

that healthy skepticism is absent. He shows no willingness to distinguish between the requirements of primary deterrence (discouraging an attack on the United States) and extended deterrence (discouraging an attack on allies and clients), even though the latter is considerably more difficult and demanding than the former. Nor does he exhibit any awareness that an ABM system might play very different roles in a strategy that jettisoned extended deterrence and one based on that doctrine.

Codevilla's neglect of such fundamental issues is unfortunate, because his narrower thesis that the United States can

and should build an ABM system as soon as possible is well argued and compelling. But that system should be built to protect the American people against the omnipresent threat of annihilation, not in some vain pursuit of a way to restore the waning credibility of extended deterrence. In the final analysis, the ABM debate cannot be separated from the increasingly imperative need to reassess the nation's overall defense policy.

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made possible the career of the one who did. It was his nicely packaged, simple, inspiring speech on behalf of Goldwater in 1964—and it was a speech, endlessly reiterated across the land—that launched Ronald Reagan's political career. From service for Goldwater in 1964 to the California governorship in 1966 to a run for the GOP nomination in 1968, then another in 1976, and then victory in 1980, Ronald Reagan incarnated the promise of Goldwater, becoming, if you will, the Joshua to Goldwater's Moses.

The rest is history, and in a jerkily written, rambling, yet charmingly on-target reminiscence, the Arizonan has selectively recalled important swatches of that history. Along the way, he offers well-trod yet still inspiring glimpses into his family's history and his own youth, young manhood, and emerging involvement with politics. *Goldwater* is not the history of conservatism in America, as, for instance, George Nash has so carefully provided. Nor is it the intellectual, witty grand overview that might have come from William F. Buckley, Jr.

The Conscience of a Curmudgeon

By David Brudnoy

Goldwater, by Barry M. Goldwater with Jack Casserly
New York: Doubleday, 403 pages, \$21.95

Curmudgeons come and go in American politics, as in other free societies, rarely leaving any traces other than anecdotes chronicling their curmudgeonliness. Who can remember anything that Ohio's Sen. Steve Young ever did in Congress other than that he responded to hostile letters with a rejoinder that went: "Some horse's ass is signing your name to his letter. I thought you'd like to know."

Will Barry Goldwater leave behind him no more than selected grouchy remarks about the high and the mighty and periodic outbursts? This past year, the former Arizona senator unburdened himself of a near-total condemnation of the Republican convention: its tedium, the bad acoustics at the convention hall, the hubbub, the blather. And not all that long ago, as the senator's party seemed about to perform a mass groveling before the Rev. Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority, our straight-talking curmudgeon cut through the moo and said that "somebody ought to give Falwell a swift kick in the ass." These endearing grumblings threaten to take on a life of their own, such that Barry Morris Goldwater might be remembered, if remembered at all, merely as a politician who spoke his mind.

Such is often the fate of pioneers who didn't cross over into the Promised Land. After all, Barry Goldwater suffered a devastating loss when, pushed to run for presi-



Barry Goldwater: Like the man, the book is plain, crotchety, unadorned, relatively un-sentimental, and right-on.

dent against his instincts and desires, he went down before the Lyndon Johnson juggernaut in 1964. Quick now, name the four people who lost to Franklin Roosevelt.

But if Goldwater never made it, he

Like the man, the book is plain, crotchety, unadorned, relatively un-sentimental, and right-on. If not the stirring call to activism and promise of triumph that *The Conscience of a Conservative* was (and believe it or not, remains: just read it again, and you can feel the juices of millions of young Americans flowing), *Goldwater* is a fitting coda to a career that has had vast significance beyond the particular victories and disappointments of the man himself.

The authors fail in one significant particular: *Goldwater* skims the Reagan years, leaving us with profundities like: "Reagan...has a gift of eloquence and generosity of spirit that demonstrates the concerns and compassion of Republicans and others." This is neither analysis nor reminiscence; it is fatuous and unenlightening. Perhaps the senator and his coauthor, Jack Casserly, lost steam as they rushed the book through to completion. More likely, Goldwater decided to stand back from the present administration and the current president and leave to others the task of evaluating the '80s. A pity, that, since Goldwater served in the Senate through 1986. His comments are unsparing about the woeful decline of talented and knowledgeable senators. He doesn't much like what he has seen in recent years and hints at some

dramatic reforms of Congress. But he says far less than he suggests.

Not so on pre-Reagan personages, among them Richard Nixon: "The most dishonest individual I have ever met in my life. He lied to his wife, his family, his friends, his colleagues in Congress, lifetime members of his own political party, the American people, and the world." And Bob Dole, who "doesn't have the leadership qualities that his job as Minority Leader requires. He tries to make everybody happy." The reader will not be surprised by Goldwater's less-than-flattering references to selected Democrats, though his vast affection for John F. Kennedy and his tremendous respect for Hubert Humphrey might give conservative zealots pause. Barry Goldwater admires guts, people of principle, and generosity of spirit. He abhors deceit, ambivalence, hypocrisy, and meanness, which qualities he finds in ample abundance in the man who beat him in 1964, Lyndon Johnson.

The central message of *Goldwater* is a clear-cut justification of the conservative faith: in small government (I speak now of vaunted conservative principles, not of the Leviathan that Ronald Reagan and his horde have championed), in Americanism, in individualism, in respect for each person irrespective of condition, race, religion—the usual litany. Goldwater explains his vote against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, angrily defends himself against the stupid charge that he is and

was a racist, and without making himself a paragon of virtue does make his decisions based on basic principles plausible to the reader. He's a tough cookie, and he feels no more inclination now than ever to pander to the pious twaddle that passes for "values" among many in both parties.

A student of psychology might have some fun fabricating a theory of Goldwater's penchant for using anal images—"crap" and "ass" and "butt" and "rear end," and the like. And he regales us with his traditional New Year's Eve dance for his grandchildren: "I would bend over, flip up my nightshirt, and show my bare bottom." Maybe it is just the glaring contrast between Goldwater's earthy language, here in a public place in his new book, and the sanctimonious moralistic claptrap that issues from the mouths of today's bunch of conservative hotshots, that brings these particular words their surprising effect.

Goldwater is a nice if not brilliant addition to anybody's library of political commentary. In the spirit of Goldwater's own choice of words, one may say that it's short on bullshit and long on plain talk. The book is a paean to freedom, its subject's career a testament to valor, decency, and belief.

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field studies de Soto found that Peru does not lack entrepreneurs, but most of them have been driven out of "the formal sector" by state oppression—for example, a plethora of regulations, taxes, permits, and licensing laws. During a simulated registration process, in which bribes were requested 10 times and had to be paid twice, de Soto demonstrated that it takes 289 days to register a small factory in

What stifles Latin American entrepreneurship is not a lack of risk-taking individuals but extensive and repressive economic regulations.

Peru. And the total cost of registering was eight times the Peruvian GNP per capita. The result? The poor cannot afford to obey the government.

Consequently, some 60 percent of the work force operates in the informal sector, without the required licenses and permits. De Soto and his researchers calculate that this work force accounts for nearly 40 percent of Peru's gross domestic product.

In publicizing these findings, de Soto dispels the myth that the Latin American population "is different" and incapable of taking advantage of market opportunities. What stifles entrepreneurship is not a lack of risk-taking individuals but extensive and repressive economic regulations.

De Soto defends those who have been displaced from the legal sector and condemns entrepreneurs who "feel more comfortable collaborating with an interventionist power, with whom they can make deals, than advocating a market economy which has no omnipotent ruler who can come to their rescue." The underground entrepreneurial class, he maintains, constitutes valuable, even indispensable, human capital. This group has given hope and an income to a growing number of people and provided an avenue for social mobility and productive opportunity.

Hernando de Soto is not an orthodox classical liberal. For example, he defends the right and duty of the state to redistrib-

Peru's Peaceful Revolution

By Alejandro Chafuen

The Other Path, by Hernando de Soto
New York: Harper & Row, 272 pages, \$22.95

Few books by free-market authors have achieved the goal of selling, in only one year, more than 100,000 copies. It is even harder to find Spanish publications that have had any noticeable impact in the United States. *The Other Path*, by a Peruvian businessman-turned-intellectual, Hernando de Soto, accomplished both goals even before the release of its English edition. The success of the book lies not only in the quality of its in-depth analysis but also in de Soto's unique style, which brings together sound economic

analysis and a constant concern for the poor and oppressed.

The main virtue of *The Other Path* is its demolition of some widely held myths about Latin American development:

Myth 1: Latin Americans lack an entrepreneurial spirit.

Myth 2: The United States is the region's main oppressor.

Myth 3: The current economic system in most Latin American countries is predominantly capitalist.

To take just the first myth, in detailed