

Barry Demuth: On The Congressional Races

Barry Jantz: Inside Pinochet's Chile

California Review

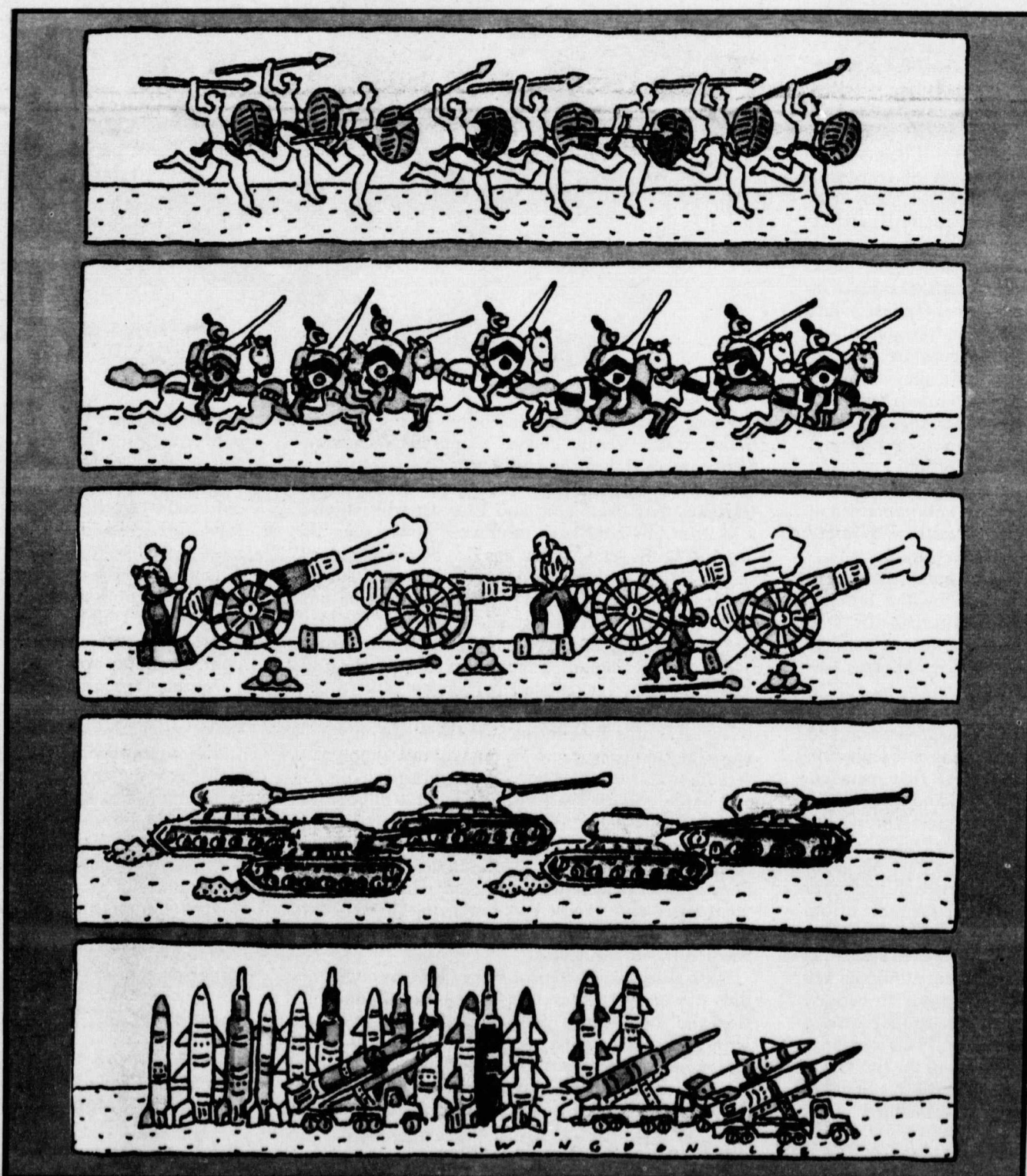
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Interview with General Daniel O. Graham on SDI

Economic Planning and Freedom

by C. Brandon Crocker

Is the American economy too free? Many people think so. Government intervention through central economic planning has been creeping into the thoughts of the Democratic party in recent years with the notion of "national industrial policy," and socialists see it as a step to assure an even distribution of income and to protect people from unemployment. Given the relative performance of centrally planned economies and free economies, the persistent appeal of central planning is unusual. But economic efficiency is not the only (and not necessarily the most compelling) argument against central planning. Individual freedom is unavoidably intertwined with economic freedom and is, therefore, endangered by central economic planning.

How does central economic planning inhibit individual freedom? First we have to look at how central economic planning works. The goals of this system are to create high growth, minimize unemployment, and, sometimes to provide "equitable" distribution or to protect the environment. Proponents of centralized economic planning believe these goals can be achieved through government wresting power away from the "chaos" of free markets and guiding the country's resources to comply with some economic plan designed to have an optional mix of industries given the country's needs and capabilities.

The unavoidable losses of individual freedom from this type of system are obvious. In order to make sure the economic plan is followed, government must necessarily interfere with the freedom of individuals to start businesses, to invest and work where they choose, and even to consume certain goods and services. A nation's economy is nothing but the decisions of individuals on what to produce and consume. Therefore, a government controlled economy means government controlled individuals. If government is to enforce a given economic plan, it cannot have people starting whatever businesses they like or investing capital wherever they like. This implies that certain fields of employment will be forcibly curtailed and that certain goods and services (either already available or which could be made available) will not be allowed to reach the population, as control of what is produced is necessarily control of what is consumed.

These are not insignificant losses of freedom. Proponents of central planning, however, deny that there is any major restriction of occupational choice under central planning, however, deny that there is any major restriction of occupational choice under central planning. Some restriction will take place in "undesirable" industries targeted to be phased out, curtailed, or not allowed to start-up, but this will be done for the "social good." Furthermore, central planning in practice often saves jobs, they claim, in industries which would be abandoned in a free market, thus preserving the freedom of many people to pursue the occupation of their choice. These arguments, however, are not valid. First, whether jobs are taken away for the "social good" or not does not alter the fact that freedom of choice has been lost. (Less monumental measures such as zoning laws, health and safety requirements, pollution guidelines, etc., are much safer ways to protect the "social good" from any imperfections in its determination by the laws of supply and demand.) Second, whereas the free operation of the market forces people out of their chosen occupation as some industries become obsolete, there is a great difference in not being able to follow one's chosen occupation because no one is willing to pay for the particular product or service, and not being able to follow one's chosen occupation because of government edict. In the first instance, freedom of action is not being denied and the freedom of people to make (or not make) contracts is preserved. In the second instance, the opposite is true.

Is the individual freedom lost so onerous as to outweigh such benefits of security against involuntary unemployment and destitution? An acquaintance from Norway, living under a semi-socialist system, thinks not. He likes the feeling of security. He even asserts, as do many Norwegians, that government should tell people what they should and should not do because most people do not know how best to take care of themselves (and the government does). This is security at a price, certainly. But in addition to the individual freedoms already lost by such a scheme, this brand of security comes at the expense of something of far

greater value — security against arbitrary power and despotism — or, in a word, security against totalitarianism.

The serious implementation of any significant economic plan will lead to increasing governmental dominance in the running of industry and make possible the easy abduction of most political and economic freedoms. There will be an inevitable conflict between business and the economic planners. To regulate millions of individual businesses in such a complete way (output, number of employees, use of raw materials, etc.), without the cooperation of those businesses will be impossible — especially considering that business will feel that policy may very well change with the next election. (Which brings about the question of whether the serious pursuit of economic planning is compatible with democracy. Leading proponents, such as Harold Laski, have said no.)

The solution to an uncooperative private sector is to make individual companies better serve the "public interest" through measures such as nationalization and government controlled syndicates.

exercise great control of the population

George Orwell, commenting on Friedrich Hayek's classic book, *The Road to Serfdom*, remarked, "It cannot be said too often — at any rate it is not being said nearly enough — that collectivism is not inherently democratic, but, on the contrary, gives to a tyrannical minority such powers as the Spanish inquisition never dreamt of." To believe that vast concentrated power will not be used at some point to oppress the population is to deny the history of mankind. The world is full of maniacs and coercive utopians — many of whom are interested in the running of affairs of states, as history shows.

All totalitarian regimes rely heavily on economic control as a means to coerce their subjects. The efforts of Hitler's National Socialists to oppress Jews and other minority groups, were greatly facilitated by the Nazi government's control of employment and the distribution of goods. The Soviets use economic control to pressure dissidents and even use their system of rationing to bring out high voter turnouts for their one candidate elections — if you don't vote,



Those concerned about the power of big corporations certainly should not be clamoring for government control of the economy. The biggest corporation in the world is General Motors. Yet, as the Japanese, Germans, and even Ford and Chrysler will tell you, GM does not hold such monopoly power over the heads of car buyers. Neither has GM been particularly successful as a lobbyist. GM and U.S. automakers as a whole have been unable to prevent costly regulations such as those on gas mileage and pollution. "Big Oil," which the Left keeps telling us has so much control over our lives (including the power to force the U.S. into war to protect its interests) was not able to stop Congress from imposing the multi-billion dollar Windfall Profits Tax, and has been suffering, as would any other industry, from an unfavorable supply and demand situation. The new tax simplification bill will cost business an estimated additional \$120 billion over the next three years. Giant companies rarely are able to exercise sizeable economic or political power in relatively free, competitive economies because economic power is widely dispersed. The power government exerts over people by centralizing the economy would be infinitely more substantial than that now wielded by "Big Business."

With government control of the economy comes not only power over production, but also over consumption and distribution. Substituting the price system with government edict causes distribution of goods and services to be taken out of the hands of individual buyers and sellers and into the hands of some central authority. With this power the central authority can

you don't receive your ration cards. Those not rigidly conforming to Maoist doctrine during the Cultural Revolution often lost their jobs, no matter how valuable their skills. China's current one child policy is enforced by a series of economic "benefits" (including jobs, salaries, and rations) the state can take away from, or reduce to, those not complying. The fact that China has been very successful in enforcing such an unpopular policy which meets the resistance of centuries of Chinese tradition shows how great the power a government can yield over its people when it controls the economy.

Neither Germany in 1933, Russia in 1917, nor China in 1949 had long traditions of democracy and political and economic freedom. The United States, by contrast, has a long and deeply ingrained tradition of democracy and freedom, as well as constitutional arrangements which make quickly installed tyranny unlikely. This is no reason, however, to feel safe in taking steps to weaken that tradition and to make possible great abrogations of individual freedom. Free societies have been and still are, very rare and fragile. Freedoms taken for granted and not carefully safeguarded do not have long lives. The relinquishment of significant economic freedoms would be a major crack in the foundation of any free society.

C. Brandon Crocker is a student at the University of Michigan Graduate School of Business Administration, and CR's *Imperator Emeritus*.

Letters



Dear Editor

The struggle has only begun! Keep up the good work.

Will S. Justice
La Jolla, CA

Dear California Review:

Dear California Review

Thank you very much for your kind reply for my letter from 10th April. I was not sure that anyone would help me to obtain any literature concerning my interests.

The copy of "CR" you were kind to send me and other copies you had promised to send will of course be read by as many people as possible. I found that people here are looking forward to something else from our official press. That's pity that your magazine is published only 6 times a year but thanks God that it is published at all.

Of course if it is possible to receive your magazine in the future I am very keen on it. At the same time I would like to ask you for a permission for Polish translations of a few articles from "CR" which are to be published in Polish conservative magazine. If it is possible please let me know as soon as you are able to.

Thank you for your "CR" and for your help.

Yours—

Sincerely Yours,
Manuel Gonzalez
Chula Vista

name withheld



California Review

Credo: Imperium et libertas.



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



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In Review

■ Pardon our pride, but for the second time in the space of a month, syndicated columnist Thomas Sowell has seen fit to refer to this very publication. To quote that respected fellow of the Hoover Institute, "Some of the highest quality thinking and writing among college students today is found in campus newspapers like the *Harvard Salient*, *California Review*, and other student papers that stand up to the dominant leftism among the "official" student papers and among the faculty." Thank you Mr. Sowell, we could not have said it better ourselves.

■ The town of Ferrysburg, Michigan, will vote in November whether to change its name to West Spring Lake because it has become the brunt of anti-gay jokes." When someone says "I'm from Ferrysburg," it causes chuckles said Mayor Leon Stille. "Some people even refer to the mayor and council as the leading fairies. It does become an irritant."

■ California melting-pot: Hispanics are now counted as 22 percent of the state's population. In 25 years, studies project that they will be 32 percent. Asians, now 7 percent, will rise to 13 percent. Blacks will hold steady at seven percent.

■ New Delhi newspapers report that a frustrated young lover, who had failed at 20 suicide attempts in the past, tried again. Naresh Savita jumped from a three-story building. He is recovering in a hospital. Savita's earlier attempts to kill himself included hanging, an opium overdose, taking sleeping pills and eating a lizard. Now don't any of you students try this at home.

■ F.Y.I.: Ships passing through the Panama Canal from the Atlantic end up 75 miles east of where they entered.

■ CR's esteemed *Imperator Emeritus*, C. Brandon Crocker, recently discovered that the editors of the University of Michigan's *The Michigan Daily* are even more dastardly than those of the *Guardian* (which is saying a lot). Mr. Crocker wrote a letter to the *Daily* arguing that the African National Congress is not a force for democracy in South Africa. The *Daily* printed the letter, but edited out all his stated reasons for holding this view — such as the ANC leadership's endorsement of "necklacing" government "collaborators." ("Necklacing" is the practice of putting a tire around the victim's neck, dousing him with gasoline, and burning him alive). With such editing the letter could have been interpreted to argue that apartheid should not be abolished. Despite Mr. Crocker's protests, the *Daily* refused to reprint his letter unedited.

■ A legally blind gentleman from Louisville, Kentucky offered up a novel defense when arrested for drunken driving in July. Mr. William Bowen argued that he was, in fact, not the one operating the motor vehicle. Rather, the offending driver was said to be his Alaskan Malamute named Sir Anheuser Busch II. This wonder dog, according to Mr. Bowen, had been especially trained to identify traffic signals, and when his girlfriend abandoned him, Anheuser was put to use. The judge managed to remain unswayed and found Mr. Bowen guilty. The dog was released when it was found that the arresting officers had failed to read him his Miranda rights.

■ A "Roll-Aid" drive averted a toilet paper shortage in Alabama's largest school district. Parents in Mobile pledged about 100 cartons of toilet paper after a radio station launched a "roll-aid" donation drive to help the school system that was short on funds.

■ An Iranian news report said a doctor removed a 4.4-pound ball of hair from the stomach of a 20-year-old woman who had chewed her hair since childhood. This should teach all you hair-chewing girls a lesson.

■ During a recent speech at San Diego State, Figueiredo Paulo, the representative to the U.S. for the U.N.I.T.A. *Freedom Fighters In Angola*, was questioned about his claimed anti-racism. Mike Pirkkala, president of the university's chapter of *The Democratic Socialists of America*, asked Paulo, "If you're so against racism, why is it that all the people out here supporting you are white boys with Nazi style haircuts?" Pirkkala immediately received a resounding chorus of boos from the crowd, many of whom are usually left-leaning.

The communist sympathizer was by the way, himself sporting a "Nazi style" haircut, which just goes to show that the political spectrum is actually a circle and not a straight line, something we've known all along.

■ A gentleman from São Paulo, Brazil, has found a way to enforce traditional moral values that should deter even the most hardened sinner. Finding his wife and another man engaged in illicit carnal contact, the husband drew a pistol and used acrylic cement to create a permanent bond between his wife's hand and her beau's offending organ. Delicate surgery was performed to separate them, but the homewrecker died from the chemicals he absorbed through his skin. The moral crusader has been charged with manslaughter.

■ Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle took two salamis to the latest superpower summit to snack on, but his plan for a gourmet weekend went awry. Perle says the salamis "fell out of my window on the fourth floor of my hotel and were immediately set upon by Icelandic security guards and smashed to smithereens." They don't fool around in Iceland.

■ The Communist menace is on the march and threatening even the most hallowed of America's institutions: the fast food restaurant. Rep. Stephen Solarz, who is apparently not content to simply interfere with the President's foreign policy, has acted to place warning labels on burgers and fries. As if students did not have enough problems...

■ The Iowa Supreme Court has denied jobless benefits to a packinghouse worker for throwing a beef tongue at a supervisor who denied his request to go to the bathroom. Court records said that Homadi Hussein was fired after the incident.

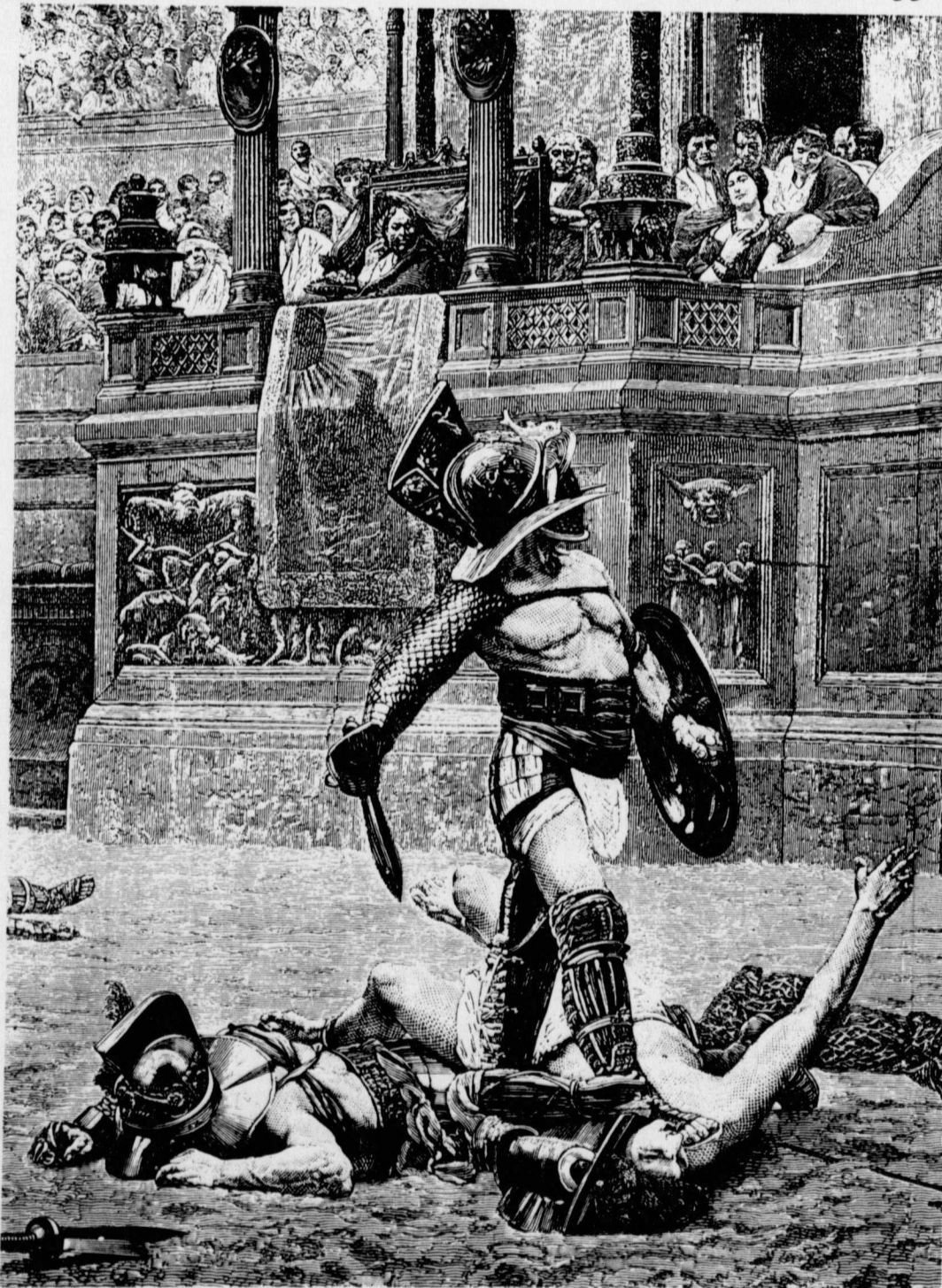
■ "I buy *Penthouse* only to have a respectable cover into which to slip my copy of *National Review*." — *New York Times* Columnist William Safire. He's just kidding, folks.

■ With the recently imposed U.S. Sanctions against South America, let us now look to the future instead of regretfully in retrospect. It is unfortunate that the same group which went to such extremes to see our interests divested will not invest the same effort in keeping track of the negative effects these penalties have on South Africa's economy. Our beloved media can certainly not be expected to do this either. The overall South African issue seems destined to die; the American public will assume, as a result, that our sanctions were for the best, especially with little information to tell them otherwise. It is a moral imperative then, that we, as believers in free enterprise, must assume this informational role.

■ Organic gardeners in St. Louis were permitted to scoop up as much elephant, horse, camel, and llama manure as they desired. The "Mammoth Manure Giveaway" was offered by Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus which was appearing in the city. Gardeners were asked to provide their own shovel and container.

■ Now for some Ronald Reagan trivia: the President's favorite color is blue, his favorite food is macaroni and cheese, and his favorite hobby is, of course, horseback riding.

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In Support of Pinochet: To Hell With the Media

By Barry Jantz

"An article on how I spent my summer vacation? That would label me as another right-wing extremist coming out in support of a fascist military government," I protested. But, undeterred, the editors at the *California Review* wanted to see a piece about my recent trip to South America and, as editors do more often than not, they convinced me.

My only problem was how not to look like a lunatic. You see, my good friend John Keenan and I spent a portion of the trip in Chile, a country, according to the U.S. media, not exactly known for its humanitarian governmental policies. What John and I saw and heard, though, was at extreme odds with what our objective journalists tell us. It seemed to be a no win situation; us, the two, against them, the thousands. Our only advantage is that most of them (the vast majority of them to be exact) have never visited Chile.



As luck would have it, we were in Santiago, the nation's beautiful captiol, during the week just following the two day July strike called by left-wing groups opposed to the government of President Augusto Pinochet. We wasted little time in talking to numerous people regarding the strike and their country's current political situation.

It wasn't until after returning home that I found the media had covered the problems using their typical well-known impartiality. According to the press, Pinochet's "heavily armed" troops went on a rampage in response to the strike; lighting people on fire and shooting 13-year-old girls in cold blood. I note especially that phrases such as "Witnesses said..." or "A group of nuns said..." when describing certain repressive tactics used by the military. As we all know, a nun would never lie, but the consistent lack of attribution (or very weak attribution, at best) on the part of the media seems to go against the grain of what is considered common journalistic practice, leaving media integrity, in the wake, questioned.

In the midst of all this, Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) returns from his own trip to Chile and suggest that the media has not only been unfair to Pinochet, but also to anti-communist governments as a whole. If Helms' cultivation only equalled his outright gutsiness he would be truly dangerous! (He was, of course, immediately slapped with the same label that I am trying to avoid.) Our own State Department attempted to pin on the Senator the transfer of classified information to Pinochet, most likely because Helms is always such a thorn in State's side; but notice now this controversy has subsided. Unfortunately, Helms garnered negative publicity over the incident and it is difficult to ascertain whether he or State looked the worst.

At any rate, it would be asinine for me to suggest there are not any problems in Pinochet's Chile. There are. But, the same can be said for the country during the reign of Marxist President Salvador Allende, before Pinochet staged his brilliant military coup in 1973.

Some things seem to have changed since then. Renaldo Sepulveda, a 27-year-old cab driver, told us, "Under Pinochet, people have things they never dreamed they could have. My grandfather never owned a car, now he has two. No one before was able to own a watch or a television, now it is simple."

What about the high unemployment rate?" John asked him.

"Unemployment is a worldwide problem," he said. "Poor people are much better off, though. Many people who didn't have homes before, now have them. Pinochet has built many complexes for the poor. But, what do I know? When Allende was president I was only 13 years old and I had to wait in a kilometer long line to buy a loaf of bread! Now I don't have to do that."

Sepulveda was not the only Chilean with this point of view. In actuality, John and I were told, about 30 percent of the population supports Pinochet while 35 percent could really care less (these people couldn't possibly be content, could they?). The balance — a whopping 35 percent — is opposed to his presidency! Thirty-five percent; can you imagine that? A higher percentage than that is opposed to our own president, but that does not mean that every Tom, Dick and Harry who voted for Mondale in 1984 is trying to bomb the White House! But our media would have us believe that almost every Chilean is involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the government.

In fact, the only problem a majority of Chileans have with the government is the curfew imposed between two a.m. and six a.m. on weekdays, even though it has substantially slashed the crime rate. Perish the thought you would get caught outside during curfew: a night in jail and a fine equivalent to five dollars in the morning! John and I both noted too late that this was much cheaper than our hotel room.

Alas, I digress. The media was actually correct in reporting that 60 percent of Santiago's population stayed home during the strike. They just forgot to report why, simply implying that all those people were protesting. But, people had no way of getting to work, you see, as the strike was called by — what else? — labor groups: the bus union being included. Buses, by the way, are the main source of transportation in Santiago.

The reported widespread repression on the part of the government also overshadows the fact that left-wing death squads were the major instigators of the violence. Electrical power was shut down to half the country's 12,000,000 people because of the 75 bombs



reports. Let's remember, also, that Rodrigo Rojas, the 19-year-old who burned to death, was a very active member of a violent opposition group and he was the one carrying the gasoline which proved to be his final opponent.

I only wish to point out some facts that may have been missed because of pure oversight on the part of our media. Let's not forget that in Chile we have one of the few situations in history which has seen a Marxist government fall. Pinochet has consistently stressed that democracy would return when the country stabilizes. He has targeted 1989 for that return.

Santiago is a vibrant, alive, bustling city. If the advertisements and street signs were not in Spanish, this could be any metropolis in the states, with one noted exception: Santiago is clean. Workers are constantly sweeping the sidewalks; there is no graffiti to be seen. When walking in the Providence District one could easily be in Westwood or La Jolla. John, who has lived in Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil, has traveled extensively throughout the region. He says that Chile has one of the highest standards of living in South America.

The real problems in Chile are occasional, isolated, and fomented by groups opposed to any form of government except totalitarian in nature. It is unfortunate that our own media seem to be on the same



set off in 12 cities in only two days. The opposition groups set fire to several buses that attempted to do their routes, including one in which acid was thrown on the driver and a passenger. "Miguelitos," multi-pronged nails, were strewn across many streets, causing numerous accidents and backing up traffic for hours.

This is by no means an attempt to support a military regime. Uniformed men running around shooting at little girls and wielding flame throwers do not, after all, fit into my notion of the friendly neighborhood policeman, but I must question the validity of those

side as those groups. Pinochet will not turn the country over to a false democracy. The present instability will lead only to chaos. When stability does come, democracy will follow. The media in the U.S. are a direct result of the most vivid example of democratic values in history. It is a terrible thing when the very result of those values is partially responsible for undermining the same ideals in other parts of the world.

Barry Jantz is CR's SDSU correspondent.

A Look at the Congressional Races: Jim Bates, Man or Mouse?

By Barry Demuth

Throughout the History of the United States, Congress has maintained a tremendous amount of influence in the shaping of the policies the President seeks to enforce. Much of the President's success depends upon how the House of Representatives vote on the issues he supports. During President Reagan's first six years in office, Democratic majorities in the House have opposed many of his attempts to strengthen national defense, balance the budget, aid anti-Soviet freedom fighter movements throughout the world, and reduce taxes. Certainly many achievements of the Reagan administration would have suffered humiliating defeat in the House, if it were not for the President's tireless lobbying and his enormous popularity.

The Democrats currently have 253 seats in Congress, while the Republicans have 180. This figure does not allow the Democrats the needed two-thirds majority to override Presidential vetoes but, it does give the donkeys the ability to be a constant pain in the President's side.

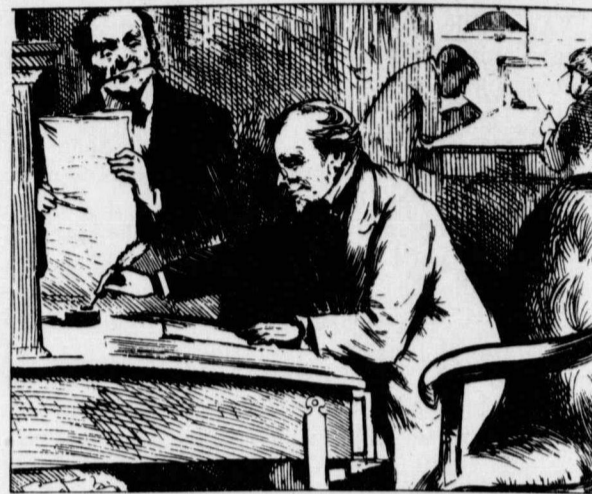
In 1980 and 1984 San Diego voters, voted overwhelmingly in support of President Reagan. This support for Ronald Reagan was not solely intended for the man, but for the Republican party, and the ideology that it represents. Proof of this is almost entirely obvious if one looks at the Congressman, San Diegans have sent to Washington D.C. during President Reagan's reign.

Bill Lowery is the Republican representative of the 41st District. A former San Diego city councilman who was elected to congress in 1980. Lowery led the fight against offshore oil drilling along the San Diego coastline. Another Republican elected to Congress in 1980 is Duncan Hunter. Representing the 45th District, Hunter pushed for the successful effort to obtain

federal funding to treat Mexican sewage flowing across the border into San Diego. He has also been an ardent supporter of the Contras, who in an effort to restore Democracy are fighting to overthrow the Marxist regime in Nicaragua. In the 43rd District the incumbent is Representative Ron Packard, a Carlsbad Republican. Packard has earned the reputation of a tireless, hard working member of Congress. On November fourth, Lowery, Hunter, and Packard are seeking and are deserving of your support for re-election.

Running for re-election in the 44th District is Democrat incumbent Jim Bates. Mr. Bates has consistently voted against the interest of his district, and of San Diego county. For example, he managed to block construction of a needed dam on the Santa Margarita River that would provide needed water for Fallbrook and Camp Pendleton. He tried unsuccessfully to block construction of additional Navy housing in Chula Vista, a project that was supported by the Chula Vista City Council.

On defense, Mr. Bates has opposed increased funding for weapons systems such as the B-1 bomber and Trident Submarine, and argues, "the administration's defense program is based on an outdated inaccurate bigger is better mentality." Needless to say Mr. Bates wholeheartedly opposes aid to the Contras. On the subject of drugs, Bates has stated to a Congressional panel that the "decriminalization of drugs should be looked at much closer." This unbelievable statement prompted Bill Mitchell, a former city councilman to challenge Bates in November. Mitchell states, "we have kids killing themselves with drugs and this clown wants to put 'U.S. Choice' on drugs." Mitchell goes on to state, "Jim Bates is bad for the 44th District, he's bad for



San Diego and he's bad for the United States." Should San Diego voters support a man who acts against their interest? A man who will work to dismantle the National Defense, that President Reagan has somewhat managed to restore since the Carter nightmare. A man that does not support various freedom fighter movements, who are opposed to their countries being controlled by Marxist via the Soviet Union. A man who feels that the decriminalization of drugs should be looked at much closer? Defeat Jim Bates!

Barry Demuth is a senior at UCSD.

Was Dukemejian Duped?

By C.G. Alario

The Regents of the University of California in July, voted 13-9 to divest (over a four-year period) the university's \$3.1 billion in investments in companies that do business with South Africa. It will cost the university, thus the California taxpayers, \$118 million in commissions and other administrative costs to divest. A small price tag for clear conscience — right?

In the past, the Regents have chosen to reject divestment demands from radical student groups, like UCSD's own Coalition for a Free South Africa, and other misguided people. And the Regents probably would have continued to reject the demands had it not been for Governor George Deukmejian who recently defected to the divestment camp. In fact, it was he who led the successful charge to divest at the Board of Regents July meeting at UC Santa Cruz.

Until his recent defection, Deukmejian was a staunch opponent of the university's divestment. The governor claimed that he changed his position on divestment because conditions in South Africa have deteriorated recently and that the South African government is not making sincere efforts to change its apartheid system. He stopped just short of calling upon the Reagan administration to open up dialogue with the African National Congress (ANC). Remember now, according to ignorant liberal and progressive types, only part of the ANC's membership is communist. And so were the Sandinistas before they came to power.

Nonetheless, did Deukmejian knowingly join the divesters or was he simply duped by his advisors?

Deukmejian has never been keen on political consciousness-raising. He is a sound conservative with solid credentials. As governor, he has served the people of California well. But to be governor, one has to be a politician and most politicians have a spineless side. On the divestment question, this spineless side surfaced in the case of our governor.

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate who is challenging Deukmejian, captured the alleged moral high ground on the divestment issue — forcing the Duke into an alleged political corner. The Duke went eyeball to eyeball with divestment and he blinked. But will it strengthen his bid for reelection?

Come November, South Africa will not be an issue. It would not have been an issue even if Deukmejian had not panicked and forced the Regents, not to mention the State of California, to divest. The perception that South Africa would have been a major issue this November was created and fostered by political forces loyal to Bradley, who know very well that their man does not stand a chance against Deukmejian if he was allowed to run on his record as governor. And no doubt, when the election heats up,



CALIFORNIA'S MORAL BACKBONE.

Deukmejian will focus on his impressive record.

Deukmejian abandoned a ship that was neither sinking nor on fire. South Africa did not endanger his chances of being reelected. Instead he delivered an unfortunate and devastating blow to those members of the white government in South Africa who advocate reform in that embattled country.

Political expediency prompted Deukmejian to jump ship and support divestment; it was not the conditions in South Africa. It is a good bet that Deukmejian will be re-elected and his political future will remain bright. For now, Deukmejian is safe. This rare moment of moral grandstanding by our governor will pass, but will it be forgotten?

If South Africa should collapse into an all out civil war, the well-armed Afrikaners, whose Boer ancestors established the first settlement in South Africa at Cape Town in the middle 1600s, will fight. They will fight with courage and ferocity, just as their Boer ancestors fought the British empire over 80 years ago. Millions of blacks will die, the country will lie in ruin, and, yes, the Afrikaners will most likely lose. And out of the rubble and rivers of blood, the communists that are in

control of the ANC will prevail, plunging South Africa deeper into the utter darkness of Marxist tyranny.

If the above scenario should occur in South Africa, will Deukmejian step forth and accept partial responsibility for the consequences of his actions in late July, 1986? This is, as Max Weber's so eloquently frames it, the morality of consequences. Consequences of one's actions matter, not one's intentions.

South Africa is not the pivotal issue that will decide the outcome of the election, as Bradley's people and the media would have the voters believe. The issue at hand is the future of California and its citizens, not some far away land. Rather than running scared, Deukmejian should have remained opposed to divestment. Californians want a leader with conviction, vision, and competence, not a spineless pseudo-moralist with no sense of history.

C.G. Alario is CR's Washington Praefecti.

Coors is the one with the difference worth tasting.



Ethiopia: The Horror Ignored

by Carol Beaucauge

Strange is it not, how little we've been hearing these days about Ethiopia. Once the liberals decided to discard it as their pet project and move on to exacerbate the South African situation, conventional media coverage of the famine situation all but died out. Well, there is still a terrible holocaust occurring in Ethiopia. It is not due to the natural drought, which has abated, but to the Marxist government currently holding power in Addis Ababa.

In the first eight years of the Mengistu regime, one million people were slaughtered; 2.2 million more were forced into exile. The economy has been utterly destroyed by redistribution practices. Additionally, the storing of food which people used to practice to make provision for times of scarcity has been dubbed "hoarding" and is now forbidden by the authorities. Any extra food grown is confiscated for the purpose of feeding the Ethiopian armed forces, who in turn further oppress the civilians.

The Ethiopian State is also carrying on a program of coercive relocation (often of entire villages) in an attempt to put down the rebellions which have arisen as a natural reaction to the genocide. According to Dr.



Brauman of Medecins sans Frontieres, a French medical organization that works to help Ethiopians, many relief stations are used to lure the starving; once there, they are first forcibly removed to "holding centers" by members of the military, and then packed into Soviet-supplied trucks and planes (in some cases,

as many as 400 people in a plane built to hold 50) and taken to the malaria-infested southern part of the country, where they are dumped. Often they are crushed to death enroute.

Aradam Tedla, an Ethiopian refugee, says that conditions in Ethiopia are so bad, Ethiopians would flee to South Africa if they could — apartheid notwithstanding — just to escape that which they experience in their own country.

If only all the funds raised to help these people had been funneled through private organizations to the rebels, instead of being misallocated to work to the actual detriment of the Ethiopians! But there is still a chance: If the concern of the residents of the Free World can be reactivated; if the root of the problem can be publicized and targeted; if future moneys contributed can be channeled in such a way as to circumvent the intervention of the Ethiopian government; and if these moneys can assuredly be received by those who will use them not to inadvertently perpetuate the current regime's policies, but to bring an end to those policies, and effect liberation for Ethiopia. Carol Beaucauge is a junior at U.C. Irvine.

California Review Interviews

*General Daniel O. Graham, United States (Ret.) is currently the Director of High Frontier, Inc. After retiring as Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in 1976, General Graham held a research professorship at the University of Miami from 1976 to 1978, and served as an advisor to Ronald Reagan in his 1976 and 1980 campaigns. General Graham has also served on the staff of the American Security Council and was Co-Chairman for the Coalition for Peace Through Strength from 1978 to 1981. A graduate of West Point and the U.S. Army War College, General Graham saw Service in Germany, Korea, and Viet Nam. Author of *We Must Defend America, New Strategy for the West and Shall America Be Defended: Salt II and Beyond*, General Graham recently took time out from his schedule to chat with CR's Editor-in-Chief Barry Demuth.*

CR: Would you please explain the general idea of SDI as currently envisioned?

GRAHAM: There are several views of SDI, the one that is prevalent in the administration is that it is a long term research program. That certainly is not the view of High Frontier, we are convinced that there is mature technology which would allow a decision to deploy today; therefore we could establish very significant defenses of both our population and our retaliatory forces within five years. So there is some confusion regarding the real goals of SDI, the opponents would like to have the goal be a perfect defence that is a one-hundred percent effective leakproof umbrella, because they know perfectly well we will never get there, and one of the ways to make sure that we do not try very hard is if we set up an impossible goal of perfection.

CR: Do you advocate SDI as a defense for missile sites or for the entire population?

GRAHAM: It should be for the entire country which would of course include our military installations as well as our people.

CR: Would the Soviets be able to break through the defense by saturating it with inexpensive dummy missiles?

GRAHAM: No they would not. They could attempt to build more and more missiles in order to get some through, but they will not because the numbers of missiles in the Soviet inventory today are there because they enjoy a free ride to their target. Therefore every missile they build they know will do what they want it to do. If in fact there is a system in the way, that will no longer be the case and they will not attempt to overwhelm a defense with more offense.

"The non-military spin-off of the SDI effort will bring to the civil economy from five to twenty trillion dollars."

CR: Given a cooperative Congress when do you believe such a system could be operational?

GRAHAM: If Congress would fence off as little as 800 million dollars to be used for near term deployment only, we can get our country defended at least against accidental attack or light attack in five years; within the seven and a half years the administration is talking about delaying we could have a space-born defense as well. Which would provide very significant defense of our population against any kind of attack except a sort of "maniac attack" where all of the missiles are fired at our cities.

CR: Would SDI be effective against aircraft and cruise missiles?

GRAHAM: No it would not, unless you wish to have defenses against those. We now have some defenses against things that fly through the air, however our great danger is not from such weapons, rather it is from weapons in which we have no defense.

CR: The majority of industry as well as population in the United States is on the East and West coast. Areas that are especially vulnerable to attack by submarine missiles, what would be the value of SDI against these missiles?

GRAHAM: Submarine missiles fired in their normal fashion are more vulnerable to strategic defenses than missiles fired from the Soviet Union, so the defenses would be just as effective or more effective against submarine missiles than against land based missiles.

CR: The Soviets are currently working on two new large early warning radar systems, their (sixth and seventh), in violation of the 1972 ABM treaty. How concerned should we be about this?

GRAHAM: We should be very concerned because those great radars are not really early warning, they are battle management radars for anti-ballistic systems. They represent a Soviet determination to have their own SDI to get their own strategic defenses in, allowing them to have a combination of a first strike missile force and an effective defense. If we allow them to acquire that while we contemplate deploying SDI, then we may find that within six or seven years we are faced with a horrendous disadvantage in overall strategic capabilities.

CR: How long have the Soviets been doing Stars Wars research?

GRAHAM: At least fifteen years. They have made no bones about their determination to seize military control of near space. They have said they are going to do it and they have been working hard to succeed every since the advent of the space age.

CR: How do you answer charges that SDI would be destabilizing and could provoke a Soviet pre-emptive strike?

GRAHAM: If the Soviets are determined to blow us up with nuclear weapons, then probably what we should do instead of building defenses, is to blow them up, but that's not in the cards. The notion that the Soviets would attack because we are defending ourselves does not make any sense. If it is provocative to defend ourselves then we should be terribly provoked about the fact that the Soviets have spent more money toward defending themselves against our nuclear strike capabilities than they have on creating nuclear strike capabilities against us. They have put more roubles into strategic defense than they have put into strategic offense, and we have not taken that as a signal that we must strike the Soviet Union. I do not have any feelings for the Soviets being nice guys, on the other hand I do not think they are crazy, and I don't believe the notion of a pre-emptive strike because we are defending ourselves is valid.

CR: Do you believe the United States should share the results of SDI research with the Soviets as President Reagan has suggested?

GRAHAM: I agreed with him when he first said we should do everything we can to encourage the Soviets to build defenses instead of more offenses, but I do not agree that we should in any way share any technology with them that can defeat our own defenses or be used for something other than defense. That to me would cut out ninety-five percent of all technology developed for SDI.

CR: Opponents to increased spending on SDI research have charged that much of the money already allocated by Congress has yet to be spent. How do you respond?

GRAHAM: That is always true in big programs. What you do is get somebody started on a project and they must know the money will be available to continue that project or the project fails. So you always have more money committed to a project than you have spent. You cannot take a project to develop, for instance, satellites that fire interceptor rockets and spend all of the money that is appropriated for it in the first year. So, that to me is a red herring.

"If the Soviets are determined to blow us up with nuclear weapons, then probably what we should do instead of building defenses, is to blow them up, but that's not in the cards."

CR: SDI has great support from President Reagan. Do you see tough times for SDI once Reagan leaves office?

GRAHAM: I know this because they have so stated, that the enemies of the strategic defense initiative are hoping to delay decision long enough to get a new president that they can talk out of SDI. I hope they are wrong, but I think it is quite possible that a new president will not have the enthusiasm for SDI that President Reagan does. I think it is highly unlikely that we will get one who has that much enthusiasm. The only man I see who might have that much enthusiasm or maybe more is Jack Kemp.

CR: Then you do not see much support from other Republican hopefuls?

GRAHAM: I think the other Republican hopefuls might go along with SDI, but I do not think, and I may be wrong about this, but I have not seen among the others the kind of enthusiasm for this strategic strategy change that I have seen from Mr. Kemp.

CR: Would the moratorium on nuclear testing proposed by Gorbachev be a positive step in fair and meaningful nuclear arms reduction?

GRAHAM: I believe that it would go forward with SDI, it will not make much difference whether we have a moratorium or not, because it is SDI that will reduce the value of the offensive nuclear weapon in any case. So to me it is something of a side issue. I told the Soviet correspondent this who asked me the same question, that I could care less about a nuclear moratorium, although I am against it on the grounds that I doubt it could ever be verified. Also, I might add I lived through a nuclear moratorium. And what the Soviets did then was to get a whole lot of tests ready to go, and when they decided the political situation was right they simply broke the moratorium and carried out a tremendous number of tests, including a sixty megaton test of a bomb.

General Daniel O. Graham

CR: President Reagan requested a seventy percent increase in SDI funding for next years budget, but it seems that Congress will likely hold the SDI budget at virtually this years level of 3.1 billion. To what degree will this delay SDI research?

GRAHAM: It's really a crippling blow, because what you have are some very promising technological breakthroughs in SDI and they will simply be starved to death for lack of funds.

CR: Do you think if President Reagan fails to satisfy hard line conservatives in Congress on the SDI issue it could translate into a move by these conservatives to derail arms control? For example, if Reagan ends up getting a treaty with the Soviets he may find himself unable to get the treaty ratified in the Senate.

GRAHAM: I do not believe that conservatives will attempt to derail arms control talks. I think the sensible thing, and I hope they take the sensible point of view, is to say arms control has to be designed to support the strategy of mutually assured survival and stop trying to continue making agreements that make mutual assured destruction work, or try to make it work, which has been the pattern in the past. All of our arms control agreements have been to try to create some balance in the balance of terror required by M.A.D., and what we should be doing is negotiating with the Soviets to get them to back off on offensive weapons, and to join us in putting our efforts into non-nuclear defenses. Now that is a sensible approach to arms control and might bear fruit some day, but what has been a total failure is arms control of the sort that we are seeing today which is, lets each try to get the same capability to blow each other to smithereens.

CR: How has SDI forced the debate on nuclear war to move away from the policy of mutually assured destruction (MAD) to the strategy of assured survival?

GRAHAM: The most important thing about the Presidents decision is the strategy change that is involved. I think the biggest problem the President has, is that he has not even convinced all of his own administration that they should make this strategy change in their own minds, rather than trying to figure out some way to halfheartedly support SDI on the grounds that you can keep (MAD) alive. I do not think the impact of the strategy has had sufficient effect on the administration, particularly on the Department of State, and in particular Mr. Paul Nitze.

CR: When Reagan announced his plan in 1983 there was considerable opposition to it among U.S. allies, but now we are seeing growing support for SDI in Western Europe, Japan, and Israel. What do you think prompted this change among our allies?

GRAHAM: When the President announced this without having consulted the allies they were put into shock and were led to believe by opponents of the idea, and in some cases simply because they were ignorant of some facts, that the United States was proposing to put a bubble over North America which would tend to separate us from our allies. In other words make us isolationists. As the Europeans, Japanese, and others came to realize that in fact we could not put up a defense that did not also defend them, and that the technologies involved could provide defenses for our allies overseas, they began to change their minds. Of course there was this self-serving aspect to, that SDI will inexorably pull the United States on to a new higher technological plain than it has been on, and the allies do not want to be left in a technological backwater, therefore they want to participate.

"The peaceful applications are enormous."

CR: What are some of the peaceful applications to space of SDI research?

GRAHAM: The peaceful applications are enormous. One very prestigious economic think tank in Stanford, Connecticut, called Business Communications Corporation, has estimated that the non-military spinoff of the SDI effort will bring to the civil economy from five to twenty trillion dollars. So the spinoffs are enormous, and they range all the way from improved lasers for medical applications, to solar power collecting stations in space that can provide electrical power to underdeveloped countries and a whole lot of things in between.

CR: The Soviets actions obviously show they do not have any concern toward breaking the ABM treaty, but if we stopped SDI research do you have any reason to believe they would follow suit?

GRAHAM: I have no reason to believe they would follow suit because they would have to cut off a program that has been going for at least fifteen years. A program that can be hidden under all sorts of disguises, for instance, they have described one of their enormous laser laboratory facilities as being for medical purposes, and as somebody has said it could only be for medical purpose if some surgeon wanted to operate on somebody that was several thousands of miles away with that laser. It is so easy for them to cover with excuses what they are doing that I know that they would not comply. On the other hand given the number of arms control enthusiasts in the U.S. we would comply, and if we tried to cheat in any way the Soviets would not have to blow the whistle on us, our own arms control lobby would.

CR: What is the Reagan Administrations real position on the deployment of SDI?

GRAHAM: I wish that I knew for sure, as it appears the administration position now is a compromise between Mr. Weinberger's view that we should proceed as fast as we can to get the defenses in and, Mr. Shultz and Mr. Nitze's view that we should give up and trade it in as a bargaining chip. What has come out as policy is a typical result of committee work, that is nothing is quite clear. It appears that the President has said, "yes one day we will deploy these defenses," then he always adds, "when the research is complete," that suggests that nobody is telling him that the research is complete on some options available to us right now.

CR: Could you elaborate on your idea of founding an international space academy?

GRAHAM: Yes, there is enormous enthusiasm among our young people, and young people elsewhere in the free world to become involved in the future, which is space. There is no clear educational track for these youngsters to follow and what we propose is an academy much along the lines of the Merchant Marines. Where youngsters who want a career at sea, most of them not military careers but civil careers. We want to propose a track so that youngsters even in the lower grades of school, know that if they learn certain things in the academy, know that when they get out they will be able to be employed in one of thousands of space oriented industries.

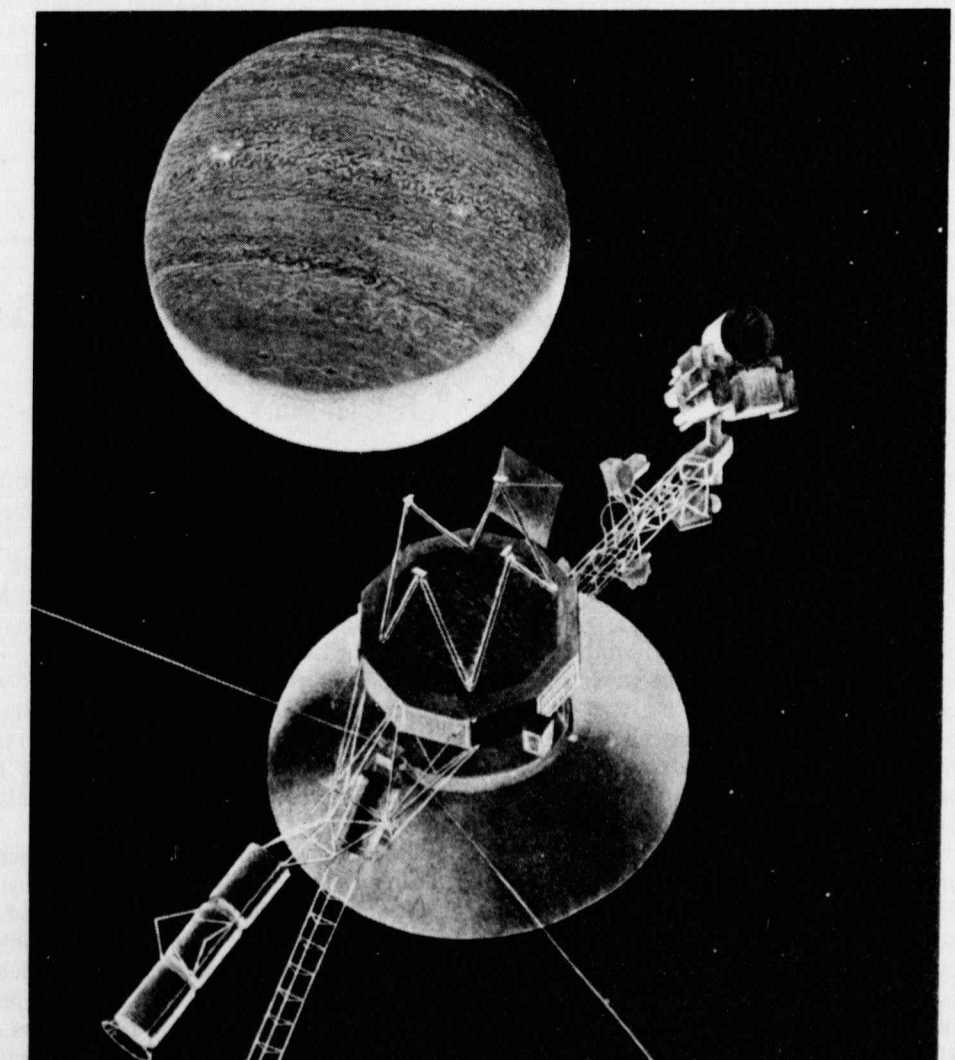
"There is a minority of very noisy politically oriented scientists who are objecting to SDI."

CR: Many eminent scientists support SDI, but more say it not feasible, why do you side with the former?

GRAHAM: I do not agree with that statement. There is a minority of very noisy politically oriented scientists who are objecting to SDI, strangely enough not one of them says on scientific grounds that we should not put in a defense. What they argue is on political grounds that we should not put in a defense because it is too provocative to the Soviet Union. As far as the numbers of scientists are concerned there are more scientists actually working on SDI than there are out saying that we should not pursue it.

CR: Well General, thank you very much.

GRAHAM: You're quite welcome, please send me a copy.



Something to Really Be Thankful About

By Christopher M. Schnaubelt

Just about everyone in the U.S. has heard the story about the Pilgrims and the first Thanksgiving. We all know that the Pilgrims left England to escape religious persecution and settled in New England. Every November the local paper shows pictures of children at some school, dressed up as Pilgrims and Indians, reenacting the first Thanksgiving. Yet an event that held much more significance for the future of Plymouth Colony occurred a year and a half later. This event was responsible for the survival and success of the Plymouth Colony. In the Spring of 1623, the Pilgrims changed their method of planting and divided the harvest. Instead of starving under a system of communal planting, they converted to a system of private enterprise. This change created the productivity that made Plymouth a viable colony.

The original agreement between the Pilgrims and their investors back in England, known as the *Conditions*, provided that all capital would be held in common for seven years, at the end of which all property and profits would be equally divided. The *Conditions* also provided:

That all such persons as are of this Colony are to have their meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions out of the Common Stock and goods of said Colony.

It was within this economic framework of common property and equality that the Pilgrims set out to form their colony.

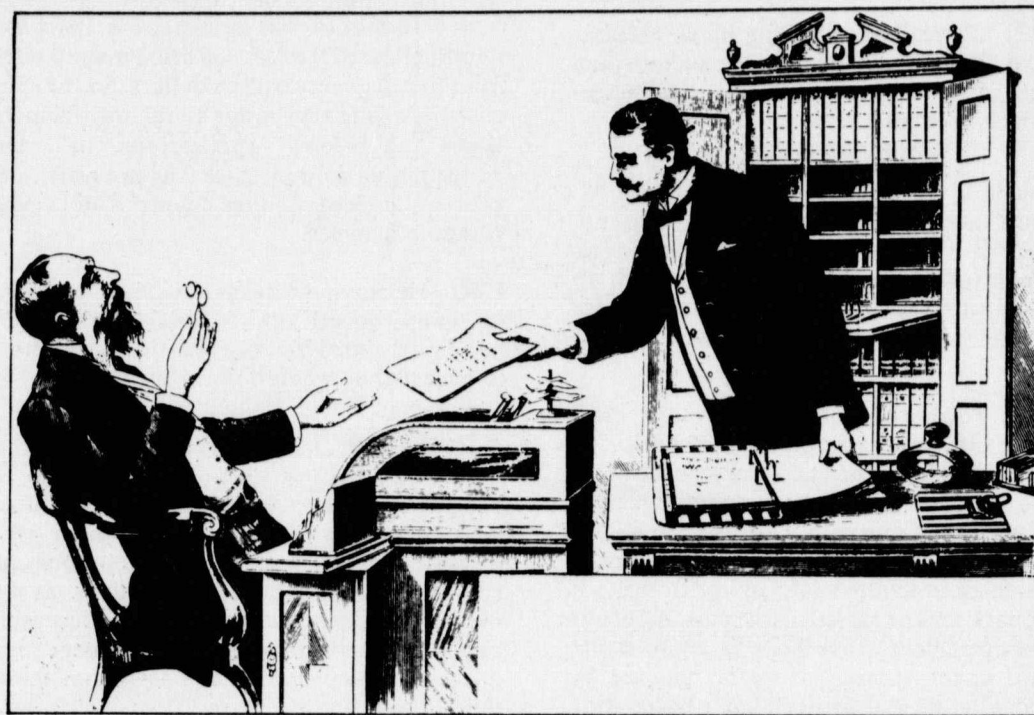
On the sixteenth of December, 1620, the *Mayflower* anchored at Plymouth. By April of 1621, half of the Pilgrims had perished from the combination of a lack of food, illness and the bitter cold of winter. However, they had made friends with some of the local Indians who taught them to fertilize corn seed by burying it with fish. They planted their crops and supplemented their meager stores by hunting and fishing. Autumn saw the harvest and the first Thanksgiving. Thirty-five new settlers joined the colony, landing on a boat that brought new hungry mouths, but few provisions. As winter approached, everyone was placed on half rations. Somehow, the Pilgrims managed to survive.

The next year saw the arrival of even more settlers to the colony. Under provisioned, these new colonists meant even greater hardship. Weak from hunger after a winter on half rations, the Plymouth men were hardly strong enough to properly till the fields. Many of the new arrivals were of little help. Pilfering became a problem. A poor harvest followed an unhappy summer. The Pilgrims barely survived the winter by trading knives and beads to the Indians for food. The situation looked disastrous for the colony. Seeing a bleak future if the Pilgrims continued their present course, the leaders of the colony decided that drastic change was required. The following spring, rather

than communal planting, each family would be given a plot of land and would be left to tend to their own needs. The results were miraculous. Where previously only the men went out to work the fields, now the women and children also went out to plant corn. Having no one else to do it for them, men who previously claimed to be too ill were now out planting their own fields.

Despite a six week drought after planting, the next harvest was bountiful. With everyone planting for themselves instead of the commonwealth, and tending their own plots, the new plan resulted in such a bumper crop that never again would Plymouth worry about bread. In fact, there was a surplus left to sell from that time on. Of the old communal arrangement, Plymouth's Governor Bradford was to write:

The failure of this experiment of communal living, which was tried for several years, and by good and honest men proves the emptiness of the theory of Plato and other ancients, applauded by some of later times — that the taking away of private property, and the possession of it in a community by a commonwealth, would make a state happy and flourishing.



The success of private ownership and free enterprise had profound implications for the development of the colony. It established the importance of a sound economic system and influenced the political growth of Plymouth in the years to come. The surplus of crops, enabled by private ownership, gave the Pilgrims something to trade and encouraged intercourse with the New World, linking Plymouth to the rest of New England. These trade links led to the establishment of the Confederation of the Colonies.

With the tenacity and ingenuity embodied by the Pilgrim Fathers, the United States has grown from a group of starving outcasts into a nation that feeds itself in addition to a hundred million people in the rest of the world. The story of the Pilgrims is one with a lesson. If more nations would learn this lesson, perhaps they too could enjoy our remarkable success and the world would increase in freedom instead of hunger.

Christopher M. Schnaubelt is a senior at UCSD.

The Conservative Titanic

By Kurt Andrew Schlichter

There was once a ship that they said could never sink. The Titanic left Portsmith on its maiden voyage headed for New York and now rests a couple of thousand feet under the Atlantic, of interest only to scholars and the nostalgic. Does the same fate await the conservative movement? It very well may.

In examining the question of the future we must examine the present and face a few facts that we are loath to accept. First, the basis of America's turn rightward has been President Reagan. I am not by any means embracing the petulant and condescending notion spewed by flustered liberals that the American people have somehow been duped by the President into accepting policies they do not want. Rather, my point is that Ronald Reagan holds a fragile and perhaps unraveling coalition of right-leaning groups and interests through his political savvy.

The second false god of the New Right is the idea that somewhere out there, the masses are gleefully talking about Laffer curves, deregulation and the roll-back of the Soviet Empire. A massive realignment of the voters into an ideologically-oriented conservative movement is just not happening. People want taxes cut, cheap gas and not to take abuse from little tyrants in Grenada or Libya. It just so happens that we can deliver. That's why we have won.

The problem is that we are falling into the same trap that has hog-tied the left, and we are doing so as we approach the most critical time since the tide turned with the President's 1980 election. In 1989, President Reagan will be gone, no matter what Rep. Van der Jagt says, and we will, for the first time, have to sink or swim on our own. Yet, as the date nears, the Republican party seems to be intent on ripping itself apart through the kind of fractional fighting that has rendered the Democrats impotent.

It is vital that the nature of the fragile coalition that is the conservative movement be understood. It is not just a force of born-again Christians, although the Religious wing is important. It is not just white males, or the bourgeoisie voting its collective pocketbook. Rather, the conservative coalition is a collection of very different groups uniting behind a relatively small set of shared views under the banner of a charismatic leader name Ronald Reagan.

The number of areas of common agreement between these groups is almost shockingly small in number. The first is a basic agreement on the role of government. Simply put, that government, especially the Federal government, should be small and stay off the citizen's back. That means tax cuts, deregulation and budget cutting. A second but related principle is that of the free market, which also leads to deregulation and tax cuts. The third common area is the view that a strong America is a secure America and a recognition that the national defense is government's prime function. Along with the view that a strong defense is not an option is the willingness to fight to preserve American interests around the world.

These three pillars of the conservative movement, limited government, free enterprise and a strong defense, remain intact and could be used to hold it together. That is President Reagan's secret. He never involves himself too deeply with peripheral issues that could shatter conservative unity. Those trying to succeed him have not learned from his example. By playing to separate groups within the movement rather than to the movement as a whole, the mutual exclusivity of some of the interests that the President has so amazingly managed to unite is aggravated with possibly catastrophic results.

Again, we must examine ourselves. Who make up this coalition? There is of course, the Religious Right. In addition to the common areas of interest, the Christians seek a government-led return to "traditional values" and a campaign against what they see as a rising tide of immorality. There are the Neo-Conservatives, the intellectuals of the George Will-William F. Buckley type who led the reacceptance of conservative thought. They tend to share the same orientation as the Religious Right with regards to moral issues, i.e. they support school prayer and oppose pornography, abortion and the ERA. The last of the actively conservative sub-groups is less vocal and less organized but no less important. It is the "Yuppie Right," the "California Conservatives" who



wholeheartedly support those three philosophical pillars but are just as strongly appalled by the social agenda of the Religious Right and the Neo-conservatives.

The conflict between the factions within the Right is clear, and the antipathy is becoming palpable. The situation is eerily similar to that of the Democratic party in which each interest bitterly claws for its piece of the pie. Where the Democrats have gays and leftists shrilly screeching for their cut, the Republicans have their religious wing shouting for school prayer. The common ground is thus obscured. The factions forget what brought them together in the first place. We fight ourselves. We lose everything, and for what? So Jerry Falwell can smile and point with pride at praying fourth graders? The conflict has broken to the surface in this year's California Senate race. With the Republican majority at stake in the Senate, some conservatives are withholding support from Ed Zschau because he is not "conservative enough." Zschau supports the President on arms control, on the economy, on the budget, on cutting taxes and the budget and on assistance for the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua and around the world. Yet, some withhold desperately needed aid from his campaign because he supports the ERA, does not show a leering interest in the sex life of others and fails to show the proper respect for fetuses.

Ronald Reagan is the rare politician who can bridge the gap between feuding camps. The President is undoubtedly against abortion on demand, yet he refuses to appear before anti-abortion lobbies. In that way he avoids unnecessary aggravation. The same applies to school prayer or pornography. When Patrick Buchanan brought up the scandalous news that military commissaries actually sold Playboy magazines, the President dismissed the subject with a joke. The point is that Ronald Reagan won and continues to win victories for the conservative movement by concentrating on the priorities, not on nonsense.

Will those striving to succeed him be wise enough to do the same? The outlook as of now is bleak. Pierre Du Pont wants universal drug tests for high school students. Reverend Pat Robertson is not only an outspoken member of the Religious wing but talks about faith healing and messages from God. Jack Kemp has made abortion his prime campaign issue. George Bush is not much better, as his pandering to the far-right wing has gotten Jerry Falwell's blessing but lost him a great deal of respect throughout the party.

The Republican party and the conservative movement have become increasingly oriented towards the Religious and Neo-Conservative wings with the result of alienating the socially-liberal faction. Without them, the movement will lose steam and it will be back to the horrible days of liberal control. When the

conservatives were out of power, they had to stick together. Now in power, we are about to lose the man who is keeping our fragile coalition together. No faction can prevail on its own. We must reunite behind the basic areas of common ground that brought us into power in the first place.

We must be the party and the movement that does not look to government as the solution to every problem. We must stand behind the free market and we must stand for a sound, strong defense. Most importantly, we must learn not to tear ourselves apart on petty issues and inter-factional squabbling. In 1988, we may get lucky and the Democrats may not be able to organize an effective challenge. Undoubtedly however, by 1992 they will be in a position to snatch the socially liberal wing right out of the movement unless some changes take place.

Ronald Reagan's legacy may be the millions of young Americans he brought into the conservative movement and the Republican party. No one seems to realize that this new generation is overwhelmingly socially liberal. If they are to remain they must be able to find a place here or they will find one somewhere else.

When the conservatives gained power in 1980, they thought that the tide had turned forever. They felt that they were unsinkable, like the owners of the Titanic thought it unsinkable. If the movement continues on its present course it will sink just as surely as the Titanic did.



Kurt Schlichter is a senior at UCSD.

Is Pat Robertson the Jesse Jackson of the Right

By Jim Trageser

The greatest threat to Ronald Reagan's legacy to the Republican Party comes not from the disparate Democrats. No, the Republican nominee for President in 1988 will certainly have the inside track no matter who the Demos parade before a jaded electorate. Unless...

Unless the extremist elements within the Republican Party succeed in nominating evangelist Pat Robertson. Reagan succeeded in becoming the first two-term President since war hero Dwight Eisenhower by appealing to the middle; while detractors attempt to paint Reagan as a right-wing extremist, it was the moderate Democrat crossover votes that carried the day.

With the Democratic Party in such disarray, unable to agree on so much as a unified stance on Nicaragua, the Republicans have an opportunity to cash in on Reagan's legacy and insure dominance for the next decade.

Ideally, Jack Kemp will get nominated. He represents the best of the next generation of Republicans.

Youthful and vigorous, he could do for the Republicans what Jack Kennedy did for the Demos a quarter century ago.

Even George Bush could probably win, although if he wins the nomination it will be ala Mondale — pulling in old political favors to undercut grassroots support for his opposition.

But if Robertson wins, the middle will revert to the Democrats. Indeed, someone as extremist and uncompromising as Robertson would most likely induce a large Republican crossover to the Democrats, especially if a moderate such as Gary Hart wins the nomination.

The press has painted Reagan as a reactionary who rode in on the coattails of a fundamentalist fervor. The truth appears, though, that the fundamentalists, appeased by Reagan's rhetoric on school prayer and abortion, accepted him as preferable to the alternatives.

Indeed, if one gets past the front page headlines and searches the back pages of the newspapers, one is likely to find articles in which leaders of the religious right

attack Reagan for selling out to the left. Preachers of political import such as Jerry Falwell have repeatedly lambasted Reagan for being too willing to compromise.

In a recent article, one of Robertson's precinct candidates, a Barbara Wood of Michigan, referred to Bush and Kemp as Satan's candidates. This is not the type of rhetoric average Americans want to hear.

Nor is it indicative of the Republican Party. However, more and more fundamentalist Christians are becoming politically active, and the party of choice is the Republican Party.

Those of us conservatives who are trying to work out reasonable, realistic political goals must oppose Robertson's candidacy to insure that the Democrats do not use his extremism to take back the middle that Reagan worked to obtain.

Jim Trageser is a recent graduate of SDSU.

Disinformation and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control

By Charles E. Purdy IV

The Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control remains convinced that its members can contribute positively to the arms control process. This confidence is based on the purported abilities of these legal eagles to "separate fact from speculation," identify root issues, "clarify the parties interests," etc.

Though utterly powerless in every arms control arena, LANAC is, with its many "newsletters," workshops, T-shirt and bumper-sticker campaigns, marathons, among other active measures, nonetheless having a significant impact on public opinion; one that, regrettably, must be bringing smiles to the disinformationists who nest at the Soviets' International Department.

Founded in 1980 in Boston, LANAC has grown steadily, now having 59 chapters nationwide and more than 7,500 members. Led by Alan B. Sherr, Paul C. Warnke and assorted clones, this army of attorneys continues to grow in size and influence, making it all the more important that its misrepresentative activity be exposed and hopefully corrected.

Since its founding LANAC has consistently misinformed the public about the dangerous realities of Soviet strategic policy, focusing always on the nuclear arsenal and strategy of the United States.

LANAC argues vigorously that the Strategic Defense Initiative, assuming it is feasible, should still be scrapped because it will induce the Soviets to build more and more offensive weapons (in order to ensure that any space shield is penetrable). The essence of this argument is that it is wrong to deploy (and therefore develop) strategic defenses because such inspire the strategic opponent to build more first-strike missiles.

Yet, LANAC has without fail ignored the enormity of Soviet strategic defenses. For example, besides practically defending the Krasnoyarsk facility, LANAC has chosen to overlook the Soviet deployment of nearly 12,000 SAM's, 10,000 defense radars and 1,200 interceptor aircraft (while the United States has no SAM's, only 118 radar installations and around 300 interceptor aircraft). Such facts would certainly seem relevant to a balanced and thorough understanding of strategic defense.



The story is the same with the testing issue. Because the United States continues to test warheads while the Soviets abide by their unilateral moratorium, LANAC has jumped to the terribly inaccurate conclusion that the United States is more interested than the Soviets in moving forward with the production of more warheads. In another example of poor lawyering, LANAC has neglected the salient fact that testing is generally conducted (by the United States anyway) in order to test new designs that will hopefully make the weapons safer in a wide variety of respects.

This myopia pervades every arms issue considered by LANAC. The development of the B-1 is condemned and nothing is said about the Soviets new Blackjack bombers. The Trident program is condemned and next to nothing is said about the huge Soviet nuclear underwater fleet. The MX is condemned and little is said about the SS-25....

LANAC's use of photographs in newsletters is particularly misleading. These photos invariably display only U.S. strategic weapons in action (e.g., a

cruise missile jettisoning from a B-52, a Trident submarine with its missile tubes open). No part of the immense Soviet nuclear arsenal is ever shown, although we are regularly given photos of Soviet officials, almost always shaking hands and wering smiles.

The irony in all this is that these lawyers, their supposedly keen reasoning powers notwithstanding, have failed so completely to heed the cardinal rule of skillful and effective lawyering: Never complete any analysis of any issue until all material facts are discovered and considered.

Unfortunately, LANAC is not the only lawyers' organization pushing disinformation, although it is certainly the most blatant. Apparently overlooking the sad fact that the Soviet police state allows no procedural due process, no habeas corpus, no trial by jury, etc., the American Bar Association recently acknowledged in a "Declaration of Cooperation" with the Association of Soviet Lawyers that the latter, an unwavering adjunct of the Soviet Communist Party, is "pledged to advance the rule of law." And the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, an outfit based in New York, still has nothing to say about the civil rights of Ukrainians, Latvians, etc.

If these lawyers can't clean up their act soon, they should stick to writing wills, poking around disaster areas and the like.



Charles E. Purdy is an attorney in San Diego.

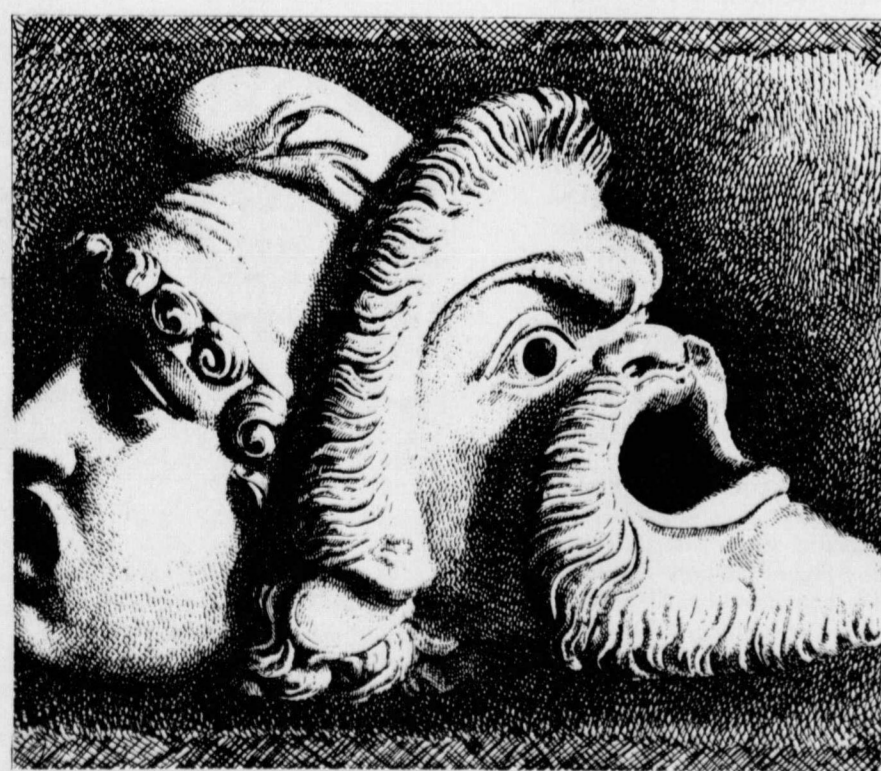
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By Richard Grenier

Mort aux cons! Mort aux cons! That's the kind of stuff students wrote on walls in Paris in my impressionable years. Spotting one of these interesting graffiti, Gen. Charles de Gaulle once commented sardonically, "*Vaste entreprise*" (enormous undertaking). If you think I'm going to translate "con" for you, you're nuts. It would lay me open to charges of vulgarity, sexism and speaking French. The worst of these charges is speaking French, since I understand from reading the latest report of Amnesty International that France is a real bad country.

I am trying to whip myself into the state of delirious virtue that I'm sure permeated the thousands of young Americans who joined the cross-country Caravan for Human Rights, you see, otherwise known coyly as the "Conspiracy of Hope," which ended in a huge orgy of rock music and human rights at Giants Stadium in the Meadowlands in New Jersey all in behalf of Amnesty International.

What is Amnesty International, you say? Well, Amnesty International is being presented as this squeaky-clean human rights organization, which, with almost saintly impartiality, unmotivated by the slightest shred of ideological prejudice, is going about the world protesting against abuses of human rights wherever they may be found, absolutely wherever.

It sounds pretty good to an idealistic person until he starts reading their reports. But how many of the tens of thousands seduced by their love of rock music into joining this Caravan for Human Rights have ever read a report of Amnesty International? I think we can take zero as a working figure. Has Bob Dylan read one? Jackson Browne? Madonna? Meryl Streep, due to host one of the extravaganzas? How about Robert Pittman, president of MTV, the red-hot music video cable network, which cosponsored this Spring Break for Idealists along with Amnesty International?

The trouble with me is I have been reading Amnesty International reports almost since some Brit started the thing some 25 years ago in my *mort aux cons* days. Perhaps because of a kind of race shame, I read with a special apprehensiveness the section on France in Amnesty's latest annual report. I was right to feel ashamed. Like most continental European countries, France has universal military service — in this case, 12 months. If you're a conscientious objector and don't like rifles and all that crawling around in the mud, then they offer you alternative civilian service, but for 24 months since you're so conscientious. And if you don't like that, they throw you in the slammer.

This is what France, the land of Montaigne, Montesquieu and Voltaire, has sunk to. Amnesty International is protesting violently, or at least vigorously, considering that 24 months of alternative civilian service is "punitive" and a vile abuse of human rights. To such depths has France sunk.

Since the entry for Finland was just before that for France, I read with horror that, even in such an idyllic Scandinavian democracy as Finland, Pertti Haaparanta did two months in the clink in 1984 for refusing armed military service. Can you imagine? That's the kind of monstrous contempt for human rights we have in our modern democratic world. Two months in the clink. So remember Pertti Haaparanta!

Next time anyone tells you about the tens of millions who died in the Soviet gulag, or the 30 million who died in 10 years in the fast lane of China's "Cultural Revolution" (official Peking figure), or perhaps one-fifth of the population of Kampuchea exterminated by the peculiarly thorough Khmer Rouge in the late 1970s, just look that person straight in the eye and say to him calmly: "And what about Pertti Haaparanta?" He'll blanch. I guarantee it.

Not that Amnesty International always misses mass extermination programs when they occur in unlovable parts of the world. Not a bit.

It's completely impartial. It gives a million dead Kampuchean equals time with Pertti Haaparanta. At least it attempts to do so, but it's hard sometimes, because people like Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge don't like to admit they're murdering these countless thousands, so what is poor Amnesty International to do?

Amnesty's annual report covering 1975, the year Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge, devotes a modest half-page to Kampuchea. We learn that

Focus on the Wrong Rights Abuses

Amnesty's secretary-general sent off a cable "expressing concern for civilians detained in areas of conflict," while noting prudently that allegations of mass executions were based on "flimsy evidence and secondhand accounts." Amnesty also sent off a cable congratulating the new regime on the "large national union without distinction of class, religious belief or political tendency" it had just proclaimed.

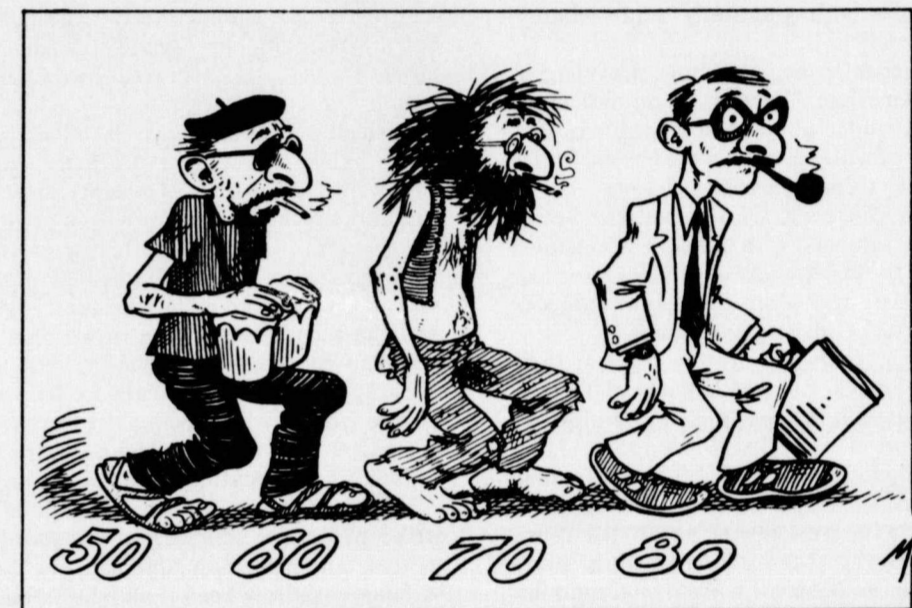
By the following year, Amnesty had to deal with a barrage of press reports of mass executions based on accounts of Kampuchean refugees arriving in Thailand. But Amnesty remained skeptical. Many allegations, it said, seemed to be based "on the belief, rather than evidence, that people who disappear from a village or other place of work have been taken away by the army to be executed." If you disappeared in Argentina, you were a *desaparecido*, but if you disappeared in Kampuchea, you'd just disappeared. Perhaps the army had sent you on a free holiday abroad, or to stay with relatives.

or beaten to death, but there was not a whisper about this in the reports of Amnesty International.

Until Mao died and the Gang of Four fell, that is. After that, well, if Peking was saying all this stuff about tens of millions dead, perhaps there was something in it.

With Amnesty International's matchless performance on the Kampuchea of Pol Pot and China of the Cultural Revolution, you can imagine with what bated breath I turned to the four pages in the latest report devoted to the abominations being committed in our own nation. For example, in 1984, 18 Indians were prosecuted in Oregon for allegedly violating fishing regulations along the Columbia River. As it happens, 16 were acquitted, one received a suspended sentence and the last one served 30 days in jail. Amnesty, somewhat disappointingly, found all the proceedings perfectly fair, but you can never be too vigilant.

It is time for plain talking. Amnesty International is playing with a stacked deck. If this were Las Vegas, the whole organization would be under arrest.



By 1977, journalist Jean Lacouture had written that Pol Pot was carrying out "the bloodiest revolution in history," but in its sole news release for the year on Kampuchea, Amnesty said it was "concerned" at Phnom Penh's lack of response to its appeals for information. You can sometimes tell when millions are really dying because Amnesty International spends its time complaining that its letters aren't being answered. Pol Pot had a point, after all. I mean, if I were killing a million people I wouldn't answer mail from Amnesty International either.

Amnesty's reports on the People's Republic of China for 1974, 1975 and 1976, as the murderous Cultural Revolution drew to a close, consist almost entirely of interviews with Chinese officials. You will be amazed to hear that these officials, from a human rights point of view, thought China under the Cultural Revolution was a pretty hunky-dory place. Why, "the people" took part in public trials in which the judges "arrived at the right decision after extracting the opinions of the broad masses."

Sometimes, officials admitted, the masses were a little slow, on which occasions the authorities had to "mobilize the population and organize mass rallies to criticize the crime and publicly decide the punishment."

It might have looked like an organized lynch mob to you and me, but it was Maoist justice, and Amnesty International did not have a single word to say against it. Amnesty noted the "strong emphasis on reform of prisoners" in Peking's prisons. If you do not have a copy of Amnesty's 1976 report at hand, just refer to any of the period hymns of praise for the miracles of regeneration wrought by Stalin's gulag. The wording is almost identical.

Amnesty also noted Peking's new constitution in 1975, which provided every freedom a human being could possibly think of: speech, press, assembly, religion, the right to strike, the inviolability of the home and person. A fabulous constitution. Millions and millions of people were starving, or being executed

The entire method with which Amnesty approaches the world, even its vocabulary, is grotesquely skewed so as to cast the brightest possible spotlight on the misdeeds of free or partly free societies. To harry Switzerland, which recently reaffirmed universal military service by a huge majority in a nationwide popular referendum, Amnesty had to take a pure, pacifist position.

And it did so. Amnesty's big operation is the release of "prisoners of conscience," whom it defines as "people imprisoned because of their political, religious or other conscientiously held beliefs."

But a young Chinese told me recently in China that during the Cultural Revolution a gang of 13-year-olds with arm bands and submachine guns — for these were your Red Guards — broke into his house, called his father a "capitalist roader" and dragged him into the street and beat him to death.

My questions to Amnesty International are: Was this man a Prisoner of Conscience? Perhaps an Executive of Conscience? A Capitalist Roader of Conscience? Were the millions who starved on peasant communes Starvees of Conscience?

Anyone who gives the matter two seconds' thought should realize that, of the more than 100 million persons who perished in the Soviet gulag or in the grip of China's Cultural Revolution, only the tiniest fraction had anything to do with conscience. Most of them would have renounced any belief to survive, to live, but unknown to high-minded Western champions of human rights they died anyway, in darkness and in their millions.

For the great murderous regimes of our time have been lawless states, which kill at will.

This shouldn't be too hard to understand. Amnesty International didn't seem to think I'd go back and read its old reports. Come on, Amnesty International, I want an answer.

How many prisoners of conscience had Pol Pot? This article recently appeared in the July 14, 1986 issue of Insight.

Soviet Racism Against Blacks

by Deroy Murdock

"I think there's an innate racism toward black people within the Soviet Union," remarked President Jimmy Carter in 1978. Despite his dangerously naive view of the U.S.S.R. Carter's assessment of the Kremlin's attitudes on blacks is right on the mark. As if bullying their own citizens were not enough, Moscow's white Russian rulers have consistently "depreciating, condescending actually" and "reminiscent of Uncle Remus."

Black-American playwright and screenwriter Charles Fuller toured the U.S.S.R. last fall as part of a literary delegation. "There's no racism in the Soviet Union: that's what I was told," Fuller recalls. In fact though, Fuller experienced "a general feeling of being isolated in a strange kind of way" while in Russia. He also encountered Soviet racism firsthand.

During a visit to a school in Vilnius, Lithuania, several students "stared and pointed" and jeered upon seeing him. In another episode, Fuller found himself on a night train from Minsk to Moscow where a TASS reporter confidently regaled the American delegation with a story about black people that Fuller found "depreciating, condescending actually" and "reminiscent of Uncle Remus."

Fuller found racism to be even more prevalent in Russia than in America. "I detected no difference between Soviet attitudes about black people in that country and those of white people in the United States in the 1950's, just as things started to change."

Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, who visited the Soviet Union with Fuller, returned with similar impressions. "The Russians are the honkies of the Soviet Union like the Southern Baptists and white Protestant rednecks are the honkies here," Ginsberg exclaimed.

Soviet officials scarcely attempt to conceal their prejudices against blacks. Richard Dobson of the U.S. Information Agency reports that a prominent Soviet dignitary, while on a visit to Washington, D.C. expressed amazement that the U.S. government "allows so many blacks to live in the nation's capital."

Moscow reserves its most severe anti-black abuse for African students who visit the Soviet Union. Many of these blacks go to Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University where they are trained in technical skills and Marxist dogma with the hope that they will spread socialism once they return home.

Yet the Soviets do not treat their acolytes as equals. In fact, Lumumba University is a focus of derision among Russian students who have nicknamed it "the

zoo" and its African pupils "apes." According to Tom Melady, former U.S. Ambassador to Burundi and Uganda, "the establishment of Lumumba University was a means to segregate Third World students, primarily Africans. This (policy) sounds like separation, which is apartheid."

As Sekou Mohammed Camara discovered, Soviet apartheid can be deadly. Camara, a young Guinean architecture student in the Ukraine was found dead in his dormitory room by friends last fall. He had been gagged with a shirt, severely burned with an iron, and stabbed to death.

African diplomats found the Soviet police especially unhelpful in the Camara case: they originally labelled the bound and gagged student's death a suicide. The authorities later arrested two suspects in the crime and initiated an inquiry.

Black students have been beaten and even killed in some cases when they dated or sought to marry Russian women. In December 1963, a Ghanian student was found dead after he announced his engagement to a woman from Moscow. As in the Camara case, the authorities dragged their feet. Although the Ghanian's body showed obvious signs of struggle, Soviet officials insisted that he had been drunk and had frozen in the snow.

African students, however, have rebelled against their shabby handling. In 1975 the African Student Union in Lvov in the Ukraine wrote African ambassadors in Moscow complaining about racism and urging them to plead with the Soviet government for better treatment. They documented numerous cases of assaults, an attack on a pregnant Nigerian student, and the most blatant case in which a Nigerian was attacked by a drunken Soviet with a chisel while sleeping in his room. His calls for help were answered by two friends who repelled the intruder. But shortly thereafter all three Africans were expelled for "attacking and beating up a Soviet citizen."

That same year, African students in Kiev went on strike to have a scholarship reinstated for a Czech woman who married a Nigerian. The Czech consulate in Kiev withdrew her scholarship after the marriage and ordered her to leave the province. The student protest, which featured picket signs saying "Moscow is another Alabama," proved successful: the woman was permitted to stay on with her husband.

Michel Ayih, a young Togese who studied in the U.S.S.R., captured the sentiments of many frustrated



African students when he wrote,

Instead of finding a country of unlimited human fraternity, I found myself in the heart of a world dominated by the most elementary and primitive racial reaction... Before coming to Moscow, I had lived in the West and I can vouch that I had never, by any means, found such systematic racial discrimination there.

The Soviet Union has sung a siren song of equality, racial and otherwise, since its inception in 1917. But Moscow's tune has begun to sound hollow even to committed Marxists. Even French Communist leader George Marchais has denounced the Kremlin's racial policies for "coming dangerously close to racism."

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union has not taken steps to reduce the problem of racism: on the contrary, it uses it as an instrument of policy. By dividing man against man, the Kremlin keeps its people too pre-occupied with racial tensions to consider counter-revolution. Indeed, prejudice is apparently one area in the Soviet Union where equality is vaunted, but some races are more equal than others.

Deroy Murdock recently graduated from Georgetown University, and is Chairman of Free Students of America.



General Alexander Haig —
Defender of Freedom

Who reads California Review?

Marxist

Students

Professors



College Journalism at its Best.

By Alfred G. Cuzán

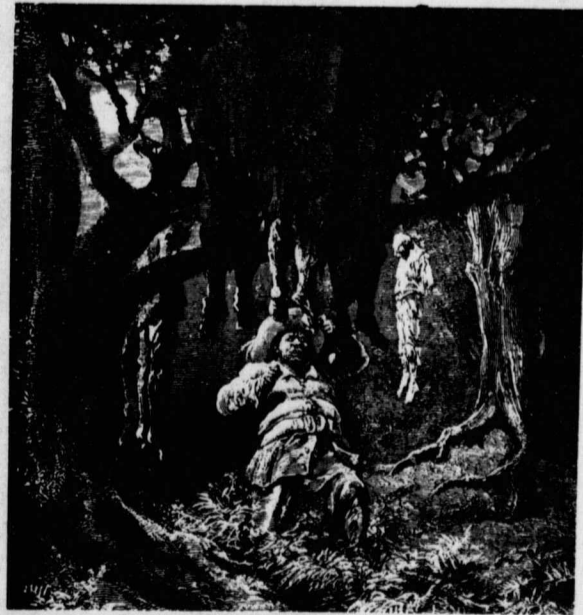
A culture consists of beliefs, habits, and a certain spirit. For a culture to survive, it is sufficient that enough people be willing to live by it. What is absolutely necessary for cultural survival is that those who live by a culture pass it on to new generations and reject habits and beliefs incompatible with it.

A characteristically American belief is that God our Creator grants each of us rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as well as responsibilities to self, family, neighbor, and state. Thanksgiving, Bible school, the Fourth of July, tackle football, and free-for-all election campaigns are quintessentially American habits.

The spirit of American culture is reformist. Most Americans believe in man's sinful nature and his capacity for redemption. Thus, we are motivated to pursue happiness by undertaking reforms in the personal, political, and religious realms. Christianity's faith in God's redemption of man through the sacrifice of his only Son, Jesus, is nothing if not optimistic. And Americans, most of whom worship God in Christian Churches, are an optimistic people.

Americans are also worldly, practical, businesslike. America's response to a problem or opportunity is to "try something" until something works well enough for the moment. Thus, a compromise solution may be enshrined as principle, like federalism, or discarded in time during a period of rhetoric and reform, like many government programs, such as federal general revenue sharing. The political philosophy of the United States is decidedly empirical.

American political empiricism exhibits a remarkable spirit of compromise. Though Americans have had and still have many differences of opinion, and though there are violent extremists in America, we are known



for resolving our disputes peacefully, according to the rules of our ingenious Constitution. There has been only one civil war here in 200 years of independence, and none in well over a century, feats which only a few nations in the world can match.

Every culture has the vices of its virtues. America is no exception. Religious freedom is invoked by Satan worshippers. The Bill of Rights shields communists and other domestic enemies from the very Republic they virulently hate and conspire to subvert and ultimately to overthrow.

America's enlightened tolerance of "all points of view" and our sincere desire to see "all sides of an issue" are exploited by those who would treat foreign and domestic enemies not as dangerous anti-Americans but as celebrities to be sympathetically interviewed and invited to lecture or teach in our universities and to write for the editorial pages of prestigious newspapers. Many a communist and Soviet agent has stood on privileged private or public platforms to pose as critic, victim, or hero, depending on academic fashion and the story of the week.

But, because the media and universities are incubators and carriers of American culture, it is irresponsible for them to portray communists and other enemies in a favorable light. This foolish habit confuses the young and incites contempt from the public. To allow communists and other anti-Americans to thrive in colleges and the mass media is to court cultural suicide. The problem has reached such proportions that it calls for reflection and, in the American spirit, reform.

Dr. Cuzán is Associate Professor of Political Science at The University of West Florida in Pensacola and is one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.

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