

E. Clasen Young

H.W. Crocker III

# California Review

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One Dollar  
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C. Brandon Crocker on Protectionism  
F. Scott Fitzgerald: Some Sort  
of Epic Grandeur

The New Cold War: Happy New Year

Also: Tom Bethell, Jeffrey Hart, John K.  
Williams



Phyllis Schlafly



Walter Williams

# BEYOND THE OCHRE AND UMBER

by Tom Bethell

Tom Bethell is *The American Spectator's* Washington editor and a Washington editor of *Harper's*.

It's surprising how few transcontinental airline passengers bother to look out of the airplane window. They are too busy studying real estate maps of Los Angeles, lawyers' briefs, or wearisome government reports. I'm studying a large-scale map of Colorado myself. It is spread out below me, partly obscured by the DC-10 wing. The jet shadow is plowing a determined furrow across ochre and umber squares, suede-colored rectangles which soon give way to great unbordered spaces without a sign of life.

What's all this about our over-populated environment, then? I've been staring out of the window for the past hour, and to date I have spotted a dozen dots, which can be presumed to be farm houses.

Soon even the farm houses end. The plane-shadow is now plowing across papier-mache foothills, fir trees clustered on top like iron filings on magnetic poles; to the north a great white ice sheet; here below purpled hills, rilles, and Rockies; crumpled crevasses, dry branching gullies, wrinkled earth, the Colorado River, the West! Sandstone monuments, the salmon-pink desert... No natural resources here, gentlemen. Only the elements.

The desert continues for about another hour, then one begins to see irrigated land, the occasional reservoir, outposts of civilization, the Los Angeles Aqueduct bringing water from the Owens Valley to the north, urban outskirts, suburbs, the San Fernando Valley, the Pacific Ocean. Within a few minutes we had landed.

It had all been arranged by telephone. For the next few weeks I would be the "writer-in-residence" at the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*.

I stood outside the airport concourse and awaited my chauffeur, like Jeremy Portage in Aldous Huxley's *After Many a Summer*. But somehow he never came and in the end I rented a car. Huxley, arriving in Los Angeles in the 1930s, was immediately intrigued by the signs:

EATS  
COCKTAILS  
JUMBO MALTS  
FACIALS

The city was then at the leading edge of popular Western culture. Perhaps it still is, but you wouldn't know it from the immediately visible signs, which have a *deja vu* quality:

TRAVEL LODGE  
HOWARD JOHNSON

What, then, are the distinctive signs of contemporary culture? Are they still in English? Perhaps I should make their discovery the grand object of my visit.

Within a few days I arranged to have lunch with Ben Stein, the former White House speechwriter whose book *The View From Sunset Boulevard* documents quite thoroughly the prevailing anti-capitalist trend in Hollywood. This has also been established with greater statistical precision in a study forthcoming from The Media Institute in Washington, D.C. According to the Institute's president, Leonard Theberge, the study finds that two-thirds of the time they are shown on prime-time television, businessmen are depicted either as crooks, con men, or clowns, and rarely if ever as engaged in productive activity.)

Stein suggested that I meet him at The Palm restaurant on Santa Monica Boulevard. "You'll recognize it because there will be about a million Rolls Royces and Mercedes outside," he said in a droll voice. Stein recently sold a script to the movies, and he also writes a highly readable column for the *Herald Examiner*, often addressing in an amusingly head-on way the taboo subject of status. He told me right off that one of the problems writers encounter in Hollywood is that there are too many of them: One in a thousand film scripts is sold; and of these, one in 250 is actually made into a film. Thus a lot of people struggling against those monumental odds are likely to conclude after a few years that "the system" is somehow to blame, that they are unfairly at the mercy of crassly commercial businessmen, and so on. But instead of applying for a steady job at the Department of Human Resources, or whatever, they take it out on capitalism.

From what Stein said, I gathered that one of the problems with Hollywood is that people never know when they are well off. "I had lunch in this very restaurant with a 16-year-old actress last week," he said. "She's making \$8500 a week. But she says she's being cheated."

He paused to wave at a record producer, and pointed out an extremely thin TV actress who has "a \$400-a-day cocaine habit."

"Then, take the writer who is paid \$200,000 for a script," he went on, "and he says he's being cheated. This writer will say, 'Look at Norman Lear. He gets \$20 million.' Or another writer who was paid \$300,000 for a film script, and the film was a hit, grossing \$40 million. But he has no 'points.' No share of the profits. So he thinks he's being cheated. 'There would be no picture without my script,' the writer will say to himself. And then take Norman Lear. He gets \$20 million, say, but he says, 'Look, the network is making \$100 million...' And because of taxes Norman only keeps a few cents on the dollar anyway. So everyone thinks he is being cheated."

So there you have a kind of pyramid of envy, call it Hollywood Green, which keeps a lot of people in a state of unnecessary mental turmoil. I had been intrigued that very day by a story in the paper about Suzanne Somers, who believes that "her \$30,000 a week salary is below that of comparable stars on other successful television series." Invidious comparisons obscure our blessings.

"Even so," Stein added, "almost all these people really do get cheated one way or another, no matter how much they are paid."

He spotted my faded East Coast Brooks Brothers rig and recommended a tailor: Giorgio's on Rodeo Drive.

"Next time I'll tell you about how secretaries come to Hollywood and become film producers within a couple of years," Ben Stein promised.

I drove to Rodeo Drive, a smart street in Beverly Hills where someone was dusting off the sidewalk with a feather mop. Giorgio's has a bar, and numerous photographs of the stars who have patronized the trendy haberdashery. I admired a framed picture of William O. and Kathleen Douglas, well-known stars in Hollywood, and did a lot of soul-searching before deciding against a cashmere sports coat costing \$875. A gentleman next to me bought five shirts and a couple of sweaters, costing \$980. He paid for them with \$100 traveler's checks. (When I told someone this, the only thing that surprised him was that the customer was American.)

Next I set off in search of Arthur B. Laffer, the famous economist who appropriately lives in Los Angeles—Supply-Side Land. (The supply of L.A. preceded the demand for it. It was built with effort, not natural resources, and it is "maintained" with envy.) Laffer occupies a tiny office in the University of Southern California's Hoffman Hall. Laffer, who looks about ten years younger than he really is (40), was sharing his office with numerous toy parrots and figurine turtles. On a book shelf behind him I noticed the titles *Cactaceous Plants and Turtles of The World*. Yes, there were one or two books on economics as well, but he has sensibly not allowed himself to be buried by the thoughts of defunct economists.

Laffer said he could only think of one other economist whose name has been connected to a "curve"—A. W. Phillips of the London School of Economics, whose defunct curve blamed inflation on employment. I asked Laffer if he met with much envy from other economists in view of his sudden fame, or notoriety. "I encounter substantial amounts of aggression from economists," he conceded. "I don't judge motives. But when you're with them you can feel it." One called him "the Laetrile of economics."

According to the writer Jude Wanniski, Laffer first drew his curve—which graphically illustrates the argument that when tax rates rise above a certain level then people start paying less, not more taxes—on a paper napkin in the Two Continents restaurant in Washington, D.C. Strangely enough, Laffer doesn't remember the occasion. Besides, he said, "the Two Continents doesn't have paper napkins." It has linen ones. Laffer went to a prep school in Cleveland, and to Yale, and he learned "not to draw on linen."

Hmmmm. I'm beginning to think that it was Jude Wanniski who first drew the curve. Certainly he was the first to publish it. My theory is that Wanniski knew economic curves are not taken seriously unless they are drawn by people with Ph.D.'s. So he generously imputed it to his friend Laffer. Can anyone shed further light on this new supply-side mystery?

A few days later I went to a punk rock show with a movie producer who is an after-hours aficionado of L.A. punk. We stood in line with about a hundred AWOL Marine Corps recruits who were wearing black leather jackets. Some had strangely dyed hair. Others were wearing swastikas. They gave us unfriendly stares, dressed as we were like Saturday-night liberals.

"It isn't like the old peace and brotherhood rock scene," the Producer said in a low voice. "They don't believe in the perfectibility of man."

We entered the inky-indigo club. Behind the bandstand were signs reading:

FAG  
GAY  
HOMO  
LEZBO

Signs of our times! The four-piece band came charging out onto the stage and their leader seized the microphone: "Hey," he shouted, "how many queers have we got here tonight?" Then he announced the first number: "Let's Have A War!"

"Yay!" the AWOL marines responded in unison. "We want to go to Salvador!"

"Yay!"  
"They read Hobbes, not Rousseau," the Producer yelled in my ear. I could barely hear him above the din. But for the first time since coming to L.A., I could feel the cutting edge of popular Western culture.

## Letters



Dear Eric Young and Harry Crocker:  
The article was excellent, with very few minor errors and no major ones. It is very well written. I congratulate you. There are many other good pieces in that issue. The one on page two is excellent and I wish it could get wide distribution.

During the interview you asked me if I was related to U.S. Grant. I told you that my grandmother on my father's side was Mrs. U.S. Grant's sister. Thus I am not related. If she had been his sister then I would be related. Reading the last sentence in your article a discerning reader might reason: U.S. Grant's sister and still not related—he must be illegitimate. I have it on good authority that I am not.

Sincerely,  
U.S.G. Sharp  
Adm. USN (Ret)  
Point Loma

My dear Harry,

In this busy season, just wanted to let you know that the latest issue of the Cal. Review was outstanding, and confirmed my confidence in your endeavor.

The interview with Admiral Sharp demonstrated your ability to elicit some solid answers from an expert in obfuscation. Obviously he still supports the current projects of "the Puzzle Palace", i.e. the Pentagon. The MX is the latest project to suck money away from rearming our fighting forces and investing in real deterrents.

The Air Force has designed the MX just a few inches greater in diameter than the Trident submarine missile tubes. Rather than building land-based missiles, we should be conducting a crash program to put the missiles to sea in merchant hulls, and expediting delivery and installation of the D-5 Trident missile for submarine launch. The land leg of the nuclear triad was conceived to make sure that there would always be a visible, vulnerable political and military situation confronting confused Presidents. The other weapon system most feared by the Soviets is the sea-launched cruise missile. So we put ours ashore in Nato, where the Russians can badger us with "Freeze-niks."

Sincerely,  
Henry E. Phelps  
Capt. USN (Ret)  
Julian

Dear Mr. Young:

I don't know why it is that I got your letter so late, though I have been very much behind in my mail. I am sorry we can't do any fund-raising for you — as that activity is forbidden to us, requiring as we do attention to our own horrible annual deficit. I hope the situation has improved. I thought the issue you last sent me very spirited.

Yours faithfully,  
William F. Buckley, Jr.  
New York

Dear Harry W. Crocker:

Thanks so much for sending me the *California Review*. I read it with interest and the hope that it gives a mild case of acidosis to those who deserve it. Yours faithfully,  
R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.  
Editor-in-Chief  
The American Spectator  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear H. W. Crocker:

Thanks for the copies of the *California Review*. We receive many campus publications and I can say

that the *California Review* is one of the most impressive.

With best wishes for a prosperous year.  
Sincerely,  
Ronald E. Burr  
Publisher  
The American Spectator  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Sirs:

You gentlemen never cease to amaze me. The November-December issue just brightened up finals week. Good job guys.

Here is \$10 for my subscription and five dollars for Young and Crocker to purchase Jelly-belly's, shells or the ACLU for Christmas on me. Keep up the good work guys.

Conservatively yours,  
B. Leonard Williams  
La Jolla

Dear Messrs. Young, Crocker & Company,

First, let me congratulate you on the latest issue of the *California Review*. It is a pleasure to find the clear thinking and humor available on the UCSD campus which I usually only find in *National Review*.

I would like to inquire if you are aware of the use of registration fees for the funding of abortions and the support of political action groups. There are UCSD students from the Erginger, Patton, Rhomberg vs. UC Regents law suit to the present who are challenging the contention of the U. of CA. that students must fund these activities as a precondition for a UC education. An expose on the amounts students pay for abortion funding, LAGO, the *new indicator*, etc. from their Reg. fees may awaken the slumbering masses. Res ipsa loquitur.

Keep up the good work and let me know if you need any assistance.

Sincerely,  
David F. Schwartz  
San Diego

Dear California Review:

I am writing this letter in response to C. Brandon Crocker's article: "A Look at Discrimination."

I must inadvertently agree that Thomas Sowell uses "impressive" statistics to present seemingly justifiable arguments. However, C. Brandon Crocker and Mr. Sowell fail to consider the full implications of the statistics. Since Whites account for more of the total population than Blacks, American Indians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans, they will obviously have older median ages and higher incomes. Hence, Whites have more work experience, but most Blacks do not have work experience opportunities. A White youth may delay vocational decisions knowing that some kind of job will be available somewhere, but a Black youth has no such certainty.

Furthermore, the minimum wage law was not ... (exclusively) set up to help Blacks and the poor in general." It was created because employees were not paid according to a wage scale. Moreover, Blacks and the poor do not usually have jobs. To make a lame and bold statement that "The disadvantage of Blacks is not their color..." is unwarranted. Racism may not be the leading cause for poor economic performance among Blacks, but it is the motivating force for discrimination against Blacks. It is very easy for you and many so called "White Experts" to make unjustifiable statements and to offer shallow opinions concerning Black life because given the opportunity to discuss matters with a few Blacks you emerge as experts on Black life. Many leaders and the so called "White Experts" push for more economic programs for Blacks and the poor in hopes of reelection. But, today welfare recipients no longer get free benefits. Welfare recipients must work in return for benefits.

R. Williams  
La Mesa

C. Brandon Crocker's Response

Mr. Williams:

It is not obvious to me that since whites make up a greater percentage of the population than do blacks they must necessarily have a higher median age. Jews have the highest median age in the U.S.. Blacks in this country out number Jews by almost five to one.

The core of your argument, that most blacks do not have the work experience opportunities that whites do, is, like the rest of your argument, unsubstantiated and false. First, most blacks are employed. Second, the three groups with the highest average

Continued on page 11

## California Review

Credo: We few, we happy few, for he who picks up this paper today shall be my brother, be he ne'er so vile, this paper will gentle his condition.

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# In Review

■ The arts continue to make life more meaningful and to remind us of our cultural heritage. Displaying a new and innovative form of self-expression, two men, in the inspirational early morning hours of another titillating Los Angeles day, tied up a female bus driver, forced her to strip, and covered her with tartar sauce. Unlike many artists, these men achieved instant monetary recognition of their societal worth with the help of a gun and the wallets of the bus driver and her one passenger.

■ In the merry month of December, the United States Army told homosexual soldier, Perry Watkins that he couldn't dance in front of his fellow GI's dressed up as a woman. "It really upsets me; it's totally asinine," says Watkins of the ban, "it's a matter of how much the Army can really get away with."

■ Lester J. Williams, who threatened to commit suicide because Ronald Reagan had made it impossible for poor people to survive, has been arrested for welfare fraud in five states. By the way, both of Mr. Williams' wives and all of his seven children receive welfare benefits.

■ Mrs. Kris Shelton, the brave public school librarian who made news by defending her school's right to buy popular, modern novelists at the expense of less popular, classic novelists and then had a window of her house smashed and her face scratched by an angry redneck parent, has since broken down and told police that it was all a hoax. She had broken her own window and scratched her own face in an effort to draw attention to the fact that some parents opposed her position. Poor Mrs. Shelton. Liberals certainly have a strange way of arguing.

■ Yet another victim of sex discrimination. According to the New York State United Teachers, high-school mistress Patricia Hope, a twice married, twice divorced, mother of one, foster mother of four, and soon-to-be mother of an illegitimate, is being victimized by the parents of her students—who are seeking her dismissal on the grounds of immorality. Hope defends herself by saying that her illegitimacy has affected her classroom populace in a "positive way; the children are now softer spoken."

■ Oh those lovable Soviets. Three years ago they invaded Afghanistan. They love the country, but they love the people even more. They love them so much that they are exporting them to other countries. Currently, the progressive, egalitarian, redistributionist Soviets have shared twenty percent of the population of Afghanistan by making the Afghans expatriated refugees.

■ In an effort to promote efficiency in the notoriously inefficient Soviet rail system, workers can now receive bonuses for fulfilling targets set by the latest five-year plan. Haven't they read Robert Lekachman's book? Don't they know that greed is not enough?

■ Every day, in every way, we're getting better and better. That's what the Soviets are saying. In their latest single volume encyclopedia of the Soviet Union the Stalin purge trials are never mentioned.



■ Cuba has announced that Cubans will now start military training in infancy. The official news agency, Prensa Latina, commented: "Our socialist state organizes the military preparation of the population as a harmonious system of influences that embraces the different stages of development of the individual and is structured keeping in mind the different roles that he plays in society." Where's Dr. Spock when we need him?

■ More gifts from the Age of Enlightenment. Professor Steven Hahn is teaching History 158A, Economic History of the United States: The Rise of Industrial Capitalism, which might better be titled "Capitalism is Mean." The course syllabus entices the student with such lecture topics as "Revolution and Social Change," "Moral Economy v. Market Economy," "Women, Work and Protest," "Class Conflict and Class Consciousness," and "The Illusion of the American Revolution." The course textbooks, as the syllabus states, are to be purchased at the local left-wing propaganda mill, Groundwork Books. When asked whether there might be any material offered in the course to balance the slant, Hahn said that "there is just *too* much diversity involved in the course already to add anymore."

■ Ousted conservative "Boll Weevil" Democrat, Phil Gramm championed his Texas constituency by donning his Adam Smith tie and helping the President forge a winning coalition for his tax and budget programs. But as Tip O'Neill tells us, the party comes before the people. "Gramm is a disgrace to the Democratic party," he said. Everybody knows that the Party-of-Compassion represents no constituency.

■ Also in the Democratic parade is California Senator, Alan Cranston, who plans the sprint to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in 1984 on the Nuclear Freeze ticket. Though he remains at the bottom of the polls, Cranston has been given the go-ahead by former California Governor Brown to request a special White House meeting to hand over the California nuclear freeze letter, have his picture taken with Ron, and get the feel of the Oval Office before he announces his candidacy this month. And people still tell us that the nuclear freeze isn't a political device.

■ John H. Wallace, a member of a high school "Human Relations Committee" in Fairfax County, Virginia is rewriting Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*. Allow us to quote the thoughtful Mr. Wallace: "It's racist trash about a self-deprecating slave. I'd rather have my sons read *The Happy Hooker*."

■ In the South American country of Surinam, where Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse came to power in a coup in 1980 to create a "truly revolutionary government in which the working class and the oppressed can find themselves," fifteen people were arrested and shot to death last month. The fifteen were outspoken advocates of a return to free elections. Free elections seem to bring out the worst in leftists. Ed Asner has yet to become indignant.

■ Liberals are looking forward to a great reconciliation between the superpowers now that Yuri Andropov is in power. Andropov, they say, is a man who understands the West. Andropov recently revealed that Jacqueline Susann is one of his favorite novelists.

■ What will Jerry Brown do now that he has lost the Governorship? Last heard, he was busy organizing a private nation-wide commission on technology that he could head.

■ Maurice Bishop, Marxist he-man of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, agrees that his people want democracy but adds that "no amount of outside pressure will force [them] to hold elections before they are ready."

■ NATURAL FOOD FREAKS BEWARE! Just last month Zambian soldiers shot and killed Adamson Bratson Mushala, the Billy the Kid of Zambia. Mushala was carrying wild honey at the time of the attack and therefore had trouble reaching for his rifle.

■ Those of you who think that the rich aren't suffering in this recession should know that business at Swiss ski resorts is off a third. So there!

■ Who calls Ronald Reagan "a very warm individual [who] listens," and praises the Republicans for trying "to destroy the welfare mentality that has gripped the black community"? The Rev. Ralph Abernathy who co-founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with Martin Luther King, Jr.

■ Albanians were shocked to learn that nine votes had been cast against their dictator, Enver Hoxha, during their recent election. Luckily, eight of the nine ballots were ruled invalid, and the challenger, Mehmet Shehu, committed suicide, so things are expected to get back to normal.

■ After a Panamanian ship ran aground off Hartland Point, Devon in southwest England, it was, in accordance with local tradition, thoroughly ransacked. Since the ship had been abandoned the looters did nothing illegal; and the villagers behaved in an orderly fashion. In the old days wreckers would lure ships into the treacherous coasts of Devon and Cornwall with lanterns which were often mistaken for navigation lights. We think we've found an alternative to welfare.

■ A recent judicial ruling has made it a "right" for parents to be guaranteed healthy offspring by their family doctor, who must otherwise recommend an abortion if he determined the fetus to be defective. Should the child be born with a defect, the parents can sue the doctor for damages.



## Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: Saint or Satyr?

Excuse my heresy, but I don't think Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday should be a holiday. Let's overlook the ethics of instituting holidays on the basis of race and let's skip the morality of installing one group's demagogue and neglecting the rest. For this essay let us examine the logic, or lack thereof, of cementing Dr. King into our calendars.

He has come to be remembered for a good cause, but Dr. Martin Luther King, though an important leader, was not a great leader. A great leader does not stage sit-ins, or launch protest marches, or engage in the grandstanding of passive resistance. These actions demonstrate nothing but the tolerance of the people that let them take place. Gandhi and his followers could lie on the railroad tracks in British Imperial India without a great deal of fear. The Afghan freedom fighters do not have that option. Democracy involves debate. King preferred mobocracy.

The only leaders to whom we have established national holidays are George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Dr. King is not in their league. Indeed, if we were to create another national holiday it would seem fitting to make it Thomas Jefferson's birthday or James Madison's birthday. Dr. King drafted nothing as important as The Declaration of Independence or The Constitution.

I grant you that blacks seem to need the equivalent of a Columbus Day or a Saint Patrick's Day—a sort of cultural celebration where the man is merely a backdrop for developing pride in one's heritage. Who then do I recommend? Well, George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington are out, (not enough charisma). Crispus Attucks may not have been black and, besides, his only claim to fame is that he taunted a British soldier to shooting him—hardly a difficult task. Harriet Tubman? Maybe. Malcolm X? Come on, the KKK and Tom Metzger like Malcolm X. I doubt if many blacks want to go back to Africa. No, my choice would be Frederick Douglass. Douglass, it seems to me, is a thoroughly admirable, perceptive, and lively figure. I know that what I have to say will not change the thinking of the Black Student's Union, but I wish they'd consider it. Making one man symbolic of an entire race is a ludicrous thing. To make that one man Dr. Martin Luther King is an act of unhealthy desperation.

Can all Americans rally round a leader who compared Americans in Vietnam to Nazi holocausters? In 1967 the liberal, black editorialist Carl Rowan, who makes his living screaming "Racist!" every five seconds, accused King of being an egomaniac, a puller of publicity stunts, and a Communist fellow traveler. All these objections were washed away with King's assassination.

The best argument I've ever heard against racism came not from Dr. King, but from Dorothy Dandridge: "Prejudice is such a waste." It's simple and it's true. Making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday is a divisive and historically unjustifiable act. The time has come to pull together.

—HWC III

## Why Do the Liberals Hate Ronald Reagan?

By Jeffrey Hart

Jeffrey Hart is a professor at Dartmouth College, an editor of National Review, and an author. His most recent book is *When the Going Was Good: American Life in the Fifties*.

The other day I had lunch in Manhattan with a normally pleasant woman who works for a publishing house, an episode I mention only because of what seems to me its wider significance.

I was practically blown out of my chair by her hatred of Ronald Reagan. This emotion is not widespread in any statistical sense, but it seems to me to be powerful among the kind of people who work in publishing houses, the media and the academy.

And the important thing to notice is that it is not supported by anything that Reagan has actually done.

My own view is that it is a kind of "religious" hatred, and that the religion it serves—tacitly—is a kind of egalitarian socialism.

But the hatred is there, exaggerated though it may seem to the soberminded.

According to Sen. Kennedy, for example, Reagan presides over "government by and for the rich." The cartoonist Herblock depicts him as a whip-wielding slave driver. The economist Robert Lekachman calls Reagan an "apostle of naked avarice." To educator Stephen Rousseas, he is sacrificing "the powerless on the altar of the wealthy." The New York Times

editorializes about Reagan's "brutal cuts" in social programs.

But, as University of Maryland economist Melville J. Ulmer points out in a recent article—and this seems to me of major significance—this extreme rhetoric and extreme emotion are not at all justified by the facts.

"The cold statistical facts," writes Prof. Ulmer, "show that federal outlays for welfare, including income maintenance and public health, have continued steadily upward—from \$248 billion in fiscal year 1980 to \$291 billion in 1982. The last figure is more than 70 per cent greater than the presumably bloated 1982 budget for national defense."

Prof. Ulmer notes that some programs generally considered sloppy and ineffective, such as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) have indeed been cut back. Eligibility requirements have been tightened on student loans—where abuses were often flagrant. But there has in fact been no massive retrenchment on programs for "the poor."

"Nor," observes Prof. Ulmer, "has evidence appeared as yet that the distribution of income has been significantly altered in favor of the rich since the present Administration took office."

"Corporation profits plunged from \$183 billion in 1980 to \$140 billion...in the first half of 1982, in the face of a rising price level over the same period...The share in the national income of property receipts in general—including profits, interest, rent and royalties—dropped from 25 to 23 per cent over that period...In all, the picture was hardly the dream of the world's greediest capitalist come true."



Even the big three-year tax cuts, won last year over liberal howls of protest, did hardly more than make up for the silent tax rise caused by inflation and "bracket creep."

What is the real source, then, of the fury directed against Ronald Reagan in the name of the "poor"?

It seems to me that Prof. Ulmer has the answer. The fury arises not really out of anything that Reagan has done, but at his expressed intention of stopping the redistribution of income downward.

The fury is rooted in egalitarian and Socialist assumptions. It is assumed that income levels, at some time in the future, ought to be equal. It is assumed that the federal government will play the central role in bringing that result about. These Socialist assumptions are never—or almost never—openly avowed, because they would be widely unpopular. But it is certainly this redistributionist ethic that explains the egalitarian animus against Reagan.

There is another curious feature to all this. It is impossible to get a redistributionist like economist Robert Lekachman to define just where the leveling process ought to stop. To put it another way, there seems to be no specific kind of society in which these liberals would become conservatives, admitting that their goals had been largely achieved. They do not define a model of the good society; they merely express a tendency.

And to me that means that their chief motivation is envy—much more hatred of "the rich" than concern for "the poor." Their desired equality is not achievable, given the facts of human nature, but they will use the rhetoric of equality to express their resentment of those who in one way or another have accumulated some money and property.

These are poisonous emotions, and the politicians and publicists who exploit them do so dishonorably. They are outside the American political tradition.

## new indicator: Right-wing fanatics in disguise?

By Emmeline de Pillis

The *new indicator* bills itself as the "Tyrant's Foe, People's Friend" (said slogan appearing on the masthead beneath a crudely-drawn printing press that looks remarkably like a guillotine). From its pages we are exhorted to "unseat the Cowboy" and "fight the Right". One would expect the philosophy behind this simplistic sloganeering to be, if not practicable, at least consistent. How many things can go wrong with a political belief that has no moving parts? Quite a few, as it turns out.

Let's talk about Socialism. It is a principle related to Collectivism and Communism and as such it is touted by the *new indicator* as a method of government preferable to our own. How does it work? Like most ideas on this side of the political spectrum, it can be easily explained in 20 words or less. The Few (the party elite) dictate to the Many (the proletariat) exactly what to do. Thus, the common worker is told what to say, where to live, where to travel, what to read, how much to earn, where to buy food, and so forth. Still with me? Now let's talk about Nazis.

The word "Nazi", as any student of recent history can tell you, is a contraction of the German translation of "National Socialist". And Socialists they inarguably were. No sooner were they in power than they proceeded to tell every one in Germany (and surrounding areas) what to say, where to live, where to travel, what to read...the Nazis even struck up a cozy deal with another Socialist power, the U.S.S.R., concerning the division of Poland. The project fell through (and the Communist Party in the United States became disillusioned with National Socialism) only when Hitler turned around and attacked the U.S.S.R. (The old proverb about honor among thieves springs to mind, but let it pass.)

Interestingly the Nazis, not unlike the *new indicator*, promoted a virulently anti-Jewish ideology, and just as the U.S.S.R. does today, systematically exterminated as many Jews and sympathetic Christians as they could find.

Now we turn our attention to a political system which, fortunately, has not enjoyed much popularity since the Middle Ages—the Feudal System. It is a favorite accusation of Liberals and Leftists (notably, political cartoonist Jules Feiffer and the inexplicably renowned Harvard Lampoon) that feudalism is but a logical extrapolation of conservative principles. Well, how did Feudalism originally come about? Out of thin air? Wrong. Out of the devious machinations of the Capitalist Bourgeoisie? Wrong again, there was no Capitalist Bourgeoisie. In fact, the Feudal System emerged from the lawlessness that followed the collapse of the Roman Empire. Frightened peasants agreed to indenture themselves to noble families (i.e. families that lived in impenetrable stone fortresses) in exchange for protection against savage barbarians. To put it simply (on the chance) that a Leftist might be reading this), Feudalism sprang full-grown from Anarchy. Yes, the same Anarchy whose praises are vociferously bellied in every second issue of the *new indicator*.

So are we to assume that the *new indicator* collective is comprised of Neo-Nazis and Feudalists? The paper espouses every facet of National Socialism (one exception—the economic technicality of business being government-manipulated as opposed to government-owned) as well as the Anarchism which cannot fail to resurrect the Feudal System. According to popular dogma, it must follow that the *new indicator* is really a Right-wing publication. Is the *new indicator* playing a joke on its readers? (admittedly, it is not difficult to mistake the publication for satire.) Is it that a fringe is a fringe, no matter which side it's on? Or, is it possible that accusations routinely leveled at the Right are in reality more applicable to the Left? You can decide for yourself. After all, it's still a free country.



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**A War of Ideas**

a statement for 1983

E. Clasen Young

We, as citizens of these United States, comprise one side of the modern Cold War. This war I speak of is a confrontation different from that which we experienced during the 1950's and the 1960's—after the failure of Yalta, after Churchill said "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent," and during the Soviet machinations 90 miles off our shore in Cuba. Today, the Soviet Union has materialized its promise of expanded power and influence in the name of Leninist-humanism; Nicaragua has fallen to the Sandinistas, Poland's Solidarity has been shattered, Afghanistan is being pummeled by Soviet air and ground forces and a pipeline is being built on the backs of political dissidents. The communist lie has perpetuated itself by means of ceaseless and truculent expansion, growing like a malignancy ready to metastasize into the body of humanity. Though similar in many ways, the American situation of 1983 differs from that in 1950; the Soviets presently have the potential of waging an all-out nuclear conflict and winning. Therefore, the querulous person who considers public policy seriously should view the world, as Solzhenitsyn tells us—as a world split apart—one half in freedom, the other in tyranny. The question we must ask ourselves lies at the very heart of the human spirit. Can the people of the United States, the leaders of the free world, provide a moral example to the rest of the world? If so, at what level should such an endeavor be initiated?

The New Cold war, with little exception, has no fixed front. It has boiled down to an internal conflict—a war of ideas being fought on the home front—waged among the minds of the American people. The war of ideas consists of issues that must be debated, even if only on the lowest levels of argument. Unfortunately, media wizards, such as Norman Lear, have the upper hand. They tell us that there is very little threat posed to the American Way; if you think otherwise, you're quickly labeled as a "right-wing reactionary." Note that the definitive American reactionary is the pop-culture hero of the American left. The war of ideas concerns such issues as business deregulation and a rejuvenated economy vs. confiscatory taxation and a faltering economy; the family institution vs. sexual and moral "alternatives;" constitutionally provided individualism vs. welfare collectivism. There is ever more. We must establish a cogent posture in the debate concerning the nuclear capabilities of the Soviet Union and the United States; then we must move on to challenge the arguments posed by the apologists of leftist social schemes destined for "Third World" ails. Another argument to be challenged is the rekindled efforts to defame capitalism and deem it as "inhuman." The American press, one might suppose, represents a single side of the debate. And, I will assert that the media represents the side that is not only biased and incorrect, but dangerous to the future of this nation and that for which it stands.

America correctly means freedom. The Constitution of the United States vests to the people freedom by way of rights: freedom of religion, freedom to own private property—freedom of opportunity and freedom for all. What America does not stand for is the right for one man or one group to jeopardize the freedom of another. In spite of these self-evident truths, the American media views freedom as "progressivism," which as they tell us will be the answer to the nation's woes. Pick up the last issue of *Newsweek* or watch five minutes of television's egregious "Donahue." Disseminating information to the people of a democracy is a very healthy practice, yet to do so under false pretences, that is, "objective" news with an ideological twist, is deceitful and often unhealthy for a democracy. Alexis de Tocqueville tells us in *Democracy in America* that "newspapers in democratic countries lead citizens to do very ill-considered things in common." People, despite the clichés, believe what they read, or even what Mike Wallace reads to them. And adversary status in the media is as chic as being the guest star on last week's episode of "Dynasty." With reflection, one will notice that liberal media adversaries are hardly a minority; instead, they comprise a majority. The liberal ideology is one of the few commonalities of media careerists. Without generalizing, one could say that the American media is leftward leaning. A poll taken among 240 media leaders shows us that 80% had voted for McGovern in 1972. And many of us cannot understand why issues such as the nuclear freeze receive such good media coverage. Is it really a wonder when every economic problem today, from unemployment to high taxes, comes out in print as "Reagan's fault?"

A challenge to the liberal engrossment of the media could be this country's saving grace. Milton Friedman says, for example, that the themes of the so-called "inhumanity" of capitalism must be countered with the historical truth. The yawps of media

ideologues can be argued on an intellectual level—certainly taking the Ed Asner types out of their element. If we are to challenge the current dogma, we must move on the broadest front possible; we must include the nation's universities where often the most inane of lunacies fester. The debate for America must be taken to the campus where the malleable minds of tomorrow are shaped by selfish and often malicious professors. In the wake of the careless professor's devastation, a student's mind can become tarnished, rendering him obstinate in his confusion. Compare college students with young children, for example, who are instructed by their parents to do right. In many cases, as a child develops his resolve, he goes through a rebellious stage. Eventually, or at least hopefully, the child's resolve develops to the point where he discerns that his parents are correct. College students, in many cases, are still foundering in the middle stage, trying to realize the truth. Their resolve is developing and they tend to be rebellious towards what they know as "right." Alluring ideas, such as Marxism, goad them on to an oftentimes affected pseudo-intellectual state. Note that graduate students and most professors remain indefinitely in the middle stage—confused, aimless and hidden from America behind the ivory curtain. We should not become overconcerned for the welfare of the professor, for he is a lost cause, but the damages he inflicts are irreparable. He creates the student who thinks that he is enlightened, somehow more intelligent. Truthfully, the student of today is an arrogant Philistine with little appreciation for American institutions. Instead, the student of today resembles the Playboy philosopher, a product of the me-generation. For an 'A' grade, you will find him swallowing and regurgitating anything a

professor might deign to throw his way. Self-discipline is becoming obsolete. Seldom does today's student come out to cheer America in its role as leader of the free world. His professors tell him that America is the land of oppression and exploitation; *Newsweek* and Mike Wallace tell them that America is "racist" and "sexist." Jane Fonda's workout book sells a million copies.

Who cares, you might ask? Students are but mere students. Yet recollect that the Angela Davises and the Jerry Rubins of the 1960's are the university professors of the 1980's. One literature professor at UCSD brags to his students about the great many American flags he burned when he was in college; the curriculum of his course consists mostly of the class struggle and the homosexual emancipation. Anybody, dimwitted as he may be, can get a Ph.D. if he hangs around the campus long enough. Today's confused students with their lofty affectations are tomorrow's Tom Haydens. The war of ideas must be fought—here and now—and be won. The greatest of wars are always won, not only on the battlefields, but also in the minds of men. When Abraham Lincoln gave his second inaugural address, the great American Civil War was coming to its physical end. Lincoln, urging a more lenient attitude toward the South, spoke these words: "With malice toward none, with charity for all...let us strive on to finish up the work we are in; bind up the nation's wounds." The battles were not quite over in the fields of the South, yet Lincoln had ended the war in the minds of men. A victory for the spirited students, like we at *California Review*, creating an effective challenge to the reigning boobs of the 1980's left, may be the greatest type of victory we Americans can achieve.

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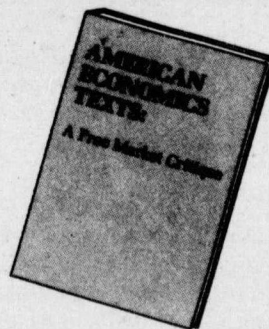
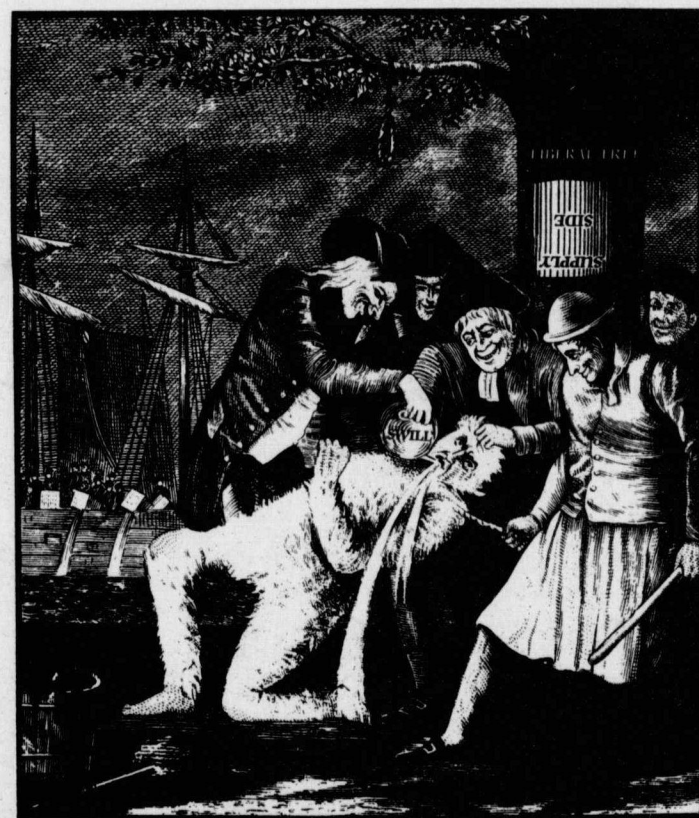
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**Notes from the Brigadier**

Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald, by Matthew J. Bruccoli, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 624 pp., \$25.00.



**H. W. Crocker III  
THIS SIDE OF PARADISE**

This book could just have aptly been titled *Some Sort of Epic Louse*. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote his daughter that "sometimes I wish I had gone along with (Cole Porter and Rodgers and Hart and the gang), but I guess I am too much a moralist at heart, and really want to preach at people in some acceptable form, rather than entertain." Like those writers who condemn materialism and yet can't feed themselves and who condemn western civilization's lack of vision while they are interred in sanitariums, Fitzgerald was a moralist who couldn't say, "No." He was a louse, but it must be remembered that lice are not removed from grandeur, *vide* Errol Flynn, and Fitzgerald's life, at least the early part of it, belongs to the history of noble belletrists.

The spectacle of Scott and Zelda destroying themselves is not a pretty one, but then again, it is not particularly sad either. Scott Fitzgerald was an egomaniac and a drunkard who made his living reinterpreting his friends lives in his fiction. Zelda was mentally and emotionally unstable, also an egomaniac, also a drunkard, and a grotesque and horrifying caricature of a "liberated" woman. Fitzgerald was a puritan in manner and writing who couldn't function without guzzling booze and whooping it up at parties. He was an uncontrollable drunk who would hide from a statue of Francis Scott Key, because Francis mustn't see him drunk. He was a Communist Party sympathizer who was put off by the Communists' pandering to Southern blacks. He was an expatriate in love with America and its traditions. He was a pacifist who was an eager army officer, a disappointed noncombatant, and a devotee of military history. He was, in other words, an artist prone to all the idiosyncrasies and tunnel vision one often finds in those men and women who discover the pursuit of the muse is more important than friends, lovers, family, religion or politics. He was an artist with the not anomalous qualities of shallow intelligence and profound insight—all supported by a style fashioned out of panache and diligence. He was intellectually wedded to a dream.

Fitzgerald's rise to the top, up to the success of *The Great Gatsby*, is the stuff of epic grandeur. The transportation of the struggling, romantic advertising hack to the spokesman of the jazz age is a dazzling and glittering treat. The underside of all that joy and wild living was something utterly bleak and full of despair; Zelda locked up in mental institutions; Scott unable to write, in and out of hospitals, and beating up his mistresses.

Like most men gone wrong who still admire virtue, Scott was a hypocrite. The man who more or less flunked out of Princeton kept up a continual correspondence with his daughter, Scottie, telling her what books to read, what courses to take, and berating her if she socialized too much, slipped in her grades, or so much as touched alcohol. Hypocrisy was one of Fitzgerald's best features. It kept him from becoming a Svengali.

H.L. Mencken said that a good book was worth any number of old ladies. Scott believed him. I'm not saying he was wrong, in fact, I'm willing to entertain the idea that he was right. What I am saying is that it takes a certain egocentrism or, conversely, a sort of other worldliness to subordinate people to one's conception of art. It is interesting to note that Fitzgerald dictated to Scottie that she study and do well in math and the hard sciences, for which she had little aptitude, and belittled the importance of literature and foreign languages.

It has long been my personal belief that medical students and literature students have much in common. They both study disease. Professor Roy Harvey Pearce has said the purpose of literature is to make

life as difficult as it really is. Literature is not an essential or necessarily important part of human existence. Many people would rather live in the stable, uncreative world of the Romans than the unstable, fertile world of the Greeks. Doctors, engineers, and soldiers have done more for civilization than have artists. Literature is an ultimately depressing and discouraging discipline telling us things we'd rather not know, that are often contradictory and confusing, and that are dangerous in the cell blocks of weak and undiscerning minds. Fitzgerald, a man devoted to literature, saw that a high price is paid for something of ambiguous value and that most people would do better for themselves and their loved ones to find employment elsewhere.

Matthew Bruccoli does not, thankfully, delve into the turgid depths of psycho-biography which has reached its nadir with the inquisitors of Richard Nixon. Bruccoli's picture on the back flyleaf of the book shows a square-jawed, bullish, crew cutted man with black mustache and severe black glasses. He looks like Jack Webb's muscle. One can almost hear him refraining to his interviewees, "Just the facts, ma'am, I only want the facts." He has written or edited more than thirty volumes on American litera-

ture—a dozen on Fitzgerald. This is the definitive F. Scott Fitzgerald biography. Bruccoli judges Fitzgerald to be a great writer. The rest is fact; and it is not at all dry. I have never in my life read anything so chock full of minutiae and quotidian practicality that is so breezy. Mr. Bruccoli is an admirable scholar and a lucid writer. I have only minor criticisms. The logical progressions within his paragraphs sometimes stutter. He tells us several times that alcoholics crave sweets. Once is enough. Some of the correspondence between Scott and the institutionalized Zelda seems to me too long, too personal, and not relevant to Fitzgerald the writer. I felt uncomfortable reading it. Biographies are for students, not voyeurs.

F. Scott Fitzgerald was a great American author. (I can say that because he is one of my favorites and my taste is impeccable.) He was a colorful, engaging, and amusing character for the first half of his life and a miserable sop for the rest. Character, it is written, is fate. Fitzgerald got what he deserved. Whether what he left us earthlings is worthy of his dissipated, disastrous life is up for the individual to decide. Matthew Bruccoli's book is a useful, if not indispensable, tool in making that decision. How much are old ladies worth to you?

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# Women Today: A Conversation with Phyllis Schlafly

Phyllis Schlafly is one of the most remarkable women in American history. World Almanac calls her "one of the 25 most influential women in the United States." Good Housekeeping magazine calls her "one of the ten most admired women in the world." She has triumphed over the major media, the bureaucrats, and the "women's movement," almost singlehandedly.

Mrs. Schlafly graduated from Washington University in St. Louis (1944), and then took an M.A. at Harvard (1945); later, she went on to earn a J.D. at Washington University Law School (1978). She is an attorney, registered with the Illinois Bar, a syndicated columnist with Copley News Services, a television commentator on Cable News Network, the National President of Eagle Forum, and a member of President Reagan's Defense Policy Advisory Group. She is the author of nine books, most recently, *The Power of the Positive Woman*. Mrs. Schlafly, the mother of six children, lives in Alton, Illinois and she agreed to have an informal conversation on women with California Review's Alison Young and her brother, Eric.

**CR:** The press has given a great deal of attention to Patricia Hope, the unwed, pregnant high school teacher of East Hampton, New York. Many parents of the school-children want to see her fired while her union claims that she is a victim of "sex discrimination." What would you suggest a school board do in such a case?

**SCHLAFLY:** Well, I think that she should be terminated because she is setting a bad and very immoral example for the students. There are plenty more teachers than there are jobs available and I think that we should be entitled to set very high moral standards with our teachers.

**CR:** Do employment opportunities compare favorably for men and women today?

**SCHLAFLY:** I think that women have every equal employment opportunity today. Now I am sure there are some people who disobey the law. The law says to give equal employment regardless of sex, and I think that most people are law abiding. That is what we have.

**CR:** Are women discriminated against today?

**SCHLAFLY:** I don't think women are discriminated against by any law or in general. There are some women who are discriminated against by some people, some women and some men, because there are some people who don't do what the ought to do. I don't know of any general areas where women are discriminated against.

**CR:** Well I am a symphony musician and it cannot be denied that most symphony orchestras are dominated by men. How do you explain this?

**SCHLAFLY:** Most of the symphonies have a great many women playing various instruments. There are some instruments requiring more physical strength and I would think that for those instruments, we would have a majority of men. There are very few or almost no symphony orchestras with women conductors. You can't judge these things solely in terms of the job and the qualifications of a woman. You've got to judge it also in terms of what the members of the symphony orchestra want or what the paying customers want. If the paying customers want to see women conducting symphony orchestras, I think they will be. I don't think anybody is required to appoint a woman conductor if it's going to offend the customers or the members of the orchestra.

**CR:** Can a woman be both a successful mother and a successful career woman?

**SCHLAFLY:** She can, but it's very difficult to do it at the same time. The ones who have been most successful are the ones who divide their life into different portions. They are a successful mother during one period of their lives and a successful career woman for another period of their lives. And I think that is part of the great opportunity of being a woman who is willing to do different things at different times in her life. To try to be a mother at the same time you are holding down a full-time job is extremely difficult and something will suffer.

**CR:** In a divorce case, why is a woman given custody of the children involved?

**SCHLAFLY:** She isn't always given custody. There was a very outrageous, scandalous divorce case that we just concluded yesterday, the Pulitzer case, the custody of a couple of twins was given to the father. There is no law in any state that requires that the children be given to the mother. The states have given most of the children to the mother. Hopefully, I think, the one who walked out on the marriage is the one who should lose the children.

**"I think that censorship is a phony issue."**

**CR:** What would you say about "Women's Studies" as an academic endeavor?

**SCHLAFLY:** I would say that at best, Women's Studies is a waste of time. And at worst, it is a positive detriment to society. Many of them could be accurately described as courses in how to break up a marriage. I believe that it is at your college where they have courses on lesbianism. Is that correct?

**CR:** Yes.

## Women and a Great America

*The Power Of The Positive Woman* by Phyllis Schlafly  
255 p.p. Copyright 1977 Arlington House.

By Suzanne L. Schott

Women such as Ms. Betty Friedan and Ms. Gloria Steinem have been building up a reputation for years that has capitalized on any negative feelings that women might have towards their husbands, children, jobs, or education. Life is full of "hills and valleys," but these negative women seem to have as their goal the drawing of all other women down into their "City of Women" where they build walls of hatred against "male oppression" and erect federally funded day care centers so they can escape to "more fulfilling careers."

Meanwhile, the Positive Woman, which Phyllis Schlafly introduces in this book, several years old now, but as current as ever, is climbing slowly but surely up the highest hill of success and happiness.

As Mrs. Schlafly writes: "To the Positive Woman, her particular set of problems is not a conspiracy against her, but a challenge to her character and capabilities."

Negative women are only oppressed by their own lack of resources — mental resources, that is. Positive women would never consider themselves "handicapped" because they were born female, though that very assertion is part of a key NOW (National Organization for Women) advertisement. Under liberationist dogma, "women and men become adversaries instead of partners."

As Phyllis Schlafly tells us in *The Power of the Positive Woman*, "The real liberator of women in America is the free enterprise system, which has produced remarkable inventors who have lifted the drudgery of housekeeping from women's shoulders."

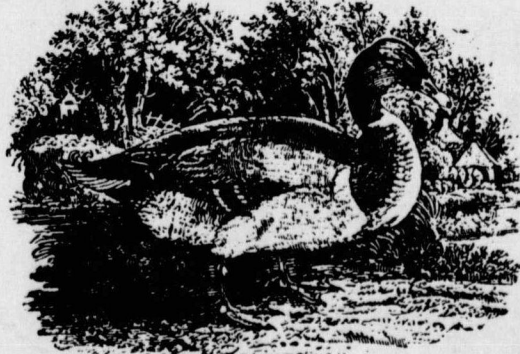
Indeed, it is Henry Ford, Clarence Birdseye, and Thomas Edison who are the real liberators. What have the swinging editors of *Cosmopolitan* or *Playgirl*, both pro-ERA magazines, ever contributed to our society? Only the perversion of both the family and women.

The feminist force has invaded other aspects of American life — such as school children's textbooks. Under it demands, the Macmillan Publishing Company issued a booklet entitled: "Guidelines for Creating Positive Sexual and Racial Images in Educational Materials." The purpose of this action? To sufficiently neuter all educational material to conform to the new Macmillan "sexism" censorship code.

Mrs. Schlafly writes: "The Macmillan guidelines reserve their most stinging rebuke for the four-letter word *lady*, terming it 'distasteful' specifically because it connotes 'ladylike' behavior."

"Ladylike behavior" has always been and will always be considered by respectable Americans, to be a virtue. Even so, textbook illustrations of little girls and their dolls are being discouraged while pictures of "boys crying or preening in front of a mirror and fathers using hari spray" are encouraged.

Absurd as the Macmillan guidelines may be, they must be taken as a warning against these radicals. The feminists seem to have everything backwards. Textbooks picturing mothers in the kitchen are an anathema to them, but pornography is fine, as long as *Playboy* and *Penthouse* continue to back ERA.



Are we to tear down everything moral and good about our society for a few neutering militants? Mrs. Schlafly writes: "To reject the obligation to take whatever action is necessary to safeguard the moral, social, and economic integrity of the family is to abandon the future to a bunch of marital misfits who are seeking their identity as Ms. mistaken about morals, misinformed about history, motivated by the axiom 'Misey loves company,' and who want to remake our laws, revise the marriage contract, restructure society, remold our children to conform to lib values instead of God's values, and replace the image of woman as virtue and mother with the image of prostitute, swinger, and lesbian."

In an informed, logical fashion, *The Power of the Positive Woman* discussed the Equal Rights Amendment, which feminists are rallying to resurrect. Few people realize the widespread misey and change it would create in the lives of American women.

Similar legislation has already brought unwelcome "equality." Mrs. Schlafly cites the following example: "In 1976, the government issued orders to many supermarkets and liquor stores that all clerks must be paid the same wage and perform the same duties, including unloading trucks filled with cases weighing thirty to fifty pounds each. You can guess how enthusiastic women clerks in their fifties and sixties are about this new equality."

Under ERA, quotas would increase our already high unemployment rate, for there would be "more and more two-income families and more and more husbands and fathers unemployed."

Furthermore, homosexuals would be permitted to "marry," for a law that defines marriage as a union of a man and a woman would have to be amended to replace *man and woman with person*. A marriage between a "person" and a "person" is not the same thing as a marriage between a man and woman, Mrs. Schlafly reminds us.

A Positive Woman does not want her children to grow up in a sick, perverted world where all men's colleges, sororities, and mother/daughter fashion shows have been outlawed along with the Boy Scouts.

Even though "it has become fashionable in many schools to use supplementary reading and even textbooks that are anti-God, antimoral, anti-private enterprise, and antipatriotic," the Positive Woman cherishes the principles of America's founding fathers. She "will never acquiesce" in the face of liberal attack. "She accepts and meets the challenge."

In the mid-1800's, Count Alexis de Tocqueville gave Americans a notable compliment, which Mrs. Schlafly includes in this book:

I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and ample rivers, and it was not there. I sought in her fertile lands and boundless prairies, and it was not there. Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and her power. America is great because she is good, and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

Phyllis Schlafly charges American women with one purpose: "to keep America good" and gives us this book as a guide.

**SCHLAFLY:** Well that's just outrageous.

**CR:** What about the "male chauvenist pig?" How should he be dealt with?

**SCHLAFLY:** You have a constitutional right to your own attitude. Now if he is committing a crime or if he's doing something that interferes with someone's rights, there are certain remedies in our society to deal with him. But you have a constitutional right to think whatever you want. There are certain roles that are proper for men and certain roles that are proper for women. Such as, that women make better mothers for small babies and that men make better soldiers in the army. So you have a right to think that.

**CR:** Similarly, women have a right to think that marriage is awful?

**SCHLAFLY:** Any body has a right to think whatever they want. But I don't think that the taxpayers of California should subsidize and pay for teachers who are teaching that marriage is awful.

**CR:** What about censorship?

**SCHLAFLY:** I think censorship is a phony issue.

**CR:** What is the Eagle Forum and what are its goals for 1983?

**SCHLAFLY:** Eagle Forum is a national pro-family membership organization that has been in business since 1975. We're the people who successfully led the battle to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment and successfully led the battle to prevent President Carter's plan for taking away Social Security benefits from dependant wives, and prevented his plan for drafting women into the army. We have many other legislative and political goals at the present time. For example, we're working on trying to give Community Property Systems to wives in the 42 states that do not have that system. California has a community Property System, but 42 states do not. The Community Property System recognizes that the homemaker's economic contribution is essential to the breadwinner's income and to increase in earning capacity. We think that it is a fair system of recognizing the economic partnership of marriage. We will be working for other pro-family goals such as to get the dependant wife her equal rights with the IRA, the Individual Retirement Account. The wife in the home is very much discriminated against today in regard to the tax benefits of the IRA. So that's another example of a legislative goal we are trying to bring about.

**CR:** Could you give us an assessment of the post-election session of Congress?

**SCHLAFLY:** I think we would be better off if they hadn't gone back to the Lame Duck session. In fact, generally we're better off if Congress is not in session.

**CR:** Would you give us an outline of what the National Organization for Women's goals and aspirations are?

**SCHLAFLY:** The National Organization for Women had a national convention in Indianapolis in October and made it clear that lesbian and abortion goals were their principle goals and they would support for public office only those candidates who support their lesbian and abortion goals. It is a very radical organization and they have other goals such as going after the insurance industry and trying to prevent them from regarding sex as a factor in insurance. Of course, I feel that women benefit when sex is recognized as a factor. Parents pay hundreds of dollars in automobile insurance premiums for sons under age 25. The young women benefit tremendously because they're better drivers than young men. And N.O.W. doesn't seem to understand the whole idea of insurance for the distribution of risk for a certain group of people.

**CR:** Is Eleanor Smeal still a part of N.O.W.?

**SCHLAFLY:** No. She has been replaced with a woman named Judy Goldsmith.

**CR:** Is she a lesbian?

**SCHLAFLY:** No, but she ran on a platform supporting and endorsing the lesbian goals.

**CR:** Some of the more vehement feminists—including those who chained themselves to Mormon churchgates—claim that the defeat of the ERA was a victory for them. Could you explain their logic?

**SCHLAFLY:** Their logic is that in the battle and the defeat, they got an enormous amount of press and were able to raise a lot of money. The people who said that, look upon ERA as a fundraising tactic. They convinced many gullible people to contribute their ten dollars to support a goal that could not be won. And that is what they're trying to do today. They look upon ERA as a fundraising gimmick. The defeat of ERA was a tremendous victory for women. It means that all of the 18-year-old women of today and of the future will be permanently exempted from the military draft. It will mean a lot of other things too, but that is a clear benefit for women.

**"I would say that at best, Women's Studies is a waste of time. And at worst, it is a positive detriment to society. Many of them could be accurately described as courses in how to break up a marriage."**

**CR:** Do you think that the Reagan Administration is good for women?

**SCHLAFLY:** Well I certainly do. What Reagan is trying to do is to cut down the size of government and I think that is good for everybody. I think people are fed up with the spending and the controls of the federal government and I think we will all benefit if he is allowed to achieve those goals.

**CR:** Several city councils, including San Francisco's, have committed themselves to the so-called "gay liberation movement." Will this have a deleterious effect?

**SCHLAFLY:** What the homosexuals are trying to do is get for themselves certain rights that belong to husbands and wives and I don't think that they're entitled to those rights because they're not husbands and wives. They are also trying to get a cup of recognition for the dignity of their lifestyle. The American people are not willing to put their public

stamp of approval on that lifestyle. Now what someone does behind closed doors nobody cares. But the real purpose of these gay rights laws is to force the rest of us to accept their lifestyles as something that is normal and Okay.

**CR:** What is your view on affirmative action?

**SCHLAFLY:** In regards to women, I think that it is absolutely wrong. I think that women are just as smart as men and I think that women should be willing to compete equally with men in the workplace. I see no justification in giving the job to a less qualified woman instead of a more qualified man.

**CR:** Is the American media a reflection of society or does it shape society?

**SCHLAFLY:** It shapes our society.

**CR:** Do you think that the media is liberal?

**SCHLAFLY:** I certainly do. The media is liberal; it's anti-religious, secularist, highly permissive and immoral.

**CR:** Did you read Betty Friedan's *Second Stage*?

**SCHLAFLY:** Oh, I leafed through it.

**CR:** Did you enjoy it?

**SCHLAFLY:** No. But she has discovered that failure of a lot of the women's lib ideology. She meets a lot of these women around the country, whom I meet, who followed the feminist ideology ten years ago and are now in their thirties and wish that they had a husband and children. And she recognized that this is true, but she doesn't have any proper solutions for it. The feminist movement doesn't have any solutions for fundamental problems. They don't have any role models for successful career women who are married and have families.

**CR:** Then it's a movement of futility?

**SCHLAFLY:** Well, I think that they set impossible goals for themselves and, if they were required to make a choice, would rather have a husband and children. Now, they may not want children in their twenties, but when they get into their thirties, the world looks very different. For example, articles in the *New York Times* and *The Chicago Tribune*, and other newspapers all the time now, say that feminism is a dirty word—that all these young women want is a baby. They've discovered that the feminist movement has led them into bitterness and a lack of emotional support for life's problems.



# California Review Interviews

*Dr. Walter E. Williams is Professor of Economics at George Mason University in Virginia. Dr. Williams is one of the most famous and influential black economists in this country. His eloquent and controversial writings have appeared in such journals as The American Spectator, Human Events, and Conservative Digest. He is also the author of a number of books including most recently The State Against Blacks and America: A Minority Viewpoint. Dr. Williams on short notice graciously agreed to be interviewed by CR business manager C. Brandon Crocker.*

**CR:** Do you believe that hard work, family solidarity and faith in the future are what promote upward economic mobility?

**WILLIAMS:** I would say so. It's worked for everybody else that has experienced upward mobility.

**CR:** Have welfare programs undercut these wealth producing attributes?

**WILLIAMS:** Yes, by all means. Welfare tends to breakdown the family institution. It tends to subsidize not working. I would imagine that it gets people to be more now oriented than future oriented.

**CR:** Can we ever hope to see real cutbacks in social spending?

**WILLIAMS:** I don't believe so. I think we need it, but I don't believe that we'll see it.

**CR:** Do you support raising taxes, like the gasoline tax, in order to fund job programs?

**WILLIAMS:** No. That's just utter nonsense. It's a little bit of sleight of hand played by politicians. They create jobs with the gasoline tax on highways. These are visible jobs that people see. They destroy jobs because consumers have less money to spend at the Seven Eleven and those jobs are invisible—nobody knows why they're gone. It's just the reshuffling of unemployment.

**CR:** What do you think of lowering the minimum wage for teenagers?

**WILLIAMS:** I would do much more than that. Teenagers should be exempt from any requirement of a minimum wage law. Let their parents decide what's good for them as opposed to some fat bureaucrat in Washington.

**CR:** You think that would bring down the unemployment rate among teenagers?

**WILLIAMS:** By all means.

**CR:** Do you think stronger labor unions would help blacks?

**WILLIAMS:** Oh no. Labor unions historically have been the black man's worst enemy. In fact, W.E.B. DuBois back in the early nineteen hundreds pointed out that labor unions were the black working man's worst enemy. Labor unions are a little more subtle in their approaches today. They still impede the upward mobility of blacks.

**CR:** Could you elaborate on that point?

**WILLIAMS:** To the extent that labor unions can control the price at which labor is sold they can automatically discriminate against the employment of some people. For example, if the labor unions can through their support, let's say, for the Davis-Bacon Act or through the collective bargaining process, which are both like super minimum wage laws, if a union can demand that all carpenters on a project be paid fourteen dollars an hour, that negotiation makes unemployable and unqualified the carpenter who was perfectly employable and qualified at a wage of six or seven dollars an hour.

**CR:** Do you think that forcing Japanese automakers to use a certain percentage of American made parts is a very effective way of fighting unemployment in this country?

**WILLIAMS:** No, I don't. I think that if the Congress unwisely acts on that kind of American content law and other kinds of American content laws that are being proposed, I think that it will make the Smoot-Hawley Tariff act, that is said to have held a major responsibility for the Great Depression, look like child's play.

**CR:** What is your opinion of President Reagan's proposal to give farmers grain from our huge stockpiles instead of the current price support system of giving cash subsidies for not growing food?

**WILLIAMS:** I think that is a bad joke on the American people. The American people have bought this grain through taxes. There should not have been a program to buy this grain with taxes. Now he's proposing that we give it back to them. The whole agricultural program is welfare and hand-outs for farmers. A president with the principles of President Reagan should not be supporting that kind of stuff.

*"If I were the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and if I wanted to destroy or bankrupt black academic excellence, I could find no better way to do it than the current public school system in most of our metropolitan areas."*

**CR:** Is discrimination a prime determinant of the economic welfare of minority groups?

**WILLIAMS:** No. Let me go back a little on this. If there is a unique characteristic of the United States it is that we are a nation of minorities. There is no minority that I know of that hit these shores with an open arm welcome. They all faced varying degrees of hostility. Jews did not find an end of anti-Semitism when they hit these shores. Irish were discriminated against. Japanese were discriminated against. West Indian blacks were discriminated against. Now, I just chose these groups because Japanese according to the 1980 census had the highest per capita income in the United States. Jews have a very high income. Second generation West Indian blacks have incomes that exceed that of most white people. All these groups have been discriminated against, but nonetheless they are socially and economically upwardly mobile. So if discrimination could explain anything, if we could use discrimination as an excuse, then Jews should still be in the ghettos and Japanese should still be doing stoop labor on the farms in California.

**CR:** What about women? Why do they tend to earn less than men?

**WILLIAMS:** In general, women are less productive than men, for many reasons. There is discrimination in the household. If women work in the work force they're expected to come home and cook dinner and take care of the kids. I know my colleague Tom Sowell did a study on women in academia and women in academia, who have the same qualifications as the male professor and have the same number of publications and the same quality of schooling and the same years of experience, will earn equal or slightly more than male professors, provided the women have never been married. So it appears as though marriage takes a heavy toll on women. In the education process women tend to stay away from the highly technical fields. Highly technical fields pay better than teaching. The notion of wage differences and the percentage of a population in a particular profession does not say that there is sexual or racial discrimination. In professional basketball, for example, blacks constitute seventy-three percent of the players in the NBA. Furthermore, they are the highest paid players in the NBA. I doubt whether you can explain this by saying that blacks are running some kind of conspiracy against white basketball players or that the team owners don't like white basketball players. Salary differentials and levels of participation in a particular area don't tell you anything about discrimination per se.

**CR:** Are you in favor of affirmative action?

**WILLIAMS:** No I'm not. I find racial or sexual quotas offensive to the principles of democracy and fair play. When people talk about affirmative action most times they mean it to mean quotas. A lot of people say you have to offset the disadvantages of, say, blacks for past discrimination. When you give one person an advantage, of necessity, you must give someone else a disadvantage. If you have quotas in admission to colleges and you have a quota to give a special advantage to a black, then you create a special disadvantage for a white. That white kid is not responsible for the enslavement of my ancestors or for their mistreatment after emancipation. The whole quota system is based on a dubious moral value that says that individual B should be punished for individual A for what individual C did to individual D. I believe in individual accountability. I don't think that I should be accountable for anything my father did or his father did.

**CR:** Do you support forced busing?

**WILLIAMS:** No I don't. I think the whole notion of busing is a corrupt notion. Many people advocating forced busing and intergration of schools are in a sense saying that black academic excellence cannot be achieved unless black people go out and capture a white kid to sit beside.

**CR:** What's your position on tuition tax credits?

**WILLIAMS:** I look at tuition tax credits as the second best solution to our education problem. I would like to see a voucher system at the state level. Tuition tax credits are kind of a piecemeal voucher. I think we need to put more power in the hands of parents and put less in the hands of some remote bureaucrat downtown or in the Department of Education or wherever. We need to put power in the hands of parents, that is, make schools accountable to parents as opposed to being accountable to bureaucrats or their peers.

**CR:** Well, many liberals claim that tuition tax credits or a voucher system would take money away from the public school system and therefore hurt the education of the poor. How do you answer that?

**WILLIAMS:** If I were the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and if I wanted to destroy or bankrupt black academic excellence, I could find no better way to do it than the current public school system in most of our metropolitan areas. Public education is destroying the lives of many, many black students. In these cities where they have public schools delivering fraudulent education there are many non-public schools such as parochial schools, black Muslim schools, and community schools arising. If you go to the ghetto of North Philadelphia, for example, or go to the ghetto of Chicago, you see some poor kids getting a good education and they're reading and writing at or above the national norm, but they're not doing it in the public schools by in large. They're doing it in the non-public schools. So

**CR:** Well, some members of the "black leadership" have gone so far as to call Reagan's economic policies racist. How do you explain this?

**WILLIAMS:** Well, I think that they're a%¢&\*!@s.

anything that can support more black children going to non-public schools would be in the interest of improving black education. I think that many liberals who are opposed to this type of a scheme either represent the teaching establishment

## Walter Williams

or they're arrogant enough to say to black parents "you keep on allowing your children's education to be destroyed until we can find a better way to do it." While the liberals themselves, including black liberals who have means and who have income are not sending their kids to the public schools, they're sending their kids to private schools or parochial schools. They're not sacrificing the lives of their children waiting for the better day.

**CR:** Should we "stay the course" with regards to Reaganomics?

**WILLIAMS:** My own attitude is that there isn't much Reaganomics going on. We have the highest budget deficits that we've ever had in history and we had the highest tax increase that we've ever had in history, which doesn't sound very much like Reaganomics to me. I still have faith in the President but the President of the United States is being blackmailed. He's being blackmailed by liberals and by conservative Republicans. I think what we people have to do, we people who believe in individual freedom, need to give the President as much support as we possibly can so that he can fight this type of blackmail.

*"Labor unions historically have been the black man's worst enemy."*

**CR:** How is Reagan being blackmailed?

**WILLIAMS:** The Defense Department said that an anti-submarine jet was ineffective in doing its task. So the Defense Department recommended that we get rid of those planes. There were around twenty-one of those planes on order. The companies that were producing those planes were companies located in the districts of Congressman Rousselot and Barry Goldwater, Jr. So they went to the President and asked him to reconsider canceling that contract and indeed the President did reconsider and I believe that the President gave them not the total number of planes that they wanted, but he gave them a partial order. I was not at the meetings there, but I imagine

*Continued from page 3*

incomes are the Jews, Poles, and Japanese-Americans—all groups which have been targets of persecution historically. Again I will also bring up the example of American born black West Indians whose average income is comparable to that of Anglo-Saxons. These groups were able to move ahead economically in a hostile environment because, for one reason, discrimination in the work force is costly. If an employer hires a white that creates \$5 worth of services an hour over a black who could create \$6 worth of services an hour, the employer's discrimination costs \$1 an hour. The performance of these other ethnic groups shows that the cost of discrimination in the work force is sufficient to allow minorities the opportunities to do as well or better than whites.

Probably the greatest hindrance to black employment opportunities is the minimum wage law. This law makes much non and low skill labor unemployable as it is not worth the minimum wage. This hindrance is felt equally by underskilled whites and blacks seeking employment, but the victims of the minimum wage are disproportionately black as teenagers make up a greater percentage of the black population than the white.

What blacks also need, Mr. Williams, and what the other successful ethnic groups I have mentioned have had, is faith in their ability to work to make a better living for themselves and their children. This faith has been taken away by those promulgating the myth that blacks can never get ahead in the market because of discrimination. The result of this is slum dwelling second and third generation welfare families.

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## Williams

the conversation went something like this: "Mr. President, if you want our vote on the tax cuts and your programs in Congress you vote for this jet for our districts." Congressmen from sugar states and dairy states do the same thing. In these instances the President needs to come on national television and tell Americans: "I am trying to do this for our country, but I am being blackmailed." In the political game they call this "political trade-offs." I call it blackmail.

**CR:** What interest do black Americans have in following the economic principles of President Reagan?

**WILLIAMS:** Black Americans have a vested interest, black Americans included with all Americans, in a rapidly growing economy. To the extent that President Reagan stands at the helm of a country that is experiencing rapid economic growth we all benefit.

**CR:** Well, some members of the "black leadership" have gone so far as to call Reagan's economic policies racist. How do you explain this?

**WILLIAMS:** Well, I think that they're a%¢&\*!@s.

**CR:** (Long pause). Okay. Do you think that the Federal Reserve has let loose on the money supply too quickly?

**WILLIAMS:** Yes, I do. I think that the Federal Reserve should not have any control, any discretionary control, over the money supply. I think that, as Milton Friedman has long said, we should have a monetary growth target that's equivalent to our changes in productivity. I think that the Federal Reserve has shown its inability to control the money supply in a way that's consistent with growth and with stable prices. As a matter of fact, I would even go further than that. If I had my way, I would eliminate the Federal Reserve.



Photo courtesy of World Research, Inc.



## Who Is Protected By Protectionism?

By C. Brandon Crocker

As is usual in times of high unemployment, people are demanding that *something* be done to fight the problem. Liberal Congressmen and Senators eagerly take up the righteous cause demanding jobs bills. These bills usually create some jobs in specific areas, thus making the benefits highly visible, but cost an equal or greater number of jobs in a wide diversity of other areas which would have received the money that was taxed away from consumers to pay for the jobs programs.

Yet liberals are not alone in their quest to redistribute unemployment. Politicians, regardless of ideology, who are from areas that produce products faced with foreign competition during difficult economic times ask that "unfair" or "excessive" foreign competition be curtailed.

The steel industry has been one of the more vocal supporters of import restrictions over the past several years. Steel firms and unions claim that cheap imported steel is taking jobs away from Americans. This is not so. Cheap foreign steel increases the unemployment rate of steel workers but lessens the unemployment rate of others. Cheaper steel means cheaper automobiles and cheaper construction costs and therefore more money to spend on other goods and services and thus increased employment in these areas.

Of course, the auto industry has also been pushing for trade restrictions. Now we have a bill in Congress, which has a good chance of passing, that would

require Japanese automobile manufacturers to use a certain percentage of generally more expensive U.S. made parts in order to be able to import autos into this country. Auto related industries and unions naturally support this bill and so Congressmen from areas with high concentrations of these supporters



are obliged to work for the bill's passage and proclaim that it will create and save thousands of jobs. Thousands of jobs probably would be saved in auto related industries, assuming that the increased price of autos would not cause a large drop in auto sales. But people would then spend more money for automobiles (either by buying the Japanese import or a higher priced but now competitive American model). The result is that the car buyer would then have less money to spend on groceries, clothing and at the movies and so employment in these areas would be less than what they would have been without the import restriction bill.

Trade restrictions, however, can be far more destructive than ordinary jobs programs. Historically, import restrictions have led to reciprocal actions by foreign governments. Of course, if the Japanese were to raise their tariffs on U.S. goods, for example, Japanese consumers and industries using U.S. imports would be worse off, but more importantly to us, U.S. exporters would be worse off and therefore unemployment would rise in export related industries.

Preventing free trade does not save jobs. Trade restrictions, at best, reshuffle unemployment and limit consumers' choices. Very often, however, the results are much higher unemployment as well as fewer goods and services. If those with vested interests in import restrictions get their way, we will pay much for the benefit of very few.

## ECONOMICS IN AND OUT OF TOWN

by Michael C. Litt



### LOAN SHARKS

Continental Illinois, the nation's seventh largest bank and the pioneer of the Go-Go lending spirit, has become the center of attention in an era of bad loans. Continental, which had been sporting a 15% growth record for six consecutive years, showed a 77% drop in earnings for the first nine months of 1982. This conspicuous decline in profits came about when Continental was left holding \$1 billion in energy related loans it had purchased from the now defunct Penn Square Bank. Bank officials are now occupied investigating the Penn Square failure, as well as trying to hold the line over at International Harvester, another big Continental borrower. "Continental is, in my opinion, dead in the water" said a representative of another big bank. Their vulnerable position has already promoted other banking interests to approach Continental customers. Continental is going to have to work over-time as it tries to regain respectability and protect itself from predatory lenders who will be testing its customer allegiance.

### CHEW MUCH?

The William Wrigley Jr. Co. announced that it would be raising the wholesale prices of its chewing gums. The price of packages containing six sticks of gum will be raised seven cents, and thirteen cents for those containing ten sticks. The wholesale prices of other package sizes will remain the same, however. Increased sugar and labor costs were cited as the reasons for the price hikes. It is Wrigley's first price hike in five years.

### OVER THERE

Josef Stingl, President of West Germany's Federal Labor Office announced near record unemployment for December and indicated the situation will get worse still. 2,223,000 West Germans, or 9.1% of the labor force are out of work, the worst for that country in over thirty years. Germany has been one of Europe's strongest economies over the past two decades and a stranger to unemployment in recent years. The deteriorating job market has followed the declining demand for German goods. A 13% increase in business failures for the first nine months of 1982 has put downward pressure on the banks' lending rates. But capital investments seem to be heading for modernization of existing capital rather than expanded production which would create new jobs.

### MORE SMOKE

Lorillard, a division of Loews Theaters, has decided to go for national introduction of a new "feminine" cigarette line called Satin. Only twelve weeks after introduction into the Denver and Milwaukee Markets, Satin had achieved a 1.4% market share. A 1% share is worth about \$160 million in sales at the factory level. "Spoil yourself with Satin" will be the theme of the advertising campaign scheduled to begin Valentines Day, February 14.

### SETTLING DOWN

Home mortgage rates are at their lowest level in over two years. Lenders were recently asking an average 13.57% basic interest rate, well below the 17.04% average of a year ago. But economists predict that long term financing rates will begin to rise at the end of the current quarter. The average purchase price of a home also fell to 77,400, less than a 1% drop from a year ago. Portland, Ore. had the highest average rate of the 32 metropolitan areas considered with a statospheric 15.8%.

### HOT CHOCLATES

Futures prices on cocoa for March deliveries slid \$33 in one trading session recently. Speculation that two months of hot dry weather in Brazil would cause crop damage had driven up the price up to \$220 a metric ton. But reports of moderate to heavy rains in Brazil's cocoa producing region led many speculators to believe that the crops probably won't suffer further damage. The drought threatened Brazil's temporoa crop, which represents about 65% of Brazil's total harvest.

### HARD DRIVING

For U.S. auto makers, 1982 was a year they would rather forget. It was the third consecutive year sales fell, this time 19% to just over five million units, the worst since 1958. Having lost faith in an industry-wide recovery costs were cut dramatically by the auto makers in an attempt not to repeat losses of the previous two years. December sales were up 9.3% and on this note the auto makers have indicated they will produce 30% more cars in the current first quarter than they did last year. But most industry analysts agree the recovery will not come as quickly as they had expected.

### LIGHT METALS

Aluminum Co. of America will report a significant loss for the fourth quarter of 1982. "It's predictable" said one aluminum analyst. "Shipments are slow, discounting is pretty horrendous, and things won't pick up as long as inventories are high." The company had reported earnings of \$44 million. A share of Alcoa's common stock sold for between \$23 and \$24 in July but has risen to \$29.625 on the current bull trend. The No. 1 aluminum producer had full year earnings of \$296.2 million in 1981.

### YEN FOR YEN

The Japanese Yen appears to be strengthening once again after a sluggish year in 1982. The high U.S. interest rates had pulled investments away from the Japanese market, but the trend has reversed itself as domestic interest rates have fallen. At the beginning of November the Yen hit a low of 278.10 to the dollar. Foreign exchange dealers in Tokyo expect the yen to be worth 200 to the dollar by the end of the current quarter. As the Yen strengthens Japanese products will become more expensive in foreign markets, as did American products in 1982.

### PETROL UP

"It will take a lot less to keep the system we have in good repair than to replace it later," said President Reagan after signing the federal gasoline tax bill. The bill will take effect on April 1st and is expected to yield an additional \$5.5 billion in revenue. Reagan stressed that the emphasis of the program was to improve the nation's roads and bridges as well as to create some 320,000 jobs. 80% of the new monies will be targeted for roads and bridges, with the remainder earmarked for mass transit and additional unemployment benefits. It is the first gas tax hike since 1959 when it was raised to the current four cents a gallon.

### THE BREAKS

Ford will pay William Von, 24 years old, of Omaha, Neb. \$530,000 of a \$2.7 million, lawsuit stemming from an accident in 1978. Mr. Von charged that his Pinto did not stop due to a hole in its brakeline, and caused him to run into a backhoe parked beside a roadway in San Diego. Ford claimed the hole was a result of the accident. The remainder of the \$2.7 million will be paid by the owner of the backhoe, the construction company that leased it, and the Ford dealer who sold the Pinto. Mr. Von suffered some brain damage and permanent crippling as a result of the accident.

## Lady Macbeth: Feminist Idol

by H. W. Crocker III

Lady Macbeth denies her feminine role. Women, because they give birth, because they have traditionally been the more domestic of the sexes, and because of their mammary glands, are nurturers. Lady Macbeth nurtures nothing save her own ambition. "Come, you spirits / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, / And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full / Of direst cruelty!" Lady Macbeth asks to be unsexed, purged of her softer feminine qualities, and filled with the cruelty she needs to execute the desires of her overpowering ambition. A woman cannot serve two masters. She either does what she was made for or she devotes herself to some other conceptual passion. There is no doubt where Lady Macbeth stands. She is on the side of ambition.

Finding it impossible to unsex herself, Lady Macbeth yearns to convert her sexual organs into weapons that will serve her ambition. "Come to my woman's breasts, / And take my milk for gall." Her breasts, which adorn her body to nurture babes, she wants filled with gall, with spleen, with those emotions that will feed her ambition. She wants her body filled with Machiavellian humors. She is a woman in thrall to an idea.

"I have given suck, and know / How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me; / I would while it was smiling in my face, / Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums / And dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn as you / Have done to this." Lady Macbeth does not prevaricate about her commitment to her passion. She herself uses, as an example of her loyalty to ambition, the image of a woman denying her motherhood. She would kill that which from her womb was born if it interfered with the fulfillment of her desires. She would rip the babe from her breast and dash its head against a rock because her breasts are not instruments of nourishment, or signs of a nurturing sensibility; they are tools to be of service to her ambition, wherever that may guide her.

It is no coincidence that she says to Macbeth: "Yet do I fear thy nature; / It is too full o' th' milk of human kindness." Lady Macbeth does not believe in the transmission of the milk of human kindness. She believes in the transmission of gall. Her life is devoted to personal gratification. She has no time to gratify others. Children have no place in her life because they cannot forward her goal of self-fulfillment, her ambition; or, at least, they cannot do so with enough alacrity to be of any worth to her. Macbeth, however, is of use to her. He can propel her forward in social rank. He can commit a murder.

For all her denial of the feminine virtues, Lady Macbeth is not a masculine figure. It is true that she identifies with aggressive male attitudes. "Infirm of purpose! / Give me the daggers. The sleeping and the dead / are but pictures. 'Tis the eye of childhood / That fears a painted devil." Lady Macbeth, again, removes herself from the realm of children. She sides up with strength and decisiveness. But Macbeth, Macduff, Banquo, and the other men of her society are the warriors. Lady Macbeth's strength lies not in a strong right arm, but in her tongue. "Hie thee hither, / That I may pour my spirits in thine ear, / And chastise with the valor of my tongue / All that impedes thee from the golden round." Valor is a martial virtue proven by the firmness with which a soldier confronts danger. Valor is an attribute of the masculine culture that Lady Macbeth is trying to join, but she is misappropriating it. A valorous tongue would be one that stood up against intimidation and injustice. Lady Macbeth's tongue is motivating her husband to murder a man who is his friend and his sovereign. In her blind determination to realize her ambition, she has blurred all the happenstances of the field of action into a category of heroism. Macbeth is a soldier and he has fought and killed for causes he deemed just. Lady Macbeth is asking him not to kill but to murder.

In a warrior society, a warrior's code is of seminal importance. The chief law of any martial code is when it is and when it is not just to take another man's life; because the warriors are men, this is a man's code. These fine, but sacred, points of honor are lost on Lady Macbeth. She is not a man, she is not a warrior, and she is not cognizant of a warrior's code. Her mind is on a single track. "Art thou afraid / To be the same in thine own act and valor / As thou art in desire?" Lady Macbeth accuses Macbeth of lacking courage and valor, because he does not execute a dream of ambition that he knows is wrong, but which once crossed his mind. Lady Macbeth cares not for right or wrong, code or no code. She cares for the rhetoric of the warrior's ethic, for its linguistic forms. Macbeth once had a dream that interlocked with her's. He discarded it. She

wants to reinvigorate it. So she plays with the language of the man's world.

Ironic as it may sound, Lady Macbeth tries to define Macbeth's sex for him. "When you durst do it, then you were a man." When you would commit a murder, she tells him, then you are a man. She knows that men are creatures of action, but she cannot differentiate the many modes of action—those that a man finds permissible and those that he does not. Whenever an action culminates in her happiness, then it is manly.

Lady Macbeth finds her sexual nexus with the witches. They are unnatural, supernatural women. They are also something much more frightening. They are over-reaching women. "You should be women, / And yet your beards forbid me to interpret / That you are so." They are women who have become sexually confused. Like Lady Macbeth they do not belong to the natural order. They are something other than male or female, husband or wife. The witches are prognosticators. They can predict the future because they are supernatural, they are not of this world. But Lady Macbeth is of this world. She is a participant. She does not predict the future, but tries to make it happen. By subsuming her humanity, her sexuality, under an idea, a concept—ambition—

she loses hold of the fact that actions, her responses to her desires, have consequences which she will have to live with. She is not a witch. She is very much flesh and blood, no matter how hard she tries to become an idea.

If there is a uniform perception of what it is to be a woman in this play, it is that women are false. The witches are equivocators. Lady Macbeth, when told that the King has been murdered, responds with fatuous domesticity: "What, in our house?" Then she faints. Macduff says: "O, I could play the woman with mine eyes, and the braggart with my tongue!" But, gentle heavens, cut short all intermission! Macduff sees sorrow as a feminine trait, and as an indulgent, insincere one. The women of this play seem to have taught the men a lesson.

Why do the women behave the way they do? Lady Macbeth sees the female condition as one of weakness: "O, these flaws and starts, / Impostors of true fear, would well become / A woman's story at a winter's fire, / Author'd by her grandam." She recognizes women as being passive, subservient, and weak figures. She does not recognize that in her attempt to overcome what she sees as woman's innate inferiority she becomes something inhuman. She becomes a monster, a woman removed from reality and human relationships, a woman enraptured with an idea.



# THE BUSINESS BOGY

*The Reverend Doctor John K. Williams is chaplain and teacher of classics at St. Leonard's College, Brighton, Victoria in Australia. This article first appeared in The Freeman.*

MYTHS die hard. Everybody knows that the words, "Alas! poor Yorick! I knew him well," are taken from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Everybody knows that Sherlock Holmes was given to muttering, "Elementary, my dear Watson!" Everybody knows that Cinderella wore glass slippers to the handsome prince's ball.

Unfortunately everybody is wrong. The relevant lines in *Hamlet* read, "Alas! poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio..." Sherlock Holmes' famous dictum doesn't occur even once in the fifty-six short stories and four novels Sir Arthur Conan Doyle penned about his celebrated detective. The seventeenth-century French text of *Cinderella* asserts that the good lady's slippers were *vair* (ermine) not *verre* (glass); Charles Perrault, who translated the tale into English in 1697, was responsible for a mistranslation which condemned generations of readers to bewilderment and poor Cinderella to a thoroughly uncomfortable evening's dancing.

But try convincing a "true believer" of his error about Hamlet, Sherlock Holmes or Cinderella. Argument is an exercise in frustration, indeed futility. The "true believer" just *knows*, and that is that!

Similarly with business. Everybody just *knows* that business exists to "rip off" consumers, that business profits are evidence of exploitation, and that men and women engaged in business are a shady lot.

• Ralph Nader visited Australia recently. His public addresses were well received. His audiences listened with an intensity and responded with a fervor an "old-time religion" preacher would envy. The words "business," "corporation," "businessman," and "business executive" were clearly "bad" words, and the audience recognized them as such, booing and hissing on cue. His suggestion that many executives of "big businesses" should be imprisoned for defrauding the public received rapturous applause.

• A recent Harris poll in the U.S.A. revealed that public confidence in the "essential honesty" of business had dropped some thirty per cent over ten years, most significantly among the young. Australian young people share this attitude. Career guidance programs in secondary schools frequently include materials enabling students to "clarify" their values when making a career choice. They are asked to rank a number of career areas in terms of these careers' "moral worth," usefulness to the community, and prestige enjoyed (or prestige the students believe them to enjoy). Out of sixteen career areas listed, business ranks, on the average, fourteenth.

• A recent interview by *T.V. Guide* with Mike Wallace, star interviewer and investigative journalist of the *Sixty Minutes* program, included the question, "Do you handle someone who may have something to hide differently from a Baryshnikov or a Horowitz?" Mr. Wallace replied, "Of course...In both cases the interviewer 'role-plays.' With the businessman he may play prosecutor, or if the individual responds better to lulling, then the interviewer goes that way." (*T.V. Guide*, November 24, 1979) The shift is significant. Mike Wallace simply assumed that a person who has "something to hid" is a "businessman."

No government ever lost office for underestimating community sympathy for business; no newspaper ever suffered a massive decline in readership for criticizing business; no clergyman ever emptied his church by denouncing business. Business is, apparently, fair game for attack. "Until proved innocent assume business has something to hide."

Yet it is all very odd. Are businessmen striving for advancement more ruthless than academics plotting their next promotion?

Is the world of art conspicuously free of the confidence tricksters allegedly crowding the world of business?

It is not enough, however, sadly to observe that individuals who are deceitful, lazy, negligent or fraudulent in the practice of their profession are universal, and leave it at that. It is necessary to ask why dishonesty—indeed, crime—is widely perceived as an alien intruder in most professions, but an expected inhabitant of the world of business.

Answers are plentiful. "Marx's rhetoric about 'exploitation' has filtered down to common parlance." "Frustration welcomes a scapegoat and many sources of frustration—rising prices, a declining job-market, even the failure of a family's washing machine—can conveniently and with some semblance of rationality, be attributed to the shadowy villain "business"." "The masses are woefully ignor-

ant of economic reality, hence misperceive the nature of business."

Maybe. But such answers merely delay the significant question. What is there about business that gives Marx's rhetoric any degree of plausibility? What feature of business makes it a popular scapegoat? Why should a misperception of economic reality invariably result in business being cast as a "villain"?

The answer is the same to each question. Whereas most professions are perceived primarily in terms of a service rendered and only secondarily in terms of financial gain achieved, business is perceived primarily—perhaps totally—in terms of gain.

For centuries significant professions have "justified" themselves essentially by reference to the way they enhance the lives of those served by these professions; that human beings acquire for themselves what they need to enjoy the "good life" by laboring at these professions has been politely downplayed. The doctor, according to this fiction, labors primarily to further the art of healing; the teacher battles to defeat the ogre of ignorance; the opera singer exhausts herself in the service of her art. The beneficiaries are those healed, instructed, or inspired. To be sure, the doctor, the teacher, and the opera singer gain financially by exercising their skills, but the initial answer to the question as to what these people do relates to their professions and those benefited, not the professionals' reward. Ask what the businessman "does," however, and the answer is invariably, "he makes money."

Wisely, some businessmen have attempted to correct this strange contrast. They are wise to do so because public attitudes control, within limits, politicians' actions. That an economic proposal is damaging to business is widely heard as a point in favor of such a proposal; the politician who attacks business invariably receives a more enthusiastic hearing than the politician who defends business. Irving Kristol is correct to observe that at the moment corporations have no constituencies, no one ready to defend them and come to their aid when they are attacked.

Bluntly, the gap between the public's perception of business activities and the activities of other professions must be closed, or business enterprise may find itself being closed. Lewis Powell, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and author of the well-known *Powell Memorandum*, was right to observe that "business and the enterprise system are in deep trouble, and the hour is late."

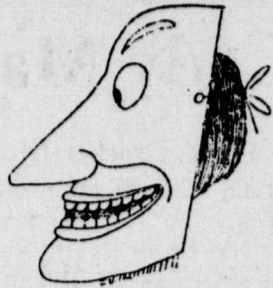
Yet frequently—businessmen, seeking to defend their profession, do so by pointing to external consequences of their activities. They point to revenues gained by government through company taxes, they point to the jobs private businesses create; they even point to charitable programs supported by business! And this "defense" is madness! It increases, rather than diminishes the seeming "gap" between business and other professions. Doctors "justify" themselves by reference to what they do, not by reference to the taxes they pay or the nurses, drug company salesmen, and debt collectors they employ! Teachers refer to their teaching, not the chalk they consume and the text-book market they create! Opera singers refer to their music, not the theater ushers and program sellers whom they keep in a job! Business must be "justified" by what the business professional does.

Before specifying what it is that the businessman does, it must be acknowledged that the businessman exchanges his skills and time for money—more precisely, for the goods and services for which the money can be exchanged. Similarly with the doctor who forgoes leisure and exchanges his time for his patient's fee, and the patient who forgoes some other goods and services that fee could have procured in favor of the doctor's time and skills. The situations are parallel. And as is the case with any voluntary exchange, each party gains what he values most. After all, in the absence of coercion two parties only make an exchange because each believes he will benefit by so doing.

Yet, what skills does the businessman exercise?

They vary. Consider the businessman as an entrepreneur. He is an expert at perceiving information gaps in a complex society and acting to close those gaps. He observes, say, that apples are available in a particular locality for thirty cents a pound. The person growing those apples wishes to exchange them for thirty cents, preferring what that money can purchase to the apples. He observes further that people in a distant locality are willing to pay seventy-five cents for one pound of apples, preferring to forgo other goods that sum of money could purchase. Neither party is aware of the other's existence. The entrepreneur observes the information gap, and locates a further party who is prepared to

by John K. Williams



exchange his time and the use of his truck to transport apples from the producing locality to the consuming locality for, say, five cents per pound. The parties are brought together and all, including the entrepreneur, benefit. Each has made the exchange he wished to make. Each has parted with what he values less for what he values more. The entrepreneur has exchanged his skills of noting and closing information gaps for the goods and services his "profit" can purchase.

And his role is vital. In a complex society information gaps are inevitable. The noting and closing of these gaps is essential if people are to make the exchanges they wish to make. The entrepreneur's initially large profit will, of course, tend to decline, for large profits signal to other apple growers, transport drivers, or "co-ordinators" what they can do to achieve lesser but real profits. Fairly rapidly the market price of apples in the consumer district will drop and remain constant. The gap has closed and a state of equilibrium obtains. But the entrepreneur is by now off to close yet a further information gap he has noted—this time, perhaps, a gap between a consumer need and the capacity of a new but undeveloped product or process to meet that need.

What about the producer? Again he co-ordinates: he co-ordinates countless separate and distinct skills to manufacture one particular product. And to do that he must deal in time. In a sense his peculiar trait is a preference for future as against present goods. By forgoing present consumption, he has accumulated capital, enough capital to enable him to exchange money here and now for labor here and now. The seller of labor thus acquires his desired present good. The producer, however, is prepared to wait until the object being produced is completed, brought to the attention of purchasers, and sold before receiving his reward. He has exchanged his skills as a co-ordinator, and his capacity to wait for a future good, for the "profit" — the payment — he at last receives.

The businessman is also an anticipator. He must anticipate what consumers will want in the future, then efficiently co-ordinate the suppliers of raw products, of labor, of advertising space or time, and of transport so that the needs of consumers are met when they arise, more efficiently and more cheaply than competitive producers could meet them.

The information-gap perceiver and bridge, the skill co-ordinator. The anticipator. And the risk-taker, for the businessman usually has to exchange a present and certain good for materials leading only to a possible future good for himself.

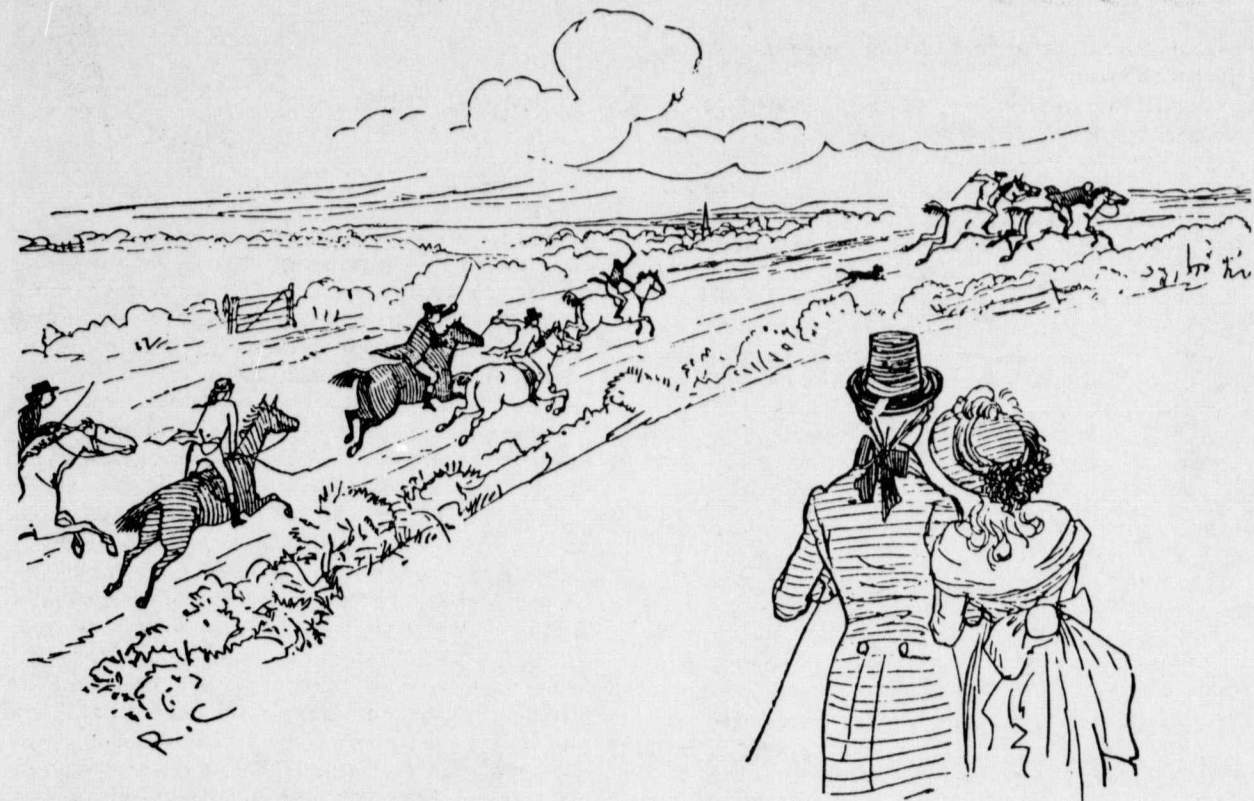
Are these tasks contemptible? To be sure the picture presented is grossly simplified; the complex reality of business life involves more skills than this simple sketch has noted. And more than professionals, the businessman's success depends on his enabling other people to achieve what they want. He can only make "huge profits" if he satisfies and keeps satisfying the actual needs of real people more cheaply or more pleasingly than do others. He does not enjoy the coerced custom guaranteed the teacher. The numbers of competitors entering his profession are not as tightly controlled as are those entering medicine. His customers are just as fickle as—perhaps more fickle than—those of the adored opera singer. He is hardly to be condemned.

Yet, there may be in the behavior of the businessman one tragic and fatal failing. He acts quickly to close information gaps between the seller and eater of apples, but he does little to close the information chasm between his own profession and a critical public. He daily exchanges present certain goods for future possible goods, but he chooses "business-as-usual" today at the expense of the possible non-existence of a free market in the future. He draws upon the expertise of those able to inform the public as to the excellence of his products, but he either will not or cannot employ such experts to sell himself and what he does to a grossly uninformed community.

That is his failing, and possibly his fatal failing. Popular myths about Hamlet, Sherlock Holmes, and Cinderella's slippers are harmless. Contemporary myths about business could be lethal.

Like all myths, these myths "die hard." Yet, attacked intelligently enough and determinedly enough, die they will. That they are attacked is important. For if they do not die, business enterprises will, and all of us—including thankless consumers—will be the poorer.

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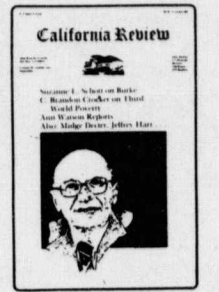
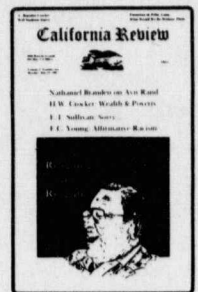


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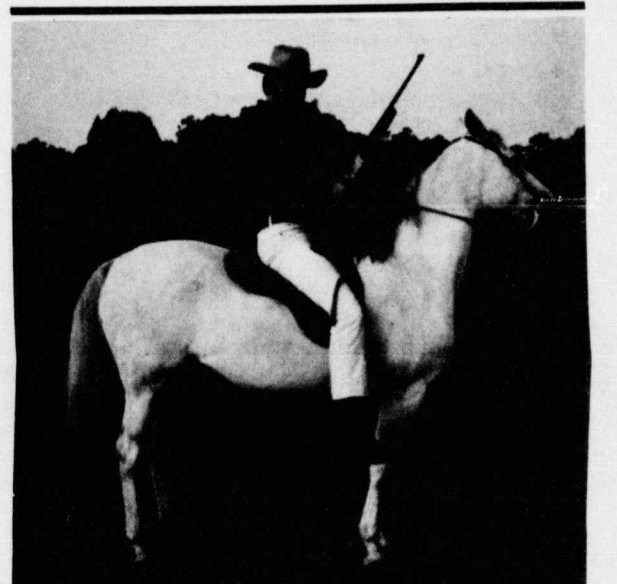
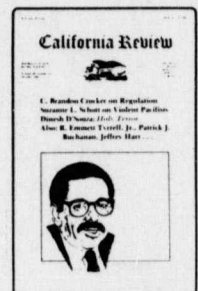
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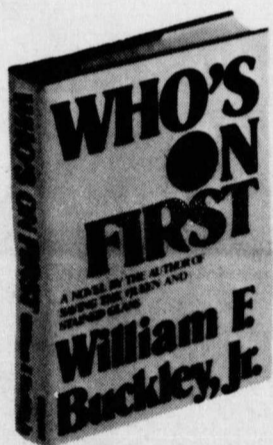
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