

C. Brandon Crocker: Three Cheers  
For The Robberbarons

C.G. Alario: Peaceniks vs. Reality

# California Review

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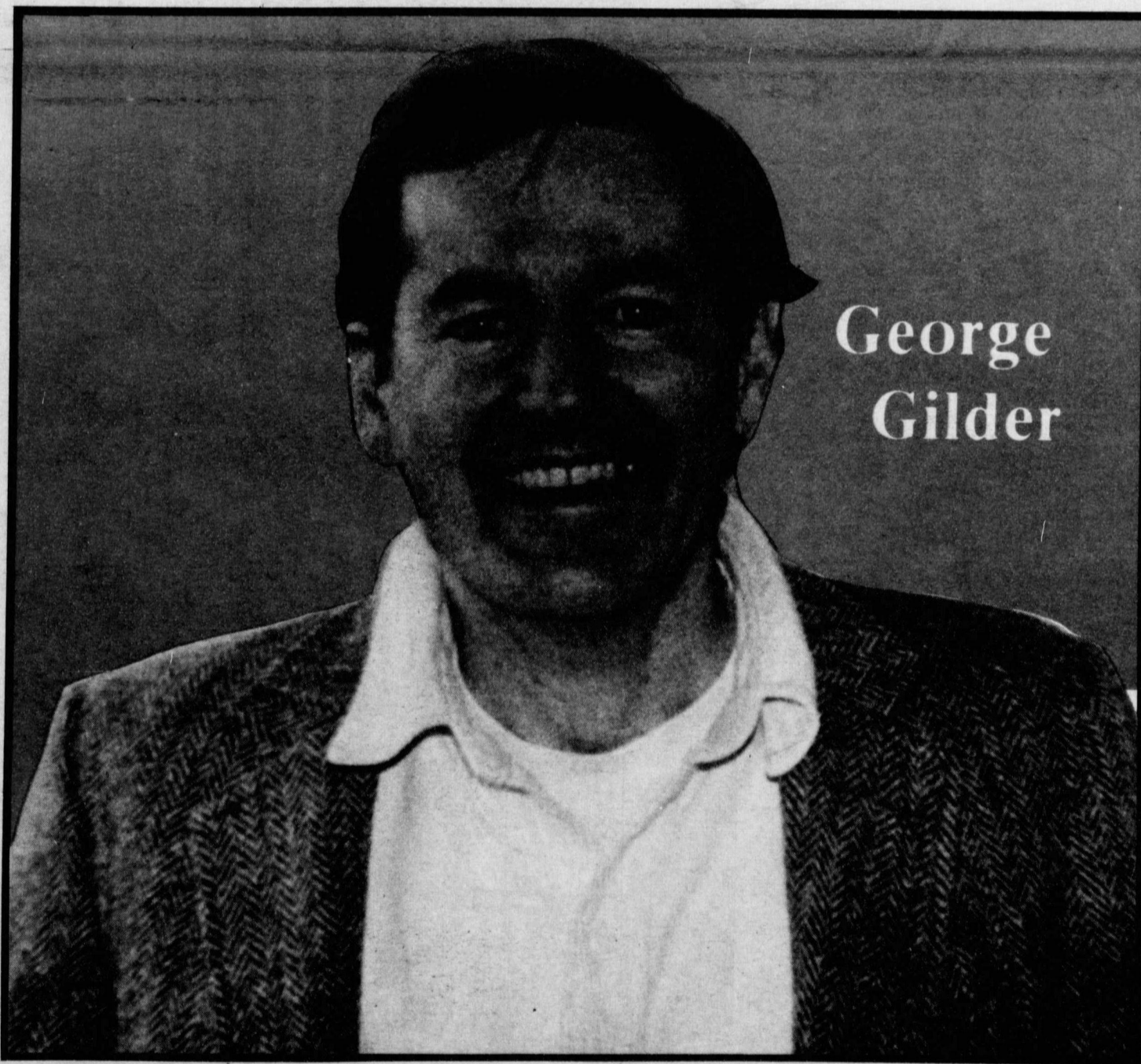
James Spounias: Challenging Chicano  
Chicanery

Thomas Rankin on China's Political  
Economy

Interview with Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub

Also: G. James Jason, Charles E.

Purdy IV...



George  
Gilder

# Marxism and Polite Company

By Dr. G. James Jason

One of the problems about being an academic is—to speak bluntly—that you have to associate with liberal academics. This has any number of drawbacks. For one thing, you have to put up with a lot of pretension. You dare not say that you enjoy ordinary entertainment movies, because the Complete Liberal Intellectual must love artsy French movies, along with Fellini and Bergman. To admit that you find Fellini assinine and Bergman a bore is to invite disdain. To admit that you actually enjoy John Wayne movies is to invite ostracism. A similar preciosity of taste obtains for music, literature and even food.

Well, you can get used to the pretension. But another thing you have to endure is not so easy to get used to. I here refer to the colossal hypocrisy endemic in the liberal academic world. You are expected to ritualistically condemn the shallow materialism of America, while you try to eat the best food, drink the best wine, buy the best tweeds, and commit as much adultery as your various organs can stand—and do all of this in your Volvo. You are expected to tell your students that their parents, political and business leaders have all sold out to the system, while you try to suck the governmental teat for as much money as you can get. You are expected to tell people that they have been duped by Madison Avenue and the Military Industrial Complex, while you and your liberal buddies in the media try to manipulate information to conform to your own skewed vision.

I beg pardon for so burdening you with such hyperbolic remarks, but a recent incident once again brought home to me the exasperating hypocrisy so characteristic of the liberal academic. I was attending a seminar on probabilistic logic at a beautiful university in upstate New York, and after one of the sessions, several of the participants invited me to go along with them to see a movie about Communists in America (touting the Communists' contribution to the labor movement and decrying how much the poor dears suffered under McCarthy). These other participants were surprised—and not pleasantly so, I might add—when I refused. When I told them why I refused, viz., that Marxism disgusts me, they looked at me with genuine hostility. I had done the unspeakable: I had not shown sympathy for Marxist thought.

Later, one of the group asked me why I had such a "narrow-minded" view of Marxism. Because he asked me while he was sipping unpretentious beer, I figured that just maybe he would understand.

"Look," I said, "would you go see a movie about the nice things American Nazis have done, and how the vicious FBI has tried to hurt them?"

"I wouldn't, of course, but I don't buy your analogy. Marxist governments—however much you disagree with their philosophy—don't engage in genocide."

"The hell they don't!" I replied. "Twenty or thirty million killed by Stalin, maybe double that number by Mao, not to mention the 'minor' slaughter by the Khmer Rouge. A million here, a million there—it all adds up to genocide."

"Yes, but Hitler wanted to exterminate an ethnic group. The communist killings were just a regrettable offshoot of a radical change in society. You can't make an omelette without breaking some eggs," he said with a smile.

"Millions of eggs? That's some omelette! But you're being sly here—the Marxists certainly intended to extirpate a class presumed to be detrimental to the new society. The class despised by the Nazis was despised on the basis of ersatz biology, the class despised by the Marxists is despised on the basis of ersatz sociology—but there is no moral difference between the two views."

"Wait a minute. Why do you blame Marxism for those mass killings? You might as well blame Jesus for the Inquisition."

My friend had shifted his position from denying that Marxist regimes have engaged in genocide to asserting the claim that Marxism is not responsible for the atrocities committed by Marxist regimes. I'd heard that line before—bad ideas have depressingly long lives.

"Hold on," I replied with some heat. "If you can criticize capitalist theory as a system because of the sins of various actual capitalist countries, why do you deny me the equal right to criticize Marxist theory on the basis of the wretched and degraded performance of Marxist regimes? Fairness seems not to be your strong point."

"Well, Marxism doesn't call for genocide of the

dispossessed Bourgeoisie. If Stalin, Mao and Pol Pot got a bit overenthusiastic, you can't blame Marx or even Lenin for that. Again, you could just as well blame the Inquisition on Jesus."

"Oh, come on. Granted, neither Marx nor Lenin explicitly said, 'Hey, wow let's kill millions of people!' But in talking about people as being in radically different classes, with one class oppressing another, in talking about the dictatorship of the proletariat, in talking about morality being solely identified with the interests of the proletariat, and so on *ad nauseum*. Marxist theory cannot be absolved from responsibility for the genocides that are a recurrent feature of Marxist revolutions. This is why your analogy with Jesus is so inane. If Jesus had spoken of those who didn't accept His teachings as being an oppressor class which His followers should violently overthrow, if He had spoken of morality as being simply what helped His followers get and maintain total political power, then indeed I would say He would be in some measure responsible for things done by His followers. As it happens, He said NONE of those things! Get the picture?"

"Still, I can't go along with equating Marxists with Nazis. Marxists are genuinely motivated by a desire to help."

"If that's so, can't the same thing be said of the

Nazis?" I replied. "They want to help the 'Aryan race' achieve its 'rightful destiny'. They want to help accomplish this screwball goal so much that they are willing to kill millions of non-Aryans to do it. Marxists so want to help the proletariat that they are willing to kill nonproletarians to do it. All this, assuming your dubious claim that Marxists truly want to help the suffering poor. I have never seen any evidence of that—the Marxists I have known (invariably college professors eager for a vicarious thrill, and *soi-disant* literati eager to appear sophisticated) don't really give a damn about the suffering masses. They exploit suffering to promote their pathological cult religion, rather than use their theory to promote well-being (supposing it would ever be able to promote well-being). That description equally well describes Soviet and Cuban foreign policy."

At this point, it was rather clear to both of us that our dialogue had reached an end. He left, pondering the mystery of a right-winger in his profession. I left, pondering the moral obtuseness of a man who would never be seen chatting with Nazis, yet so damn willing to accommodate Marxists.

Dr. G. James Jason is Professor of Philosophy at Washburn University and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.



# Letters



Editor,

Concerning your first issue, five book reviews and two interviews out of the thirteen pieces presented hardly reflects an aura of indigenous knowledge. Your complete lack of ingenuity and abundance of feigned intelligence reaffirms my conviction that the rise of the "new right" is a temporary enigma.

Matthew J. Cronin  
New Indicator  
UCSD

Dear Sirs:

I see that a good newspaper has finally come out of the closet. More than that, it actually appeared at UCSD, my alma mater. Could you send me more information on staff writing for your paper?

Thank you,  
David Wiener  
San Diego

Dear Sirs:

I'm so glad you've been able to endure and survive on the UCSD campus. It's nice to know that there is still intellectual integrity on a university campus inspite of the constant bombardment from the left leaning faculty.

Keep up the crusade.  
Mrs. A.J. Stevens  
La Mesa, California

# California Review



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



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

## Coming in January...



## An Exclusive California Review Interview with Former Secretary of State

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

## In Review

■ A three foot long monitor lizard crawled into a courtroom in Monbasa, Kenya last month. While court bailiffs beat the lizard to death with chairs and benches 20 suspected criminals awaiting trial escaped. In addition, one person was slightly injured when she fell off a table where she had climbed to escape the lizard.

■ Roger Hedgecock commenting on his re-election: "Had I been an axe murderer, maybe I would not have been re-elected." Let's hope so, Roger.

■ A recent day's agenda for the U.S. Senate: "1:30 p.m. Resume consideration of the pending motion to reconsider the vote on the motion to table the appeal from the ruling of the chair on the amendment with one hour of debate on that motion equally divided."

■ The Vatican Museum will be offering courses in the ancient language of Etruscan next year. Francesco Burnelli, curator for the Etruscan department of the museum states, "The Etruscan language is easy to read but almost impossible to understand." In other words, it has much in common with U.S. Senate agendas.

■ In West Germany a woman was bitten by her cat while driving her car. The sudden attack caused the woman to lose control and to hit a parked car, smash a sausage stand and demolish a fish frying stand. No one was seriously injured, but total damage was set at about \$35,000.

■ The Governorate of Medina has closed the "cure-all" well in Medina, which thousands use for its "miraculous medical powers," stating that its water is "unfit for human consumption."

■ In the fall edition of the *Early Warren*, one UCSD sophomore advises freshmen: "Go to San Diego State because there is a greater variety of courses. Most courses at UCSD are traditional and in the sciences. At San Diego State, on the other hand, courses like Rock Poetry—Bob Dylan, which explores the history of Rock 'n Roll, are offered." Sounds like an intellectual feast.

■ The coveted record for the largest pork sausage was claimed by the people of Esplugas Spain last month when they displayed a sausage measuring one mile in length and weighing 3,300 pounds.

■ A study by the Commerce Ministry of Mexico shows that almost half of Mexico's population of 78 million persons are deprived of a nutritionally balanced diet because \$500 million worth of food products are lost each year due to inefficient marketing—demonstrating that Mexico needs less socialism and more business schools.

■ Nigeria has announced that if Britain does not reschedule its debt, it will stop trading with Britain. Isn't there something wrong when debtors are threatening their creditors?

■ Police in London arrested 264 people, most of them "young 'punks' with spiked, brightly dyed hair," during a demonstration sponsored by London Greenpeace. The demonstration entitled "Stop the City" was held in London's financial district and was organized to protest profit-making.

■ A medical examiner in San Antonio, Texas has determined that a man shot five times in the chest was a suicide victim.

■ The progress of medical science continues. An old African love potion, made from tree bark, that makes rats "sex crazy" is being tested on humans by researchers at Stanford University.

■ British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was recently stuck in an elevator in the Knesset in Israel with ex-foreign minister Abba Eban. Howe consoled Eban saying, "Don't worry. It takes a long time to suffocate."

■ And at Brown University students have voted that the university should stockpile cyanide pills so that in case of nuclear war students may make use of them.

■ The wonders of Communism were displayed again last month when more than 80 East Germans stormed the West German embassy in Czechoslovakia, demanding asylum.

■ The weather as recently reported by a Los Angeles weatherman: "Partly gnarly turning to mostly awesome."



■ In his 49 state victory President Reagan received 44% of the Hispanic vote, 45% of the Labor vote, and 55% of the female vote.

■ Debi Cohen's presidential candidate lost, and she's upset. She writes in a letter to the *Guardian* that Reagan wasn't elected because of his policies, (after all, she doesn't agree with them), but because "he looked good on TV." (Wasn't it the consensus that Mondale looked better in the debates?) She writes, "Had Americans looked at his [Reagan's] record in Central America, they would have seen him for the bloodthirsty imperialist Hawk that he is." Gee, if only we all weren't so dumb and could be as perceptive as Ms. Cohen.

■ Last month Pope John Paul II called on Italy's mobsters to end "the plague of kidnappings, violence and other terrible evils." It has yet to be seen how much influence the Pope has on the Mafia.

■ Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, for about the fifth time, predicted the U.S. would invade his country. This time he said the invasion would take place October 15th, 1984. You'd think by now this guy's credibility would be a bit thin.

■ THE PLIGHT OF SATIRE: More than 20 people walked out of a gala reopening of the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin when Peter O'Toole read Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal."

■ The New York Feld Ballet began a new promotion last Spring—ballet cards. The Ballet mailed out a flier reading, "Collect the whole set (26 cards), swap 'em with your friends! And while you're at it, subscribe to our Spring Season and root, root, root for the home team." The campaign has been so successful that the Cleveland Ballet is now also putting out a set of ballet cards.

■ David Frost answering the question if a Paolozzi sculpture just knocked to the floor was broken: "With modern sculpture, how can you tell?"

In accordance with university regulations and to demonstrate the equal distribution of the AS Media Budget we acknowledge that *California Review* (UCSD's only conservative publication) has been allocated \$864 from the ASUCSD Alternative Media Budget (2% of the budget for print media). This compares with the following allocations to Leftist publications:

<i>People's Voice</i> .....	\$3,186.00
<i>La Voz Fronteriza</i> .....	\$5,304.00
<i>new indicator</i> .....	\$12,195.31
Total .....	\$20,685.31
	(56% of the budget)

## Liberalism and Nuclear War

By Dr. G. James Jason

You get tired of the same old lies. I mean, you would hope that the liars could at least invent new lies for a change.

For instance, there is the canard that conservative social policies lead somehow to fascism. This old lie is being once again trotted out, now that the U.S. Supreme Court has moved away from leftist activism. Thus the recent rulings that allow high school administrators to search lockers for guns and dope and that allow "good faith" exceptions to the hitherto insanely strict exclusionary rule have moved self-styled civil libertarians to fulminate about the imminent rise of the police state: only fascists could favor such wanton violations of privacy as the confiscation of the students' Kalishnikovs!

Of course, the reality is the opposite of what the ACLU-types portray. The Nazis rose to power, not in a conservative regime, but rather in a wretchedly liberal one (the corrupt Weimar Republic). What drives people to fascism is pervasive decadence, where crime is rampant and perversion flaunted. Nothing will make you cheer for Dirty Harry and Charles Bronson quite as much as hearing about the latest ACLU outrage—such as putting a murderer back on the street because some clerk made an error in filling out a search warrant. Feckless liberals, with their softness on crime and their unconcern with social deviance, can more justly be accused of laying the groundwork for fascism than can conservatives.

A similar canard is being floated regarding the likelihood of nuclear war. The lie here is that conservatives are unconcerned with nuclear war, while liberals stand for peace (and of course apple pie—although they no longer are as enthusiastic about motherhood, in the face of feminist anger). This canard is reinforced by the deliberate semantic deceit by people of left/liberal bent who call themselves "anti-nuclear" and "pro-peace." Liberals, who scream so very loudly when a conservative questions their patriotism, are extremely fond of questioning the decency of conservatives. (Ferraro, for instance, had the nerve to call President Reagan "unchristian" because he doesn't share her vision of "social justice.") Conservatives, in short, are portrayed as warmongers.

As with the first canard, this second is refuted by history. The closest this country ever came to nuclear war was during the Cuban missile crisis, with that nice young liberal JFK at the helm. Those of you too young to remember those Camelot days don't remember the great fun JFK gave us, with crisis after crisis occurring, all leading up to a positively thrilling climax: a day when we all kept our eyes upon the nearest fallout shelter, while the Soviet ships drew closer to our ships blockading Cuba. Forget that phony crap like the fantasy "The Day After": under the liberals we had the real thing—a close brush with nuclear war. Only our overwhelming superiority in nuclear weapons stopped the Soviets; had they had the domination they have now we would probably have all died. Liberally.

Is it pure coincidence that we came closest to nuclear holocaust under a liberal rather than a conservative

president? I think not. There are several characteristics which liberals (from JFK to McGovern, Mondale to Hart) all share, which greatly increase the real possibility of nuclear war when they hold office.

The first of these liberal defects is wimpishness, by which I mean presenting the appearance of weakness (even if one is not weak in reality). Liberals, with their hand-wringing about the relatively minor problems in their own country, their angst about having to contend for our own national interests (in a world where other countries contend for their own interests), and their hyperbolic doubts about the ability of America and the world to survive the problems of life, are wimps, pure and simple. Is there any other way to characterize McGovern, wimping "Come home, America," and kissing up to Castro? Or Mondale caving into the demands of NOW by picking an obscure Congresswoman as his running mate, or trying to placate his old boss Jimmy Carter by choosing Bert Lance as campaign manager, only to dump the guy when others complained about Bert's high sleazebag factor?

It is very likely that Khrushchev saw JFK as a wimp, and decided to push Kennedy to the wall. It is no comfort to discover that our wimp has limits to where he will be pushed, if the price of that discovery is nuclear hell.

A second problem with liberals is that they don't have clear ideas about national interests—specifically, about where and where not to fight. JFK allowed Cuba to become a Soviet satellite, and then decided to "draw the line" in Vietnam. Great thinking! A high school student asked Hart point blank whether he would commit troops to keep the Straits of Hormuz open. Hart simply couldn't say; all he could do was babble about how we shouldn't be so dependent upon foreign oil. Mondale refused to say what he would do

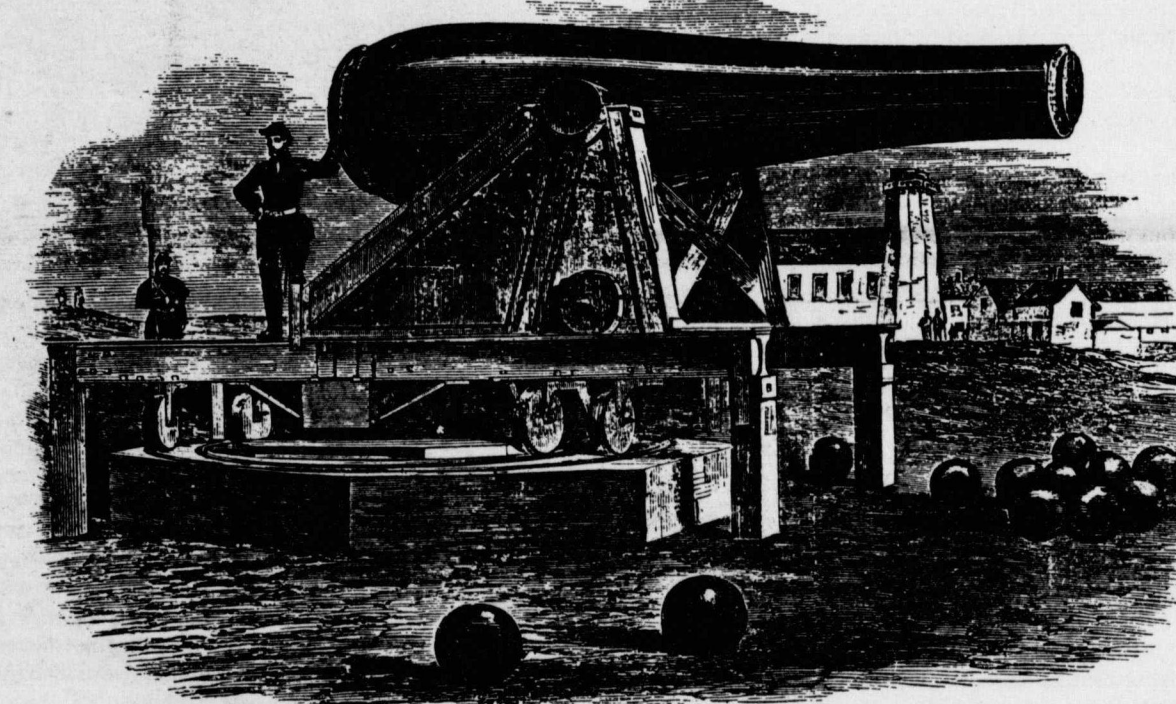
if a Cuban-backed group threatened Central America (which includes Panama). Neither of them have any clear idea of what true national interest is.

A third problem with liberals that makes war more likely is that they can't believe the Soviets are as evil as they appear. The liberal finds it hard to imagine that the Soviets really desire hegemony over the planet, despite the steady expansion of the Soviet Empire over seventy years, the fact that Soviet ideology commits them to world domination, and the repeated open and brazen statements to that effect by Soviet leaders. Although the desire for conquest is the most common cause of strife throughout all of world history, the liberals refuse to see it.

The conservatives, on the other hand, are not blind. This is why the Soviets devoted all their efforts to try to defeat President Reagan. He is willing to bargain with the Soviets, but he has no illusions about what they want. Liberals refuse to face the obvious fact that the Soviets desire world hegemony unless it is driven home by "the pitiless crowbar of events." The liberals want desperately to believe that the Soviets are "just like us," and this willful blindness tempts the Soviets to mad adventurism. It is this Soviet adventurism that threatens to cause nuclear war.

Nobody will ever decide to annihilate themselves and the rest of the planet. If nuclear war occurs, it will almost surely be stumbled into when some liberal President gives some Soviet leader the wrong impression. The only way to avoid nuclear war is to keep liberals out of office forever.

Dr. G. James Jason is professor of Philosophy at Washburn University and one of CR's Ivory Tower Praefecti.



## Aiding the Contras

By C. Brandon Crocker

U.S. support of the Contras fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua is essential to persuading the Sandinistas to discontinue their efforts at destabilizing the governments of its neighbors. The Contras have been effective in slowing the flow of arms and ammunition from Nicaragua to the rebels in El Salvador and Honduras. In addition, with U.S. aid, the Contras are a sizeable thorn in the side of the Sandinistas. Therefore, we should use support of the Contras to pressure the Sandinistas to end their attempts at destabilizing other nations.

Reports from U.S. intelligence sources charging Nicaragua with supplying arms and logistical support to the rebels in El Salvador and aiding terrorists in other Central American countries have been corroborated by captured Marxist guerrillas and terrorists, former Sandinista officials and by statements of the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments. Mexico and the other Contadora countries seeking an end to this situation have neither sufficient economic leverage nor

military leverage to pressure the Sandinistas to change their ways. Our diplomatic efforts with the Sandinistas are doomed to failure if we rely solely on appealing to the Sandinistas' sense of right and goodwill. Diplomats need something with which to bargain and aid to the Contras is a sizeable bargaining chip.

Our aiding of the Contras will not, as some fear, push the Sandinistas into the Soviet camp—they have been there all along. We, under the leadership of Jimmy Carter, helped to bring the Sandinistas to power in Nicaragua by organizing an oil embargo against Somoza and cutting off arms sales to him. After the Sandinistas came to power in mid 1979 we supplied them with far more financial aid than we ever gave to Somoza. Yet, as our aid checks were flowing in, the Sandinistas were making military and trade agreements with the Soviet Union and Cuba, and referring to the U.S. as "the enemy of Mankind" in their national anthem.

Withdrawing our aid to the Contras, moreover, will

not stop the Sandinistas from telling their people that the Contras are backed by the CIA. The Sandinistas, who, according to Amnesty International, have a worse human rights record than did Somoza, are not going to admit to their people that there is significant indigenous opposition to the Sandinista regime.

Barring any major upheaval in the Nicaraguan army, the Contras will not be able to overthrow the Sandinistas. Therefore, U.S. support to the Contras for that end would not be productive. A strong U.S. commitment, however, to aid the Contras until the Sandinistas end their active support of insurgents and terrorists in neighboring countries would have a good chance of altering Nicaraguan foreign policy and, therefore, of helping bring about a realization of our goals of peace and self-determination in Central America.

C. Brandon Crocker is a senior at UCSD.

## The Distorted History of the Industrial Revolution

By C. Brandon Crocker

It is common knowledge that the Industrial Revolution of England brought with it severe suffering for much of the working class. Almost every high school history textbook says so. Unfortunately, this view, which is so widely held, is largely based on documentedly biased and false accounts.

Industrialization and mechanization has long been blamed for worsening the lives of the working class. Indeed, this view is not uncommon today despite the tremendous growth in the standard of living, corresponding to the rise of industry, over the last century in the United States.

But quick economic growth is one of the main reasons misconceptions concerning the Industrial Revolutions in England and the United States were first formed. As Nobel Prize winning economist Friedrich Hayek states in his introduction to *Capitalism and the Historians*, "The very increase of wealth and well-being which had been achieved raised standards and aspirations. What for ages had seemed a natural and inevitable situation, or even as an improvement upon the past, came to be regarded as incongruous with the opportunities which the new age appeared to offer. Economic suffering both became more conspicuous and seemed less justified, because general wealth was increasing faster than ever before."

Bertrand Russell's statement that "the average happiness in England in the early nineteenth century was lower than it had been a hundred years earlier," has absolutely no corroborating economic evidence. On the contrary, contemporary sources hostile to the factory system suggest the opposite. Dr. J.D. Kay in his *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Class* (1832) and other writers lamented the new habits of the working classes such as buying "ready made" clothes, spending afternoons in pubs, smoking tobacco, and drinking tea. These developments, as immoral as they may be, imply not only an increase in affordable "luxuries" for the working class, but also the appearance of what was until then, a rare commodity—free time.

The most vocal opposition to the Industrial Revolution in England, which was picked up by authors such as Charles Dickens and influenced views on industrialization in the United States, did not emanate from the manufacturing regions of England. The landowning elite, with whom the manufacturers were not popular, especially due to the manufacturers' advocacy of free trade and opposition to the Corn Laws (which protected domestic land owners from imported grain) were the prime detractors of the industrialization of England. Their spreading of anti-manufacturers propaganda was one way the landed aristocracy saw to help stop the growth of the antagonistic capitalist class.

In England, many existing evils were blamed on the Industrial Revolution when, in fact, no causal relationship existed. One example shown by T.S. Ashton was the housing problem. Certainly housing in manufacturing centers was often of low quality with poor ventilation and sanitation. But, with the exception of a movement of population to the manufacturing centers, these problems were not caused by the increase in industrialization. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century wages for craftsmen rose sharply, as did the price of woods and other building materials due to extremely high tariff duties. The Napoleonic Wars aggravated the situation by increasing interest rates. Problems with ventilation were caused by the government's taxation of windows. (Though houses with fewer than eight windows were exempted in 1825, many of the poor lived in large tenements and, therefore, felt no relief). Likewise, taxes on bricks and tiles discouraged the building of adequate drains and sewers. It was, in fact, as Ashton points out, a product of the Industrial Revolution—iron pipe—without which "the problem of enabling people to live a healthy life together in towns could never have been solved."

Possibly the most influential document on current beliefs concerning conditions in England during the Industrial Revolution is a report put together by "Sadler's Committee" in 1832. Eminent historians specializing in 19th century England have said that it is "one of the most valuable collections of evidence on industrial conditions that we possess," and "It is one of the main sources of our knowledge of the conditions of factory life at the time."

Sadler was a member of Parliament and author of a bill before Parliament which would mandate a maximum ten hour work day. While his bill was pending he headed a committee to investigate the



charges of abuses in the factory system. The committee was first to hear Sadler's anti-factory witnesses and then, in a later session, were to hear witnesses with opposing testimony. Immediately after the first session, containing only anti-factory testimony, Sadler had the evidence published. This extremely one-sided document is the document described by many historians as "one of the most valuable collections of evidence on industrial conditions that we possess."

The Report was immediately attacked as imperious. Even Friedrich Engels commented, "Its report was emphatically partisan, composed by strong enemies of the factory system for party ends....Sadler permitted himself to be betrayed by his noble enthusiasm into the most distorted and erroneous statements." Later committees found that much of the testimony contained in Sadler's report (which was not given under oath) was fabricated.

Noted historians J.L. and Barbara Hammond, Elizabeth Hutchins and A. Harrison also rely on the anti-manufacturers medical evidence given before Peel's Committee in 1816 while rejecting the medical evidence given before the Lord's Committee in 1818 which absolved the manufacturers of much of the abuse charges leveled against them. Of the nine doctors called before Peel's Committee, six admitted to knowing nothing other than from hearsay, about manufacturing. The testimony they gave was mainly theoretical opinion, not based on any evidence or observation. This sort of testimony, given at a time when "bleeding" was commonly recommended for many ailments is worthless in the attempt to determine what conditions were actually like. The doctors called to give evidence before the Lord's Committee, by contrast, all had observed children under factory conditions. They testified that children employed in factory work were at least as healthy as children not so employed. The doctors stayed away from giving abstract opinion "independent of evidence." For this Hutchins and Harrison describe the Lord's Committee as a sham and the doctors' answers as evasive. The Hammonds try to discredit the Lord's Committee findings, saying that the doctors were "ready to swear that factory life was most wholesome for children, and that it was doubtful whether it would hurt them to work twenty-three hours out of twenty-four." This, however, is a gross distortion. What the Hammonds

are referring to is a statement by one doctor who, refusing to speculate without evidence on how many hours of work a day was noisome, said, "If there were such an extravagant thing to take place, and it should appear that the person was not injured by having stood twenty-three hours, I should then say it was not inconsistent with the health of the person so employed."

Reports of deformation caused by manufacturing life were never substantiated. In their zeal to promote their cause, members of the reform movement actually sent a man, crippled from birth, on a tour around the country as an example of the results of factory labor. A study by the Factory Commission in 1833 and 1834 found that the incidence of stuntedness and deformation was no higher amongst children working in factories than that of the general population.

To an amazing extent our views about the Industrial Revolution are shaped by historians who were sloppy or, which is far worse, who allowed their biases to influence their work. The facts clearly show that horrors of industrialization in England did exist but that they have been greatly exaggerated by interests that needed to emphasize and fabricate factory abuses in order to promote themselves, and that the ills caused by industrialization were far less than some historians would have us believe. J.L. and Barbara Hammond, whose works, as mentioned before, have done much to propagate the belief that the results of industrialization on the working class of England during the nineteenth century was frightful, even admitted late in their careers that conditions probably weren't as bleak as they had previously portrayed. Hayek quotes from the Hammonds' *The Bleak Age*:

statisticians tell us that when they have put in order such data as they can find, they are satisfied that earnings increased and that most men and women were less poor when this discontent was loud and active than they were when the eighteenth century was beginning to grow old in a silence like that of autumn. The evidence, of course, is scanty, and its interpretation not too simple, but this general view is probably more or less correct.

Unfortunately, this statement has had little effect on reversing the misconceptions about the Industrial Revolution promoted by their earlier works and the works of some of their fellow historians.

C. Brandon Crocker is a senior at UCSD.

## Deng Drags Mao from Shrine to Tomb: China Gambles on Dismantling its Bureaucracy

By Thomas Rankin

There's a new look in Beijing this fall, and forecasters of political fashion see it as more than a flash in China's collective brainpan. Hard on the heels of agricultural reform, industrial China is doffing its conical rice-picker's lid in favor of something more closely resembling the hardhat of capitalism. Say goodbye to centralized planning and massive government subsidies. Say hello to a new and substantially different PRC.

It is worthwhile to note that between December 1983 and June of 1984 natural gas and electrical output dropped, while industrial output jumped 11.5 percent. No word yet on plans to decentralize energy production.

One area that China is just beginning to capitalize on is that of human resources. Striking while agricultural output was just heating up, Deng created in 1980 four "enterprise zones" to test the waters of

Reports have been filtering out of rural areas indicating that some parents are murdering daughters at birth in order to have a shot at a son. If true, this could lead to a serious shortage of women in this generation and, as a consequence, a "fertility backlash."

The other conflict deals with the Chinese family structure, which is comprised of every branch and generation of a family. With only one child per couple, there will be no brothers, no sisters, no aunts or uncles. Sociologists have pen nib pressed anxiously against paper, awaiting the results.

Along China's new path, pitfalls and snakes in the grass abound. Old-line Maoists are silent for various reasons, but are doubtless seeing red. As previously noted, any "failure" in the new policies will bring about a blossoming of fervent dissent, but even the wildest success harbors dangers. As planning is decentralized, every member of China's vast bureaucracy will come under a dark and threatening cloud. What good is a "Minister of Sugar Beet Cultural Enlightenment" when the beets are launched into free market orbit? Not much, and said minister will have cause to climb atop his desk and scream very loudly.

Millions of factory managers will come under similar pressure, albeit of a distinctly different nature. All his professional life, the Chinese manager has had to do nothing more than consult the sages in Beijing and collect his subsidies. Now, however, he will have to estimate costs, payroll, and set his own prices in competition with his former comrade in the next province. Even if he grasps the competitive spirit, he will still lack the tools and expertise to carry it off smoothly.

For their part, central planners suddenly without a bureaucracy to work in can offer their expertise to the hapless businessman. Purchasing authorities have already offered to do this. On commission, of course. How long before *Forbes* begins a Chinese-language edition?

Another danger is that of runaway inflation. Subsidies and price fixing have brought it down to 2 percent (from 7.4 percent in 1980), but many artificially supported goods are slated to be thrust into the open market, with predictable results.

Only the passage of time will prove Deng to be sage or sinner, but the Soviets aren't waiting around. With some analysts predicting China's economy outstripping that of the USSR within two decades, Moscow has announced a group of its own enterprise zones. Deng should be flattered.

China has its own calendar and assigns a symbolic animal to each year. I humbly submit that this should henceforth be known as the Year of the Running Dog, nipping gleefully at the heels of the lumbering bear.

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The new economic guidelines emerged from the third plenum of the twelfth Central Party Committee in early October. As in the past, the party invokes socialist rhetoric to justify the changes. This time, however, some slight changes were necessary to accommodate the sweeping bureaucratic realignment. For example: "Socialist society practices a planned economy on the basis of public ownership of the means of production." Such a statement may come as news to just about everyone but, as the Wall Street Journal quips, "China is a socialist state; therefore, everything it does is by definition socialist." Even if it's not.

Taking into account the fact that it once took planners ten years to work up the nerve to raise the price of matches, the party can be forgiven the six-year lapse between inaugurating agricultural reform and repudiating Marxism-Leninism altogether.

The man who has woven the fabric and cut the patterns for China's new policy wardrobe is Deng Xiaoping, a very short, very old, and extraordinarily unattractive man who will nonetheless be remembered as a giant in his country's history. During his eight-year tenure as China's supreme leader, Deng has managed to gouge the taproot of Maoist doctrine from the soil of Beijing's elite, but its fibrous branches remain. The success of his agricultural reformation has kept them underground thus far, but there is little doubt that they will seize on any problems in the next few years as an opportunity to rear up in revolt. Before delving into the dangers that face China today, it is important to look at the enormous potential it harbors.

With a population of one billion, China packs over 20 percent of the world's population into seven percent of the global land mass. Of 3.7 million square miles, it is estimated that only 15 percent is arable and, despite a 30 percent increase in output since reform in 1978, a mere 13 percent of that is currently under cultivation.

In terms of natural resources, China enjoys a mixed bag of pluses and minuses. Iron ore deposits are "significant," but most is of poor quality. With the exception of nickel, chrome, and cobalt, reserves of ferrous alloys are large, as are manganese deposits. Some experts say that China's tungsten reserves are the world's biggest.

Energy resources are generous but difficult to exploit. China contains 1,500 billion tons of coal, but only two percent of world petroleum deposits. Another reserve that is more difficult to quantify is the country's vast river network. The Soviet Union estimates potential to generate 580 million kilowatts, 100 times current hydroelectric output. Soviet analysts peg 70 percent of that potential in the south, where coal reserves are relatively poor.

capitalism, a plunge that proved so invigorating that another group of 14 were recently launched. Each of the latter group has been paired with a bank, one with the Bank of China, the others with BoC's 13 brethren in Hong Kong. The banks' efforts to raise foreign capital have thus far proved somewhat dismal (this is mitigated somewhat by the fact that these efforts were underway before the unveiling of Deng's masterstroke), but prospects could brighten considerably if Club Med goes ahead with plans for a resort in Shenzhen.

The people of China are currently stressed with more than economic upheaval, however. In an effort to cope with runaway population growth, China last year set up a punitive tax structure to limit each couple to one child. The ramifications are enormous and clearly conflict with traditional Chinese culture in two ways.

On one hand, Chinese parents covet male children to carry on the family name and relegate girls to what, at best, could be described as a "second class" status.

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## California Review Interviews

George Gilder began his career in politics and policy analysis when he co-founded a liberal Republican magazine at Harvard called *Advance* in 1961. He earned his B.A. in Anthropology in 1962 and then became a speechwriter for moderate Republicans, including Jacob Javits and Nelson Rockefeller. Gilder criticized the Republican Party's 1964 nomination of the conservative Barry Goldwater for president in his first book, *The Party That Lost Its Head* (1966). From 1970 to 1971, while holding a fellowship with the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard, he served as editor of the liberal Republican *Ripon Forum*. At this time Gilder became influenced by the writings of conservatives such as William F. Buckley, Jr., Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, and by what he saw as excesses in the feminist movement. In 1973 feminists designated him "the nation's leading male chauvinist pig" after publication of his book *Sexual Suicide*. Gilder then wrote two social studies, *Naked Nomads: Unmarried Men in America* (1974), and *Visible Man: A True Story of Post-Racist America* (1978). Mr. Gilder is best known for his bestseller *Wealth and Poverty* (1981) which became known as the bible of supply-side economics. His newest book, *The Spirit of Enterprise*, is due to come out soon. Mr. Gilder graciously took time recently to give the following interview to CR's C. Brandon Crocker and Chris Bonar of the conservative student journal at Harvard, *The Harvard Salient*.

**CR:** Has the current welfare system trapped the poor in poverty by reducing the incentive to find low paying jobs?

**GILDER:** The existing welfare system has certainly trapped the poor in poverty but not directly through deterring their acquisition of low paying jobs. I think more important is the impact of the welfare system on the family. It has virtually destroyed the families of the poor within its reach. This destruction of the family, chiefly among blacks, although it also affects millions of white poor, has in turn led to the absence of male role models in the family depriving, particularly the boys, an example of a working parent and also a parent to discipline the boys to create the kind of habits that lead to employability. So what we have among the poor is just a mass of kids that have no idea of what it means to be a working adult. Thus they refuse to work. I think the welfare system does have some small effect on their work incentives but boys don't go on welfare anyway. So I think the real cause of these astronomical levels of teenage unemployment is the destruction of the family, and thus of the key way that boys grow up and learn adult responsibilities.

**CR:** How do you believe the welfare system destroys family life?

**GILDER:** The most obvious way is its preventing a child's father from marrying his mother. Now in the inner cities of America within the welfare culture some eighty or ninety percent of all children are born out of wedlock. This means that the father is only a vague and occasional presence. In fact the illegitimacy rate among blacks in the United States has risen to 55%. This is almost entirely because of the huge level of illegitimacy among welfare blacks.

Imagine you're a 16 year old girl in a welfare household. Your brother is on the street, maybe taking drugs. Your father occasionally passes through. It's just an unpleasant environment. And the government gives you an irresistible deal. It says you can leave all this at age 16. You can have an apartment of your own, you can have several hundred dollars a month worth of cash benefits of various kinds, you can have access to some seventeen social programs. Your whole life can be transformed—all under one condition: if you have an illegitimate child. This doesn't mean that all these girls calculate carefully their pregnancies in order to qualify for welfare. It just means an environment emerges in which illegitimacy is favored rather than penalized. And more and more teenagers see that girls that have illegitimate children suddenly have apartments and have more money than they do. It just creates an atmosphere in which illegitimacy flourishes and marriage becomes a difficult counter-cultural assertion. That is the key problem of the welfare state. In existing lower-middle class families it essentially makes the man optional. The man knows no matter how hard he works he can't outperform the welfare state. So rather than having his support for the family an indispensable male contribution instead it becomes optional. It's hard to support a family. And when it's unnecessary, as the welfare state dictates, the man feels unnecessary and the woman knows he is

dispensable and these dispensable men tend to leave their families. And again it's not a direct calculation most of the time. It's just the environment of incentives that the welfare culture fosters leads families to break down, teenage girls to have illegitimate children, boys lacking discipline from their fathers, finding their manhood in the streets, being socialized through gangs which are often involved in criminal activities. And you have the kind of chaos the welfare system creates. Within that chaotic structure, the idea of getting up every day to go to a job is just alien.

**CR:** How have minorities such as the Jews and the Japanese managed to escape being caught in this cycle and can other minorities such as blacks and Hispanics successfully follow the same path?

**GILDER:** Those previous generations didn't have this type of welfare state. This was really created during the 1960s and '70s chiefly through the mass of social programs enacted under the Great Society by Lyndon Johnson. We've always had problems with poverty but in the past the path of poverty was not rewarded by an array of welfare benefits, mostly offered in exchange for breaking down your family and abandoning the disciplines of productive life. That's our crucial problem. Japanese and Jews came earlier and they ordinarily stressed their families strongly. And they emerged from poverty through a very disciplined and rigorous cultural setting. More recent generations have often been entrapped by the welfare state. The Puerto Ricans, for example, who did have quite stable families in relation to blacks have now been totally debauched by the welfare state so that Puerto Ricans in the United States have higher rates of family break down and higher rates of unemployment than blacks do. This is partly a matter of age, but in general, the welfare state has focused on Puerto Ricans and blacks. That was its test. When Lyndon Johnson gave his great speech that we would overcome not only discrimination but poverty as well, blacks were the main rational. It was a way of consummating the civil rights revolution by extending economic supports and it was dreadfully misconceived. As a result it has virtually destroyed the black family in the inner cities of America and created a terrible tragedy that will afflict this country for decades to come.

**CR:** As a way of eliminating this climate of disincentives would you support replacing the conglomeration of welfare programs with a negative income tax?

**GILDER:** No. I think the negative income tax is just another program that benefits families that break down and fosters illegitimacy. The existing array of programs function as a negative income tax, more or less. It's essential effect is to support people who in one way or another fail to make their way to the ladder of upward mobility in the society and it doesn't solve the crucial problem which is these means tested programs reward failure and thus promote it. That is the crucial flaw in both the negative income tax and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Now it would be a lot cheaper to have a negative income tax rather than 50 social programs but it doesn't solve this crucial problem of family break down.

**CR:** What is your opinion of enterprise zones?

**GILDER:** They don't confront the problem. I certainly would like to have enterprise zones if you can. But they don't confront the essential problem that is these kids don't want to work. They have no concept of what a job entails. It's hard work. Particularly entry level jobs are difficult. Kids with no discipline have no idea how to submit to these disciplines. Any sort of harsh treatment that anyone expects in a job is interpreted as discrimination. "The shop owner was racist because he made me come on time." I interviewed hundreds of these kids, specifically in New York, who just didn't have a clue of what a job was. And if anybody imposed a job on them, they called him a racist. CETA jobs were fine because they didn't entail working because the work didn't have to be done and the people running the programs didn't believe in them. The kids learned that a job consisted of showing up to receive the check. Therefore these CETA jobs were worse than nothing because they actually taught these kids that a job was just another form of welfare detailing somewhat more hassles than their mothers had to go through to receive their form of welfare. None of them were taught that it is hard to make value in the world and that it takes discipline and sacrifice. It's almost impossible for them to gain that understanding in fatherless households. The problem of youth unemployment will continue to persist regardless of how

many enterprise zones you create or how many special programs you launch because they lack the discipline that would have been established had they had a good family life and a role model. Look what happened in the '50s. In the '50s, black kids had higher work participation rates than white kids. The process of degeneration occurred as the family broke down.

**CR:** Do you think the minimum wage is a harmful policy or do you think these problems would persist regardless of how low the wage was?

**GILDER:** I don't think the minimum wage is of vital importance here. Under current conditions the minimum wage reduces the number of employment opportunities kids have but I don't think it's a major factor. Most of the businesses that start among the poor ignore the minimum wage. The small shops that immigrants start with great success in American cities, the small manufacturing companies, small service firms that emerged in such amazing profusion in Miami after the arrival of the Cubans, are mostly beyond the reach of the minimum wage law and other such regulations. The minimum wage law is, of course, an obstacle. It reduces employment and probably promotes poverty but it's not the major factor.

*"In the '50s black kids had higher work participation rates than white kids."*

**CR:** Why do women earn only 60% of what men do?

**GILDER:** Women earn very much less than men do for many obvious reasons. They are nearly eleven times more likely than men to leave the work force voluntarily during their prime earnings years. If you ask women what type of work they want, between 3 and 4 to 1 they prefer part time employment. Completely contrary to the male pattern, the more education and credentials a woman has, the more likely she is to prefer part time work. A study by the University of Wisconsin Institute for Research on Poverty, called "Earnings Capacity," found that the more credentials and education a woman had, the less effort she made to exploit them. In other words, the more credentials a woman has the more likely she will want to convert them into part time work or work in nice work conditions with some prestige and the less likely she is to take these credentials and exploit them to the utmost to make as much money as she can and advance her career. Men and women still behave very differently in the work force and women don't make higher earnings their prime goal. They want to accommodate jobs to their families, to their desire to pursue other interests. While men generally pursue incomes as their prime objective. Since men pursue incomes as their prime objectives and women don't men earn substantially more. This is nothing against women. Women are perfectly right to pay more attention to domestic interests. Because women necessarily have a more central role in the family than men do. Men cannot bear and nurture children the way women can. So women will never emphasize career activities to the same determination that men do. Women are also biologically less aggressive than men which is evident to even feminist sociologists Jacklin and Maccoby their *The Psychology of Sex Differences*. They acknowledge that men are more aggressive than women in all societies known to anthropologists. These differences show up in early childhood before differential socialization is imposed. These differences are also identifiable in primates thought to be genetically similar to human beings. The administration of male hormones enhances aggressiveness. The whole tapestry of human life, the interweaving of scores of psychological, physiological, strands of differentiation produces this result of lower earnings. And it's one of the more absurd public ventures in history to try to overcome the overwhelming concert of forces. The only way you can overcome it is by coercion because men and women will behave differently without coercion. The effort to make men more like women or women more like men entails coercive behavior modi-

fication. That's why feminists are almost universally socialists. All the leading feminists are hostile to a capitalist economy and in the end they become totalitarians because you can't have men and women behaving the same without coercive totalitarian organization.

**CR:** What objections would this lead you to make against the idea of "comparable worth"?

**GILDER:** Just socialism of the labor force. I mean it destroys the freedom of workers to negotiate deals with the employer of their choice. The proposals of "comparable worth" all stress credentials and qualifications. Yet credentials and qualifications are very insignificant projectors of productivity and value. What the analysts of "comparable worth" are telling us is the distribution of income and earnings conform closely to what they think they should be based on credentials and qualifications. So what "comparable worth" really means is increasing the value of credentials and qualifications a woman has, the less likely more likely she will want to convert those into leisure time and domestic pursuits. That's an intelligent decision but it means she's not going to earn as much. She's going to choose jobs less oriented toward high incomes and that will enable her to move in and out of the work force and avoid major strains that would overflow into free time. And when you actually examine these tabulations the analysts offer to show wide-spread discrimination what you discover is that there is only one large group that according to these analysts, benefits heavily from discrimination's they define it. That large group is men with high school educations or less with large families to support. That's the only group that earns too much in relation to its credentials and qualifications. And so what the feminist game really entails is taking money away from men with high school educations or less with large families to support and giving it to women with credentials and qualifications who want to convert them into part time jobs. In other words, it punishes the poor and helps the credentialed upper class.

**CR:** So it would replace the objective impersonality of the market with a subjective view of someone's idea of what "comparable worth" is?

*"You can't have men and women behaving the same without coercive totalitarian organization."*

**GILDER:** I'd put it a little differently. I don't think the market is so objective. What "comparable worth" does is replace the huge multiplicity of different and complimentary subjective decisions with one very discriminatory pseudo-objective standard which comes down to credentials and qualifications. In other words, it replaces free choices by individuals with a dictatorship of bureaucracy. No one who has anything useful to do in the society wants to run a comparable worth bureaucracy. It's surely a place for pedants and martinets who want to boss people around.

**CR:** Are you in favor of further tax reductions to further incentives for entrepreneurs?

**GILDER:** Yes. I think you have to continually reduce tax rates as the Japanese did during their world-beating ascent. For some 20 years they grew faster than any country probably in the history of the world economy. They cut their top marginal tax rate in 17 out of 20 years. We still have a ghastly tax system with the incredible proliferation of new rules and regulations. The reduction in the marginal rates over the past few years has been accomplished by increasing the complexity of the code, so all of the benefits have not been realized. It's still a disgrace to the human race, as Jimmy Carter called it. We're now at a really crucial moment when there's the possibility of reducing the top rate to 25% or 30%. There are two proposals with wide support in Congress from both Democrats and Republicans. Michael Evans, perhaps the country's

## George Gilder

leading econometrician, has estimated that all rates above 26% are net losers of revenue—they drive more income into the underground economy and into tax shelters than they capture in taxes.

**CR:** Would you support a flat-rate tax?

**GILDER:** Yes. I would certainly support a flat tax if one could be negotiated through the treacherous jungles of Congress. I think a true flat-rate tax of about 14%, maybe even 10%, would suffice. But that's not politically feasible. So I would accept a compromise that moves the top rate lower. It's the rate that most impinges on the most truly aggressive activity to expand the economy. It impacts efforts to make additional contributions, take additional risks, and additional creative thrusts that generate economic growth. So the top rate is of greatest importance. If we can get that down from 50 to 30 that would be a major achievement.

*"Capitalism is dependent on having the powerful in the society forego coercion against the weak."*

**CR:** Would you support a tax on unproductive investments such as precious metals?

**GILDER:** I really wouldn't. When you try to manipulate the tax code in such detail your going to run into problems. I think if you get the rates down there will be such an opening of investment opportunities that prices of unproductive collectables will drop. This is what has happened already with the initiation of Reagan's supply side program. The value of unproductive assets in the U.S. economy have plummeted. That was part of the cause for the death of the 1982 recession. There was a flight from collectables and an effort to move into productive assets.

**CR:** To what extent would you credit the supply side programs of the Reagan Administration with the growth in the economy?

**GILDER:** Well, there would have been some kind of recovery without them but it certainly wouldn't have been the recovery of unprecedented strength that in fact occurred.

**CR:** And you'd credit those policies with the reduction of interest rates we've witnessed since last summer?

**GILDER:** Yes. The decline in interest rates was partly attributable to these policies. I think the increase in the real rate of interest was also affected. We've greatly increased the return on capital and so many new opportunities for investment emerged that the interest rates rose and the dollar increased in value because of the revitalization of the entrepreneurial sectors of the economy. It was an investment led recovery. It was the first recovery of the post-war era in which investment in plant and equipment rose twice as fast as GNP in the first year. And it was led by high technology investment. High technology investment as measured by Morgan Stanley's economic department headed by Steven Roach, rose at a 29% annual rate in the first quarter of 1983 and continued for seven quarters at an annual rate of about 20%. The result of this investment surge, which drove the growth of the economy, and which was partly financed by venture capital which rose some 200 times between the tax cut of 1978 and the investment surge of 1983, was to actually lower the age of American plant and equipment under Japan's for the first time since the Second World War. And probably the key force in the U.S. gains a totally unexpected entrepreneurial uprising in software. The U.S. generated some 5,000 software companies that made possible the application of computer technology much more broad than ever before. And it was this entrepreneurial uprising in software, these thousands of software companies received no benefit at all from the Excellerated Cost Recovery Tax Act or any of the corporate tax cuts. It was benefited entirely by the cuts in personal rates and the reduction in the capital gains tax. And that's what really led this economic recovery. Economists can't understand that because they can't differentiate between different forms of capital. They see investment as just another form of demand. They think the economy is driven by aggregate demand in the form of government spending, investment spending, consumption spending and net imports. But the fact is capital spending increases the productivity of the whole system. It generates all sorts of new goods and services. It's driven by a tremendous proliferation of new small businesses—rising from some 280,000 new business starts in 1977 to 640,000 estimated this year. That kind of entrepreneurial upsurge occurs on the supply side and is not interpretable in a demand model of the sort that dominates conventional economics.

**CR:** So we've really given the lie to the Keynesians in this recovery.

(Continued on next page)



# Challenging Chicano Chicanery

By James D. Spounias

James Oliver Huberty murdered twenty-one people in a McDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, California on July 18, 1984. It was the worst massacre of its kind in the U.S. History.

*Voz Fronteriza*, the campus voice for leftist Latinos, in its October/November "Analysis of the San Ysidro Massacre" editorial, shamefully exploits the massacre as being purely racially motivated in order to foment hatred and tension between Hispanics and "Anglos." *Voz's* editorial tried pathetically to construct a case exposing James Huberty as a "known racist" and that "social, political and economic institutions...created the sick racist, James Huberty." Evidence obtained from Mrs. Huberty and others prove that Huberty was indeed, psychotic, but not racist.

Posing as a representative of the Latin community, *Voz* is truly an enemy to Hispanics in particular and social harmony in general. With no facts substantiating its allegations, the *Voz* editorial thrusts lies and deception upon its readers for the sole purpose of leading Hispanics into a sewer of ignorance and turmoil, and away from mainstream America.

Here is a sample of *Voz* distorting, not reporting: "The murderer James Huberty was a known racist. This has been documented by the media and the residents of San Ysidro. They cite his avid reading of Nazi literature, his adherence to right wing philosophies and fanaticism, as well as being an all-American gun nut. Huberty has been quoted as blaming Mexicans for all the negative conditions in the United States, including unemployment. Huberty's landlord recently said that Huberty 'felt uneasy among Mexicans.' It was no coincidence that Huberty chose a restaurant patronized primarily by Chicano/Mexicans (and at a time when it was at full capacity) to execute his bloody rampage. His act was a cold, calculated murder. He had practiced with the murder weapon countless times and he was thoroughly equipped to do the job. The media and the police know this, but are purposefully choosing not to publicize it."

Among the cesspool of second-hand yarn exists one scant quote: "Uneasy living among Mexicans," which, alone, certainly does not convict Huberty as a racist, but rather as an unstable man living in a cultural setting foreign to him. *Voz* gives no other sources to substantiate their claims that Huberty fit the neo-Nazi, racist mold. *Voz* purports that Huberty intentionally sought to kill Mexicans, ignoring that Huberty lived only a few blocks from the McDonalds in San Ysidro—a heavily Mexican-American populated community resting at the international border.

As for the "neo-Nazi" label, Huberty used an Uzi—an Israeli military weapon. No neo-Nazi would use a weapon made by a Jew for Jews. Huberty had a penchant for guns, yes, and he practiced regularly. He was, indeed, a gun nut, with the emphasis on "nut."

(Continued from Page 9)

**GILDER:** We have. We've given the lie to the whole economic analysis of the 1970s. It was dominated by a theory of limits to growth—the zero sum society, the Phillips Curve which linked growth with inflation, an essentially irreducible core rate of inflation of 6 or 7 percent, the energy crisis, the death of productivity—the whole catalogue of concerns of 1970s economics has been refuted by this recovery. This year we had actual deflation. We had eight months of declining producer prices and rapidly declining commodity prices. Unfortunately, the Fed didn't recognize this and allowed a more serious slow-down than it should have. I think the Fed is beginning to see the errors of its ways at the moment. And the recovery will proceed in 1985—long enough to get the new tax cuts in. I think they understand that inflation is not the threat at the moment.

**CR:** Do you think the cash flow of U.S. companies has been high enough recently to finance their expansion without borrowing heavily and pushing up interest rates?

**GILDER:** Increases in cash flow have financed about 75% of new investment during 1983 and 1984. It did not quite suffice to prevent an increase in interest rates in the first part of 1984. I think interest rates are now declining and that should promote that process.

**CR:** What do you think would be the consequences of more protectionism and import restrictions on the U.S. economy?

This fact was well-publicized by the media. The October 21, 1984 *Los Angeles Times* displays a picture of Huberty brandishing a rifle with the scribbled words: "I'll give you 100 yards," upon it.

Quoting that same *Times* feature, which was headlined: "Widow's Legacy: 'He Left Me Holding the Bag, as Usual.'" Mrs. James Huberty sheds light upon James' sordid past and their twisted relationship. James Huberty was physically and mentally ill; he suffered from an 80% kidney failure in 1969 and he urinated blood once a day since he was 19, according to the *Times*.

James Huberty tortured his wife and his children because of his mentally deranged state. *Times* staff writer Mike Granberry reported: "In February of 1984, Huberty burst into his daughter's bedroom, and pointed an Uzi semiautomatic rifle—made to fire like a submachinegun—at the head of his curly haired 12-year-old daughter. (She asked that her name not be printed.) He was angered, the girl said, by her refusal to go motorcycle riding with him.

"In the months preceding the massacre, he often took the girl on harrowing, death-tempting rides. He would grease down the seat with a slippery wax, the girl said, making it almost impossible to stay seated. 'We'd race along steep mountain roads, real fast,' she said. 'The seat was so slick, I'd almost fall off. If I complained, he'd only go faster.'"

During their marriage, James and his wife would often fight with one another. In one battle, Mrs. Huberty pointed her .22 caliber Ruger at James, she pulled the trigger, but the gun jammed, proving that irrational violence was common in the Huberty household.



James D. Spounias is a junior at UCSD.

**GILDER:** It would be destructive to world economic growth and ultimately the growth of the U.S. economy. Particularly, it hurts the less developed countries which are trying to repay their debts and restore their economies and resist communism. It's very destructive to try to protect some industries in this country which are most threatened by Third World progress.

**CR:** As well as keeping prices at home high?

**GILDER:** Oh, yes.

**CR:** You claim that capitalism is based on altruism, not self-interest. Would you explain how you came to this conclusion?

**GILDER:** The first thing to understand is that capitalism is dependent on allowing the poor, the immigrants, the generally disadvantaged to rise up and challenge the establishment. It's utterly dependent on that. If you allow an established firm to suppress challenges from below, you can't have a growing and expanding capitalist system. So capitalism is dependent on having the powerful in the society forego coercion against the weak. So the first principle of capitalism is equality—the recognition that any individual, however downtrodden or unpromising he may seem, may make absolutely vital contributions to the country and economy. And that requires that the powerful forego oppressing and suppressing and coercing the weak. In order to induce the powerful not to suppress the weak

It is plain to see that Huberty was a brutal, sadistic, mentally deranged man, who, for no apparent reason other than his insanity, murdered twenty-one people one afternoon. He left his home that day, saying that he was going "human hunting." He did not say "Mexican hunting."

*Voz* directs its own particular brand of racism and hatred toward "Anglos" with such lines as: "Ever since the Anglo invasion of Aztlan (Southwest) in 1846, the Chicano/Mexicano people have been targets of Huberty-style vigilante actions." By stereotyping "Anglos" as ruthless murderers of the Mexican people, *Voz* is trying to portray the San Ysidro tragedy as part of a race war.

*Voz* further tries to inflame Hispanics by evoking the charge that Huberty's act was caused by: "...a long history of racist violence by those who would dare call us foreigners in our own land."

*Voz* produced a despicable editorial which is racist in its effort to label Huberty's actions as racist. *Voz* theorizes that the entire media conspired to withhold the "facts" about Huberty's alleged racism.

Come now! The entire liberal establishment media would have fought over the coverage of such racism—if it were true—right till election day. Intelligent readers should see through the thinly veiled treachery of the *Voz* editorial and see the genuine motive for it—stirring up trouble where none exists with their brand of racism and hatred.

you require some really strong moral principles. And in history, generally such moral principles don't secure general allegiance without a religious authority. So I think this willingness of the powerful to allow the poor to rise up has to have a religious foundation. I think it entails a certain altruistic principle. That's the sort of general argument that capitalism depends on the willingness of the powerful to forego exercising their power against potential challengers. That has a certain altruistic dimension—the willingness to allow others to succeed and an understanding that the success of the country and the economy is dependent on the success of others. That whole array of attitudes is not very well summed up by greed or selfishness. I don't think. Beyond that, entrepreneurs that are successful must first engage in thrift to save enough to finance for their long term goals. That initial act of foregoing consumption seems to me to be the opposite of greed. Beyond that, in order to make a company work you've got to be sensitive to the needs of others—your employees, your colleagues, your partners. To be a successful entrepreneur you can't be an egocentric son of a bitch who wants everything your own way. You must also be sensitive to the needs of others outside your company in order to respond to the changing desires and needs of the public. So you need to be able to respond imaginatively to the needs of others in the market place in order to succeed. It seems to me that all these dispositions which form the entrepreneurial mind have nothing to do with greed or even self-interest, more narrowly considered.

# Ideology of the New Left

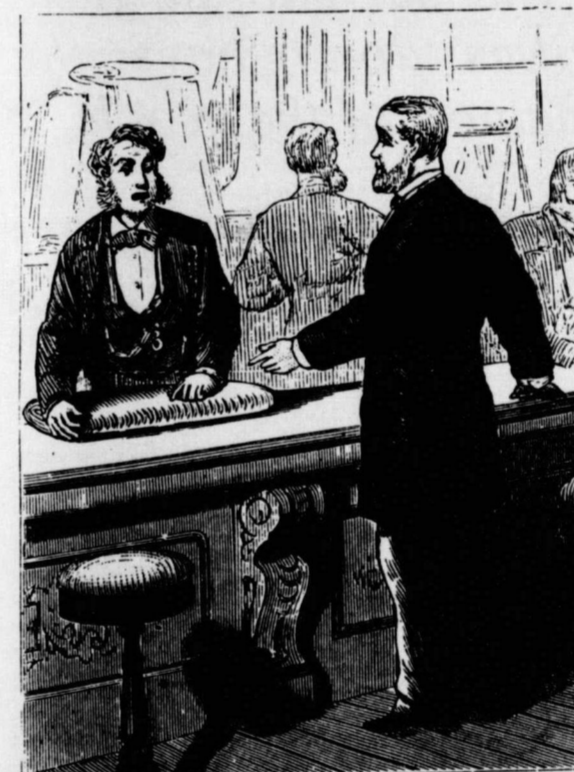
By Charles E. Purdy IV

The leftist quarterly entitled *Dissent*, edited by Michael Walzer and Irving Howe, recently turned 30. In this year's winter issue of *Dissent*, Walzer, in a comment entitled "Dissent at Thirty," reflects on where the publication and the New Left have been and where they are supposedly going. Reference is made to such events as the Montgomery bus boycott, the North Carolina sit-ins, and the Port Huron statement by SDS. His remarks, though interesting, are not only confusing and somewhat deceptive but also lead to a terribly paradoxical conclusion about *Dissent*, its editors and the American Left, if there is such a thing.

According to Walzer, the leftist thinking that has been and will likely continue to be expressed in *Dissent* has as its essence such themes as "civil liberties," "decentralization," and "democracy"—concepts that, Walzer says, "opened the way for, and played into, what was soon to become the more or less official ideology of the New Left..."

This description of the substantive make-up of the New Left is puzzling and at least a bit misleading for two reasons. First, none of the themes expressed makes any reference to the sizable economic dimension of each of these themes as construed by today's leftists. In other words, there is no hint of such policies as land reform, income redistribution or full employment. I have always thought that so-called economic equity or distributive justice was, in varying degrees, the real guts of most varieties of leftism.

Second, this general description of the New Left's official ideology ignores the extreme state paternalism that is crucial to the doctrine of the so-called New Left and that goes so much further than the New Dealism that has since the 1930's played such a significant role in the domestic policy of the United States.



To resolve the confusion, some qualification is necessary. It can with some certainty be said that the meaning of "civil liberties" to today's leftists, who ignore many important civil rights, is quite limited. Specifically, the New Left pays little credence to the notion that "civil liberties" represents an idea that, when realized, places effective limitations on the power of government; limitations that guarantee freedom from state censorship, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, freedom from incarceration without procedural due process, freedom from confiscation of arms, freedom from state interference in contractual relations where all parties have the capacity to protect their own interests, et cetera. Indeed, it is terribly unfortunate that, with respect to each of these very important freedoms, the New Left has demonstrated repeatedly its rather abominable selectivity or, worse yet, complete ignorance.

To the leftists of today "civil liberties" seems to represent policies of state intervention wherein government has affirmative duties to ensure that all persons receive certain economic benefits. Unfortunately, their incessant penchant for a positivist system of "civil liberties" has caused the leftists to worry little about the great danger presented to important civil liberties by a massive government.



Quite ironically, the early civil rights movement, which was allegedly the seed of the New Left, had as its essence an argument against state intervention. The activists and beneficiaries of that time were fighting and dying for the freedom from state enforced segregation. Rosa Parks, who did not want to be told to move to the back of the Montgomery bus and the black college students who did not want to be told that they could not be served at the drug store were trying to get the state off their backs. In short, they did not want the state to act affirmatively for the purpose of enforcing segregationist policies; rather, they wanted the state simply to adhere to a policy of equal protection of the law.

Insofar as the leftists' conception of "decentralization" is concerned, there is also a serious need for qualification. To most of us, decentralization probably means a reduction in central governmental authority accompanied by possibly, but not necessarily, an increase in the size of local government. To the new leftists, however, it seems to only refer to the tearing down of only one nongovernmental block of power: big, bad corporations. Rarely, if ever, do leftists speak of the historically proven dangers of big government.

In fact, the hatred the leftists have for corporations demonstrates the great inability of the New Left to sense real danger to the body politic. When you think about it, all Exxon can really do to hurt us is screw us out of a few cents at the pump or attempt to bribe or otherwise corrupt government officials (in which case all persons involved should be punished accordingly). Government, however, can take your life, take your house, take your earnings, incarcerate you, control what you read, et cetera. Still, the left goes on loathing "corporations" and calling for more government.

From what has been said so far, it can be surmized that the left, when it speaks of "democracy," means something much different than "one man (or woman) -one vote." Rather, leftists likely construe the thrust of "democracy" to mean some state directed system of economic equality, wherein the principal purpose of the state is to act as an all-encompassing intermediary that takes property from some persons and gives it to others. (It should be noted that many members of the left appear to be doubting the virtue of political democracy when such a system is able to produce leaders like Ronald Reagan, whom the left despises.)

Yet, the main fault of Walzer in describing the "more or less official ideology" of the New Left is not his failure to properly qualify the generic terms he uses to describe it, but his failure to even mention its central theme, which is elitism.

The elitism can be gleaned from what is referred to by Walzer as the "critical theory of mass society." Specifically, in mentioning this so-called theory, reference is made to "All those people, politically apathetic, wrapped up in their private lives, eager consumers, watching television..." and the need to "account" for them. In doing so, he appears to treat the

demos as a bunch of idiots whose apathy is simply a function of stupidity, and whose main desire is to do little more than watch the Flintstones and play Pac-man.

By apparently treating people in general as nothing more than thoughtless drones, he fails to realize that, for the most part, apathy is a function of contentment; that if our taxes are hiked unnecessarily or our houses made subject to general searches or our property wrongfully taken we will indeed become quite political, as history has demonstrated time and again.

The clearest picture of the rather profound elitism of the left can best be understood by considering the probable social order that would exist if the American Left, instead of being the virtual nada that it is, actually had its way.

There would be two classes: The bureaucratic elites and the rest of us. The former would be responsible for "accounting" for the rest of us. The rest of us, of course, would be responsible for little except following the mundane directions of the state. Such directions would instruct us on such matters as where each of us is to work (under the "everybody-is-guaranteed-a-job" rules) and live (under the "everybody-is-guaranteed-a-cubicle" rules). In short, the state, in the supposed interests of economic democracy and the left's skewed sense of justice would leave very few instances where the private parties involved would be able to determine their own destiny.

In sum, considering the elitist nature of the left, as well as the misleading "pull-the-wool-over-your-eyes" nature of its so-called official ideology, it would do the leftists well to heed that portion of the Port Huron statement which attacks the idea that man (or woman) is "a thing to be manipulated, and that he (or she) is inherently incapable of directing his (or her) own affairs."

Charles E. Purdy IV is an attorney in San Diego.

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## California Review Interviews

*Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret) graduated from UCLA in 1943. During World War II he organized, trained and led a French resistance unit and in early 1945 led Chinese guerrillas against the Japanese on the Indo-China/Chinese border. From 1946 to 1948 General Singlaub was Chief of a U.S. Military Liaison Mission to Mukden, Manchuria and served as the China desk officer at the CIA in Washington, D.C. from late 1948 to August 1949. During the Korean Conflict General Singlaub served as Deputy Chief of the CIA mission and later in command of the 2nd Battalion, 15th Infantry, 3rd Infantry Division. General Singlaub was assigned to Vietnam as Commander of the Joint Unconventional Warfare Task Force in May 1966 and remained in this command until August 1968. On July 1, 1976 he was assigned Chief of Staff, United Nations Command, United States Forces, Korea. In this position he openly criticized the Carter Administration's order to cut back forces in Korea in 1977 and was subsequently relieved. The General is currently National Chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom. General Singlaub recently took time to talk with CR's C. Brandon Crocker and C.G. Alario.*

**CR:** Do you have any fear, with the Chinese stress on nationalism and self-reliance, that any close cooperation with the United States and Mainland China will end once we avail them the technology they desire?

**SINGLAUB:** Well, I think that providing them with technology is a dynamic thing. I think that there is always an escalation of technology if we provide them with technology needed to meet their current threat. The Chinese Communists may find some way of developing some other weapon systems that would need something else. As long as we are providing them the means for their own defense, then this may very well continue. It may be that the Chinese Communists, without the help of the United States, would not be able to get the technology because their ability to buy from any other power is limited because they have no real source of foreign exchange. Their defense may be secure for many years, but I say that we ought not to just say we will provide them with a level of technology to make them capable of defending themselves from the current threat—the Soviet Union. It has to be a continuous thing.

**CR:** Is the question of Taiwan an insurmountable obstacle to a strategic alliance between the People's Republic of China and the United States?

**SINGLAUB:** The Chinese Communists cannot afford to allow it to be a major obstacle because they need our technology. There is no reason for us to ever make any concessions to the Chinese Communists because the technology that they can get from the Soviet Union is second-hand. They will not be able to get food surpluses from any Communist country. Communist countries cannot produce enough food to feed themselves. We are going to have to provide that and for us to make the concessions we made in 1979, well it was typical of the policies of the last administration. It did not make any sense from the point of view of Americans. It made great sense from the point of view of the Chinese Communists. They are manipulating us. They are playing their American card.

**CR:** Do you believe that selling arms and military technology to the PRC endangers the security of Taiwan?

**SINGLAUB:** Yes, I believe it endangers the security of Taiwan, but I also believe it endangers the security of many other nations in Southeast Asia. Certainly the Thai government is nervous with this. The people in Singapore and along down the archipelago are quite concerned that China will become a power capable of interfering with their activities and carry out their announced policies of expanding communism into the

rest of Southeast Asia. The threat is not limited to Taiwan, but it is a potential threat, if they have the capability as they had when they occupied and destroyed Tibet, they would do this to other areas where they claim they have a traditional or historical right.

**CR:** Why were you opposed to the reduction of forces in South Korea during your command there during the Carter Administration?

**SINGLAUB:** Well, again this is a matter of historical perspective. I was in the Far East at the time we announced that Korea was not a part of our areas of interests. We withdrew all of our forces from Korea in 1949, within thirteen months the North Koreans attacked. We indicated that we did not have that interest and they realized that they could launch an attack before we could reinforce in sufficient strength. That was a false assumption as it turned out because we had a pretty courageous guy in the White House at the time, who immediately ordered even unprepared troops into combat. Our occupation troops in Japan were really not prepared for combat. The Communist doctrine is quite clear. They will push into every area where a power vacuum exists until someone pushes back. Now Kim Il Sung has never changed his announced policies of uniting the Korean peninsula under a socialist banner, that means under Communists. For us to withdraw our troops, the last remaining division from Korea, would be an invitation for him to attack. If he had any intentions of being satisfied with what he had, the disposition of his forces would have been quite different from what they were.

He was not disposed in depth which indicates a defensive posture. He moved his artillery as far forward as he could, put them in deep bunkers and caves. He moved his airfields and aircraft so they could operate into the maximum distance into the Republic of Korea. The equipment he was building, was not defensive equipment. There is no defensive purpose in assault boats, but he had hundreds of assault boats. The type of forces he was building, the disposition of his forces, all indicated an offensive posture. In addition to this we had evidence, and I knew that the evidence had been made available to the newly elected president, that North Korea was increasing the number of divisions they had by a significant number. They went from 23 to 41 divisions in the recent past. All indications were that if we withdrew, they would attack. It was quite clear to all of us who had the responsibility for defending that peninsula, it would be the dumbest thing we could do in terms of maintaining the security on that peninsula. Certainly the Japanese felt the same way. Recognition of that threat by the majority of the Japanese leadership makes me a popular guy in Japan as well as in Korea.

**CR:** Do you think our Japanese allies should play a more active role in their own defense?

**SINGLAUB:** Yes of course I do. Fortunately many of the senior leaders of the Japanese government feel the same way. It is unfortunate that we did such a good job of demilitarizing them following the war and convincing the population that their problems were related to the fact that they allowed their decision-making to get into the hands of the pure militarists. They are afraid that something similar might happen and destroy the affluence that exists in Japan today. It just does not make any sense that this number of years after World War II and after we have signed treaties with the Japanese government and after we have assisted in their economic recovery that they are not taking up a greater share of their defense. They import about ninety percent of their sources of energy and their raw materials. They are using the sea lanes to bring in raw materials and energy and to ship their manufactured goods which they get their great affluence from. Certainly, they ought to have a naval and air defense force that can pick up the load to defend themselves outside a thousand nautical miles from their shores. This would relieve the U.S. Navy for duties elsewhere

to counter the massive Soviet fleet build-up in the Pacific.

**CR:** Would our defensive capabilities in the Pacific theater be seriously weakened if Australia refused to allow ships carrying nuclear weapons to dock in their ports?

**SINGLAUB:** Yes, I believe that our Secretary of State has made this clear to the Australian government. It would not only deny us the physical use of those ports, but it would be a psychological advantage to the Soviets if those rights were denied.

**CR:** What do you think of the nuclear free zone that the Australians, New Zealanders and the South Sea islands are proposing?

**SINGLAUB:** I think it is a great advantage to the Soviets. It is the same type of advantage they would receive from a nuclear freeze in Europe or the United States. Having us disarm is certainly to the advantage of the Soviet Union. They are not going to disarm.

*"The Salvadoran guerrillas don't have the support of the people."*

**CR:** Are there any lessons we can learn from Mao's success and Jiang Kaishek's failure in the Chinese civil war that we can apply to the situation in El Salvador?

**SINGLAUB:** Yes, I think that the situation has some similarity. Mao Zedong could not have had his success if it had not been for two things. First, external support from the Soviet Union and secondly, the withdrawal of support for Jiang Kaishek by the United States. Both of those situations exist in El Salvador today. The Salvadoran guerrillas don't have the support of the people. The people clearly indicated that they do not want to be Communist. They do not want the guerrillas to take-over. It is a hundred percent externalist supported and controlled insurgency. That wasn't quite true with China. China controlled their's but they depended heavily on Soviet support. Congress appropriated 120 million dollars worth of military equipment and supplies for Jiang Kaishek but the State Department prevented them from being delivered.

Jiang Kaishek's forces in Manchuria simply ran out of ammunition and repair parts. This was a great success and the Soviets have made a major effort to prevent military support. That is why Vietnam fell, Congress did the same thing. I think it was an immoral thing. They forced the Vietnamese to sign a treaty with the Communists in the North. We promised South Vietnam that we would come to their aid if there were any violations of that treaty. In fact, when it was an overt invasion, including tanks and armored personnel carriers by North Vietnam, the Congress cut off all support. It not only prevents them from having the military equipment and supplies to defend themselves, but it is a terrible psychological blow to the morale of the troops that could turn a battle and lose the war, as it did in Vietnam.

**CR:** But in China, was it not the case that the Soviets, up until 1949, were advocating a sharing of power between the Communists and the KMT?

## Major General John K. Singlaub

**SINGLAUB:** Their big thrust in 1945, '46, '47 and '48 was one of cease fire and share the power between the Communists and the KMT. After the fall of Manchuria started and then it moved South, the Soviets just moved in new technology to make sure that force was completely successful. They would not have shared power after the collapse of several of Jiang Kaishek's field armies in Manchuria. That took place in 1948.

*"The Clark Amendment should be repealed."*

**CR:** How should we deal with Nicaragua's efforts to destabilize its neighbors?

**SINGLAUB:** I believe our best course of action is to provide support for the democratic resistance forces attempting to recapture their revolution there now. I believe we should provide active support to the FDN, commanded by Adolpho Calero, the ARDE, under Alfonso Rubello, operating out of Costa Rica. These people were members of the Sandinista rebellion against Somoza. When all the promises were made by the Communist leadership, who arranged the support from Cuba and the Soviet Union, seized power and eased out the non-Communists and eliminated permanently the anti-Communists. Those who were just eased out of power, eventually saw their power being transferred to the hard-line Marxists and they left the country. The Sandinistas cannot retain that power without the military support coming from Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Monroe Doctrine is still in effect and we should adhere to the provisions of the OAS charter which state that we should not tolerate invasions from outside this hemisphere which is what this amounts to.

**CR:** How about the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, should we be supporting them also?

**SINGLAUB:** Yes, I believe we should be providing military support, not U.S. troops, but medical support, transportation support, communications assistance and most importantly psychological support and morale support to the people who are fighting for their own freedom. You know, maybe twenty years ago because communism had not been tried every place, some people could say that under communism the people would be better off. Today, you cannot use that excuse because there is no place in the world that you can point to and say that the people are better off because now they are Communist than they were before. Under those circumstances, we have a moral obligation in my mind to help the people rid themselves of tyranny. These are people struggling for the freedom that we are supposed to stand for. I think it is more hazardous to get Americans involved because Afghanistan borders the Soviet Union. The Afghans are not asking for any American troops. They would like us to provide them with some missiles to shoot down the MI-24's (helicopters) that are spraying yellow rain on their villages and bombing and shooting down their civilian population. I think we ought to do that.

**CR:** Should we be actively supporting the forces of Jonas Savimbi in Angola?

**SINGLAUB:** Absolutely. Jonas Savimbi is not getting any support from the United States at all because of the Clark Amendment. It should be repealed and we should provide assistance to Jonas Savimbi, who now

physically occupies sixty percent of Angola and operates in over fifteen percent of the land intermittently. Again, if there was some initial enthusiasm for the MPLA when they assumed control from the Portuguese, that has been lost. The people in Angola are not supporting the Communists. The only thing keeping the Communists in power are the 30,000 Cuban troops that are there. Incidentally, the thing that is paying the salary of those 30,000 troops are the royalties paid by Gulf Oil Company to the Communist government in Luanda and that doesn't make much sense.

**CR:** Do you believe the guilt of Vietnam is behind the American people now and do you think we can project our power into Central America to stop the exportation of communist insurrection from Nicaragua?

**SINGLAUB:** I believe that it need not involve the commitment of U.S. Armed Forces. What we need to do is provide them with what they don't have. To a certain extent they have some weapons. They need more weapons, but most important they must have a continuous source of ammunition, communications and transportation equipment. Right now, they are more concerned with whether or not the whimsy of the

Congress will shift from week to week under the leadership of Tip O'Neill.

**CR:** Do you think President Reagan's defense budgets and direction in foreign policy are helping to contain Communism?

**SINGLAUB:** I would say the results suggest that is true. The fact that we were willing to take the steps necessary not to be bullied in the Gulf of Sidra off the coast of Libya; the fact we were willing to use our military power to liberate the island of Grenada and rescue some of our own citizens is a significant change from the last administration. Morale in the armed forces is way up due to the fact that they are getting more money and are able to train better. One of the problems we had before is that we did not have enough money in the Operations and Maintenance budget to allow adequate training. We have planes that are very sophisticated but our pilots didn't have enough flying hours to be able to use those planes to their capacity. You can't learn to operate a plane if it's sitting on the ground. You can't learn to drive a tank or fire a weapon without driving a tank or firing a weapon. We're now in much better shape and morale is up, respect for the armed forces is up and quality in the armed forces is up.



# Peace in a World of Conflict

By C.G. Alario

In today's world, mankind has the capacity to destroy civilization. The United States and the Soviet Union cannot afford to go to war against each other now nor in the foreseeable future. The consequences of such a war would be devastating and irreversible. In nuclear war, there will be no winners, only losers. How do we avoid a superpowers' confrontation in the age of nuclear warfare? Will peace be the final solution? Peace is not an end in itself, but it is our only viable alternative. "Peace is not an end to conflict," Richard Nixon states, "but rather a means of living with conflict." There is no universal equation, if applied correctly, that will lead the nuclear adversaries, arm in arm, down the road to peace. Peace between the United States and the Soviet Union must be a continuing process for controlling conflict in a world plagued with competing interests. A lasting peace will require incessant attention, based on the realities confronting today's world or it will perish.

In the West, the peace activists or "peaceniks" impede our leaders' efforts in the peace process. The peaceniks naively approach the complex problem of peace with absurdly simplistic solutions. They want peace at any price. Most of their activities are harmless. They print catchy one-line bumperstickers, attend rallies and sit-ins and propagandize their well-intended, flaw-filled idealism about peace. Many have not evolved out of their glorious years of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The peaceniks have devised various fantasies on how to achieve peace. Nevertheless, their activities do distract and perplex our leaders in their decision-making and in negotiations with the Soviets. In Europe, the Soviets tried, but failed, to monopolize the sentiment aroused by the peace movement there to block the deployment of U.S. Pershing II's and cruise missiles. There are limits to idealism. But the peaceniks have become intoxicated with it, no longer reacting to the actual world around them. It is time to draw a fine line between their ideals and the realities, such as constant conflict, in our world.

Conflict is a natural state of affairs in the international arena. It is a force that has existed since the dawn of civilization. The pages of history are plagued with conflict. Conflict arises through competing interests, be it individuals, religions or nations. The peace activists either ignore self-interest or wish it would simply vanish from the face of the world. We do not have access to the means to change human nature. Moreover, it seems very unlikely that self-interest will vanish. Conflict cannot be ignored. A lasting peace will have to exist right along side with conflict. A sober understanding about conflict and why it arises is a necessary precondition in our never-ending search for peace.



There are profound irreconcilable differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. Our ideologies and global outlooks are diametrically opposed. Political differences will continue to exist between these two competing adversaries. We both have vested interests in the world, however, often times these interests conflict. Each country differs on their conception of freedom as a means and a goal. Each country needs a certain modicum of international control in order to maintain its own standard of freedom. The conflict of interests begins here.

The peaceniks contend we should encourage the Soviet Union's "good" behavior. They argue that the Soviet's aggressive behavior is due to their fear of the United States and its allies. The Soviets build bombs because we do. Every act of Soviet aggression, including the invasion of Afghanistan and the downing of KAL 007, they excuse as a reaction to their need to feel safe in a hostile, capitalistic world. The peaceniks insist that if we cease our preparation for war, as a peaceful initiative, the Soviets will do likewise.



The peaceniks are caught in a swift current of high-minded, idealistic fallacies. They are being pulled farther and farther out to sea, away from the shores of reality. The Soviets are building arms to achieve a position of military superiority. Their behavior is not out of fear, but rather their idea of self-interest. The Soviet Union is capable of destroying the world, their military power is enormous, it does not invade a country consisting of Afghan tribesmen or shoot down an unarmed civilian airliner out of fear. Should the United States be blamed for the Soviet's aggressive behavior? Perhaps, the Soviet Union would act differently if the United States were not here. However, the United States is here and given our interests which are legitimate, the Soviets will continue to react in ways that are unfriendly to those interests.

The Kremlin leadership should be recognized for what they are, not what we wish them to be. They are Communists, schooled and trained under the Stalinist system. Admittedly, the present leadership may not be as ruthless as the Stalin regime was in its time, however, deep down, they are still Stalinists. Underneath their "humanitarian" and "peaceful" exterior lies their powerful interior, willing to apply the necessary means to achieve the desired end in internal matters as well as external ones. They foment revolution, subvert governments and sponsor international terrorism. They defend actions such as these, or deny them, of their government on the basis of national security or historical necessity. Their government is not one of the people; they, the Communist Party, are the government. It is doubtful that they will change in the foreseeable future. A lasting peace will require a conscious recognition of their Machiavellian nature.

The peaceniks persist that the East-West struggle is just an overblown misunderstanding, which can be easily overcome. All we have to do is sit-down and talk-it-over. Afterwards, we will shake hands, make-up and become peace-loving comrades. Would it not be nice if it was as simple as they profess? The people of the United States and the Soviet Union may be friends, but their governments, as currently constituted, can never be friends. Their nations' interests are irreconcil-

able. The peace that these few blind idealists so desperately want cannot be founded upon mutual friendship. We should continue to communicate with the Soviets, but with the knowledge that due to the international implications of their ideology (or their thirst for power), our governments have conflicting interests which cannot be fully reconciled. A lasting peace must be grounded in the Soviet's sincere respect for the United States' military power; a power capable of discouraging Soviet adventurism abroad.

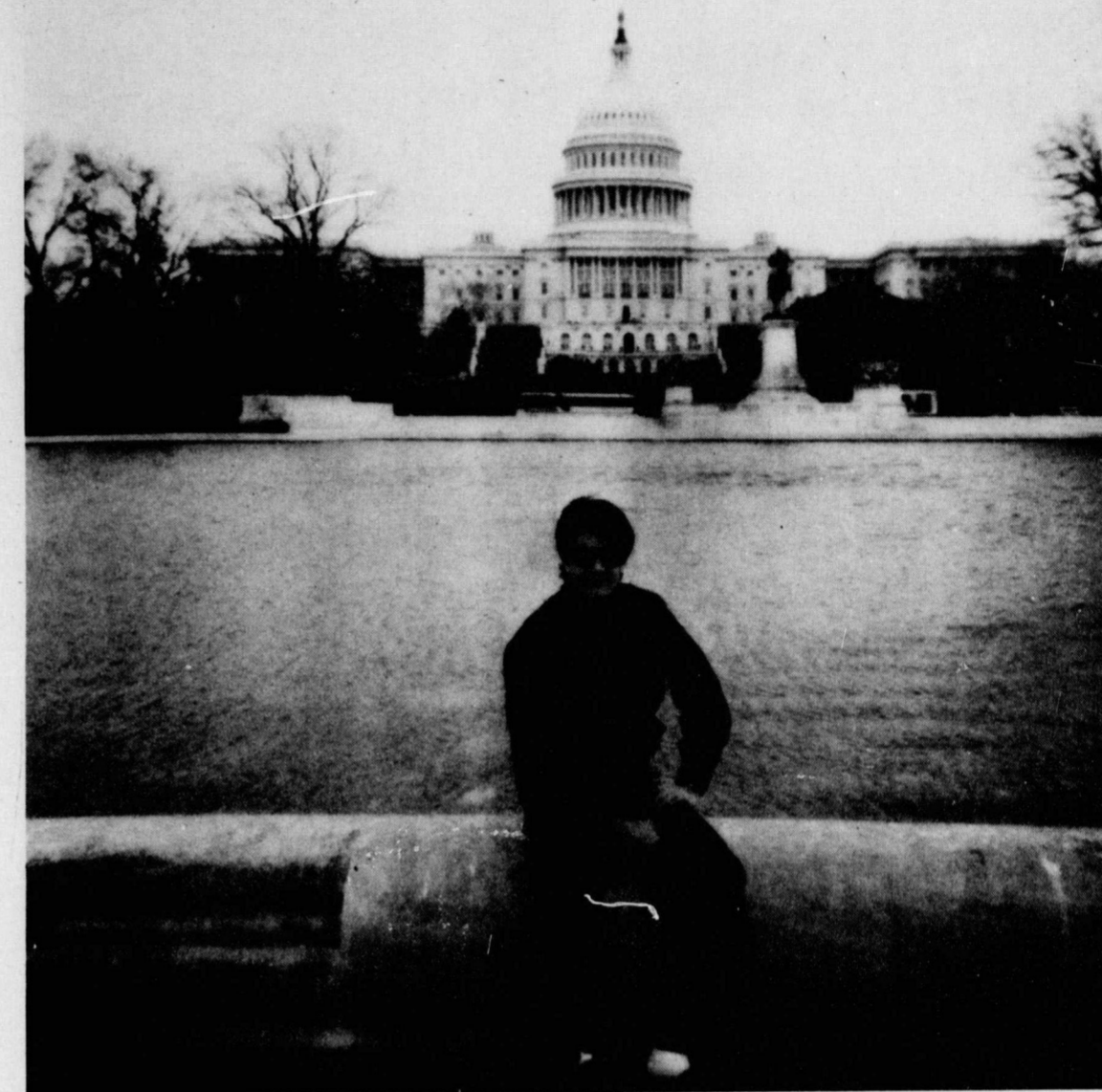
I am not implying that the United States is perfect. Yes, we have our problems, but we try not to export them to other regions in the world. The sacrifices we endured in the previous World Wars have not been forgotten. The United States and its allies will not be caught sleeping again in the face of tyranny and aggression. Is it wrong for the United States to stand-up and defend its interests in the world? Peace will not come easy or cheap. The Soviet Union's expansionist policies are the major obstacle to peace in our time. Conflict will not wither away or cease to exist. It is here to stay and it must be acknowledged in our pursuit for peace. If we are militarily strong and resolute, the Soviets will enter into sincere negotiations for peace. The United States, with a strong military defense, will be prepared for peace.

C.G. Alario is a senior at UCSD.

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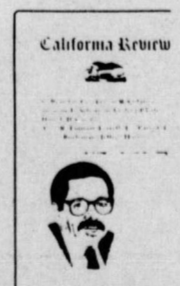


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# San Diego Symphony

## Upcoming Concerts

Date	Program
November 29, 30 December 1, 2	<b>Rossini:</b> Overture: Seniramide <b>Khachaturian:</b> Piano Concerto <b>Mendelssohn:</b> Symphony No. 3
December 6, 7, 9	<b>Handel:</b> Concerto grosso Op.6 <b>Strauss:</b> Suite for 13 Wind Instruments <b>Stamitz:</b> Sinfonia Concertante <b>Stravinsky:</b> Symphony in C
December 14, 15, 16	<b>Rands:</b> Suite: Le Tambourin <b>Haydn:</b> Concerto for Cello in C major <b>Rimsky-Korsakov:</b> "Scheherazade"

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