

The Stanford Review

VOLUME XXXI, NUMBER 7

ESTABLISHED 1987 : WWW.STANFORDREVIEW.ORG

DECEMBER 5, 2003

US-Iranian Relations and the Prospect of Democracy

by Gary J. Raichart
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Will Iran be able to transition to a democratic government without violence? The current state of US-Iranian relations, internal Iranian domestic problems, and the grassroots democratic movement seemingly leave Iran on the brink of change, though what form that change may take, if indeed there is any change at all, is yet to be seen.

Dr. Abbas Milani, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and visiting professor of political science at Stanford, spoke on "US-Iranian Relations and the Prospect of Democracy in Iran" to a crowd of about 75 in the Lou Henry Hoover Room in Hoover Tower on Wednesday, December 3.

Mr. Milani served on the board of directors of Tehran University's Center for International Studies from 1977-1987, during which he was an assistant professor of law and political science.

Mr. Milani believes that Iran is currently beset by both political and economic crises. On the political side, most of the power is in the hands of the spiritual leader. While the president and parliament are democratically elected, they actually have very little power. This system leads to two incompatibilities: the despotic power of the spiritual leader and the democratic



Dr. Milani placed blame on Europe for the continued existence of the Iranian regime

non-power of the president. Mr. Milani said the best description of Iran is "an apartheid of clergy."

Indeed, while the Iranian government under the Shah was far from democratic, according to Mr. Milani, "the Shah never had the absolute power that the spiritual leader has today."

Yet, there are signs that this absolute power is beginning to wane. Despite

the support of the spiritual leader, the establishment's candidate Ali Akbar Nateq-Noori lost the 1997 presidential election in a landslide to Mohammad Khatami, who stood for political reform and against censorship. President Khatami went on to win re-election with a staggering 77% of the vote. Indeed, even approximately 70% of members of the Revolutionary Guards,

which was created by the Ayatollah Khomeini after the Revolution of 1979, voted for Khatami.

However, while the political crisis is dire, Mr. Milani believes that, "in the long run, (the economic crisis) is the problem that is probably going to kill this regime."

Mr. Milani said that from 1965-1979 Iran was competing for economic dominance of the Middle East. Today, however, Iran has an unemployment rate above 20%, which is worse than Great Depression levels in the US. Iran has one-third of the income today as in 1979 with twice as many mouths to feed.

"The reason for economic failure is more or less simple," said Mr. Milani. "(Iran) has failed to produce industry." In fact, many of the most successful Iranians have left Iran for countries such as the United States and pursued quite prosperous endeavors. The situation leaves Iran dependent almost entirely upon oil revenue, which is also suffering because of the real-dollar drop in value per barrel since 1979.

To make matters worse, Iran is plagued by corruption. "There was corruption in the Shah's regime, but compared to what is going on today it was Sunday school," said Mr. Milani. Indeed, most business is "run in true mafia fashion." Mr. Milani said that the current regime only survives because

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The Chaning Role of Religion and Politics in Iran

by Aliyya Haque
NEWS STAFF WRITER

"The rise of religious intellectuals in the middle of the twentieth century brought back religion into politics in Iran," commented Professor Forough Jahanbaksh, during her keynote speech on the role of Islamic intellectuals in the realm of religion and politics in Iran.

On Friday, November 21, 2003, the Hoover Institution held a day-long conference entitled "Politics and Governance in a Changing Iran," inviting world renowned experts on the subject to give lectures and lead discussions. Some of the issues addressed in the lectures that day included "the current political landscape in Iran," "religion and politics" "the judicial system and the role of law" and "the nuclear question in Iran." In the second panel discussion of the day, Professor

Forough Jahanbaksh gave a lecture on Islamic intellectuals in Iran, backed up by several discussants: Professor Donald Emmerson, Dr. Alireza Hagigi, and Professor Abbas Milani. The session was moderated by Larry Diamond from the Hoover Institution.

All participants in the panel have extensive backgrounds on the subject of religion and politics. Professor Jahanbaksh, assistant professor of religious studies in Queen's University in Canada, is an expert on the relationship between politics and religion, especially as it pertains to Iran, and has also studied contemporary Islamic thought. Professor Emmerson is a Stanford Institute for International Studies senior fellow and is also director of the Southeast Asia Forum. Dr. Alireza Hagigi is a former Iranian journalist put in exile, who now writes for the media in Canada. Professor Milani is one of Stanford's Hoover Institution research fellows, where he

specializes in Iranian political, cultural, and security affairs.

Professor Jahanbaksh began her speech Friday with a narration on the rise of religious intellectuals in Iran. She describes the role of intellectuals in two main political phases, the pre-revolutionary phase and the post-revolutionary phase in Iran, and how these phases contributed to cultural and political trends in contemporary Iran.

"Intellectuals in the pre-revolutionary phase were responding to the Shah's autocratic rule. They were anti-dictatorial and anti-establishment, inspired by the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist trend of that time," Professor Jahanbaksh explained. Revolutionary Islamic ideology came out of these beliefs, in which religion was interpreted to suit the political agenda of the movement. "Words from the Muslim holy book, the Qu'ran, were interpreted to enhance the

revolutionary fervor of the movement," Professor Jahanbaksh commented.

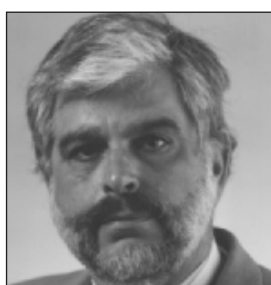
Rituals and other congregational acts, such as the five daily prayers and fasting during the month of Ramadan, were granted extraordinary new meanings as well, performed to remind people of their ideological commitment to the revolutionary movement. "This religious ideology made promises for an ideal society and political system, proclaiming to be action and change oriented. However, in this phase ideological duties override personal rights," said Professor Jahanbaksh.

The post-revolutionary phase in Iran came about as a counter-movement to the prevailing Islamic ideology and tried to de-politicize religious ideologies. "The post revolutionary phase emphatically placed value on faith and the inward religious experience, which is at the core of

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of its viciousness and the lack of any alternative. Europe, Mr. Milani contends, must bear much of the responsibility for the survival of the regime. “The survival of the Islamic Republic is the result of Europe’s support of the Islamic Republic,” said Mr. Milani. He believes that if Europe had joined the embargo of Iran with the United States, the current regime would no longer be in power. However, this European base of support began to erode when reports

Middle East,” said Mr. Milani. “If Iran goes democratic, I think the Middle East will go much easier towards democracy.” In addition to having a unique democratic movement in the Middle East, there is also a uniquely favorable opinion of the United States among Iranian citizens, despite propaganda attempts of the regime to the contrary. Mr. Milani believes this is due in part to the United States standing up against the current regime, which leaves Iranians liking the US under the premise that “my enemy’s enemy is my friend.” Mr. Milani feels that one thing that could kill the democratic movement in Iran is if the Iranian people perceive

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this ideology,” Professor Jahanbaksh explained, “People are encouraged to practice Islam out of love and not fear of God.” This ideology also promoted diversity and tolerance as opposed to the uniformity and exclusivity of the pre-revolutionary phase. The post-revolutionary phase offered the “minimalist” approach with regards to religion. It emphasized rational, democratic and non-combative rhetoric, which promoted personal rights and civil liberties of the Iranian citizens. “This new discourse made great strides

Emmerson explained. Dr. Alireza Hagigi next went on to discuss the efforts of religious intellectuals to try to answer the crisis of power in Iran. He also urged that “the nature between human rights and religion must be made clear.” Before opening to questions and discussion, Professor Abbas Milani spoke on the concept of the intellectual. “The key problem facing Iran is the concept of the intellectual. Who is he and what are his responsibilities?” Professor Milani asked. He mentioned that intellectuals have an exaggerated sense of self-importance and constantly try to debunk the current political system. Professor Milani later defined an intellectual as one who lives with

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The nature between human rights and religion must be made clear.

- Dr. Alireza Hagigi

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of Iran’s nuclear weapons program came out. Mr. Milani believes Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons because it prefers the treatment of fellow axis of evil member North Korea to that of Iraq, which they attribute to North Korea’s stated possession of nuclear arms, especially with 250,000 American troops surrounding Iran. All of these circumstances leave Iran in a precarious position, which is fostering the democratic movement. Mr. Milani contends that Iran’s democratic movement is unparalleled in any other Islamic Middle Eastern country. While over 30,000 Iranians have been executed for rising up against the regime and at one time over 100,000 were imprisoned, Mr. Milani believes that eventually the enforcers of the Iranians intolerance will eventually realize they are on the wrong side, which will be another step toward the downfall of the regime. Moreover, the success of democracy in Iran will have a positive influence on the rest of the Middle East. “A democratic movement in Iran will become very much a model for the

that the US has sold out by making a deal with the current regime. He believes Iran is currently leveraging the US by claiming the spiritual leaders in Iran can silence Shiite dissent in Iraq, which is of obvious import to the US right now. However, Mr. Milani is highly skeptical of this claim and opposes any identification of support for the current regime. Mr. Milani does not consider raising the embargo on Iran to be such a sign of a “deal” between the US and the current regime. Since Europe refuses to join the boycott, he believes it does nothing but hurt US business and make a few merchants with monopolistic control of markets extremely rich. Hence, the US could lift the embargo. Most important of all, however, is for the US to stand for democracy in Iran. Whenever the US has stood for democracy in the past, both Iran and the US have benefited. However, according to Mr. Milani, “Whenever the US stood against democracy, both Iran and the United States have paid a heavy price.”

in the current democratic movement in Iran,” Professor Jahanbaksh noted, “The supporters of this reform did not give up on religion, rather they gave up the clerical rule and narrow-minded view of Islam from previous years.” Professor Jahanbaksh concluded her speech by saying that Iran was now in a better position to entangle religious and political discourse due to the non-militant, Islamic intellectualism of the post-revolutionary phase. The remaining time in the session was devoted to five to ten minute comments from the three discussants with participation and questions from the audience. Professor Emmerson elaborated on the maximist/minimalist view of religion in the two phases, discussing the separation of religion from religious knowledge that allowed for liberal interpretations of Islam in the post-revolutionary phase. “Many people are allowed different interpretations of the Qu’ran and are not ostracized for it,” Professor

his thoughts and could have positive or negative connotations. Professor Milani went on to detail the rise of the religious right during the time of the Shah of Iran, when the biggest threat to his regime was believed to have come from the left. Because of this belief, the religious right was allowed to come together and grow in size and strength. “In reality, the biggest uprising came from the right, but until the day he died, the Shah believed the left was his enemy,” Professor Milani commented. In conclusion, Professor Milani described his solution for achieving democracy in Iran. He praised the American ideal of mixing private piety with secularism. “Morality must be secular if there is to be democracy in Iran,” he said. This comment drew criticism from some including Professor Jahanbaksh, who cautioned that “side stepping religion would only postpone the democratic process in Iran.”

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THE STANFORD REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT STUDENT PUBLICATION
ESTABLISHED 1987

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Founded MCMLXXXVII
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The News in Brief

by Shawn M. Sims
NEWS STAFF WRITER

Emergency Simulation Refines Plans for Medical Disaster

On Wednesday November 12th, Stanford Environmental Health and Safety staged a three hour mock outbreak of pneumonic plague among students and staff. After four months of planning with Regina Phelps, a consultant on emergency management, the scenario showed that numerous complications could arise in the response effort. There was an initial report at Vaden Health Center of six deaths and 62 sick, who would then have to be treated with antibiotics within 24 hours in order to have any chance at survival. In this case, or if Stanford had an outbreak of SARS or aerosolized bacteria was released into a crowd, the turn-around time would be near this brief period. Transporting the sick to Vaden proved tough with no available ambulances, and a borrowed Marguerite bus was the proposed alternative.

To recreate exterior complications a team of 30 simulators in Stanford Stadium flooded emergency personnel across campus with calls from parents, students, media, FBI, and even Condoleezza Rice. Staff at the Emergency Operations Center, located in the Faculty Club, tracked the hypothetical sick and dead students and found all their recent contacts. Many issues regarding the University's temporary status arose: the possible cancellation of classes, funding sources for plague supplies, the overcrowding of Vaden, and the rejection of campus visitors. Conclusions from this activity were helpful; specific areas of response need improvement. Dr. Robyn Tupper, Vaden chief physician, calls for improved communication with the Emergency Operations Center. In general, the sprawl of campus provided difficulties for the Satellite Operations Centers, and the goal for EH&S is now

to make all communication more efficient. A similar simulation conducted last year provided school officials with data on the speed of business resumption for Stanford in the case of an earthquake, whereas, with changing national concerns, this year's operation was focused on health.

Research Suggests Possible Ways to Reverse Vision Loss

Stanford researchers from many backgrounds are collaborating to produce a prosthesis device that could restore vision specifically to those with age-related macular degeneration and possibly other types of vision loss. Harvey Fishman, the Director of Stanford's Ophthalmic Tissue Engineering Laboratory, presented a prototype of the vision-restoring chip to the American Academy of Ophthalmology on Saturday. Stacey Bent, Associate Professor of Chemical Engineering, works with Fishman to co-chair the research and supervises Ph.D. students studying the chemistry of semiconductors. Graduate students Christina Lee and Neville Mehenti, working with the Bent Research Group on campus, also presented the creation this week at the meeting of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers.

In a patient with macular degeneration, the layer of tissue that covers the retina and acts as a barrier for the selective passage of nutrients and waste degrades over time. When there are still some retinal cells living, the sheath can be reconstructed using cells from a membrane that covers the lens and from the iris. Iris cells are particularly versatile and have potential to form different functions. Bent and her students use computer chip technology to determine how to place the cells so they perform all the biological functions of the old tissue. When no light-detecting retinal cells remain, researchers are trying to replace them not with metal electrodes, as have been used in the past, but by the release of neurotransmitters. Pending additional funding from the National Institutes

of Health, the research will continue. Bio-X and VISX Inc., a laser-correction company, also fund the research.

Funding Granted in Research on Hydrogen as a Possible Fuel Source

The Global Climate and Energy Project, based at Stanford and working with private industry funds, recently announced the four research teams who will receive a total of \$5.1 million to investigate all aspects of eventually replacing carbon-based fuels with hydrogen. Over the next ten years, GCEP's four sponsors have agreed to donate \$225 million. ExxonMobil will supply most of the funding, as well as General Electric, Schlumberger (global technology), and Toyota. Several other research institutions will eventually join the project, and many departments at Stanford are participating: the Environmental Initiative, the Center for Environmental Science Policy, the Center for Conservation Biology, the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, and the Interdisciplinary Graduate Program in Environment and Resources.

Hydrogen's only byproduct when combusted is water, but on a large scale there would be indirect problems, around which most current debate is centered. The research projects chosen for funding are: "Nanoengineering of Hybrid Carbon Nanotube - Metal Nanocluster Composite Materials for Hydrogen Storage;" "Hydrogen Effects on Climate, Stratospheric Ozone and Air Pollution;" "Solid State NMR Studies of Oxide Ion Conducting Ceramics for Enhanced Fuel Cell Performance;" and "Nanostructured Photovoltaic Cells."

Inauguration of Stanford's New Islamic Studies Program

On November 17, John Esposito from Georgetown's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding spoke on the immediate goals for the Muslim community within the global commu-

nity and how Stanford's new program in Islamic Studies will address that shift in mind set. Amidst post-September 11 global events, many Stanford students and faculty have shown heightened interest in Islamic issues, to which former Oracle Corp. executive Sohaib Abbasi responded with a \$2.5 million donation to start a Stanford Islamic Studies program. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation matched this and an alumna donation from Lysbeth Warren, and the program is now underway, with a faculty position to be filled soon.

Esposito emphasized that Muslims need to make for themselves the distinction between expressions of a "religion of reform" and those interpretations of the religion that promote violence and hatred. Esposito also stated that while peaceful Muslims are struggling with their identification with terrorists and attempting to prove misconceptions as wrong, American ideals of tolerance should extend a helping hand. The inauguration of the program will launch a forum for much of the debate about Islam that has been occurring on campus.

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Increasing Academic Efficiency

by Ryan Wisnesky
NEWS STAFF WRITER

On Wednesday, November 18, Computer Science Professor Emeritus Jeffrey Ullman spoke to a crowd of mostly faculty and staff in the Packard Engineering Building. Professor Ullman addressed the “inefficiency” of modern teaching methods. During the lecture he presented some of his research toward developing tools to better leverage computer technology in undergraduate courses.

Professor Ullman joined the Stanford faculty in 1979, and has since then both retired and later been recalled to active duty. He gave a short description of his research project before discussing why it is needed. His project, dubbed the OTC – Online Testing Center – is currently used for several classes at Stanford, including CS 145: Databases, and is used by several other universities worldwide. The software is essentially an online database of “root questions” and problem hints. “Using ‘root questions’, we can turn the ordinary long answer question into a multiple choice question,” said Ullman. The goal of the OTC is to automate grading of long answer questions by posing them in a manner that a machine can grade; essentially, to answer a root question, a student must work out a long answer question behind it. Additionally, the OTC also automates other aspects of grading, for instance, grading of student programs.

Before delving into just how a root question is written or how the OTC uses them, Professor Ullman described what he saw as a crisis in educational methods. He asserted that “it’s hard to find an industry that has a worse record in education with exploiting technology.” Comparing the education industry to the telecommunications industry, he noted that his education at an Ivy-League school in 1979 cost the equivalent of 400 phone calls across the country (in 1959 a call cost \$3 and his education cost \$1,200). Now, in 2003, the education is equivalent to 200,000 cross country phone calls (a call is \$.15 and an education \$30,000). “It’s 5000 times more expensive,” said Ullman.

Professor Ullman also addressed the objection that the Telecommunications industry is one of the best exploiters of technology. He proceeded to perform the same comparison with the US Postal Service. In 1959, his education cost the equivalent of 15,000 8-cent stamps. In 2003, it costs as much as 81,000 37-cent stamps. His education is thus more than five times as expensive rela-

tive to a stamp as it was in 1957.

Having finished justifying the need for improvement in education efficiency, Professor Ullman began explaining exactly what is currently wrong with the education process. Speaking about his course on databases, Professor Ullman described the grading process as one where “TAs try to guess what would happen if we passed this [a student’s homework] to a database”. This type of grading tends to be difficult, and the rate of regrades is quite high. In fact, some TAs have, in the past, created automated systems for grading. Taking this idea further, Professor Ullman has constructed the OTC to be able to accept student programs and actually provide feedback about what in particular is good or bad about the program. If a program is incorrect, the student receives an error message,

answer questions automatically. In a traditional class, a question might be posed as “Compute x”, where the computation is quite long and complex. The root question version of this same problem would be “which of these values are in x”, where to determine if a value is in x would essentially require computing x from scratch. The question then becomes a multiple choice one. In keeping with the education mission of the OTC, students can submit their work multiple times; however, each time a question is presented to the student, the answer choices are different. That way, a student cannot simply try all of the answers to determine which is correct; moreover, each time a student re-does a homework, the answers to all of the questions are different. If desired, the student may also receive different questions.



The Gates Building: home of Stanford’s Computer Science Department...and inefficient teaching?

along with the output of their program, and the correct program, on a different database. In this manner, the student receives good feedback without being able to use the feedback to cheat when trying the program again. The system has been generalized to be able to grade student submissions in a variety of fields, including some as esoteric as Abstract Relational Algebra.

With this aspect of the OTC system, students are able to resubmit their programs as many times as they like, each time receiving feedback. “The whole philosophy behind the OTC is that it is not to grade them as to help them learn. They can submit as many times until they get it right,” said Professor Ullman. There are, however, some constraints built into the system to prevent abuse. For instance, in CS145, students cannot submit homework more often than once every ten minutes. Instructors also have the option of imposing a limit on how many times homework can be submitted.

Having described this aspect of educational automation, Professor Ullman finally turned to the issue of “root questions” and how to grade long

Since each time the answer choices are different, there is a great incentive to actually perform the calculation; if the student has performed the calculation, then it is easy for them to answer the same question with different answer choices. Each time a student submits an incorrect answer, they receive a hint about why their answer is wrong. When the student finally submits a correct answer, they receive an explanation about what the problem is trying to test and an explanation of how the instructor envisioned the students solving it.

Professor Ullman said that he has found that homework of 4-6 questions works best. With less than four questions, students ask “Can I get the right answers without understanding the subject matter?”, he said. With more than six questions, students tend to miss questions from sheer carelessness, and thus have to repeat homework that they actually understand. Students are encouraged to get perfect scores.

Last fall, the OTC was used by CS145 for 11 assignments. This fall, eight universities have begun to use the software.

TWISB-BISS College Football Rankings

Rnk.	Team	Record
1.	Oklahoma	12-0
2.	USC	10-1
3.	LSU	11-1
4.	Texas	10-2
5.	Ohio State	10-2
6.	Texas	10-2
7.	Georgia	10-2
8.	Tennessee	10-2
9.	Miami	10-2
10.	Florida State	10-2
11.	Boise State	11-1
12.	Miami (OH)	12-1
13.	TCU	11-1
14.	Purdue	9-3
15.	Iowa	9-3
16.	Minnesota	9-1
17.	Utah	9-2
18.	Kansas State	10-3
19.	Bowling Green	8-3
20.	N. Illinois	10-2
21.	Nebraska	9-3
22.	Washington St.	9-2
23.	Mississippi	9-3
24.	Oklahoma St.	9-3
25.	Maryland	9-3

Honorable Mention:
Florida,
Michigan State,
Virginia Tech,
Pittsburgh,
Connecticut,
Southern Miss.,
Missouri,
Oregon,
Oregon State,
West Virginia,
Louisville, Clemson



The Real Cost of Overly-Moral Warfare

by Stephen Cohen
OPINIONS EDITOR

Although the many reported “failures” in stabilizing Iraq are grossly exaggerated, even the most rank-and-file conservatives must admit our progress is less than desirable. A number of problems have emerged since Bush declared the end of major hostilities in Iraq, but among the most important and, strangely, the least discussed is the armed services’ overly reserved response to the terrorist resistance our occupation is facing. In a world so politically intolerant to violence that the mere discussion of spanking a child has become faux pas, it is understandable that an honest political debate concerning the means necessary to stabilize Iraq has become very difficult. But difficult or not, America’s over-indulgence in this luxury of ignorance comes at the expensive price of one to two American boys a day. Unless America is prepared to keep sending home coffins with American flag draperies, we must find the courage to ask ourselves what steps need be taken to end the savage resistance to our occupation.

Before one can clarify the steps necessary to subdue the enemy, one must first clarify who the enemy is. In Iraq, there are currently two main groups attacking our troops.

The first is best labeled as the former regime fighters. These fighters are made up of elements of Saddam’s Republican Guard and other elite troops that maintain connections with the underground Hussein controlled resistance. The motivations behind these fighters range from pure ideological loyalty to Hussein’s former regime to unabated greed for the large sums Saddam is willing to pay to those who attack US troops.

The second group of murderers attempting to destabilize Iraq is a loosely knitted patchwork quilt of the world’s worst terrorists of all Arab nationalities coming together to bask in the joy of killing Americans in the name of Allah. Although poorly trained, the determination of these murderers should not be underestimated. Many have traveled hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles fueled by an unimaginable religious zeal coupled with an unadulterated hatred

for Americans and our freedoms. Although the basis for these two groups is different, the one contention they both share is that America is weak and cowardly. This is the fault they feel can be exploited, and thus far they are proving largely correct.

Let’s look at the current arsenal that the US military uses to defeat these terrorists. The US military currently has a large number of salaried informants that serve as our ground force of intelligence gathers. This is obviously a good move considering the United States’ economic advantage over everyone else. But we are not fighting a war of treasure. Because this is an ideological conflict in which our enemies are fueled

is signed or a unilateral opposition to some form of warfare is crafted, it is hailed as evidence that we have reached an enlightened state in which war, hatred, and cruelty have finally been thrown into the refuge pin of history’s failed concepts. But war is not a thing of the past. Perhaps savagery no longer abounds in our own souls, but make no mistake, it is a force to be reckoned with in our enemies’. The delusion that we can defeat our enemies’ rabid hatred with our moral superiority now comes at the cost of more American lives everyday.

Nothing better indicates the cost of this unprecedented moral pretentiousness than the recent events of these

but the lives of American troops are. This man saved many Americans, did not in any way harm his terrorist prisoner, and is now being punished for his actions.

There was another major news story in the past few weeks; one of a significantly more tragic nature. In Mosul, Iraq, two American soldiers were shot in their Humvee while simply driving from one barracks to another. After their Humvee collided with a wall, the attackers and a crowd of savages including teenagers rallied around the wreckage. As if cheering this inhuman attack was not enough, the crowd tore the bodies from the Humvee and proceeded to drag them through

the middle of street cheering and jumping upon them. This jeering crowd of savages also managed to find a number of concrete bricks that were repeatedly smashed over the faces of these brave soldiers. The result of this attack on America: another example of the brutal savagery that we are dealing is produced at the cost of two more American lives. The result of this attack to the perpetrators: nothing.

How many more Americans must die before we realize we are not fighting a reasoned opponent? Our enemy is neither a rational nor emotionally reasonable force but rather a pure ideological extremism that knows no right or wrong, only completion of its objective. Our enemies don’t respect our morality; they only capitalize

upon at the expense of our lives. We shed the most precious gift of our morally formed restraint to an enemy that only twists it to our disadvantage.

When was the last time a terrorist captured an American soldier only to feed him three meals a day, allow him to practice his religion, while neither torturing nor threatening him any harm? The answer is never. As savages, they will reciprocate our kindness with even greater hatred. But the terrorists are fighting to win, and we should be too. This doesn’t mean letting all the stops out, this simply means escalating our level of force until we are fully able to route our opponents. If we will not leave Iraq until we have won, let us now take the necessary steps to realize our victory.

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Are we allowing American troops to do what is necessary to ensure victory in Iraq?

by a hatred brought about by an excess of American dollars, it is delusional to believe that American dollars alone can find us a solution. Thus when we have captured a foreign terrorist insurgent who we know possesses invaluable intelligence that could save the lives of many Americans, what other means do we have besides Ben Franklin’s to get the desired information? The answer is not many. The current set of rules allows for little more than jailing and perhaps keeping the prisoners up late at night to extract information. The extremely limited set of interrogation options is the crux of what is costing us so many American lives.

We are a civilized people and as a civilized people we want to believe in our moral supremacy over the inherently less civilized nature of warfare. It is the pursuit of this moral hegemony that has led us to tie our own hands in the name of “progress.” In fact, every time a new arms reducing agreement

last few weeks. Recently in Iraq, a terrorist guerilla was captured who was known to maintain relevant intelligence about an imminent attack on American troops. After traditional interrogation methods failed to extract any usable intelligence, the interrogating officer took matters into his own hands. He threatened the terrorist, and proceeded to fire a round off right next to the enemy’s face. The officer never had any intention to physically harm the prisoner and in fact caused not a single injury. The result for America: the terrorist caved in and provided the relevant information that saved a half-dozen American lives by preempting a future attack. The result for the officer: he is now facing a court martial on charges of assault. Perhaps this officer disobeyed protocol or the interpretation of the statutes of The Uniform Code of Military Justice. But these rules can be changed and protocols can be amended. Rules are not sacred,



Twins From Birth: Christian and Secular Natural Law

by Alec Rawls
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

Natural law refers to what we have grounds to assert about right and wrong. Scripture can be a source of understanding about right and wrong. So can moral reason (the requirements of thinking straight, applied to matters of value). How do these different founts of natural law compare?

In the case of Christianity, followers are called upon to be “of the truth,” which must mean first of all being honest about reason and evidence and what one has grounds to assert, just as secular reason calls for. If Christianity as a whole abides by this principle, then Christian natural law should be very similar to natural law as moral reason can discern it. Is it? Is the Bible consistent with secular natural law? What about Christian practice?

Liberty and truth

The central nexus of secular natural law is the synergy between liberty and truth. On one hand, liberty is the great engine of truth, creating a kind of society-wide scientific process of progress where everyone’s ideas about where value lies and how to pursue it get tested against reality. Competition between and dissemination of people’s ideas advance the discovery of truth on all fronts, scientific, practical, moral and political. At the same time, the most important truth that liberty discovers is that liberty works. Economic liberty (capitalism) works. Gun rights work. School choice works. In general, empowering moral agency works.

Modern Christian practice, especially conservative Christian practice, is quite consistent with this core of secular natural law. Conservative Christians are for economic liberty, limited government, low taxes, gun rights, and school choice. In the land of liberty, it is conservatives who are the liberty-lovers.

Secular moral reason is concerned with more than whether liberty works. There is also the importance of liberty *per se*. To substitute one person’s moral agency for another’s is a kind of murder. Christianity also includes this dimension. Liberty is to be respected because we are all made in God’s image.

This belief that we are all created in God’s image was historically the main impetus for all Western liberty, but especially in the United States, which was founded by what we would today call “fundamentalist” Christians. Not only had their ancestors come to America in search of religious liberty, but because the founders gave their subservience to God, they were unwilling to be subservient to a secular power, like the federal government, any further than was absolutely necessary.

The Bible itself is quite strong on principles of liberty, especially economic liberty. The parable of the laborers in the vineyard, for instance, rejects the principles of compensation by merit and/or equal treatment in favor of the principle of contract. If

you receive what you agreed to, you were not cheated (Matthew 20).

Secular reason also embraces liberty of contract. Not that merit doesn’t matter. Rather, the best way to achieve reward for merit is to leave people free to seek out the cooperative arrangements that suit them best.

Slavery

The glaring violation of liberty in the Bible is its toleration of slavery, and even of the killing of slaves. “When a man strikes his slave, male or female, with a rod and the slave dies under his hand, he shall be punished. But if the slave survives a day or two, he is not to be punished; for the slave is his money” (Exodus, 21:20).

This is not quite as liberty-loving as could be, given that slavery is the annihilation of liberty, but there is another side to Christianity on the slavery question, too. Christianity, with its belief that all men are created in God’s image, was the driving force behind the abolition of slavery throughout the Christian world. (Unfortunately, slavery still has a substantial presence in the Muslim world, while the capacity of Islam to reform itself is still in question.)

Even the Mosaic law about the killing of slaves has a silver lining in terms of liberty. Looking past the tolerance for slavery, this law actually asserts a basic liberal principle: that government (the law) should stay out of those areas where people have private incentive to behave responsibly. A slave owner has incentive not to take bad risks with the health of a slave because “the slave is his money.” Thus punishment for injuries inflicted when disciplining a slave are only called for in the extreme case where the killing of a slave is likely to have been intentional.

This is an extreme example of the fundamental principle of limited government. Government should only intervene where necessary. What can be left to liberty should be left to liberty. Thus in an odd way, what the Mosaic law on the killing of slaves actually demonstrates is how committed the Bible is to principles of liberty. Once joined with modern Christianity’s rejection of slavery, Biblical principles of limited government square perfectly with the conclusions of moral reason.

Abortion

The one place where modern Christian practice seems to be out of sync with natural law as discerned by secular moral reason is the abortion question. When the weights on both sides of this decision are accounted, it is pretty clear that the balance of considerations can point either way, making this exactly the kind of question that is best left up to individual responsibility.

Analytically, the abortion question is highly ambiguous. Very often there is life on both sides of the equation. Bearing a child now will often mean forgoing the plans one may have had for creating a family in the future. It could also cause the parents to fall short of fulfilling parental obligations to the children they already have.

In general government is less well equipped to make these life vs. life decisions than parents are.

The willingness of others to adopt an unwanted child changes this calculus considerably, leaving the life of the unborn child in possible conflict only with the liberty interests of the would-be mother for the duration of her pregnancy. There is no longer life on both sides of the equation and it becomes more tenable to hold that the state’s interest in the life of a fetus dominates the other life and liberty interests at stake.

But adoption is not always available, and if the government tries to subsidize adoption, that too puts life back onto the other side of the equation. The taxation needed to subsidize adoption takes from people’s ability to raise families. The only internally consistent grounds for any extreme opposition to parental choice on abortion is a religious conviction that abortion is murder.

Here, then, is a place where secular reason and Christianity can part company, and have. Secular reason does not recognize religious convictions as reasons so it rejects any blanket opposition to abortion. In contrast, modern conservative Christians often embrace a religious conviction that abortion is murder and on that grounds embrace blanket opposition to abortion.

This rift, however, may not be as grave as it looks at first sight, because the one thing that conservative Christians will always be sympathetic to is their Bible, and the Bible is quite explicit that the life of an unborn baby is not to be regarded the same as the life of a born person.

Mosaic law on the unborn

“When men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that there is a miscarriage, and yet no harm follows [to the woman], the one who hurt her shall be fined, according as the woman’s husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.” [Exodus 21:22.]

Permanent injury to a woman is punished harm for harm, but causing the death of a child in the womb only incurs a fine, set by the father. In taking this position, the Bible is again expressing the fundamental principle of limited government: that where possible, decisions should be left to those who have private incentive to account the value at stake, not handed over to government to decide. It is parents, not government, who are in a position to weigh the life of the unborn.

Thus the Bible accords fully with secular moral reason at this point. It is the more modern Christian sympathies, the same ones that ended slavery, that in this instance create a conflict with secular natural law. The answer to this conflict is simple. Fundamentalists just need to be a little more fundamentalist. Heed your Bible.

Personally, I wouldn’t want to go

quite that far. I would want to upgrade the Mosaic law’s penalty for assaulting a woman and causing a miscarriage. In this case, where a child is wanted, all conflict between the life of the unborn and parental life and liberty interests disappears. The decision has been made to nurture this life and hence there is no reason to withhold the same protections that are afforded for a born life.

If in attacking a woman an assailant kills the woman’s unborn child instead, then unless the attack was in self-defense the killing should be charged as either murder or manslaughter, depending on intent, and punished accordingly. In the United States we now have such laws. Right here in California, Scott Peterson, charged with killing his pregnant wife, faces the death penalty because this crime is considered a multiple murder.

The Bible offers no such articulation. It simply asserts that the lives of the unborn are not to be weighed on a par with the lives of the born. Those who embrace the Bible would seem to commit themselves to erring, if err they must, on the side that the Bible errs on, undervaluing the life of the unborn. Certainly, they should get right what the Bible gets right: those decisions that people have private incentive to manage prudently for themselves should be left to liberty.

A secular Bible

Trust in truth (the first principle of both Christianity and of secular moral reason) leads to trust in liberty. There are only two places where Christianity has been in major conflict with secular moral reason on this principle. One, slavery, was corrected by modern Christian practice. The other, abortion, stands to be corrected by the Bible. In sum, there is almost no conflict between Christian natural law and natural law as discerned by secular moral reason.

Thousands of years ago Judaism and then Christianity got natural law right. The Jewish and Christian scriptures are also the foundation of Islam, and are accepted by Islam as the word of God, suggesting there is hope for Islam too, despite the sorry condition of modern Islamic practice. The other problem child is secular society, where illiberalisms of every stripe run rampant.

Everything conservative Christians get right—gun rights, school choice, limited government, economic liberty—is gotten wrong by the majority of secular society: the Democrat-left. The hope for secular society is that it can be moved by what ought to be its own bible: secular moral reason. If this happens, Christian and secular natural law will again become, as they were at the nation’s founding, the friends in practice that they are in principle.

Alec Rawls is a Contributing Editor of The Stanford Review. He is currently writing a book on republicanism. Contact alec@rawls.org or visit www.rawls.org.



The Lessons of *Family Guy*: A Fan's Perspective

by David Stat
OPINIONS STAFF WRITER

Millions of fans of the animated television series *Family Guy* were thrilled this past week to hear that Fox Broadcasting is considering putting the much-loved cartoon family back on the air beginning in January 2005.

Family Guy is based around the antics of the Griffins, a family living in Quahog, Rhode Island. The cast of characters include Peter, the Irish Catholic father of limited intelligence, Lois, his wife, descended from a wealthy family, the eldest child Chris, an overweight boy with an I.Q. below Forrest Gump's, Meg, the teenage daughter with low self-esteem, Stewie, a baby with the ability to talk (although he is not always understood) and whose focus in life is the destruction of his mother and world domination, and Brian, the family dog (he can talk as well), a witty alcoholic.

About a year and a half ago, *Family Guy* was taken off the air near the end of the show's third season. Several reasons have been given for Fox's withdrawal of the show, including the fact that it was constantly shuffled around into different days and time slots, making it difficult to create a fan base and leading to low ratings. However, there has been much controversy over the other primary reason being cited for the show's cancellation - its socially abrasive nature. According to E! Online, creator Seth MacFarlane's former high school headmaster, the Reverend Richardson Schell, was so distraught by the show's politically incorrect and offensive jokes that he began a crusade against it. Schell founded Proud Sponsors USA and worked vigorously to convince advertisers not to buy spots during the show. Schell's efforts were rewarded, with several major advertisers agreeing to stop advertising during the show and even more pledging not to begin to do so.

Although Schell did succeed in getting *Family Guy* taken off the air, his success is only to be short-lived. Due to high DVD sales of its first three seasons which placed *Family Guy* in the top four highest-selling TV series of all time, Fox is deliberating over reinstating the show.

Let's take a closer look at the politically insensitive hilarity that is *Family Guy*:

Peter (blindfolded and driving): Well come on Lois tell me where we are going for my birthday!

Lois: Peter, maybe you should let me drive.

Peter: Lois! you know women can't drive, imagine that..... women driving.....

Peter: Yeah, uh, I'm looking for toilet training books.

Salesman: Oh yes, we can help you there. Uh, *Everybody Poops* is still the standard of course. We've also got the less popular *Nobody Poops But You*.

Peter: Hah, well see, we're Catholic, so uh...

Salesman: Oh, then you'd want *You're a Naughty Child and That's Concentrated Evil Coming Out the Back of You*.

Peter: Perfect!

(Peter and Cleveland at a country club)

Peter: Come on Cleveland! You're probably the first black guy to ever be on this course!

Golf Guy #1: Ooh a black guy!

Golf Guy #2: How fun!

Announcer: Pawtucket Patriot Beer. If you buy it, hot women will have sex in your backyard.

Lois: Ugh, typical male fantasy...women drinking beer. I guarantee you a man made that commercial.

Peter: Of course a man made it. It's a commercial Lois, not a delicious Thanksgiving dinner."

(NRA recruitment movie)

"So remember, guns don't kill people. Dangerous minorities do."

Peter: First of all, if I can speak on my own behalf all I did was tell a little joke. Secondly, woman are not people, they are devices built by our lord Jesus Christ for our entertainment.

Mr. Weed [Peter's boss]: A film on employee relations has been a mandatory part of our employee training program for fifty years.

Film: (circa 1957) Irrational and emotionally fragile by nature, female coworkers are a peculiar animal. They are very insecure about their appearance. Be sure to tell them how good they look every day - even if they're homely and unkempt. And remember, nothing says "Good job." like a firm, open-palm smack on the behind.

Although *Family Guy* contains jokes that may be found offensive, nothing in the show *should* offend anyone. Rather than making discriminatory comments about specific groups, the show is actually making fun of those who have racist or sexist sentiments. For instance, Peter often says things that are demeaning to women, but because MacFarlane portrays him as rather unintelligent, the statement he is making is not against women, it is against those who are so naive as to agree with Peter's statements. Similarly, the above joke about the NRA is obviously mocking that organization's viewpoint, not promoting the discriminatory statement about minorities.

Family Guy is enjoyed by audiences of all races and both sexes because it provides such great entertainment value and can be viewed with acceptance and pleasure by those with an open mind who are not blinded by their fervor for political correctness. The show has no malicious intentions, and although some may not agree with its methods for providing entertainment, it still is protected by freedom of speech. I for one am supremely happy that Fox is considering putting *Family Guy* back on the air and will fight for the show's cause until it is.

Freedom of Religion



This editorial is the opinion of the Review's Editorial Board, which consists of the Editor-in-Chief, Opinions Editor, News Events Editor, Investigative News Editor, and Associate Editor.

Since when did we become a society afraid of ideas? Our great nation was founded upon the right to freely express one's personal beliefs and ideas, uninhibited by an oppressive government. The first amendment was written with the intent to guarantee this freedom of expression, including the right to say what you want, write what you want, and gather together for whatever reason you want. The founding fathers even expressly included the one specific forum of expression, namely religious expression. The first amendment guarantees freedom of religion, not freedom from religion.

Rather than intending this mythical "separation of church and state," the establishment clause was designed only to prevent the establishment of a state church. The purpose of this clause was to prevent the oppression of any particular religion, denomination, or sect by the federal government. It was not at all intended to prevent anyone from being able to express their religion. Indeed, following the establishment clause is the clause prohibiting the passage of any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

Today, the courts have gone beyond the original intent of the amendment and banned the freedom to exercise religion in favor of the protection against exposure to religion. The Supreme Court initially banned organized school prayer in 1962, and subsequent decisions have banned clergy-led graduation prayer and student-led prayer at football games in 1992 and in 2000. In all of these cases, especially the latter, the Supreme Court favored the "right" from religion over the right to express religion, ruling that any such is tantamount to establishment of a state religion.

A similar issue is being dealt with in Michael Newdow's pledge ban case in which the words "under God" have been recently ruled unconstitutional by the Ninth Circuit. The case is awaiting hearing by the Supreme Court. In response to the decision, the Senate passed a resolution "expressing support for the Pledge of Allegiance" by a consensus vote of 99-0. If there ever was an example of the courts circumventing democracy, this is it. Nevertheless, this case, among others such as the case against opening Congressional chaplains, prayer at presidential inaugurations, and the national motto of "In God We Trust" are challenging the right for religious belief or expression to have any role in the government whatsoever. Indeed, it is the very goal of people like Michael Newdow to eliminate religion entirely from any role in the government whatsoever.

Yet, religion is an integral part of a vast majority of American's life. From the most devout "religious" practitioners to atheists, everyone has beliefs when it comes to the divine and supernatural. Separating religion entirely from government is as impossible as separating reason entirely from belief. In order for any coherent rational thought to exist, there must be some fundamental premises from which those reasonable conclusions are derived, and these fundamental premises have to be accepted only by belief. Indeed, all of science and mathematics falls apart if you reject the basic axioms upon which the disciplines are based. Similarly, any government is founded upon some basic societal norms concerning ethics and morality, which are based upon religion. Removing religion from government would eliminate the premises upon which our government was founded, and essentially eliminate the reason for the existence of government in the first place.

America is by far the most "religious" industrialized nation in the world, yet never has had anything close to the establishment of a state religion. The desire to eliminate religion is indeed discrimination against religious ideas. Why should students be able to lead chants praising their own team, cheering them on to victory at a football game, and not be allowed to praise God?

Religion is a vital component of American society, and the freedom to express religious ideas should be protected at all costs. One should have the same right to express one's religious ideas in a public forum as to express one's political, philosophical, scientific, or even sports-related views. The government should not sponsor any specific religion, but it should recognize our religious heritage and reserve the same right to religious expression as other forms of expression.

The courts need to worry less about protecting people from "offensive" speech such as prayer, which has no constitutional guarantee, and more about ensuring the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly.



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Student Achievement Fails to Match Education Spending

by Ben Guthrie
NEWS STAFF WRITER

On Tuesday, November 18, members of *The Stanford Review* gathered for the weekly lunch with a distinguished Hoover Fellow. The week's guest was Senior Associate Director and Research Fellow Richard Sousa, an economist and expert on labor economics and K-12 education in the United States. Mr. Sousa addressed the problem of why education expenditures have grown while student performance has not kept pace.

Mr. Sousa introduced the discussion by referring to his recently published book *School Figures: The Data Behind the Debate*, co-authored with Hoover Research Fellow Hanna Skandera. The book provides a rigorous analysis of the state of K-12 education in the United States. Mr. Sousa and Ms. Skandera write in the introduction, "In this volume, we hope to help establish the baseline for discussion and debate by providing relevant data in words, graphs, and tables."

Mr. Sousa initially queried, "We're spending more but kids aren't doing as well; what's going on?" This conundrum was one of the motivations for Mr. Sousa and Mr. Skandera's book. One telling statistic suggested that the more time American students spent in school, the worse they became relative to their peers internationally. For example in science achievement, as reported in *School Figures*, "American fourth-graders ranked 3rd out of 26 nations, eighth-graders ranked 17th out of 41 nations, and twelfth-graders ranked 16th out of 21 nations." This trend was "really quite distressing to see," lamented Mr. Sousa.

While expenditures on education have risen, student performance has not kept pace and in some cases has declined, especially during the 1980s. Average total expenditures per pupil in 1970 were \$4,075 while in 2000 they were \$8,155. According to adjusted average SAT I Scores from 1971-1995, 1971-72 was the highest at 937, 1981-82 was the lowest at 893, and 1994-95 was in between at 910. According to *School Figures*, "There is a common



Despite sweeping technology improvements and increases in the amount of money put into American public education, student performance, as measured by test scores, is steadily declining. Hoover Fellow Richard Sousa emphasizes that parental involvement is key to beneficial education.

perception that the way to improve our failing public schools is simply to spend more money on them.... yet a review of the data for the last 80 years shows clearly that there is not a strong correlation between increased spending and improvements in student performance."

Mr. Sousa identified three reasons for increased expenditures on education. First, he pointed out that the student to teacher ratio has fallen from 26:1 in 1950 to 12:1 in 1999. Second, average teacher salaries, for nine months, have increased from \$26,618 in 1960 to \$43,250 in 2001. Third, Mr. Sousa identified an increase in non-teaching expenditures, such as counselors, janitors, and administration, from 50% of total education expenditures in 1960 to 60% in 2001. One explanation Mr. Sousa posited for this increase was that the baby boom bust resulted in fewer

kids in school, but teachers did not lose their jobs. Instead, they became counselors or an extra vice-principals.

Instead of simply increasing education expenditures, Mr. Sousa suggests a three-pronged approach to improving the education system. He advocates choice, testing, and accountability. Mr. Sousa pointed to the Milwaukee voucher system as a model of choice in education. Students are given vouchers to attend whichever school they choose. If the school does not perform to desired standards, then students may apply their vouchers to other schools. This is an application of free-market economics to provide incentives for failing schools to improve.

Mr. Sousa believes standardized testing is important to measure the level of achievement of students across the country in order to distinguish successful programs and schools from failing

ones. Finally, accountability of teachers and schools is important for Mr. Sousa. Currently, teachers are paid primarily by experience and education rather than performance. Regarding experience, Mr. Sousa asserts that after about three years it is "easy to be a teacher for life." Also, teachers' educational attainment has increased from 23.1% with a master's or a specialist degree in 1961 to 54.5% in 1996. Mr. Sousa suggested shifting the emphasis from input to output, perhaps by giving teachers monetary bonuses for high student achievement, as a way to increase accountability in the school system in the United States.

Although there is not a positive correlation between education spending and student achievement, Mr. Sousa and Ms. Skandera found a strong positive correlation between parental involvement and student achievement. According to Mr. Sousa, "The more parents are involved in their kids' education, the better they do." Parental involvement includes furnishing resources and opportunities for children, such as books, computers, and trips to libraries or museums. Mr. Sousa pointed out that the number of school districts has fallen dramatically over the past sixty years. In the 1940s there were about 100,000, but today there are only about 16,000. This consolidation of school districts removes parents from their children's education, which is unfortunate for Mr. Sousa who says that "families matter most."

Ultimately, Mr. Sousa states, "I don't think spending on education is bad, but I don't think we're spending wisely."



Dr. Sousa investigates U.S. K-12 education in School Figures: The Data Behind the Debate, co-written with Hoover Fellow Hanna Skandera.

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