), the Court affirmed the premise that "total separation [between church and state] is not

possible in an absolute sense." Indeed, as the Court noted, "It has never been thought either possible or desirable to enforce a regime of total separation....' Nor does the Constitution require complete separation of Church and State; it affirmatively mandates accommodation, not merely tolerance, of all religions, and forbids hostility toward any."

The key to the resolution of the church-state separation debate is to understand that the purpose of the First Amendment's freedom of religion clause was to prevent state-enforced religion, like that found in England and Puritan-dominated Massachusetts.

The Supreme Court has demonstrated through cases such as *Zorach*, *Lynch*, and *Lemon*, that the state can effectively accommodate religion without treading upon liberty, so long as it avoids "excessive entanglement" and remains secular in its purpose.

In *Lynch* the Court states, quite correctly, that "we must reconcile the inescapable tension between the objective of preventing unnecessary intrusion of either the church or the state upon the other, and *the reality that... total separation is not possible*" (Emphasis added). So long as the states remain true to the principle of tolerance and remain sufficiently disenfranchised from matters of religion, the Court should continue to allow accommodation. Hopefully, the growing popular sense of "antagonistic" neutrality against religion can continue to remain in the minority.

—Max Kilgore is an Enigma at UCSD

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# The Ayatollah is Dead, Dead, Dead

## ◆ Is there hope for democracy in revolutionary Iran?

By Sherry Lowrance

In January 1979, the Shah of Iran left his country never to return, overthrown by mass demonstrations and his regime's loss of legitimacy. The will of the people triumphed over the Shah's instruments of coercion - much like the recent overthrow of the Soviet coup this summer. However, a victory of the people may not necessarily be a triumph of democracy, as we see in the case of Iran.

Iran before 1979 was a highly authoritarian state with the Shah as undisputed ruler. Opposition to the regime or its policies was difficult because of the Shah's ubiquitous secret police, SAVAK.

Imprisonment and torture for political crimes was common. Detainees languished in prison for months or years without charges or sentenced with only a mockery of a trial. Furthermore, the Shah oriented his government towards the U.S., which the people interpreted as a move towards American-puppet-state status. Policies such as these aroused widespread opposition to the regime, which subsequently crumbled in what has been called the "Islamic Revolution" led by the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini.

The new regime sported democratic structures such as multi-party elections, plebiscites, and a constitution. In many respects it resembled most other western democracies. But because of the popular religious leadership of the revolution and mass religious feelings, the public voted to make Iran an Islamic state, thus requiring special institutions.

One such important institution set up a twelve-man Council of Guardians empowered to veto all legislation in violation of Islamic law or constitutional principles. This move institutionalized the political dominance of the religious leadership and also limited individual freedoms to what is considered permissible under Islamic law.

Furthermore, the constitution provided for a "supreme Islamic jurist," a virtuous man highly knowledgeable in Islamic law, to be endowed with considerable political and religious power. This became Khomeini's post for life.

But these Islamic institutions do not necessarily exclude democracy. Leaders were popularly elected from a plethora of political

parties. There was an elected legislature and president. And the Khomeini regime had tremendous popular support as the victor over the hated regime of the Shah.

Unfortunately, there was not much of a democratic tradition in Iran. After centuries of authoritarian rule under the Shahs, political and social repression — which could not be tolerated under the despised Shah — could now be tolerated under a popular regime. With the masses empowered, political domination and abuses occurred which at times dwarfed even those of the previous regime.

The seeds for repression were sown in the anarchy following the 1978-9 Revolution: unofficial "revolutionary" structures spontaneously assembled with governmental functions which no one could control - not even the new government.

For example, one of these structures, the Revolutionary Committees, took it upon themselves to serve as both local security forces and agents of revenge against members of the old regime in the aftermath of the revolution. They patrolled the streets and guarded government buildings, made arrests and confiscated property. Many of the committees' victims were legitimate targets, such as members of the previous regime guilty of political abuses. But many were arrested simply because they were prominent businessmen, wealthy, or had fallen foul of their employees; many were punished because of unfounded accusations and because personal scores were being settled.

The Revolutionary Tribunals, likewise, were uncontrollable and could be used as instruments of personal ambition or revenge. Originally designed to prosecute officials of the Shah's regime, the tribunals executed many for narcotics smuggling, prostitution, sexual crimes and "counter-revolutionary" activities. Charges included such vague concepts as "crimes against the people," "crimes against the revolution," "ruining the economy," "violation of the people's honor," "fighting God and his Apostle," and "causing corruption upon the earth."

Predictably, the procedures used by the tribunals lacked adequate defenses against convicting innocent people. Court was often held in secret, midnight sessions. The tribunals



spurned juries and defense lawyers, and failed to give the accused an opportunity to defend themselves. In a little over two years, between February 1979 and June 1981, at least 1,488 people were executed by the revolutionary tribunals.

These and other revolutionary structures lost no time in squelching opposition to Khomeini's favored, and therefore the most popular, political party: the Islamic Republic Party (IRP). The IRP won electoral domination over the parliament, and used its control over radio and TV, and a sympathetic network of mosques in censorship. One by one, the IRP closed down opposition parties and exiled or imprisoned opposition leaders. Club-wielding zealots disrupted the few nominally legal opposition meetings that remained. What resulted from this political repression was hegemonic single-party rule over Iran.

With the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in June 1989, a few structural changes occurred. Much political power was removed from the office of "supreme Islamic Jurist" and given to the new President, Ali-Akbar-Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who pursues relatively practical policies, although he is not known as a moderate.

The revolutionary structures were institutionalized, giving the government some control over them and helping to stabilize the chaotic situation in the country. Iran is far from democratic, however. The IRP remains firmly in control of the political process. What has changed is some of the anti-western rhetoric and policies, since the current practical leadership recognizes the need for western investment and aid in rebuilding the crumbled economy.

As we have seen, a victory of the people's will over an elitist, repressive government does not ensure the establishment of democracy. In the case of Iran, a country unaccustomed to self-rule, the instruments of repression merely changed hands to the possession of the popular leaders. While this does not happen all the time, we should keep this scenario in mind to help prevent its occurrence elsewhere.

# Advice For Fidel Castro: Retire to a Monastery

By Alfred G. Cuzán

I almost feel sorry for Fidel Castro. Scarcely over three decades ago, he hitched his wagon to the Red star rising in the East, chaining the Cuban people to a communist dictatorship they had not bargained for when they welcomed him to Havana that January of 1959. Now the Red star has imploded, leaving the aging despot, in the twilight of his tyranny, alone, isolated, an anachronism in his own time.

In the early 1960s, Fidel Castro promised to turn the Andes Mountains into a Sierra Maestro. Bolivia was supposed to be the first of "one, two, three, many Vietnams . . ." Thousands of guerrillas and terrorists from all over Latin America came to Cuba for training in the black arts of assassination, bombings, bank robbery, kidnapping, and every other criminal activity conceived by man, not the least of which drug trafficking.

Cuban "advisors" descended like locusts upon the Chile of Allende, the Nicaragua of the Sandinistas, the Grenada of Maurice Bishop. Thousands of Cuban troops were sent to far-away Africa to prop up communist regimes at war with their own people.

And what has come out of all that mayhem? Ché Guevara is buried in an unmarked grave somewhere in Bolivia. Allende committed suicide when the Chilean way to socialism was overthrown in a military coup. Bishop was murdered in a

power struggle within the New Jewel movement. The Sandinistas were voted out of office and are discredited, the international press having exposed the Somoza-like rapacity with which they looted Nicaragua during their ten years in power. Panama's Manuel Noriega, Castro's partner in drug trafficking, is on trial in the United States.

In Africa things have not gone any better. Col. Mengistu fled Ethiopia as rebel armies closed in on the capital. In Angola, Castro's nemesis, the black nationalist Jonas Savimbi, having beaten back every attempt to annihilate him, prepares to run for president in a multi-party election. The man Castro put as head of the Cuban forces in Angola and upon whom he conferred one of the highest honors of his regime, General Ochoa, is dead, having been sent to the firing squad by his former boss.

But the worst was still to come. The Berlin wall fell, statues of Lenin hit the dust from Bucharest to the Baltics, the hammer and sickle was stripped from European national flags, Leningrad became St. Petersburg once again, and the Communist Party was routed from office in the very capital of the Soviet empire. Recently, Gorbachev announced that Soviet troops will be leaving Cuba soon. And the United States, the country Castro has loved to hate all his life, stands taller than ever in the world

While free people everywhere rejoice in the downfall of communism, the Cuban tyrant sulks bitterly in his lair. As Granma, the official mouthpiece of the regime lamented, "It is impossible to deny that these are unfortunate and bitter moments that we would have preferred never to have experienced."

A number of pundits, noting that everything Fidel Castro has sacrificed the Cuban people for has come to naught, and taking his latest slogan "Socialism or Death" literally, have advised the tyrant to end it all by committing suicide.

That, however, would be un-Christian. I have a better idea: Fidel Castro should follow the example of the 16th century monarch Charles I of Spain (Charles V of Germany). The sun never set in Charles' empire. To finance his wars against France, he imposed heavy taxes and other burdens on Spaniards, and brutally repressed them when they revolted. In the end, though, disillusioned by his worldly exploits, he abdicated the imperial throne and went into monastic seclusion.

That's my prayer for Fidel Castro: That he, too, retire to a monastery and spend the rest of his days atoning for his sins. May God have mercy on his soul.

—Dr. Cuzán is Professor of Political Science at The University of West Florida, in Pensacola.

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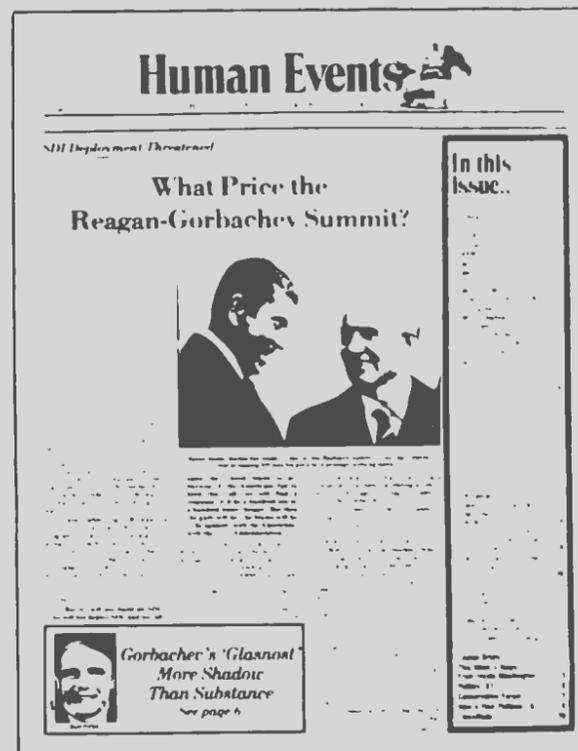
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# Leaving the Left in the Dust

*Leftism Revisited: From de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Pol Pot* by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Regenery Gateway, 520 pages, \$29.95

"In certain historical periods one has to make the full circle of follies in order to return to reason." Benjamin Constant de Rebecquespoke these words of his age but they would have just as easily found a home in the rigorous intellectual work, *Leftism Revisited: From de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Pol Pot* by Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's chronicle of modern thought and history, however, leaves the reader looking at history wondering whether this circle of follies has been completed.

*Leftism Revisited* takes the reader on an

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**Reading *Leftism* is an education in the fallibility of man and the tragic stage of history on which philosophy is played. Brutal, menacing power philosophies are acted out with little regard to the rights of man which, ironically propel these utopian making regimes into power.**

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intellectual journey surveying the ideas and politics that have shaped the history of the West and ultimately the world. But this is no short trip over abstract territory referring to simple historical events.

Indeed, the reader is soon startled by the degree of knowledge and historical detail which is addressed. For instance, the reader is taken through the events and days of the French Revolution and is quickly overwhelmed by the grotesque and malevolent actions of the revolutionaries. But it is not necessarily this historical account but the indictment of the ideology which affirmed the rights of man in the abstract and countenced the wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children.

The early chapters of *Leftism* provide a

clear and articulate definition of the terms used throughout the book and in general political dialogue. In fact, Kuehnelt-Leddihn quickly calls the readers attention to the folly of defining communism and fascism as to extremes on opposite sides of the political spectrum. Thus, he considers it a "moronic statement" to say that "extremes always meet."

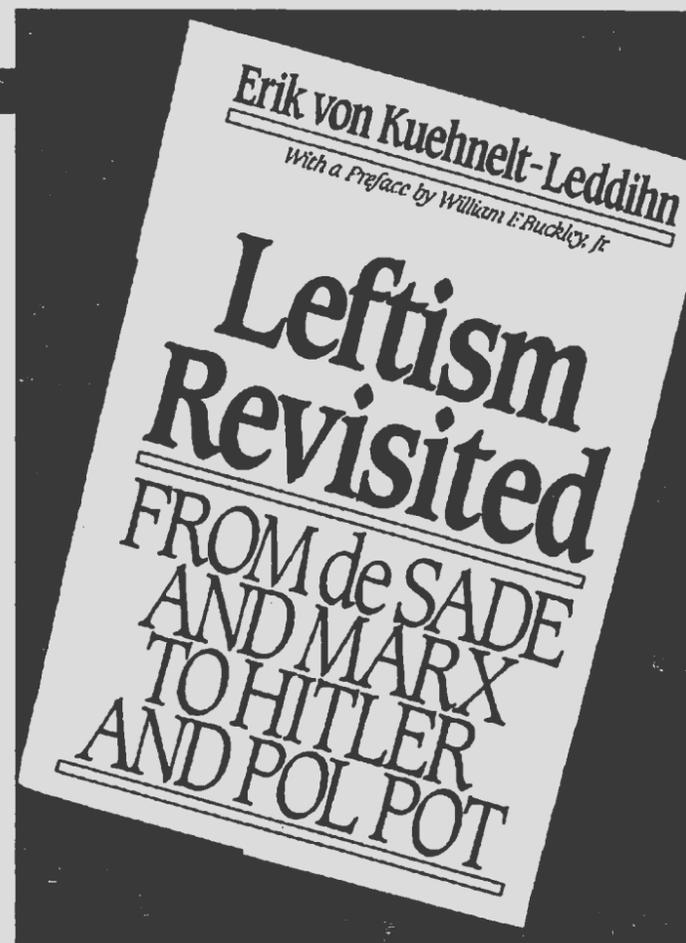
His consummate skill as a linguist with knowledge of 19 languages helps cut and define precise meanings for the political terms to which he makes references. "*Leftism is basically materialistic.*" With this thought in mind the reader is led to make the connection between socialism, fascism, and the "particularly vague leftism" of the United States. It is a refreshing and cool breeze to the reader wearied by political debate which continually fails to even provide a common vocabulary.

With these definitions in mind *Leftism* travels through the follies of man and the twisted thinkers who forged the devastation of the twentieth century in the furnace of the French Revolution.

Reading *Leftism* is an education in the fallibility of man and the tragic stage of history on which philosophy is played. Brutal, menacing power philosophies are acted out with little regard to the rights of man which, ironically propel these utopian making regimes into power.

Page after page dispels commonly held myths about history. Marx is a man utterly ignorant of the proletariat ("The distance of a bookworm from reality can be considerable."), Hitler the failed artist, Wilson ignorant of geography and history, FDR a ruthless politician.

"Sophocles said that of all frightful creatures, man is the most terrible- the brown concentration and extermination camps (remember the lampshades made of human



skin?); the unspeakable scenes of China's Cultural Revolution, in which the populace participated; the annihilation of Dresden; the paperknife made of Japanese soldier's thighbone that delighted Franklin Roosevelt; the atom bomb over Japan; the ghoulish misdeeds of African potentates; the mass murder of the unborn."

*Leftism* investigates these horrors with a mix of sadness and utter amazement at the evil man is capable of justifying in the name of ideology.

But rewarding is an adjective that fails to completely describe the feeling one gets upon finishing the book. The book was written with the express idea of exposing these crime and ideas that have formed history following the Reign of Terror. Throughout the book one is often reminded of the author's aristocratic disposition towards democracy. The book is a treasure of mordant wit prodding those who blindly extoll democracy as the end all of human nature.

"Egalitarianism, as already intimated, cannot make much progress without the use of force: perfect equality is only possible in total slavery. Since nature (and naturalness, implying freedom from artificial constraints) is not biased against gross inequalities, force must be used to establish equality. Imagine as average class of students in a boarding school, with the normal variety of talents, interests, and inclinations for hard work. One fine day the dictatorial principal demands that all students score B in a given subject. The C, D, or E would be forced to work harder, so much that some would collapse. At the other end, the A students

would have to be restrained- given drugs or locked up with copies of *Playboy* or *The New Masses*, or simply hit over the head. In sum, force would have to be used much as Procrustes used it. Yet the use of force limits and in most cases destroys freedom."

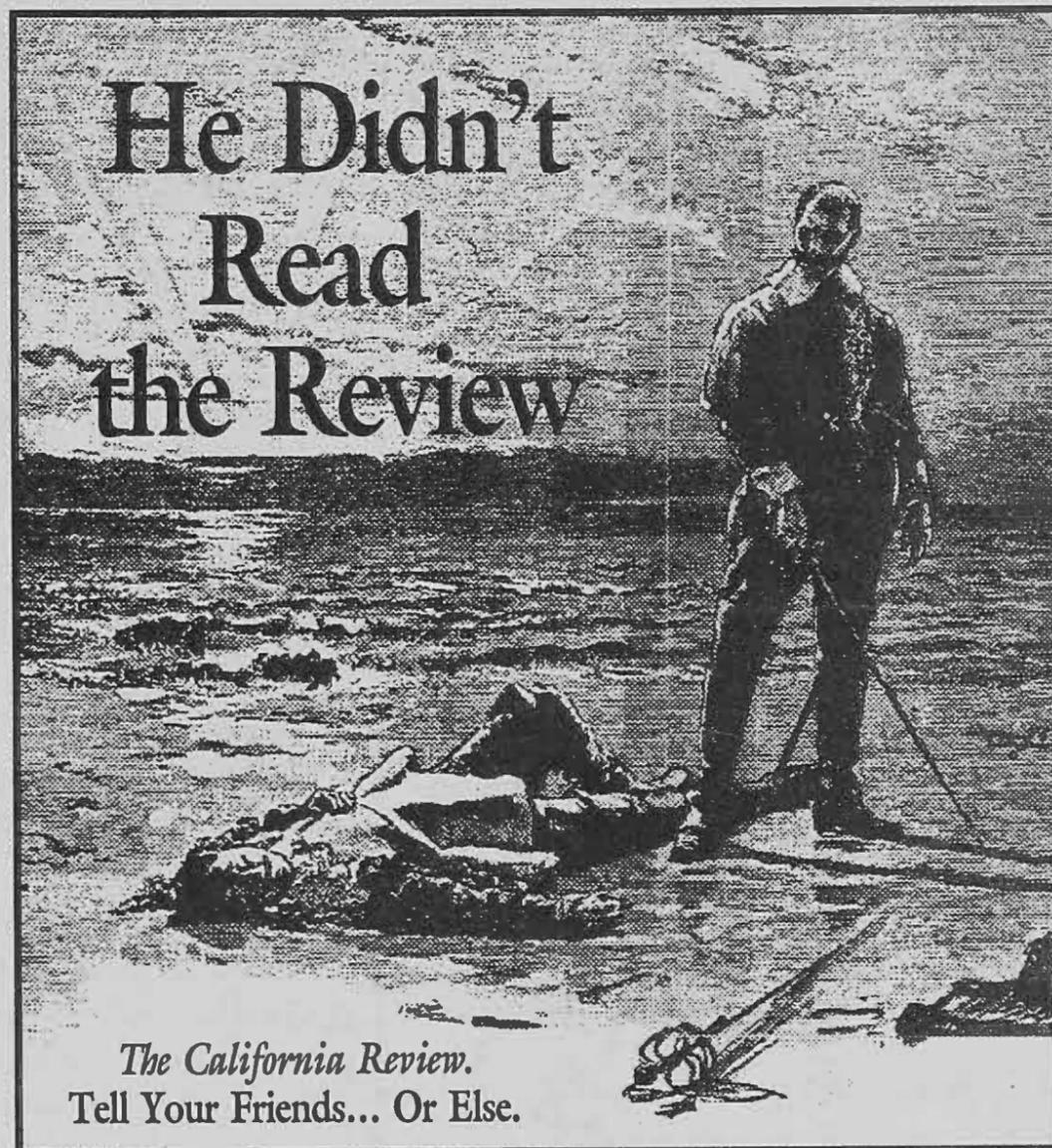
One is reminded that man is more than mere animal. If man is to survive and freedom prosper morality must be reborn. The absolutes of right and wrong, good and evil must be made clear in the hearts of every man.

A resounding current throughout the book is that man is what he thinks as Proverbs tells us. Reduce man to the "apes of a cold god" and nihilistic forces will cause man to destroy himself leaving nothing but the noble Hamlet's "quintessence of dust."

Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn is careful to distinguish this work as one that is Continental in flavor. *Leftism Revisited* comes from a European perspective and for this reason provides a different account from the standard Anglo-American political analysis. Continental politics are presented with a jolting clarity.

The American reader is soon captured by the complexities and the wisdom needed to bring an understanding that leads to true peace. To fail to understand leads, as the history of the twentieth century indicates, to an inexorable path to doom. The questions addressed and the answers given in *Leftism Revisited* never leave the reader wanting or despairing at the fine mind of Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn.

—Matthew Robinson



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# Parting Thoughts...

Equality, political translation of the word envy.

—Victor Hugo

◆◆◆

The heart of the wise man beats on his right side, the heart of the fool on his left.

—Ecclesiastes 10:2

◆◆◆

Once an opinion has spread on American soil and taken root there, it would seem that no power on earth can eradicate it.

—Tocqueville

◆◆◆

When we are born, we cry that we are come to this great stage of fools.

—Shakespeare

◆◆◆

Let us permit nature to have her way: she understands better her business better than we do.

—Montaigne

◆◆◆

We ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household belongings, which when worn with use we throw away.

—Plutarch

◆◆◆

Pride thyself on the virtue thou hast, not on thy parentage.

—Saadi

◆◆◆

I can remember way back when a liberal was generous with his own money.

—Will Rogers

◆◆◆

A truth that has merely been learnt adheres to us only as an artificial limb, a false tooth, as a wax nose does, or at most like transplanted skin; but a truth won by thinking for ourself is like a natural limb: it alone belongs to us. This is what determines the difference between a thinker and a mere scholar.

—Schopenhauer

◆◆◆

No victor believes in chance.

—Nietzsche

◆◆◆

Capitalism is the uneven distribution of wealth, and socialism the even distribution of poverty.

—Winston Churchill

◆◆◆

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free it expects what never was and never will be.

—Thomas Jefferson

◆◆◆

The budget is a mythical bean bag Congress votes mythical beans into it and then tries to reach in and pull real beans out.

—Will Rogers

◆◆◆

What is a man if his chief good and market of his time be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more.

—Shakespeare

◆◆◆

Being unable to cure death, wretchedness, and ignorance, men have decided, in order to be happy, not to think about such things.

—Blaise Pascal

◆◆◆

The worst government is the most moral. One composed of cynics is often very tolerant and humane. But when fanatics are on top there is no limit to oppression.

—H.L. Mencken

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