

Thomas J. Edwards: Nuclear Playground

Ralph Rainwater, Jr.: Athena's Lament

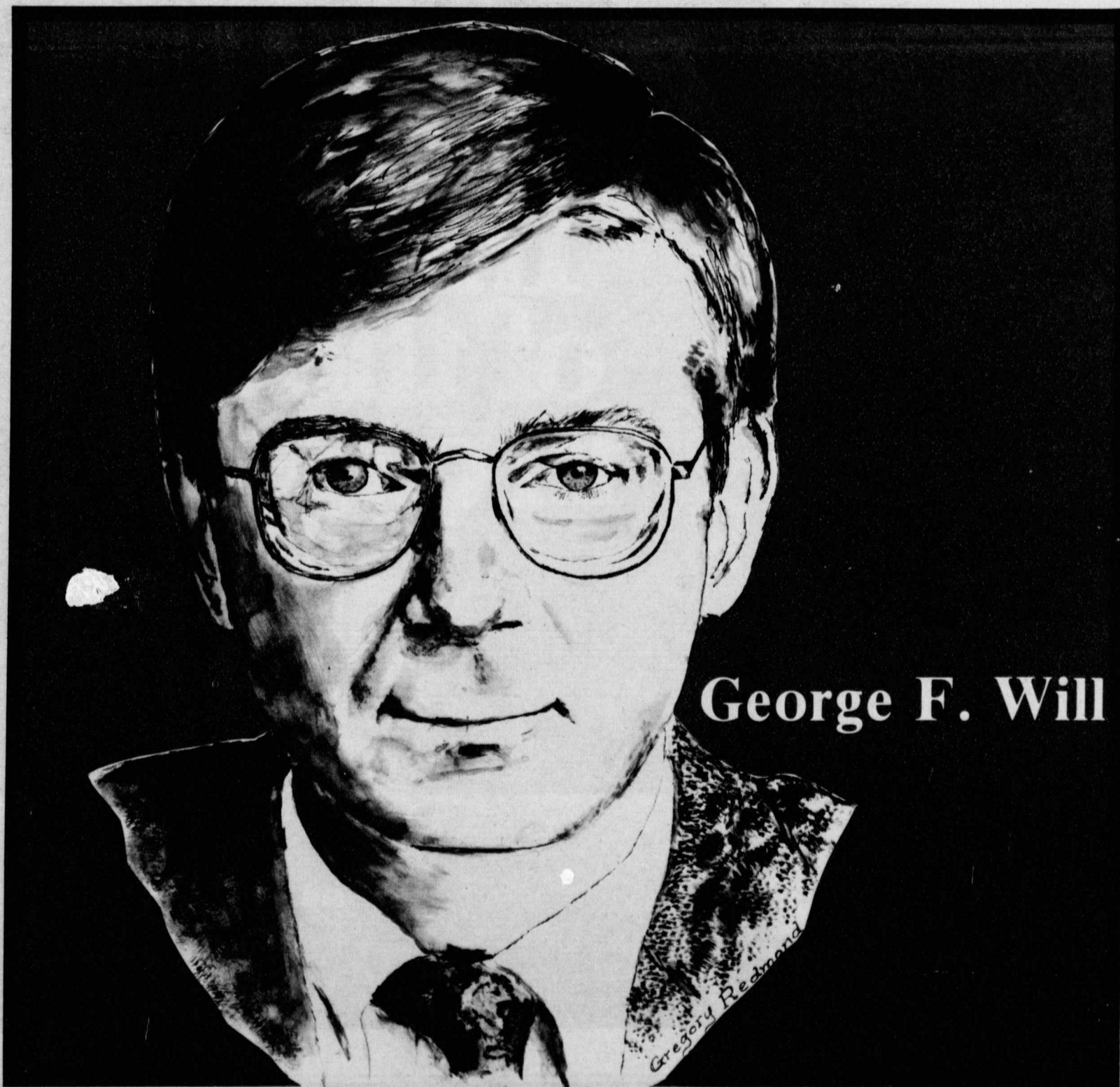
# California Review

P.O. Box 12286  
La Jolla, CA 92037

Volume III, number 5  
May 1984



Professor Alden Mosshammer and C.  
Brandon Crocker: Classic Adventures  
E. Clasen Young Interviews  
Eugene V. Rostow  
C.K. Littlewood: Olympic Ox-Women  
Also: Gregory Redmond, Bob McKay,  
A Letter From John D. Kubeck...



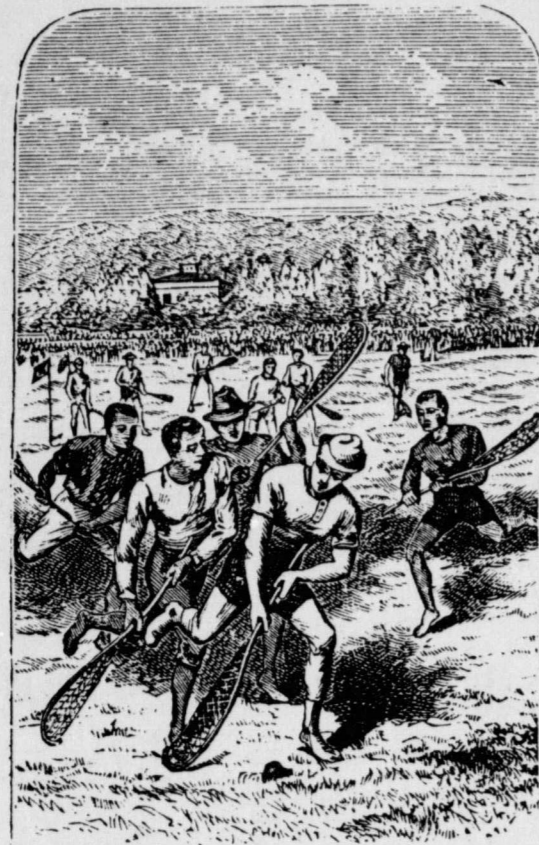
## Eastern-Bloc Politico-Athletes

by C.K. Littlewood

A thoroughly enjoyable Winter Olympics, in this troubled year, 1984. Always such a pleasure to watch the civilized nations of the Western hemisphere adhere to the true traditions of *amateur* athletics, and still wrest some of the precious medallions from the state-subsidized "machines" of the Eastern Bloc. The Russians — never forgoing an opportunity to convolute an international event into a political arena — felt it incumbent upon themselves to procure the largest share of medals, while their protege, East Germany, delivered a close second.

The true "spirit" (if I may be so romantic) of the games appears to have eluded our Eastern counterparts. The "State" has effectively eliminated all personal motivational forces behind the athlete's desire to compete. It is not the pure and unfettered "love of sport" which drives the Soviet competitors, but the more insidious and degrading personal need to maintain their positions in the social hierarchy peculiar to their nation ("love of condo"). The choice between harvesting wheat in Siberia or travelling the world as a wage-earning "amateur" athlete is a simple one. Sadly, the athlete's natural desire to compete has been drowned in a sea of ideological dogma and, more importantly, stripped naked in the harsh light of economic reality.

The Olympic Games are one of the brightest highlights of any athlete's career; for some, this quadrennial competition represents the pinnacle of individual or team achievement. Yet the Eastern Olympic teams — with their grim countenances and rules prohibiting excessive fraternizing — have bled such athletics dry of many "human" elements of sports competition. One-third of the Russian coaching staff at the 1984 Winter Olympic Games were known KGB operatives; and one of the team "advisors" ensured that absolutely no one entered the Soviet dormitory area — or left without permission. As usual, discretion was not an important aspect of the Russian facade.



to international events. Perhaps if the Communist Central Committee believed its own ideological tenets, there would not exist the need to manifest such an image of "machismo" — to the point of presenting women-oxen hybrids to the rest of the world.

Congratulations to Bill Johnson (and other Western athletes like him), the gold medalist in this year's premier alpine event, the downhill. Johnson had worked his way up through the ranks of national and international competitors in the last few years. However, Bill Johnson's dedication and sacrifice should be an example to all of the state-subsidized athletes of the East. While Soviet athletes enjoy an above-average living standard, Johnson was forced (out of economic necessity) to sleep in the back of his station wagon and subsist on peanut butter and Top Ramen. Winning an Olympic medal after such a trying test of one's dedication to a chosen sport must be infinitely more satisfying for the athlete than if the road had been paved with rubles. Money and fear tactics can't purchase everything. Thank God that individuality may still find its unhindered expression in the United States.

*C.K. Littlewood is the top-seeded member of the UCSD Men's Ski Team, and is currently ranked third in the state in combined points.*



And those who suffer most, unfortunately, are the athletes themselves. When political interests begin to invade the (ideally apolitical) realm of athletic competition, the world of sports becomes cheapened. The clation of the Eastern European competitor, upon successful completion of a sporting event, is quickly diverted to propagandistic opportunity by the yes-men in the Russian Politburo. He does not become a victorious individual, but a symbolic "flag" which is waved in front of the world (and the KGB back home) until it is tattered and faded; then discarded.

What nation would ask its women to grotesquely distort their bodies in the manner of the East German speed skaters? Karen Enke, the 1984 Olympic gold medalist, makes Earl Campbell look like a polio victim. Her anabolic steroid consumption rivals the amount consumed by the entire cattle stockyard supplying the Stuart Anderson franchise.

The Eastern Bloc dominates the "muscle events" simply because the training (and chemical) techniques they apply are focused on producing bulkier and stronger athletes. Such a training philosophy is virulent with political ramifications. This display of power epitomizes the Soviets' heavy-handed, puerile approach

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## Letters



Dear Brandon:

Thanks so much for sending me that handsome issue of *California Review*. I read it from cover to cover.

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

Dear Mr. Young,

"Forgive me, I can stand it no longer!" These are my own words, words of a beguiled conservative sickened by the plague of bloodsucking liberals abounding in our society.

What I can stand no longer refers to numerous items, but major among them is not being a superior *California Review* staff member. I must cure this yearning and offer my services (vague indeed) as a writer, or whatever may be fitting.

So my friend, the time has come! In all my glory, I hereby pledge to do what I can to deface, accurately depict, and exterminate the parasitic dregde of the earth: liberals.

In health,

Bryan Alan Bloom  
La Jolla

Dear Brandon, (Optimo Princeps):

I had the most awful dream last night. It went something like this:

**Mr. Kubeck:** Mr. Hart, why exactly should Americans choose you over, say, Fritz Mondale or Jesse Jackson?

**Mr. Hart:** I'm glad you asked that. It's people like you with new questions, new ideas and new hairstyles that America needs now. Honey, get Mr. Kubeck a diet Coke. Diet Coke is new and fresh. (Pretty, blonde San Diego State coed scampers off for it) Now, what else?

**Mr. Kubeck:** Uh, your volunteers. They seem so young, so urban, so...

**Mr. Hart:** Professional? You got it. See, I'm in with the privileged BMW-diet Coke-VCR crowd. They love me like a...

**Mr. Kubeck:** Like a fad?

**Mr. Hart:** Well, some fads are pretty long lasting, you know. Like excessive taxation. Now that's a hot item, pal. It's real big with the liberal upper-middle-class crowd. Tip O'Neill, and others barely in touch with reality. Ah, here's your drink.

**Mr. Kubeck:** I understand that your campaign pamphlet, "The Hart Difference," stresses that you are the "only candidate in the race to have voted against every element of Reaganomics?"

**Mr. Hart:** Yeah! Hell, with inflation down so much, people've got less money, right? Hey, sweetheart, isn't that a new idea?

**Coed:** Sure is, Gary!

**Mr. Hart:** Write it down and put it in my "new idea" file, would you? Anyway, with unemployment down so much, there are fewer volunteers for liberal causes, too. I thought that one up myself. And you know, thanks to Reagan, we've lost the stabilizing influence of the Cubans in Grenada.

**Mr. Kubeck:** Is it true that you said in a February 1981 *Washington Post* interview that Cuba was not a totalitarian government?

**Mr. Hart:** Well, you've gotta admit that that was a new idea! You know the saying, don't you? When a new idea crosses Gary Hart's mind it's been on the shortest trip in Colorado. And what's wrong with that, I ask you? America needs new minds, big and small, with new ideas.

**Mr. Kubeck:** Like?

**Mr. Hart:** Oh, you know, new stuff like "comparable birth." If all men had babies just like women we'd all be equal and everything would be fine and dandy.

**Mr. Kubeck:** Mr. Hart, I believe the term is comparable "worth," not "birth," and it refers to paying a cocktail waitress as much as a doctor.

**Mr. Hart:** Hmm. Who would pay for that?

**Mr. Kubeck:** The taxpayers.

**Mr. Hart:** Hot damn! I was worried that my supporters might have to. Anyway, I'm in favor of comparable worth, too, because there are more cocktail waitresses than doctors, right?

It was then that I woke up in a cold sweat. By the way, which Democrat do you support to be defeated by Reagan in November? Keep up your good work and pompous titles.

Sincerely,

John D. Kubeck (Long Beach Praefectus)

Editors:

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Never Will The Radicals Die!  
Anonymous Radical  
UCSD

Editor's Note:

It's the mind that goes first.

—ECY

Dear Sirs:

*Eureka, vox audita perit, litera scripta manet!*

I was delighted to find a copy of the *California Review* (March, 1984) at a friend's home last weekend in La Jolla, and not in Delphi. Please let me know how I can help your staff for one or two days a week! Enclosed is my resume.

With good wishes,  
Cordially,

Ellen Shaw Tufts  
San Diego

Dear Sirs:

Please renew our subscription to your amusing and timely publication and we enclosed a donation to help eradicate those leftist vermin.

Sincerely,

R.A. and L. Reisfeld  
La Jolla

Dear Eric:

I have asked Dr. Watson to ascertain the possibility of providing funds for the *California Review*. You should submit a new proposal for funds this spring, according to the regular application procedures.

If your request is denied, I will initiate litigation at that time after submitting an administrative claim to U.C. as required by Government Code Section 910.

Thank you very much.  
Very Truly yours,

GUTHRIE & LEVENS Law Office  
RAPHAEL LEVENS  
Attorney at Law

## California Review

Credo: Imperium et libertas.



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



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

## In Review

■ Scandal has hit the White House as the frog of the President's chief of staff, James Baker III, has been stolen. As soon as Baker discovered that his frog was missing from the bowl in his office, he began calling his staff at their homes, questioning them. According to Baker's executive assistant, Margaret Tutwiler, Baker was distraught.

"My frog is gone," he kept saying. I said maybe it jumped out of its bowl, and he said, "The Saran Wrap is still in place!"

Meanwhile, security guards and cleaning crews have been told to be on the alert for the missing frog.



■ William Hinton, author of *Fanshen*, describes one of his proudest moments while with the villagers of Long Bow: "I knew well enough how lice were hunted. How many times had I watched peasants sitting in the warm sun with their jackets over their knees pursuing the slow-crawling vermin catching them between their thumb nails and squeezing them until they burst? But that night, holding my jacket close to the flame, I could not bring myself to begin. I pictured to myself how the lice would snap and crumble, how the blood would spurt. I had no stomach for it. Finally I laid the jacket on the floor, found a pair of chopsticks, and picked the lice out of the lining as if I were picking delicacies off a banquet table. One by one I dropped them on a smooth brick and crushed them with a stone... When the time came to search my clothes the second time I found that I was far less squeamish than at first. Soon I was hunting lice like a veteran and exhibiting the bloodstains on my thumbnails to anyone rash enough to tease me about chopsticks and bricks."

■ Rep. Jim Bates (D-Chollas Landfill), testified before the House Public Works and Transportation Committee: "I am a no-growth advocate... Environmentalism is my religion."

■ This year's Academy Award for Best Original Score went to the film *The Right Stuff*—a good choice. But discerning musicologists will note that the theme from *The Right Stuff* is actually a part of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto. Listen for yourself.

■ In a recent CNN television interview, Sonia Johnson, the Citizen's Party Candidate for President, remarked, "I had three little boys who I loved like friends and were the gentlest things until they became indoctrinated by society to become men." We feel sorry for Ms. Johnson, but we would like to remind her that that's life. Kittens become cats, puppies become dogs, and boys become men. Someday she might even grow up too.

■ According to UCSD history professor, Robert Ritchie, "historians do not find the truth, but merely their version of the truth." Question: Then why do we need history professors?

■ According to Dr. Ritchie, "Patrick Henry never said, '...give me liberty or give me death,' or anything similar." Nor did any of the founding fathers say any of those eloquent and inspiring things attributed to them. No, says Ritchie, all "those infamous quotes were invented by romantic historians in the 1820s" because they were low on material.

■ The ACLU has charged that the Arizona State Penitentiary is practicing cruel and unusual punishment by restricting the diet of troublesome inmates to bland meatloaf.

■ After several recent defections from East to West, it appeared that East Germany was erecting a second Berlin Wall. But East German authorities have explained that the 16 foot high wall running parallel to the Berlin Wall is merely part of a new hotel.

■ Merlyn Nelson, an insurance adjuster who stole almost \$50,000 from the Farmers Mutual Insurance Association was sentenced to 20 years despite Nelson's testimony that he stole the money on the advice of his father's ghost which he says has been haunting him for the past 25 years.

■ Last month Leftist gunmen shot and killed a conservative member of El Salvador's elected congress as he was driving his 6-year-old daughter to kindergarten. His daughter was also severely wounded. The man was the fifth conservative congressman to be assassinated since the March 1982 elections. Democratic leaders in the U.S. House and Senate, however, have yet to voice any concern over Leftist Death Squads.

■ The \$70 annual fee reduction for UC students proposed by Governor Deukmejian has been approved by the Board of Regents.

■ In March, Columbian police attacked a cocaine processing plant guarded by Communist guerrillas and seized 13.8 tons of cocaine, or about one-fourth of the estimated annual consumption in the United States. Of course the humanitarian Communist guerrillas had no plans to market it to pushers in the U.S. and other countries, but were merely guarding it.

■ Actress Penny Marshall was, for a short time, held hostage by two youths who had broken into her home. The pair were dressed in black Japanese robes and one was carrying a sword. Police said they had no grounds to arrest the two on the street as many people in Los Angeles dress that way.

■ John Cleese, of the *Review*—approved *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, comments on his scolding of Americans in a recent candy ad he created: "I simply point out to them that if we had bothered to copyright the English language, they would owe us millions in royalties by now. And since they haven't paid, it's only fair that they plow a little back into British candy."

■ San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein has called on House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill to introduce legislation so the federal government would bailout the Democratic convention this summer, which is already \$1.8 million over budget; showing once again that our deficit spending is the fault of President Reagan and the Republican Party. O'Neill is taking the matter under consideration.

■ In Preston, England, Elsie Dalton fell out of the car driven by her 40-year-old son-in-law, Allen Wilkenson, in a supermarket parking lot. Wilkenson quickly backed the car up to retrieve Elsie, but accidentally ran over her left leg. Other shoppers in the parking lot shouted to Wilkenson to inch forward so they could free Elsie, but in doing so, he ran over her right leg. Later, her leg in a cast, Mrs. Dalton said of her son-in-law, "He doesn't make a habit of running over me. Normally, he's a grand son-in-law."

■ A poll of 113 UCSD students recently released stated that 38% of upperclassmen plan to vote for Reagan and only 23% plan to vote against Reagan. Among the lowerclassmen, 44% plan to vote for Reagan and 33% plan to vote against him. The enlightened Jeff Meyer, Student Lobby Annex director, commented, "Apparently students don't know what Reagan has done to the University throughout his lifetime... We would not be paying the fees we do today if Reagan had not instituted the 'education' fee in 1970." Imagine that, compelling students to pay for part of their own education. Sorry, Mr. Meyer. People who support Reagan aren't ignorant, they just have a broader view than you do.

■ In Nairobi, Kenya, a man used a Samurai sword to chop off the hand of a man trying to break into his home. Nairobi police are urging residents to follow the man's example.

■ And in Portugal, a woman who gave birth to her 25th child says that her husband has sold 23 of their children for about \$7,500 each.

■ According to the editors of *Voz Fronteriza*, "The present AS Council also attempted to fund the racist, sexist and elitist, corporate advertisement-backed *California Review* as part of a larger campaign to attack the Third World and alternative media on campus, again completely (arrogantly!) dismissing the massive resistance of the Third World student population." We get it. Because they're "Third World" students, they have a right to annul the university's non-discrimination policy and the United States Constitution. Well, at least they aren't arrogant.

■ What criteria classify the editors of *Voz Fronteriza* as "Third World" students? Aren't they U.S. citizens — America isn't a Third World country — or do they think that citizenship depends on race?

■ The Reverend Jesse Jackson has refused to disavow a member of his "Rainbow Coalition" who recently called for the death of *Washington Post* reporter, Milton Coleman, and who termed Adolf Hitler "a very great man." The Jackson advisor and Muslim leader, Louis Farrakahn, added that Hitler "was a great German and he rose Germany up from the ashes of her defeat." Jackson continues to support Farrakahn, but says there was "nothing great" about Hitler.

■ In further Farrakahn news, the Black Muslim leader has said that if Jesse Jackson is not given a prominent role at the Democratic National Convention, he "will lead an army of black men and women to Washington, D.C." to demand that blacks be allowed to secede from the United States. Among those applauding Farrakahn's statements was Jackson's wife, Jacqueline.

■ UCSD's Roger Revelle and the case for Western Studies: "The world's number one problem is not the overpopulation problem. It is not the carbon dioxide problem or any of the problems so many talk about... No, the danger of nuclear war is what is frightful. It could destroy Western Civilization. "Western Civilization is the most precious thing that has ever happened to mankind. It has given man hope for the future, particularly because of what we have learned from the Greeks."

"The Greeks were the first to understand and believe that it was possible to understand nature and understand that man is part of nature. That is the thesis of our civilization. "If it is destroyed, God help mankind. "I'm a little more optimistic. It's quite clear that many people in both this country and Russia are seeking a way out of the nuclear dilemma. Reagan is a very good politician. He's responsive to the nuclear mood of the country."

■ ATTENTION ALUMNI OF UCSD: Is the "Alumni and Friends of UCSD" your only connection with the University? Would you rather have an intelligent perspective of the direction of the University? If so contact CONCERNED ALUMNI OF UCSD, P.O. Box 12286, La Jolla, CA 92037.

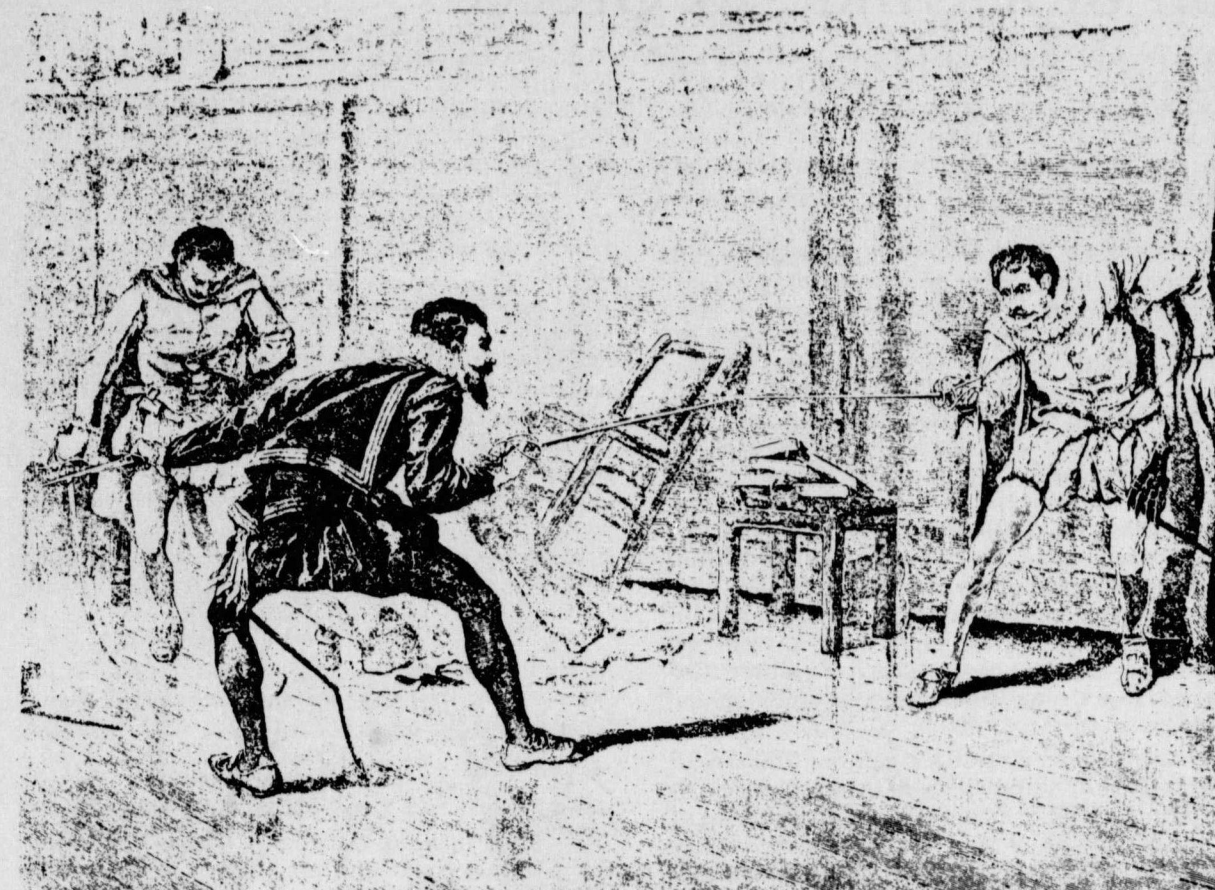
## The Sins of Our Mothers By Gregory F. Redmond

The most effective way of eliminating persons one finds offensive is to exterminate them. One can gather them into concentration camps and exterminate them *en masse*, or one can employ euthanasia to terminate the ill and the elderly, or one can utilize abortions to dispatch unwanted children. These methods have been used by the totalitarians—men who had no regard for human life—Hitler, Stalin, Mao.

Their morality was a morality of death, a morality the world condemned. Yet now the world stands idly by as the same morality of death is being executed on the innocent unborn for no other reason than that they might interfere with a mother's freedom or because an environment of poverty might prevent them from achieving the quality of life today's liberal social planners deem necessary for life to be worth living.

The sins of the totalitarians were manifest. The sins of today's abortionists are couched in a language of rights, of liberties, and of happiness. But beneath the rhetoric lies the same reality. Innocent human beings should not be sacrificed for the benefit of a mother's pursuit of personal gratification. And they should not be sacrificed for someone's arbitrary quality of life standard. Human life should not be trivialized.

Gregory Redmond is a systems engineer and CR's Artificer Maximus.



### And The Band Plays On

With respect to education, the administration of UCSD is manifesting itself as a neuter. While students desire to see the University reach national prominence through academic excellence, the administrators ostensibly seek national recognition through ties with the community and the prestige involved in procuring research grants. For them, educating undergraduates ranks a distant second. The Chancellor and his assistants are intelligent but obstinate in their loyalty to the tenet of administrative sovereignty. One Vice Chancellor repeatedly admonishes the staff of *CR* to "cool it" with the community discourse and the rather strong political pressures that result. The administration is telling students to steer clear of elected representatives, while the respective educational departments, literature in particular, are allowed to decay.

Literature Professor Reinhard Lettau, who last spring damaged a campus wall with a can of spray-paint and a high-minded phrase "Killers For Reagan," is the same gentleman who assaulted a Marine Corps Recruiting Officer several years ago. The vandal was scolded for his recent crime and told that to do this again would bring "serious administrative action." In this vein, "serious" action could entail as much as a written reprimand.



It is interesting that Sandra Dijkstra remains on the payroll. Last year, she gave a lecture with an anti-Semitic attack on one of her fellow Literature professors (an academic with roughly ten-times her credentials) and had the unfortunate occurrence of sharing her works with two reporters in the audience. Her attack was made public and the attacked professor protested. Subsequently, a special committee was formed to assess the act and to come up with an equitable "solution." After what was alleged to have been said became *de facto*, the committee ordered the miscreant to compose a letter of apology. The victim received the letter and found it "unacceptable." A second letter was reluctantly accepted, but the injury was sanctioned. No administrative action was taken.


Administrative developments seeking an end to academic misguidance are far and few. But the creation of a Dean of Arts and Sciences, chaired by the distinguished Dr. Stanley Chodorow, may bring the administration closer to the didactic function of the University. Chodorow is respected in the community for educational brilliance rather than political Machiavellianism. And until someone like him reigns, the outside pressures will mount.

—THE EDITORS


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## Not Much of a Guide to Greece



Your Guide, Dr. Alden A. Mosshammer

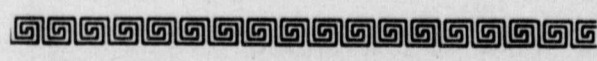
As a professional classicist and historian I am expected to possess unusual expertise in advising people what to see and do when travelling to Greece. The fact is that I have travelled to Greece only twice. I have explored the well known attractions at Delphi, Olympia, and the Acropolis only once, and I am almost completely unfamiliar with the city of Athens.

The reasons for this state of affairs are quite simple. In the first place, I seldom break my cardinal rule on foreign travel, which is never to go on my own funds. Furthermore, with few rare exceptions, I dislike cities and I am not particularly enchanted by old ruins. The exception to my dislike of cities is Paris, not Athens. The only ruins I like are those which are nestled in a deserted countryside and are seldom visited by tourists.

For those who are of like mind on the last two points (I leave it up to you whose money you spend), I shall offer a few pointers based on my limited but nevertheless somewhat unusual experiences. On my first trip I travelled by motorscooter (purchased in Naples) with a fellow teacher from the prep school that then enjoyed the benefit of my services and that put up \$500 towards the expenses on the grounds that such a trip would enhance the classes of a Greek and Latin teacher. In ten weeks of travel, mostly in Greece and Italy, I spent slightly less than that sum, not counting the cost of the 'scooter or of the boat ticket from New York to Naples. Thus I know something about lean budgets. On the second trip, some thirteen years later, after arriving in Greece in a rented car via the overland route from Paris through Yugoslavia, I subsequently travelled by foot from monastery to monastery on Mount Athos in search of uncatalogued manuscript fragments, more than sating my love for deserted countryside.

I recommend that you go by way of Southern Italy and take the ferry from Brindisi to the island of Corcyra off the northwest coast of Greece. This route is easier and faster than the long trek through Yugoslavia. I highly recommend a visit to Yugoslavia, but one should make a separate trip of it and not try to "do" Yugoslavia enroute to Greece. Furthermore, for those who share my tastes in Greek ruins, Southern Italy and Sicily offer far better hunting grounds than mainland Greece itself. The best preserved examples of early Greek architecture are to be found in Paestum, half way between Naples and Sicily, and in Agrigento in Sicily. If you have the time, make the circuit of Sicily before or after your visit to Greece. Both the ruins and the rugged countryside are truly beautiful, and costs can be kept quite low.

Debarke the Italy-Greece ferry on the island of Corcyra (Corfu), rather than continuing on to Patras and the bus to Athens. This is a lovely and uncrowded island with good beaches and justly famous sunsets. I

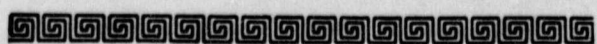


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would go back to Corfu, rather than travel the all-too-popular circuit of the Aegean islands. I am sure costs have risen, but in 1966 it was possible to rent a room on the beach for one dollar a day (for two people!), breakfast included.

Next, take the local ferry to the mainland and debark at Joannina with your 'scooter or bicycle. If you have a car, the ferry from Brindisi will be very expensive and you will need reservations months in advance. Take the new road (not yet built in 1966, but we drove it anyway as the roadbed had been bulldozed and 'scooters are not fussy) inland and visit the monasteries at Meteora (access by basket in 1966, probably improved and crowded with tourists by now). Then head for the city of Thessalonica to the northeast. Mt. Olympus should be climbed enroute, although bad weather (Zeus is protecting his mountain from me) has prevented me from doing so. The city is quite pleasant, much less expensive than Athens, and almost qualifies as an exception to my disdain for cities. Linger here for a couple of days to get the flavor of urban life in Greece without so many other tourists about.

If you are male, go to the American Embassy to obtain a letter of introduction that you can present to the appropriate government office in Thessalonica to ask for permission to visit Mount Athos, routinely granted if you can demonstrate affiliation with an educational institution. The standard permit is for a three-day visit, but a request for extension to a week or more is almost always granted. You will take a boat to the monastic harbor and then find yourself back in the tenth century. Since that time no females have been allowed on the peninsula, a prohibition that extends even to domestic animals such as cows and chickens.

You will now return to Thessalonica and head south for the obligatory visit to Athens. Stop along the way at Iolkos, ancient home of Jason and the Argonauts and a beautiful coastal town. Take the side trip to the site of the Battle of Thermopylae, too, although there is not much to see there. In Athens, gaze at the acropolis (too many tourists and security guards these days to make the actual visit to the top worthwhile). If you cannot persuade yourself to get out of town fast, try to find a newer "class B or C" hotel with a room to spare. Amenities will be almost as good as "class A" at a considerably smaller price.

Leaving Athens, go to Delphi, now also terribly crowded so that it is probably impossible to find a hotel room. Even in 1966, it was difficult, but at that time small children ran up to all incoming visitors (at least those on 'scooters) to offer rooms in private homes—a bargain, if very plain.

Take the ferry across the Gulf of Corinth to the Peloponnesus and plan to spend as much time as you

can exploring that area. Mycenae and Olympia are crowded. But the very beautiful sites of ancient Bassae and Megalopolis in the mountains of Arcadia are not. If you are an adventuresome hiker or have a trail bike, try exploring the extreme southern peninsulas of the Peloponnesus—beautiful, rugged country steeped in the old ways.

If Corfu did not satisfy your taste in islands, then by all means visit the Cyclades of the Aegean. Take the regular interisland ferries and mailboats. Visit the unfamous places like Andros, Paros, and Naxos, rather than teeming Myconos.



Your Guide, C. Brandon Crocker

If you are thinking about throwing away your life's savings on travel this summer, think about Italy. With the current extremely favorable exchange rate, Italy is a bargain.

Rome, the capital of Italy, is a fascinating city. Unfortunately, many of the facades of the city's old and majestic buildings are black from air pollution. The Romans have undertaken a restoration campaign but the job is a big one. Graffiti is another problem in Rome, scarring many buildings and bridges. The ruins are, however, quite nice and in abundance.

Most of the remnants of antiquity are located in the downtown area. Between the Vittorio Emanuele monument and the Colosseum you will find the column of Trajan in Trajan's Forum, the Forum of Augustus (featuring the Temple of Mars the Avenger), and, of course, the Roman Forum. At one end of the Roman Forum is the grand arch of Septimius Severus near to which is the ancient rostrum from which speeches were delivered. The rostrum is also the spot where Mark Antony had the severed head and hands of Cicero nailed to act as a reminder to any others who may have had it in mind to speak or write against Mark Antony. At the other end of the Forum, with the ruins of numerous temples in between, is the Arch of Titus. By taking the path up the incline near the Arch of Titus, you will get to the Palatine Hill, the site of the ruins of the mansions of Ancient Rome's

You will of course acquire the usual guide books. Also get the official list of accommodations from the Greek National Tourist Office in Los Angeles, which will have the names and addresses of the "Class C and D" accommodations. Your general rule is to explore the small towns and countryside and seek out the little known ancient sites, making no more than a perfunctory visit to Athens (but do explore the rest of Attica), Delphi, and the like. Also get a windscreen for your motorscooter, not so much to shield you from the wind as from the myriad butterflies, which can be quite messy.

Dr. Alden A. Mosshammer is professor of History at UCSD.



## Splendors of Italy

Security guards in Saint Peter's Square sport submachine guns (as do the guards at Leonardo Da Vinci Airport). With the Red Brigades and the attempted assassination of the Pope, Italians are very security conscious. Students need not worry about being targets of the Red Brigades unless they are extremely wealthy or have at least one Fortune 500 executive in the family. Street crime in Rome, however, is notoriously high. One must be particularly wary of gypsy children, not just in Rome, but throughout Italy. In Italy, minors cannot be punished for petty theft so the gypsies teach their children to steal.

A stroll through the expansive park grounds of the Villa Borghese is also nice. You can approach the grounds by ascending the Pincio Hill from the Piazza Del Popolo. At the top of the Pincio you can get a good panoramic view of the city. Then continue walking and you'll run right into the shady grounds around the Villa Borghese. In Rome, the public toilets are all pay toilets. One consequence is that many of the monuments in the park have a peculiar odor to them. But a walk through the grounds is still quite pleasant. A nice feature of Rome is that most points of interest are within walking distance of each other. For instance, it is about a 15 minute walk from Saint Peter's Square to the Imperial Forums. And if you don't like walking, taxis are not expensive. (It is more economical to stay at a hotel well outside the center of Rome and take a taxi, or a bus, into the city, than to stay in any of the hotels in the heart of the city, which are quite expensive).

There are several points of interest, just outside of Rome as well. The ancient port of Rome, Ostia, is a miniature Pompeii and, being less well known, is far less crowded than Pompeii. To the east is Tivoli where the remarkable gardens and fountains of the 16th century Villa D'Este are located. Outside of Tivoli are the remains of the vast Villa of the Roman Emperor Hadrian. The catacombs lay just south of Rome along the ancient Appian Way, which is lined by the remains of many interesting tombs and other monuments. Many of these attractions can be visited through tours arranged through hotels. But a few of the local guides aren't quite as knowledgeable as they ought to be.



Roman Forum — Rome

elite. Past the Arch of Titus is the Arch of Constantine and the famous Colosseum. Other notable ancient monuments in Rome include the Pantheon and the Mausoleum of Augustus. The Pantheon was built in 27 B.C. by Augustus' friend and commander at the battle of Actium, Agrippa. It was rebuilt by the Emperor Hadrian in 130. The Pantheon is one of the best preserved buildings of its date, being utilized on a Christian church beginning in 609. The Mausoleum of Augustus now serves as an open-air theater and as a haven for Rome's large population of stray cats.

If one does not care for ruins, there are also quite a few fairly well-kept churches in Rome. It is not possible to list all of them, but one that shouldn't be missed is the Church of Santa Sabina. And, of course, there is the Vatican and Saint Peter's. Aside from the impressive Basilica of Saint Peter (which contains Michelangelo's "Pieta") and the Sistine Chapel, the Vatican museums also contain a massive collection of art treasures.

Some of the stories they tell would make even Herodotus blush.

But there is more to Italy than Rome. Italy, south of Rome, is far poorer than the north. One measure the government has taken to combat this is to try to attract tourism through an incredible marble hotel in Sorrento with a marvelous view of the Bay of Naples, an enormous swimming pool with seven levels, a large indoor pool, and yes, even bathtubs in the rooms—a rarity in Italian hotels. Unfortunately, according to one of the waiters in the hotel restaurant, the government is losing millions of dollars because the project is not paying off, and he was planning to be unemployed soon. Off the coast of Sorrento is the Isle of Capri, a favorite resort from the time the Emperor Tiberius had a dozen villas built for himself on the island along with a private corridor to the famed Blue Grotto.

North of Rome, in the hills of Umbria, are several

castle towns, the most notable of which is Assisi, containing the Basilica of St. Francis. These old towns are actually quite extraordinary—at least they probably seem that way to Americans who are not accustomed to being surrounded by 14th, 15th and 16th century buildings. But the town youths are eager to move off to the more lively cities. Consequently, many of these towns are becoming ghost towns.

About 20 miles to the northeast of Assisi is the largest lake in central Italy, Lake Trasimene, where in 217 B.C. Hannibal knocked an ambitious Roman Consul down a peg or two by killing him, along with a healthy percentage of the Roman army. Further to the north, through the picturesque, forested hills of Tuscany lies Florence.

The cities of northern Italy are the most prosperous in the country and Florence is, indeed, quite nice. Florence is a clean city, located on the banks of the beautiful (especially by night) Arno River, and probably the best big city in Italy in which to live. Among the attractions of Florence are its famous art museums such as the Offizi Gallery and the Academy of Fine Arts (where Michelangelo's "David" is housed). Also not to be missed are the Cathedral of Santa Marie del Fiore, Giotto's elegant bell tower, Bigherti's renowned doors on the adjacent Baptistery, and an excellent restaurant specializing in steak Florentine, the name of which I unfortunately do not recall. You can also buy anything made of leather for about half the price it would cost you over here.

About two hours to the west of Florence is Pisa and the famed Leaning Tower. There is also a great Cathedral, begun in 1153, near the tower. The tower does in fact, lean, and, moreover, there is no railing on the top landing. So anyone afraid of heights should not make the climb.

In the northwest, on the Adriatic coast, is Venice. With the exceptions of St. Mark's and the Doge's Palace, a ride on Disneyland's "Pirates of the Caribbean" is a sufficient substitute for Venice.



Assisi

There are a few magnificent cathedrals in the north, the most notable of which is the astonishing cathedral in Milan. Also in the sprawling city of Milan is Leonardo Da Vinci's "The Last Supper," La Scala Opera House, and, next to the Cathedral, the first enclosed shopping mall, started in 1865, the Vittorio Emanuele Gallery.

Romans leave for the beach resorts in August, so if you want to beat the crowds, (in Rome at least), that is a good time to travel to Italy, though the weather is a bit warm. By the way, the water in Italy is fine, in fact, it is quite good (except in Assisi where it tastes somewhat like dirt). But no one will be offended if you order mineral water—that's what most Italians drink anyway. Do yourself and the Italian economy a favor by spending some time in Italy this summer.

C. Brandon Crocker is a junior at UCSD, and CR's Optimo Princeps.

# California Review Interviews

George F. Will is one of the most prominent political commentators of our time. After starting his career as the sports editor of the student newspaper at Trinity College—where he majored in Religion and Political Science—he went on to read Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at Oxford and earned his Ph.D. in Political Science (with a specialty in political philosophy) at Princeton. He has taught Political Science at Michigan State University and the University of Toronto. Mr. Will became a syndicated columnist in 1973 with his columns appearing in more than 380 newspapers throughout the United States and Europe. He is also a contributing editor of Newsweek for which he writes a biweekly column. In 1977 Mr. Will won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary. He is a panelist on Agronsky & Company and This Week With David Brinkley, a commentator for ABC News and author of *Statecraft as Soulcraft: What Government Does and Two Collections of Essays: The Pursuit of Happiness and Other Sobering Thoughts and The Pursuit of Virtue and Other Tory Notions*. Mr. Will graciously took time to talk with California Review's C. Brandon Crocker, E. Clasen Young and Thomas J. Edwards, during a recent afternoon.

range of incentives and disincentives in conscious legal life, the government does consciously—not consciously enough. I would argue—shape the inner lives of the citizens. In the United States, the clearest example is the commitment to universal, free public education. It is universal, it is free, but it is not optional. People must send their children to school. They may send them to private school as long as it is accredited, but the state has said that to furnish a citizenry competent to the demands of democracy, we are going to enforce public education. That is soulcraft.

**CR:** You stress the need for government to be concerned with man's inner self, but do laws really change his nature or do they merely change his actions?

**WILL:** Obviously, they can change his actions. When you say we're going to put up stop signs, that changes actions. Laws change behavior all the time. I'm saying the structure of laws we have, with the values affirmed, change attitudes and morals. The clearest recent case is the civil rights legislation of the 1960's. It has clearly changed, and was clearly designed to change, the attitudes, the inner lives, of Americans.

**CR:** Americans, as you say in *Statecraft as Soulcraft*, are suspicious of government power. Is this a bad thing?

**WILL:** No, it's not a bad thing. But, it's not absolutely true. I mean, Americans complain a lot about the government and they voice a generalized suspicion of the government, but they constantly clamor for more of it. So, they really talk a much tougher, more conservative game than they are actually prepared to play. But, basically, no. The suspicion of power is healthy. Nevertheless, you cannot define an adequate public philosophy simply by saying, "What is the worst thing in the world?"—well, the worst thing in the world that we have experienced is Stalin, or Hitler, or Mao—and say "Whatever they did we won't do." Then you'd say "They had armies, so we won't have an army as it might become oppressive. We won't have police because they could become Gestapos. We won't have taxation because that could become confiscation." The political problem isn't that simple. You have to live with power; you have to live with government. Government is dangerous, but the absence of government, or weak and ineffective government, is also dangerous.

**CR:** Can the limits of government's power be strictly defined?

**WILL:** The Constitution gives us quite clearly a government of enumerated and delegated powers and circumscribed powers. But if you look at the history of certain provisions in our constitution—the commerce clause for one, the equal protection and due process clause of the 14th Amendment, and the general welfare clause in the section enumerating the powers of

Congress—you see it's awfully hard, with the cobwebs of constitutional language, to strictly contain the power of the state.

**CR:** Are you just being cute when you say that Americans are fundamentally undertaxed?

**WILL:** I'm not being cute. That statement, I think, is as close to an indisputable argument as it is possible to get. I know of no serious person right now who, in the privacy of his apartment, would deny that.

*"Government is dangerous, but the absence of government, or weak and ineffective government, is also dangerous."*

**CR:** You think that taking 21% of the GNP in taxes is not enough?

**WILL:** That's a sort of abstract, Platonic, way of approaching the question and it's simply not serious. The question you ask is this, "How much are we Americans determined to spend through our government?" What do we know as an absolute certainty about the bills we are going to run up? We know rather a lot. By the way, the conservative Republican agenda for this country costs about as much money as the liberal agenda, if not a little bit more. After three years under the Republican administration, the domestic budget cutting is over, because neither political party, no matter what the President may say or may think, has any stomach left for cutting domestic spending. The President wants military spending higher than what the Congress has so far granted. The entitlement programs are not going to be touched by either party and the interest charges aren't optional. I've just given you the whole budget. If you abolished all discretionary social spending, and I mean *abolished* it, you'd have a deficit.

**CR:** Well, what about the Grace Commission's report that we can save more than \$400 billion over the next three years by reducing management costs and reforming the federal pension system?

**WILL:** Well, I have an unfair advantage on you there because I've actually read it. The Grace Commission report is quite a fraud. To begin with, the largest component of that \$424 billion over three years is a change of policy. This is not waste, this is not efficiency, this is a fundamental change in policy. They said that we should reduce federal civilian and military pensions. Well, maybe we should—but we're not going to. And do you know when the first three years of that savings are. The years 2001, 2002, and 2003. If you made those changes next year you'd save about a half a billion dollars. I wrote the speech the President would have to give, if he really meant to embrace the Grace Commission proposal, in one of my columns for *Newsweek*. If he gave that speech he would lose all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

**CR:** Aren't your differences with conservatives over the welfare state merely aesthetic?

**WILL:** Of course not. They're matters of justice. That's the fundamental political concept. And they're a matter of political prudence. On the prudence side, if conservatives cannot come to terms with the welfare state, which was invented by conservatives for impeccably conservative reasons, which exists in every developed industrial society, which is manifestly here to stay in the United States, if conservatives can't come to terms with that, find conservative uses for it and make it compatible with their aspirations, then conservatives are not part of the modern political conversation. They can go to Young Republican meetings and sing funny songs but they're just not in serious, adult politics. On the matter of equity, it seems to me quite clear that the market is a marvelous mechanism for allocating wealth and opportunity. It delivers rough justice. But it is *rough* justice. No

# George F. Will

civilized society and no civilized political movement says that whatever market forces allocate to whatever group is simply by virtue of a market's imprimatur satisfactory.

**CR:** Isn't your use of the word "justice" Platonic in itself?

**WILL:** No. It's Aristotelian.

**CR:** But don't you endorse many of the reforms that conservatives today are recommending, such as the negative income tax?

**WILL:** I don't know whether I endorse that or not. There are administrative problems with it that I don't think anyone has solved. Ideally, you'd rather have the government give cash than services.

**CR:** That's what you say in your book, but isn't that what most conservatives are arguing for today?

**WILL:** Well, I don't quite know what conservatives are arguing for today with regard to the welfare state. As I say in my book, the fundamental task of conservatism is to make concrete and real policies that address the real complexities of the value of equality of opportunity.

**CR:** Do you have an answer to George Gilder's assertion that the welfare state undermines conservative values and that supply side economics instills them?

**WILL:** I'd have to know at somewhat greater lengths what he counts as the rainbow of conservative values, and then there's the empirical question of how you demonstrate that this or that government measure or constellation of government measures is culpable for subversion. It seems to me a fairly broad, thumping assertion that is at bottom an empirical claim and not on the surface convincing.

*"If conservatives can't come to terms with the welfare state, which was invented by conservatives for impeccably conservative reasons, then conservatives are not part of the modern political conversation."*

**CR:** Does not social spending reduce our ability to raise and sustain our military strength?

**WILL:** No. They're quite compatible. There's no question of that.

**CR:** Does the West have the will to lessen its dependence on nuclear weapons by increasing its conventional forces?

**WILL:** You used exactly the right term. It's a matter of political will, not a matter of economic or material scarcity. We clearly made a decision in the early 1950's to rely on our technological superiority to compensate for the Soviet Union's brute superiority of manpower. Having lost that technological superiority, and having become, with good reason, morally squeamish with our excessive reliance on weapons of mass and indiscriminate destruction, we have to face the fact that the position now enjoying high moral currency, that is, to raise the nuclear threshold with stronger conventional forces—would necessitate much larger military budgets than the advocates of that policy are willing to tolerate.

**CR:** Do you think the Soviet Union is using arms negotiations to weaken Western resolve by creating false hopes?

**WILL:** Unquestionably. The principle purpose on the part of the Soviet Union and the principle effect on the United States of arms control agreements has been to paralyze our procurements, to set us to negotiating

with ourselves, to get us to establish the standard that an arms control proposal that is offensive to the Soviet Union is for that reason unfair, and for us to define the success of any administration on its ability to get papers signed at arms control conferences. That's very dangerous.

**CR:** Do you think the Soviets will return to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks before the November elections?

**WILL:** I don't know. I think they may not because they hope that their absence will raise the general level of anxiety and help defeat Ronald Reagan. I should think they will in time because the arms control process, with the asymmetries in negotiations between a free, democratic society and a totalitarian one so favor the totalitarian that it's in their interest.

**CR:** Does Sam Donaldson ever get on your nerves?

**WILL:** No, I rather like Sam. Obviously, he and I are temperamentally and politically quite different. But I think we complement one another.

**CR:** Your secretary, Dusa Gylensvard, tells me you take the time to read *California Review*.

**WILL:** I do, when I get it.

**CR:** What do you think of it?

**WILL:** Not since Aristotle put his pen down has there been such consistently penetrating writing.

**CR:** Do you believe George Will, Bill Buckley and *California Review*, are the three main linchpins of Western civilization?

**WILL:** I'm not sure about two of them, but I certainly am.

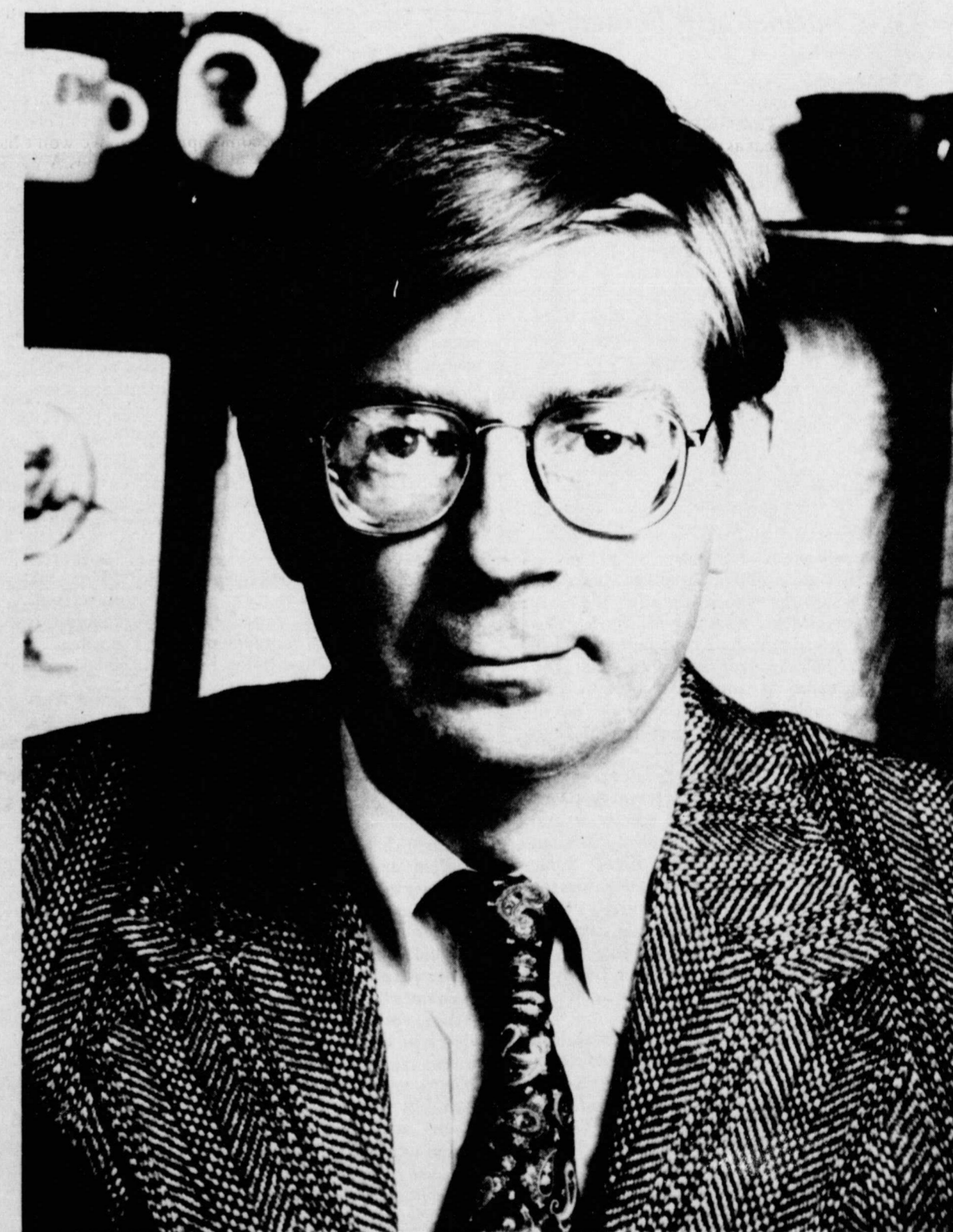
*"The position now enjoying high moral currency—that is, to raise the nuclear threshold with stronger conventional forces—would necessitate much larger military budgets than the advocates of that policy are willing to tolerate."*

**CR:** Would you assign *The American Spectator* a supporting role?

**WILL:** No.

**CR:** Well, thank you for the interview, Mr. Will.

**WILL:** Ok. Glad to help.



*"Crocker, I greatly resent your calling these 'predictions.' These are statements."*



## George F. Will's "Statements" on This Year's Baseball Season

Winner of the National League West:

The San Diego Padres

Winner of the American League West:

The Chicago White Sox

Winner of the National League East:

The Montreal Expos

Winner of the American League East:

The Baltimore Orioles

In the World Series the Orioles will take the Expos in six.

George F. Will is CR's sports editor.

## The Conscience of Scholarship

By Ralph Rainwater, Jr.

Some time back, in the *Guardian*, Canole wrote an editorial asking students to really get involved with their studies. Not only did he want them to actually read the assigned material carefully, but to do outside reading as well. In other words, he asked (presumably) liberal arts students to truly be students.

Fat chance. Why? Because the majority of liberal arts majors (LAMs) are not students in any meaningful sense. If enrolling for 12 units and paying one's fees are enough to qualify for the term "student" then we need an entirely different term for those who came here to learn. We would need a term to describe those for whom acquiring knowledge is a *delight*, for whom learning itself is the most important goal, nothing more.

Am I being too harsh on the majority of LAMs? Consider this scene, one which all people in the liberal arts are familiar with: The Professor asks a question, directly from the assigned material, requiring almost nothing except straight recall from the class. But no answer comes. The room remains silent. If the Professor does not cave in to class pressure, the silence grows more oppressive as it lengthens. People shift in their seats, glancing meekly at each other, growing very annoyed with the Professor for putting them on the spot. Finally one brave soul dares to raise a tentative hand. The Professor points at the student—and an indecently wrong answer is given.



*"Real creativity and excellence in a field such as literature or political theory is intrinsically limited to only a few."*

I do not exaggerate too much with this example. In one upper division class the Professor asked Political Science majors to simply name magazines with particular ideological bent. Almost nobody could. Imagine that: a room of supposedly politically aware people were ignorant of contemporary literature in their chosen field. Imagine how ignorant they must be of that *outside* their field. In this case, the Professor let them off by saying, "Oh well, I suppose you're too busy with computers these days." He was just being kind, of course. The closest most liberal arts people come to computers is the video arcade.

No, among the liberal arts, it is considered a sign of pretension to even speak about one's field outside of class. To seriously discuss the material, to be genuinely interested in it, is almost a sign of poor taste. We have even assigned a special name for these people—nerds. After all, what is a nerd? Not always the physically inept, social misfit the popular stereotype wants him to be. A nerd is someone who voluntarily studies. A nerd gets genuine pleasure from delving into a particular area and researching for hours on end. We're likely to snicker when a student says he is fascinated by the parallels between Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Kissinger, for example. When the student gets out of earshot, we turn to each other with jeering smiles and say knowingly, "Such a nerd."

We've even gone so far today as to devalue the fruits of concentrated effort. For example, I recently praised a particular student writer (who has been in several campus publications) to a friend. He replied, "Yes, but that's all he does. He writes all the time." Some indictment! As if focusing one's energies devalues the achievement! As if only that which seemingly comes without effort is special. So affronted are we when (for the joy of it) a peer does something well, that we automatically attack that person's character. Surely he must be insecure to spend his free hours on achieving something.

But this attitude towards true students is actually a sign of something larger—the average LAMs disbelief in the value of his major. Students are not simply lazy. Instead, they don't see the use of delving into fields that are perceived as being irrelevant, trivial, or simply wrong. I emphasize "perceived as" because the liberal arts are not inherently any of those things.

The value of these subjects has been belittled primarily because there are too many LAMs in American colleges and universities today. Inflation works in

education as it does in the financial world. The oversupply of LAMs has reduced the intellectual esteem of these fields. Why doesn't it work this way in the engineering and scientific fields? Because the liberal arts are more open-ended in the tasks they need

This type cannot back down. Their entire self-esteem is on the line. You are calling their bluff. To object to their argument is to question their worth as people. We shouldn't get upset at the class expert, for he is the logical outcome of our lack of respect for knowledge and truth. The expert is simply more obvious about what we already feel—information, and the display of it, are useful as tools to say

*"The world does not need 'C' students in the liberal arts."*

something about ourselves, nothing else. The class expert is distasteful, yes, but entirely unavoidable as long as the liberal arts are used for these purposes.

Some will reply at this point, "Maybe so. But you've missed another benefit a liberal arts education brings, even if one is not going to use that knowledge *per se*. A more thoughtful, intelligently behaved population is created." Really? Then why are 30% of the "Yuppies" supporting Gary Hart ready to vote for Reagan—his ideological opposite in U.S. terms—if Mondale is nominated? This is not the behavior of a rational populace, but a superficial one. It is possible to be happy about their sentiments, yet dismayed at their reasons for voting as they do.

Am I putting myself on a pedestal by arguing against my fellow LAMs? I don't intend to, and can't, since all this comes from personal experience. I'm guilty of all the charges levelled at LAMs in this article. I even used to burn my class notes after each quarter, in a celebration of the uselessness of the information contained inside. I look back at my five years here, and am ashamed of the first four. Even today I'm behaving as an actor, as are all student writers and editorialists. Perhaps acting a part is all any of us can do, and still sound certain about what we say. If I was intellectually honest, I would not write for another ten years, or more. All of the student writers, I hope, eventually learn enough to shift from being actors to the real thing—scholars.



An ideal solution to this surplus of LAM actors would be to apply strict standards for their college diploma. All undergraduates should complete an honor's thesis, learn a foreign language, and be subject to academic probation if they fall under a 3.2 GPA. The world does not need "C" students in the liberal arts. Apply strict intellectual standards and the drop in enrollment would be amazing.

Who would remain? The very best actors, the very best students. The value of these people's written thoughts would rise a bit. Best of all, the diploma handed out for undergraduate degrees would actually indicate that the recipient has *learned*.

Ralph Rainwater, Jr. is a senior at UCSD.

## From the Defensive to the Offensive: Tipus O'Neillus Cellulitus

By Bob McKay

One of President Reagan's most innovative, dynamic, and profound ideas that seems to be getting nowhere is his proposal for a "New Federalism." The chorus of howls denouncing the President's New Federalism, along with the bureaucratic inertia delaying its implementation, can easily be accounted for by considering the vast number of politicians who would be—alas!—inconvenienced by the plan.

The main goal of the New Federalism proposals is to reduce the size of the mammoth federal bureaucracy, a need recognized by virtually anyone who does not look at the Soviet Union as a role model for effective government. This is to be accomplished by transferring the responsibilities for a variety of federal social welfare programs to the states. This will have the effect of making the delivery of welfare assistance much more cost effective—the level of welfare protection being extended can be maintained or even increased at less expense to the taxpayer—in three ways. First, tax dollars used to pay for welfare programs need be sent only as far as the upper reaches of the state bureaucracy, and then to flow from a point no higher than the state bureaucracy. Thus, an entire layer of bureaucrats—those at the federal level—have been relieved of the need to be involved in the collection or distribution of the tax dollars—allowing a higher percentage of such tax dollars to reach their intended beneficiaries. A second factor making state control versus federal control of social programs more fiscally sound is the fact that an organization at the state level would be closer to the people it is designed to benefit. The administrators of federal social programs must

*Some states will be more concerned for their needy than others, and thus serious inequities in the level of social protection will exist from state to state. Were the federal government simply to assume good faith on the part of the states in picking up programs it has abandoned, there is no doubt that some states would be inclined to neglect their poor and save the added expense. Therefore, the federal government must actively ensure that each state is meeting its obligations. Such enforcement should not be difficult, given the amount of federal control over state purse strings.*



*Some states have simultaneously, an above average per capita income and a below-average unemployment rate. Thus, the states best able to afford social programs will thus be those least in need of them. This is, to an extent, true. However, the states to which such an objection applies—Nevada and Alaska come to mind—are not particularly populous. Indeed, the two states mentioned constitute less than one percent of the nation's population. In the most populous states—California, New York, Texas, Illinois, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania—the relationship between the tax base and social needs is considerably more equal. It would be foolish to deny ourselves an across-the-board reduction in the taxation needed to fund social services because a tiny proportion of the population will get a disproportionately large decrease. The average resident of New York, seeing a significant reduction in the amount of taxes he or she pays to fund social programs is not likely to begrudge the resident of Alaska for the fact that the latter's reduction was even greater.*

*Federal welfare programs cannot easily be undertaken by fiscally strained state budgets. Obviously, state taxes will have to be raised to a level sufficient to pay for the newly-acquired social programs. This was the cause of the loudest screams after the President first outlined his New Federalism proposals. State legislators and executives across the land howled the above line almost in unison. I suspect the capacity for state budgets to handle such responsibility is not their greatest concern; the necessary tax base will automatically be created by the consequent decrease in federal taxation. Rather, I suspect most of them fear what raising such taxes would do to their reelection prospects. This reflects both the contempt of politicians for their constituents, for I believe the majority of taxpayers could be made to understand the connection between the increase in the state tax burden and the concomitant, and greater, decrease in the federal tax burden; and it shows what I think has been one of the most disgusting traits of American politics in the past twenty years—the fact that most of our politicians are wimps. Political expediency has consistently come to replace an objective analysis of the situation in determining action (or, more frequently, the lack thereof). The politician who attempts to be bold may be surprised; I suspect that the electorate will not punish him as much as the average politician suspects.*

*The Federal government does not have the authority to mandate that the states provide social welfare programs. I tend to agree. It is difficult to find the Constitutional authority for the federal government to*

effect such an undertaking, but that hardly means that it cannot be done. It is equally difficult to find the Constitutional authorization for a nationwide fifty-five mile per-hour speed limit, but that is how fast we drive all across the country.

*Unemployment will increase as thousands of federal bureaucrats lose their jobs. Alas! They will be thrown out on the streets without any experience in doing work that is beneficial to society! Oh, well. They can take advantage of the many programs available for training people to become useful, productive members of society. It will take years, but once the process is complete, I am sure the average ex-bureaucrat will find that it feels good to be wanted again.*

In an age where style counts more than substance, we must consider the enormous symbolic value of the New Federalism program. One of my main grievances with the Republican Party has always been that it has tended to reinforce its image as a party of reaction. The Republican Party must go from the defensive to the offensive, offering innovative ideas that are at once progressive and conservative. The New Federalism fits that criterion: it is positive, active change for the better.

Bob McKay is a senior at UCSD.



## The Quintessence of the Law:

### A Conversation With Eugene V. Rostow, Sterling Professor at Yale Law School and former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Eugene V. Rostow is one of America's most distinguished intellectuals. He is Sterling Professor of Law and Public Affairs at Yale University and has been Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge and Eastman Professor at Oxford. He has also been Visiting Professor at the University of Chicago. He was Dean of the Yale Law School between 1955 and 1965, where his influence on the ethical approach to the study of law was powerful. He was Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs from 1966 to 1969 and was Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1981 to 1983. During academic interludes, he has also served in the Secretariat of the United Nations and, during World War II, in the State Department. He is the author of many books, including *The Sovereign Prerogative: The Supreme Court and the Quest for Law, Power, and the Pursuit of Peace; and Peace in the Balance: The Future of American Foreign Policy*. Professor Rostow recently took time off from his busy schedule to discuss the problem of arms control and disarmament with Eric Clasen Young, Imperator of the California Review.

**CR:** In your book on the future of United States foreign policy entitled *Peace in the Balance*, you say that "the task of peace among nations is like that of peace in a free society;" continuing, you say that "by definition, the idea of peace is linked to the idea of law," and that "law is the system of peace." Would you explain this in a 1980's context.

**Rostow:** I don't think the problem has changed very much since I wrote that. Indeed, the problem hasn't changed since the time of Thucydides. Law can't be escaped. When we really sink into a condition of anarchy, in which everyone is fighting everyone else, human beings act very strongly against it, and they try desperately to restore order, or at least a minimum degree of public order, because they can't function without it. And very often, of course, the situation of anarchy leads to solutions of tyranny, that is, restoration of order at the cost of all forms of liberty. Now when I say that the regularities of law are necessary in order to achieve anything we can really call peace, as distinguished from order, I mean a pattern of behavior and of rules and institutions to force codes of behavior, not perfectly, but reasonably well, that correspond to the pattern of what people deem right in that society, that is, to the culture of that society. That's why I think the most profound comment made about law is the first sentence of Montesquieu's great book, *The Spirit of the Laws*, which is that the laws of society are like the laws of physics, the laws of nature; they correspond to the nature of things. And these are the necessities for cooperation within international society and the rules that are necessary to achieve the shared aspirations of international society. And that is just as true now as when I wrote it ten years ago, or when Montesquieu wrote it in the 18th Century. And I think it's becoming more and more recognized. If you look around, you see that the Secretary General of the United Nations, in his most recent report, warns that *anarchy* is the great danger facing mankind, not nuclear weapons or the offshoots, but anarchy, and it has to be cured. So you have a series of books by a number of political scientists and historians all suddenly preoccupied with the problem of order, because they sense that order is disintegrating in international society.

**CR:** The Secretary General is making an appeal to the nations that they recommit themselves to the principles of the U.N. Charter. How much influence will the Charter have, especially article 2(4) on the behavior of states?

**Rostow:** Well that depends on what the Great Powers do. So far, that appeal has been greeted by stony silence, except for a few ritual remarks by some of the spokesmen for the leading nations. The Soviet Union hasn't even commented about it, I believe. We have—had we meant it. I think the reason for that is not very hard to find. It's Vietnam and the impact of the Vietnam experience on the Western mind. You see,

Vietnam represented the end of the Truman approach, which was enforcing the rules of the Charter against aggression through collective security devices. Well, the shock of the Vietnam experience was very great and that's one of the obstacles that has to be faced very soon before we can hope to put together a peacekeeping system again. So the result is that, thus far, the Secretary General's appeal has fallen on stony ground. But that doesn't mean that will remain true a year hence.

**CR:** You have argued that the minimal security of the United States could be protected by establishing a new balance of power in the world. How might one go about attaining this?

**Rostow:** It could be attained by carrying out the commitments we already have and the arrangements that have already been made with our allies, both in the Atlantic region and in the Pacific. That is to say, stepping forward, boldly and effectively, to deter aggression and to contain the outward push of the Soviet Union. Now, of course, we're not doing that very well. We're not doing it with any conviction at all in the Middle East at this very moment. We've just suffered a defeat, a spectacular defeat, that is going to have to be overcome. I've called what's going on in Lebanon "President Reagan's Bay of Pigs."

**CR:** At the beginning of your tenure with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), what goals did you set in order to effect significant advances in arms control?

**Rostow:** We re-examined the basis of the SALT I agreement and the SALT II agreement and proposed a new approach to these agreements, a somewhat modified approach for the negotiations that were in prospect. And that is to say, instead of having agreements based on the number of launchers, agreements based on the number of warheads, weapons and their destructive power. We proposed a twin approach that would take into account the destructiveness of varying kinds of nuclear weapons. The approach based on launchers worked reasonably well in the 70's, when we had deterrent capacity by any measure, but it didn't work at all in the 80's, when the Soviet Union was so close to us by every measure, and so far ahead in the most significant category, ground-based ballistic missiles. So that was done and the government accepted that basic approach, which is the most important accomplishment I had while I was in the ACDA. And we proposed it to the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union does not want any agreement based on equality. And for us, we wouldn't consider any other kind of an agreement, because the object of the exercise (for us) was to achieve an agreement compatible with mutual deterrence. Compatible, that is, with eliminating the risk of nuclear war. As for the Soviet Union, the object of the exercise was to obtain an agreement which would recognize their right to superiority in the category of ground-based ballistic missiles, the most destabilizing of all nuclear weapons. That's where we are now and that's what the stalemate is all about. We want agreements based on equality and they want agreements based on what they call "equal security," which is a backhanded way of saying that they have the right to nuclear forces equal to the sum of all the other nuclear forces in the world—American, British, French, Chinese, etc.

**CR:** Who actually shaped American arms control policy? Rostow, Nitze, you? Or the combination of all three?

**Rostow:** The President made the policy. I was in charge of proposing the ACDA approach. And with some modifications, that was ultimately accepted by the other agencies involved, that is, the State Department, the Defense Department, primarily, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I mean Rostow and Nitze worked for me, you see, as well as a good many other people, and of course they participated very actively in the process of achieving the ACDA position, but I took responsibility for that...

**CR:** And then you left?

**Rostow:** I was fired.

**CR:** What signals do you think the dismissal sent to other nations, especially to the Soviet Union?

**Rostow:** Well, I haven't any idea. I did my best to try to minimize any anxieties that might be in Europe on the subject. And I think the Soviet Union simply scratched their heads and said "these inscrutable Westerners, we're never going to understand their system of government."

*"The Soviet Union does not want any agreement based on equality."*

**CR:** Did you think that Adelman was a qualified replacement?

**Rostow:** Oh yes; sure.

**CR:** In your view, did the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) talks, which reconvened in January 1983, start off well?

**Rostow:** Yes, they started off well. We were dealing with an extremely able Soviet ambassador, and it was all brisk, but things were clear cut and we managed to define the issues very clearly. Of course, our ambassador Paul Nitze was a man of superb ability. It was a fine exercise. All it did was to qualify two things, I think. One was that an agreement on the basis of equality is possible, easily possible. And secondly, that's what the Soviet Union does not want. So far, they've tried and toiled to put the political screws on the Europeans in order to break the NATO agreement, the two-track decision, and now they're trying to exploit the American election. And they're not doing badly with it. Senator Glenn has already said "well, we really ought to do something about the British and the French weapons." And Vice President Mondale has said that he is in favor of a freeze, whatever that may mean. And even Vice President Bush has made some noises about the British and the French weapons. So the Soviets are in no position to give up now. I think there's no reason for them to.

**CR:** Regarding what Glenn and Bush have said, why were the independent forces of France and Great Britain not included in the INF proposal?

**Rostow:** Well, they're not under our control. They're not a threat to the Soviet Union in any way and there's no reason whatever to put them there. The deterrent force, both for Japan (for the Pacific) and for Europe is the American force. The Soviet Union has always had superior conventional forces in Europe and in the Far East. And they have been balanced by the American nuclear umbrella. Now the American nuclear umbrella is in doubt, in very grave doubt. And the only thing that can prevent Europe and the other allies from being overrun or brought to heel is the American nuclear deterrent. Now the British and French forces exist for quite different reasons. And so do the Chinese or the Israeli's. They exist to see to it that they have a voice in starting a war if we have a very, very weak president, as we've had recently, and also to deflect war in those countries in the event there is general chaos. And the Soviets know that very well. They speak of them with nothing but contempt. They're not a threat to the Soviet Union in any way. So those are insurance policies and they have no business being in the negotiations. But they're plausible. It's a plausible point and the Soviets push it with the utmost cynicism and enthusiasm.

**CR:** Do you think the tenet of Massive Retaliation has become an empty threat?

## World Stability v. World Anarchy

**Rostow:** It always was really. That's why these ground-based ballistic missiles are so important, because they're precise, and they're very accurate and very destructive. What they threaten is the military capacity of the other side. The point I keep trying to make over and over again in my speeches and articles, both before I left the government and since, is that fundamentally, the nuclear weapon is a political force, and not a military force; that is, it has an enormous influence of policy even when it's not exploded. You always have the wild card—the Qaddafi, the Khomeini, the Iraqis, or whatever—but so far as the big industrial powers are concerned, these are chessmen and not military instruments.

**CR:** In your speech "From the Finland Station" (February 18, 1983), you said that "disarmament and collective security are twin policies." This is a differing view from that of former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who says that arms control can and should proceed without such linkage. Paul Warnke goes so far as to say that through linkage, the United States tries to use arms control negotiations as a reward or a punishment for Soviet behavior. Why is there no agreement among the three of you?

**Rostow:** The reason for that...well, we're all three Yale men, you understand...But I think the reason is that Paul Warnke and Cy Vance believe, profoundly believe, that arms control agreements can do the job alone and I do not. I agree with Salvador de Madariaga, whom I quoted the other day, the former official at the League of Nations with a lot of experience in disarmament, who said that if you have disarmament negotiations without collective security, you wind up with agreements that have more armament. I don't think linkage, in that naked sense, rewarding the Soviet Union, or anything of the kind, is what I'm talking about. I'm saying that we must pursue both policies at the same time. They're not linked. But the arms control agreement must be compatible with a

*"The Soviet Union has always had superior conventional forces in Europe and the Far East. The only thing that can prevent Europe and the other allies from being overrun or brought to heel is the American nuclear deterrent."*

policy of collective security, that is, a deterrent. And that's why I've said from time to time that the Director of the Arms Control Agency has the awesome power *not* to win the battle for peace, but to lose it. That is, if he recommends an arms control agreement and the President accepts that resignation, and the arms control agreement is one that locks in the Soviet nuclear superiority, then it will be totally impossible for us to have a policy of collective security. And we'll be driven back onto ourselves, into the posture of isolation. And then there will be war.

**CR:** You have used Yuri Andropov's speech of August 5, 1978 to define the Soviet notion of detente. Could we call it Finlandization?

**Rostow:** It is Finlandization. He's the only one I think who's ever said it. This is what they're talking about when they talk about detente, the policy of Finland, and this is what they want the West to emulate. We should provide the credits and lead our lives and leave all the serious business of the world to them.

**CR:** Do you see important changes on the horizon with the new leadership of Konstantin Chernenko?

**Rostow:** No, I think we're *always* looking for changes on the horizon with new leadership in the Soviet Union. They're a very well disciplined lot with a very able government, a very well trained and carefully controlled government. And they don't change unless they have to. And they know that. The policy has been the same since 1917.

**CR:** What will be the ramifications of new missile bases being constructed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia?

**Rostow:** Nothing in particular. Europe is already fully covered with SS-20 bases. Adding a few more isn't going to alter the problem.

*"If you have disarmament negotiations without collective security, you wind up with agreements that have more armament."*

**CR:** What do you think are some of the problems we will face in the Stockholm talks?

**Rostow:** That's political theatre. No significance.

**CR:** Political theatre? Do you think that the accord insuring protection from surprise attack in Western Europe means anything at all?

**Rostow:** No. You see, they're very tricky things to handle politically and it's very important to handle them *well* politically. But the object of those exercises is to maintain allied unity and to put on a show to dramatize for public opinion exactly what the Soviets are.

**CR:** How important is the prospect of a 17% defense spending boost?

**Rostow:** Very important, because otherwise, the Soviet Union has no incentive for compromise. They're not philanthropists. They're not going to give you anything for nothing. And if we want to stabilize world politics and to contain the process of Soviet imperial expansion, we have to demonstrate that we mean it. And of course, the disastrous performance we've put on now in the Middle East sets us back for a couple of years.

**CR:** In the Churchill Lecture, you talked about unnecessary wars. Are we fighting an unnecessary war?

**Rostow:** No. The Soviet threat is a very real one and it represents a profound commitment of Soviet policy. And it affects our most vital interest, our political independence. Unless we win that war our future will be that of a Soviet satellite.



*In the wake of Churchill*

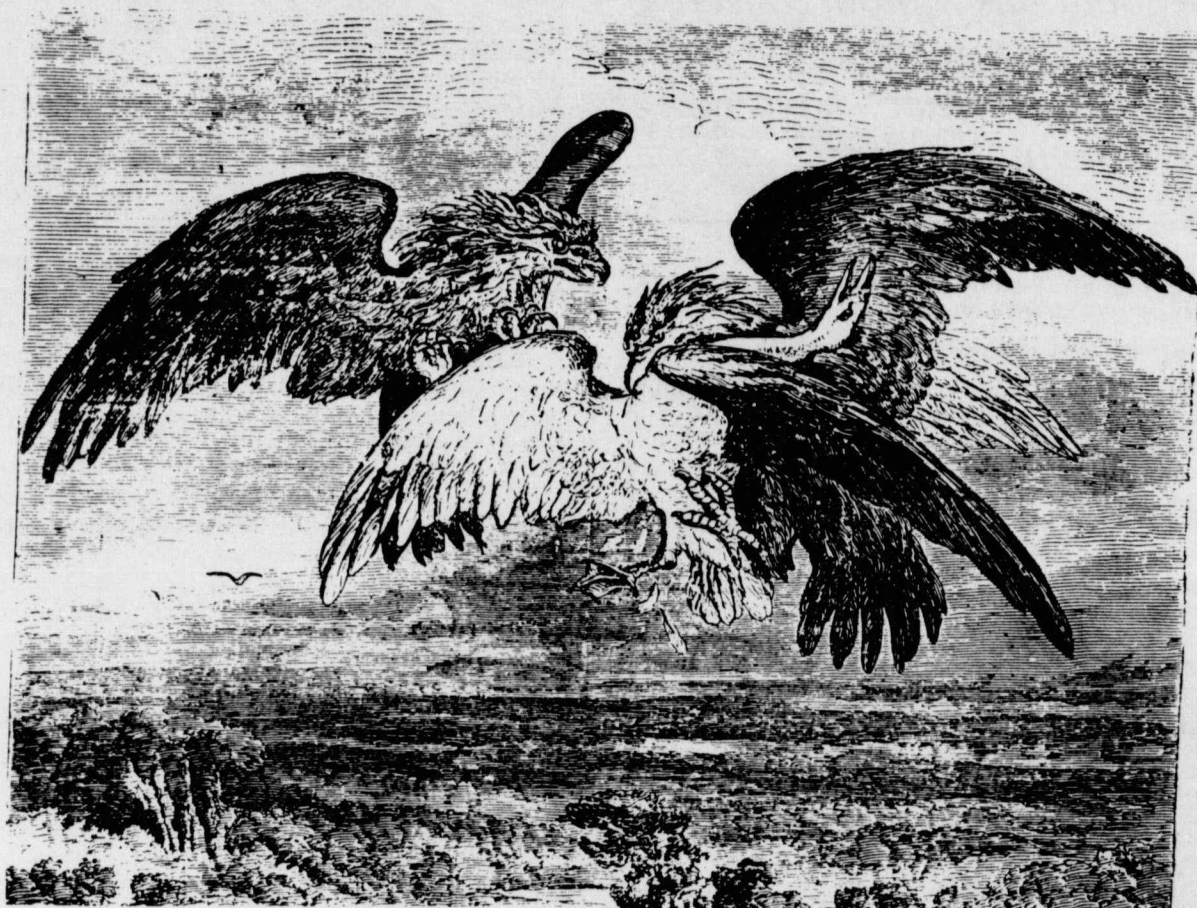
# Taking the High Ground— The “Star Wars” Primer

By Thomas J. Edwards

At worst, the vision which President Reagan presented to the public on 23 March 1983, for developing U.S. strategic defenses, will make the job of Soviet military planners much more difficult and prevent the Soviet Union from continuing a low-cost

method of overwhelming present U.S. forces with “heavy” strategic missiles. At best, the vision, as he stated, might just someday make “nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.” The President, it is well known, sides with the optimists—but optimists often prevail. To be sure, his “vision for the future” and the speech, as it has come to be labeled, is truly the stuff of which “Star Wars” are made.

It has been recommended by the committees that research and development begin or be continued until the technologies being considered can be



nuclear physicists, responds that “the divisions are as great as ever.” Dr. Teller himself has had a change of heart over some recommendations in the Fletcher report. One, in particular, is the statement that the system *must* include space-based lasers. Dr. Teller believes it would be not only much more economical, but much safer to the system, to base the lasers on the ground and have them reflect off giant space-based mirrors—the technology of which is not as complicated because lasers require massive amounts of power. Dr. Teller also points out that a very important aspect to any U.S. ABM system must be that the cost of overwhelming it (i.e. destroying its function or purpose) is much greater to the opponent than the cost of implementing such a system is to us. Accordingly, an effective system would likely need to incorporate some form of defense against offensive countermeasures.

However, it is concern over possible Soviet reactions that looms as the largest stumbling block toward ABM development. The question is often posed, “If the Soviets knew we were developing a program that would shortly make their strategic forces worthless and protect the United States from attack, wouldn’t there be a tremendous temptation to launch a preemptive first strike?” According to Dr. Keyworth, “The answer is obviously no. We do not have some kind of magic defense we are going to pull out of a hat. We are talking about the kind of system that will take decades to build.” He adds that “the Soviet Union has an aggressive anti-ballistic missile program going on, and it is highly probable that we will arrive at the same place at the same time.” This is particularly likely if they remain successful in stealing U.S. technology, or if President Reagan’s suggestion of sharing our anti-ballistic missile technology with the Soviets becomes a reality.

Some argue against SDI with the rationalization that the system will not be 100 percent effective. These critics should know there is no such thing. And they can take note, as the *National Journal* has, that under our present policy of mutually assured destruction “the United States has *never* conducted a successful launch of an ICBM from an operational silo.” The President’s initiative merely seeks a reliable deterrent to reduce our reliance on weapons of mass-destruction, not an excuse to encourage a Soviet launch.

Another argument used against a U.S. strategic missile defense is that it leaves our allies open to the possibility of attack. In point of fact, as the President has stated, “...their safety and ours are one. And no change in technology can or will alter that reality.” Experts generally agree that any U.S. system would have to be extended to include our allies.

“demonstrated” and studied for feasibility and effectiveness—which is what the President intends to do. According to Gilbert Rye, director of Space Programs for the National Security Council, “Unless the Soviets ‘break-out’ of the 1972 (ABM) Treaty this is all that is in the cards.” The Fletcher report urges “that a vigorous research and development program, broadly based but highly goal-oriented be pursued.” And it calls for certain demonstrations of the technology as early as 1986, if the President receives the funding he has requested.

The new technologies include: Nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers, particle beam weapons, chemical infrared, and other high energy lasers; two-dimensional optics, wave radar and laser imaging radar for searching and tracking; billion operation per-second microprocessors for optical sensing, and other precision sensors for “hit-to-kill” guided interceptors, combined with other microminiaturized electronics; development of a hypervelocity gun derived from electromagnetic and “railgun” technology; and boost-phase interceptor technologies based on directed energy and kinetic energy “kill” mechanisms. These recommendations are made in addition to continuing critical programs currently going on within DARPA (the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency).

Dr. George A. Keyworth II, Science Advisor to the President, informs me—and the Fletcher study reaffirms—that “during the last 10 years there have been tremendous amounts of progress in technologies that make it logical for us to consider this.” The Fletcher team’s study concludes that “after calling on the aid of hundreds of representatives of industry and academia...we take an optimistic view of newly emerging technologies and with this viewpoint concluded that a robust, multi-tiered ballistic missile defense system can eventually be made to work.”

It is a multi-layered approach with an effectiveness at each level, thus increasing dramatically the total effectiveness of the system, that experts see as the key to success for an “area” defense system.

Nevertheless, the findings and conclusions of these studies have not ended the deep division which has existed within the scientific community over strategic missile defense ever since DARPA began work on the concept more than 20 years ago. When asked about these divisions, Dr. Edward Teller, a strong supporter of the President’s SDI and one of the nation’s leading

method of overwhelming present U.S. forces with “heavy” strategic missiles. At best, the vision, as he stated, might just someday make “nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.” The President, it is well known, sides with the optimists—but optimists often prevail. To be sure, his “vision for the future” and the speech, as it has come to be labeled, is truly the stuff of which “Star Wars” are made.

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Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) charge the President with proposing the militarization of the “last great hope for international cooperation,” ignoring completely that the Soviet Union militarized space long-ago. As NSC officials remind, “the Soviet Union began testing ‘killer’ satellites in space over ten years ago.”

Still others assert that such a program violates the 1972 ABM Treaty. With the Secretary of Defense stating that our research will allow us to remain in complete compliance with the ABM Treaty, and with U.S. evidence in hand that the Soviets are in violation of that same treaty via construction of their massive “phased-array” radar at Abalakova, this argument is moot.

The President is seeking the high ground, and because we will know in a very few years whether or not his proposal is “pie in the sky,” we have no excuse—given the evidence—not to wait for and to seek the verdict. Indeed, with the technological advances occurring daily we would be negligent if we did not. The old adage, “Nothing ventured, nothing gained” seems applicable here. And for the skeptics there’s always history: 81 years ago physicist Simon Newcomb announced, as the Wright brothers took-off, “that the laws of physics proved man could never fly.” As the first successful test of an atom bomb was being conducted, Admiral Leahy told President Truman, “That bomb will never go off, and I speak as an expert on explosives.” And as the first Sputnik went into orbit, the Astronomer Royal of Great Britain proclaimed that the idea of launching satellites into space was “utter bilge.”

Thomas J. Edwards is a sophomore at UCSD.

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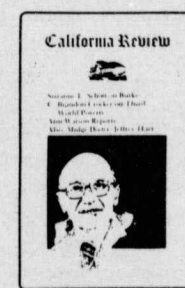
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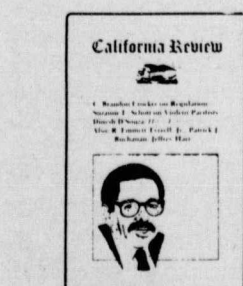
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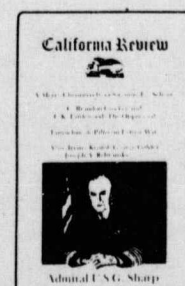
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Date	Program
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May 3, 4, 5	<b>Schubert:</b> Symphony No. 4 <b>Hindemith:</b> Horn Concerto <b>Bizet:</b> L'Arlesienne Suite No. 1 <b>Borodin:</b> Polovetsian Dances
May 9, 12, 13	<b>Bach:</b> Violin Concerto No. 1 <b>Haydn:</b> Symphony No. 90 <b>Beethoven:</b> Rondino <b>Mozart:</b> Symphony No. 41

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Or, if you're like me and too old to join,  
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these darling lads and lassies who are  
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