

C. Brandon Crocker: Markets vs. Government Edicts

James D. Spounias: Homosexuality and Christianity

California Review

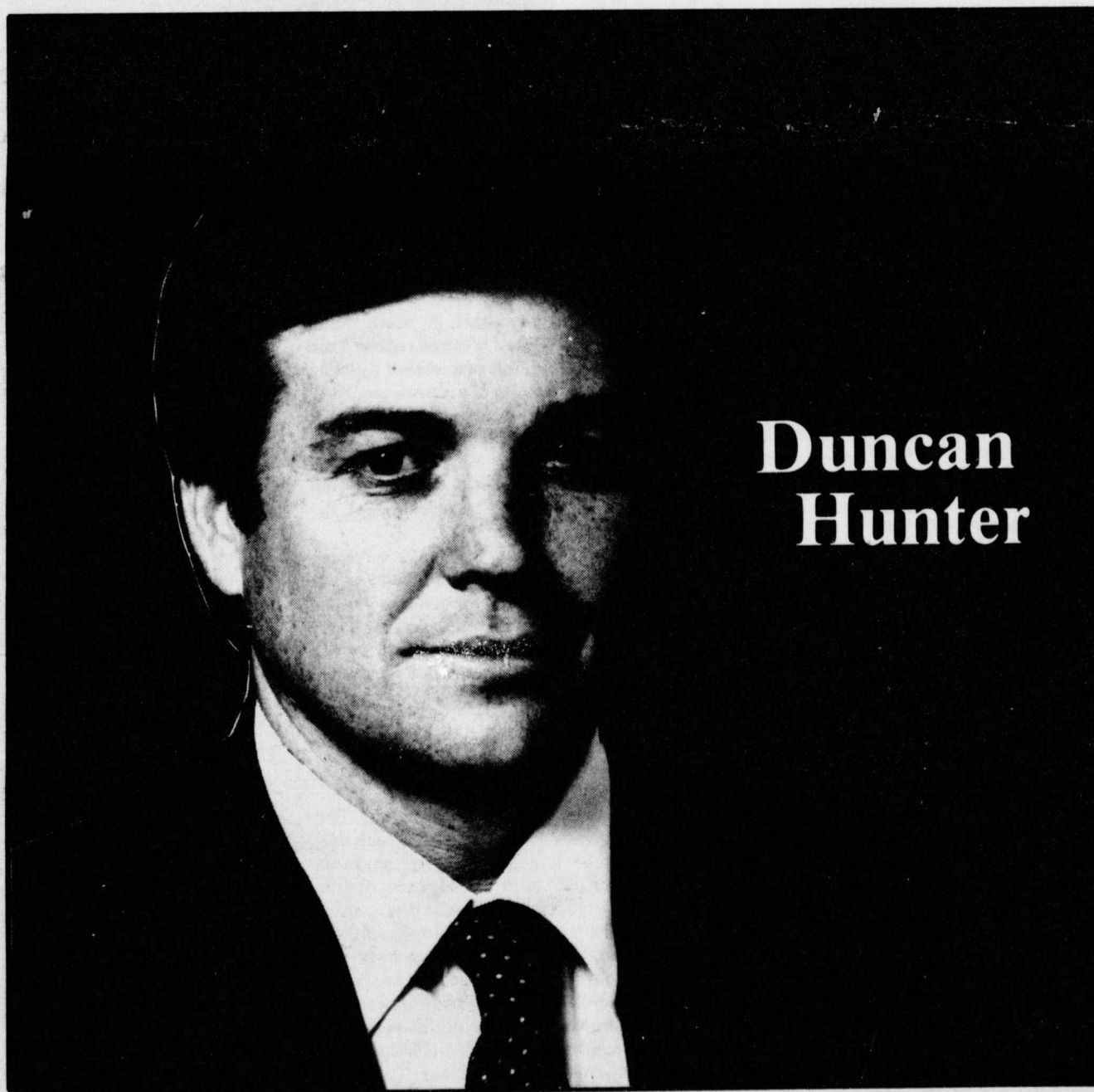
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C. G. Alario: Inside Nicaragua
H. W. Crocker III: With the Libertarians
James Kohut on Containment
Also: John D. Kubeck, G. James Jason,
William Penn, Jr. . . .



**Duncan
Hunter**

The Not-So-Good Earth

Broken Earth: The Rural Chinese
by Steven Mosher
The Free Press
316 pages, \$17.95

By Dr. G. James Jason

There has been something especially fascinating about Maoist China for left-wing intellectuals. I recall that in my early graduate school days there were two fellow students who worshipped Mao and the Chinese communist party. They were at the time learning Chinese, the better to worship in the church of Mao, and they dreamt of working on a Chinese commune the way some people dream of living in Hawaii. They were not unlike many other American college students in the early 70's.

I was accordingly quite eager to dip into Steven Mosher's book, *Broken Earth*, which is about life in rural China today. Mosher is a Stanford-educated anthropologist who spent 1979-80 living in a Chinese village on a special exchange program. Mosher's book is a frank expose of the Marxist regime and its deleterious effect on the Chinese. (Indeed, Stanford—at the bidding of the Chinese government—kicked Mosher out of its PhD program for his revelations. In attempting to suppress Mosher's freedom of speech, Stanford loses much of its lustre—lustre already tarnished by the attempt of many of the faculty to expel the conservative Hoover Institute.)

Mosher's book focuses upon the life of the Chinese peasant. The early chapters of the book give the reader a clear picture of peasant life, and his genuine love for China and her people comes through. But he quickly turns to what the Chinese system—a system Mosher bluntly calls a police state—does to the peasants, in often frightening detail.

The reader is not surprised to learn that the Chinese bureaucracy—perhaps 20 million strong—is sprawling and oppressive. A day at the Department of Motor Vehicles is as close as the average American comes to the frustration of dealing with bureaucracy. That experience leaves the American ill-equipped to conceive the tremendous daily frustration the Chinese must face. But what is a surprise is the degree to which these bureaucrats (called "cadres") are corrupt. To get anything done—be it obtain scarce parts or permission to emigrate to Hong Kong—lower-level cadres lead lives of comparative wealth and privilege. And alongside this governmental corruption is a thriving black market.

Worse still are the periodic political campaigns inflicted upon the hapless peasants. We have all heard of the biggest of these campaigns: the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and (more recently) the Four Modernizations. But Mosher points out that such campaigns are manufactured almost every year. Many campaigns are ignored or passively resisted by the people, and quickly die off. But some of the campaigns are viciously pushed. The Cultural Revolution claimed untold lives. The Great Leap Forward, Mao's hysterical campaign to dramatically increase production, resulted in the deaths of anywhere from 11 to 30 million people. (We rightly remember to Nazi atrocities, but why are our memories so defective about the Marxist atrocities, atrocities so much more numerous?) Mosher describes the projects undertaken during the Great Leap Forward in a passage as much sadly puzzled as ironic:

The projects of this period reminded me of nothing so much as a Maoist mutation of a New Guinea cargo cult whose devotees carve landing strips out of the jungle in the fervent hope that this will prompt planes laden with the products of industrial civilization to land. It was as if the smelters, the schools, and the great, middling, and minor halls of the people that the Great Leap spawned might by a similar alchemy conjure up the industrialized, educated, and democratic society of the Communist millennium.

Mosher writes with a clarity and force not commonly found in academic writing. This power serves him well when he describes the horrific campaign to control population. Nowhere is the power of the state to control even the most private aspects of people's lives so evident. In this birth-control campaign, women who have had two children and are pregnant with a third are coerced into having abortions—even if eight months pregnant. As Mosher points out, it may be

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Samuel J. Spounias

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unclear to what extent women should be free to terminate their pregnancies, but it is absolutely clear that compulsory sterilizations and abortions are gross violations of human rights. Consider this case:

The woman in the far bed was clearly in much worse shape. Her swollen and blood-flecked eyes had regarded me briefly when I entered the room, but soon moved listlessly away. Thereafter, she took no notice of my presence, lying inert under the mantle of her blanket, seemingly unaware of her surroundings. I had thought at first that she was under medication for pain, but the woman's work cadre informed me that, aside from the "poison shot," she received no medicine . . . Nevertheless, the cadre hastened to add, the woman was not in any pain.

Not in any physical pain perhaps, I mentally corrected her, as I moved over to the woman's side, intending to ask her how she felt. But before I could get the question out, she turned away from me to face the wall and pulled her heavy quilt up over her head as a further shield. I could see her body compact itself under the quilt as she curled up in a ball around her dead fetus.

That isn't just repression, it is torture. It is treatment on a par with what took place in Nazi concentration camps.

Mosher has the courage to face hard questions. The crucial question, the question that arises for each and every communist takeover, is whether the peasants and workers are better off under the Marxist regime than under the one it replaced. That is the crucial question, because Marxists and their apologists always justify the periodic slaughters that occur under Marxist regimes by arguing that the mass of people are better off under Marxism, even if a "few" people get hurt. (The cynical aphorism Marxists cite in this regard is: "to make an omelette you must crack a few eggs".)

Mosher's answer to this question is clear. "Well into my stay in the countryside," he writes, "I would have agreed [...] that their revolution, if not quite "magnificent", had been an achievement of sorts for the Chinese peasant." But by the end of his stay his attitude changed. He admits that the peasants he talked to are from only one province, and perhaps things are different in other provinces (though he gives reasons to think not). But he concludes that the

peasants are not better off, and know they are not better off, under the Marxist regime. Mosher quotes one disgruntled peasant. "You want to know what has changed. I'll tell you. Since the revolution things have been real bad. We have to eat 'black rice' [rice of low quality]. We have to wear cheap, rationed cloth." In fact, as Mosher notes, the Chinese government recently acknowledged that only in the past few years has per capita grain consumption reached the levels enjoyed in the years immediately following the revolution.

Mosher writes,

In the composite sketch of peasant life in living memory that I pieced together from these individual accounts, the twenties and thirties stood out as a time of unprecedented prosperity. Southwestern China was under the benign leadership of Sun Yatsen, Chiang Kai-shek, and the Kuomintang, and the rural population of the region enjoyed a time of peace and plenty. It was this time of good food and feasting that the peasants, whose hearts are but a short remove from their stomachs, called their "golden age". The good life abruptly came to an end with the Japanese invasion, which, in the Pearl River Delta, led to mass starvation and emigration. After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, civil war engulfed northern China, but the south still enjoyed several years of resurgent prosperity before the People's Liberation Army came. Thereafter, to the peasants' way of thinking, the quality of life gradually declined. Only in the last several years, they agreed, have conditions improved to approximately those of the period 1949-52, when the Communists had yet to implement their rural program of collectivization and market control. Though real, the advances in rural health care, education, welfare, and flood control [...] (which would have occurred as well under a Kuomintang likewise committed to rural reconstruction) turned out to matter far less to the villagers than I had initially assumed. For peasants who had been forced to tighten their belts after they lost their family farms and the freedom of the market, they were scant compensation indeed.

Steven Mosher has written a rare book: clear, informative, fascinating, and honest. It deserves to be read.

Dr. G. James Jason is Professor of Philosophy at Washburn University.

Letters



Dear Mr. Spounias:

I am writing in response to your letter of October 24. Thanks for sending along the two newspapers. The quote in L'Chayim Quarterly certainly reflects my feelings about Meir Kahane, whom I have frequently described as a supporter of terrorism. Terrorism is a terrible plague in the modern world, and it is important for all decent people to speak out against Kahane and his like in the PLO, the IRA Provos, the Red Brigades and all the other groups of that ilk. Your own contribution to this effort is welcome. All the best.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch
Mayor, New York City

Dear California Review:

In re your ad in *The American Spectator*: I want to help destroy the American Republic. Please send me six issues of *California Review* so I might spy out what sort of ammunition will be used against me and my fellow barbarians in our attempts to attack country, families and spice. Enclosed is my check for \$15.

Sincerely yours,

Ethan Akin
Northvale, New Jersey

Dear Editor:

Every time the media runs a story pointing out how much the federal Civil Service is overpaid, the newspapers are flooded with indignant letters from these workers claiming it just ain't so. Recent stories drawn from the Grace Commission report on government

waste elicited predictable responses that ranged from the ridiculous to the sublime.

One chap claimed that the firing of government air traffic controllers simply because they had already quit their jobs was proof that federal job security was indeed tenuous. Others felt the best defense was to attack the messenger, raising the irrelevant point that Peter Grace makes more than they do. Yet another bemoaned the poor heating system in his building and the lack of a "company party."

Claims and counterclaims concerning the adequacy of government pay scales can be both silly and confusing. Allow me to suggest a more objective criteria for judging the proper balance between the demands of government employment vs the total benefits received. It's called the law of supply and demand.

If the government has trouble filling vacancies and retaining trained personnel, then it should improve the compensation package it offers its employees. If, however, it is flooded with many more qualified applicants than it can possibly use and has a low turnover rate among trained employees, then we taxpayers do indeed overpay our public servants.

The evidence overwhelmingly indicates the latter scenario applies. Columnist James Kilpatrick reports that the "quit rate" of government employees is only one-tenth to one-third the quit rate of private industry employees. As for the availability of new hires, by and large the government is swamped with applications (certain exceptions exist in technical areas such as data processing).

If you doubt this overabundance of applicants, ask yourself why you never see a recruiting ad for Civil Service employment on TV or in the "help wanted" section of the paper. Government bureaucrats keep quiet about new job openings lest they be embarrassed by publicity reporting hoards of job hunters lined up for blocks seeking one of the few openings available.

Dick Rider, Vice Chair
San Diego County Libertarian Party

Dear Professor Jason:

I just finished reading your "Marxism and Polite Company," which appeared in the current issue of CALIFORNIA REVIEW. It struck a very familiar chord. Congratulations on such a witty — yet trenchant — critique of Marxists.

Sincerely,

Alfred G. Cuzan
Associate Professor of Political Science
The University of West Florida
Pensacola, Florida



California Review

Credo: Imperium et libertas.



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



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

In Review

■ Just another typical day in Beirut. Last month the first four favorite horses fell during an early race at the newly reopened track, allowing a longshot to win. Those who had put their money on the four horses that fell were so enraged that track officials, in order to avoid a riot, declared the race void and refunded all bets. Soon afterwards an angered man who had bet on the longshot, fired a rocket at the track. Though no one was injured, the blast did cause a good deal of damage.

■ Swiss doctors have documented another hazard faced by joggers. Since 1982, doctors in Liestal, Switzerland have treated 12 joggers who said they were attacked by large birds. Five of the joggers were able to identify their assailants as buzzards. Writing in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, one doctor described the attacks. "The birds attacked by diving from behind and continuing to dive as long as joggers were in motion."

■ The Defense Department's hot line for reporting abuses in military spending, which was put into operation two years ago, has so far resulted in a savings of \$3.5 million.

■ Last month, for the second time in its 29-year history, a baby was born at Disneyland. The unsuspecting father, however, missed the event because he was standing in line for the Space Mountain ride. According to a Disneyland spokesman, "The father was still in line when the baby was being born. We sent over a security officer to wait until he finished the attraction. He was a bit surprised."

■ In Clovis, California school trustees have added an article to the school dress code prohibiting boys from wearing earrings to class.

■ And in Grenada, tourism increased 28% in the first four months of 1984 over the same period in 1983.

■ *California Review* would like to voice its support for the idea of salaries for housewives. We also put forth a proposal that husbands should charge their housewives for room and board.

■ Former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was recently overheard complaining about the high taxes he has to pay on his lecture fees. Schmidt asked his former finance minister, Manfred Lahnstein, who the idiots were who rescinded a law that would have allowed him substantial tax benefits. Lahnstein replied, "That was us, Helmut."

■ After being labeled "a poisonous weed" during the Cultural Revolution, Shakespeare is making a comeback in Mainland China. Last month "Othello" premiered in Beijing. The Chinese were not reluctant to edit Shakespeare, however, shortening the 4 hour play to 2 hours.

■ In other news from China, the government is advocating the replacement of chopsticks with knives and forks. *The People's Daily* comments that the use of Western utensils reflects a "civilized, healthy and scientific way of life." How times change.

■ More wisdom from "civil rights leader" and former Democratic presidential candidate, Jesse "Hymie Town" Jackson:

"I don't care what they say, you just can't trust the Jews. I never have trusted those people. You just can't trust 'em, just can't trust 'em."
"Yassar Arafat is my friend and the friend of justice and humanity."

■ Meanwhile, UN diplomats made good use of their diplomatic immunity last year by piling up 48,000 uncollectable parking fines totalling nearly one million dollars. One Senegalese car collected 286 tickets.

■ NOTICE TO ALL SEXUAL HARASSERS: Evidently the University is eager to coordinate your activities. UCSD has a "Sexual Harassment Coordinator." The number to call is 452-6861.

■ Actress Barbara Bain is considering legal action after her dog was struck and killed by a six pound copy of *The Los Angeles Times* tossed into her yard by a paper boy.

■ Luton airport in Britain has seized the private Boeing 707 of a Saudi Arabian businessman who left it there more than two years ago—accumulating a parking bill of about \$40,000.



■ The *UNH Herald* at the University of New Hampshire recently collected some quotes from actual letters received by public welfare and census departments. Among them were,

"I am very much annoyed to find that you have branded my boy illiterate, as this is a dirty lie. I was married a week before he was born."

"I am forwarding my marriage certificate and my three children, one of which was a mistake, as you will see."

"In accordance with your instructions, I have given birth to twins in the enclosed envelope."

"I want my money quick as I can get it. I have been in bed with the doctor for two weeks and he doesn't do me any good. If things don't improve, I will have to send for another doctor."

■ This reminds us of a letter we received from an IRS "tax law specialist" a couple of years ago, a portion of which follows.

"Please signed the attached certification statement and returned in the enclosed envelope provided for your convenience.

"We apologize for any inconvenience we have cause you."

■ The day after East Germany dismantled some of the more gruesome booby traps along the Berlin Wall as a "humanitarian gesture", East German guards shot and killed a man trying to escape to the West. Meanwhile, little Samantha Smith continued her struggle to promote understanding between East and West by presenting Soviet children with a "peace petition" signed by thousands of American children.

■ And a group of citizens concerned with the separation of church and state are up in arms over the planned 44 cent stamp to bear the portrait of Father Junipero Serra. No doubt their next move is to call for the expunging of Father Serra from all history books used in the public schools.

■ "Actress" Pia Zadora is having a hard time on the British stage. *The London Times* reports that during one performance of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, in which she played the title role, the audience found her performance of "such 'sublime awfulness' that when the Germans were searching Anne's family home, someone burst out, 'She's in the attic.'"

■ Elephants that have been raiding an Indonesian village in what one villager termed "a show of force," are going to be sent to a vocational school by the reform-minded Indonesian government. At the school the elephants are to learn how to carry logs and how to perform circus tricks.

■ A publication put out by the Women's Resource Center entitled "Resources for Women at UCSD," warns women "not to buy into the male systems of violence and power." Now, now, let's not be sexist.

■ Four teachers in England, in an attempt to make math more attractive to minorities, have suggested that instead of having, say, graphs showing how fast an iceberg melts, students should be asked to work out the ratios of population to land among different racial groups in South Africa.

■ President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania blames the disaster in Ethiopia on the United States and other "rich Western nations." The U.S. government alone has poured more than \$120 million (with much more on the way) for famine relief while Ethiopia's ally, the U.S.S.R., ships in weapons, (on which the Marxist Ethiopian government spends 46% of the gross national product), and the Ethiopian air force bombs refugee columns from provinces where there is anti-communist sentiment. The Ethiopian government itself has done little to prevent or ease famine conditions but recently spent \$100 million to celebrate the 10th anniversary of communist rule in Ethiopia. If we are really serious about ending suffering in Ethiopia, we should overthrow the Ethiopian government.

■ By the way, before becoming Marxist, Tanzania was a net exporter of corn. Now, under Marxist President Nyerere, Tanzania is a net importer of corn. If the "rich Western nations" followed the policies of much of the Third World, we would all be starving.

■ The Marxist Ethiopian government is keeping U.S. and other famine relief from the starving in anti-communist Tigre province. If you would like to help these people, which the press doesn't talk about and which the Marxist Ethiopian regime would like to see dead, send your donation to the Relief Society of Tigre, North America, 1736 13th St., N.W., P.O. Box 6522, Washington, DC 20009.

■ Meanwhile, the United Nations' General Assembly has voted to spend \$73.5 million in aid for Ethiopia. The aid, however, is not going to feed the starving but to improve the facilities of the Centre for the Economic Commission for Africa, located in Addis Ababa. The U.S., Britain and the Benelux countries were the only ones to vote against this expenditure.

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)

The Gordon Centenary

An Eminent Victorian Revisited

By H.W. Crocker III

In early February, *Punch* had printed a full-page cartoon of the besieged general welcoming British relief forces into Khartoum with the caption: "At last!" One week later, *Punch* was obliged to print another cartoon. This time Britannia was hiding her eyes in shame while Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, led his marauding derbies into the city. The caption read: "Too late!"

One hundred years ago, on January 26th, 1885, General Charles Gordon died at Khartoum. His head was severed from his body and jammed between the branches of a tree, where the Mahdi's soldiers hurled stones at it, slicing through the flesh, abolishing its features. His body was mutilated—it had been left lying in a courtyard so that every warrior could plunge his spear into it—and was eventually tossed down a well. The British expeditionary force arrived some 60 hours too late, on January 28th, General Gordon's birthday.



General Gordon, 1884
The Illustrated London News Picture Library

His first biographers painted him as a Christian hero. Lytton Strachey, in his famous *Eminent Victorians* published in 1918, (a book Kipling regarded as "downright wicked at heart"), altered the portrait by taking note of Gordon's eccentricities. Since then, the field of Gordon biography has been divided between Gordon apologists and men who would write him off as a crank. The truth about General Gordon lies somewhere in the middle, in the fusion of the heroic and the eccentric aspects of his character.

Gordon must be placed in historical perspective. To regard him as a paragon of Victorian muscular Christianity is a mistake. Gordon belonged to a church of one. He had no truck with Anglicanism, Non-conformism, or Roman Catholicism. He was a fervent believer, but he considered preachers to be the "Pharisees of the day" and he had compliments for the heathen. "I like the Mussulman, he is not ashamed of his God. His life is a fairly pure one. Certainly he gives himself a good margin in the wife line, but at any rate he never poaches on others. Can Christian people say the same?" It is worth bearing in mind that many of Gordon's contemporaries—with the notable exception of his comrade-in-arms, Lord Wolseley—thought him a nut and were unimpressed by his hurling religious fliers from train windows and his sneaking evangelical tracts onto park benches and into the hands of any possible convert.

But what is quintessentially Victorian about Gordon is his incredible, neverfailing energy. At the drop of a hat, he goes from the Crimea to Bessarabia, to China, to Central Africa, to the Sudan, to Abyssinia, to India, back to China, to Mauritius, to South Africa, to Palestine, and back again to the Sudan, (with occasional pit stops in Britain). Always he is in constant motion—at war or battling a deadly tropical climate—leading, constructing, surveying, never taking a day's rest. When in England, he did what all good Victorians were supposed to do—show a deep concern for Britain's moral uplift. And he did it with exuberance. He devoted himself to charity—during the Lancashire famine, he found he had nothing to give to the public subscription that was being opened, (having already given away everything he had to give to other worthy causes), so he effaced the inscription of a gold medal that had been struck by the Chinese Emperor in recognition of his achievements in putting down the Taiping uprising, and made an anonymous gift of it—and he left his house open to all manner of ragged boys—whom he taught, reformed, and returned to the world,

where he delighted in following their progress.

Gordon's qualities were many. He was a courageous and brilliant officer, honest (in a most undiplomatic way—when he tried to tell the Mandarins that China's policy with Russia was based on "idiocy," the interpreter refused to translate, so he seized up a dictionary and pointed the word out to his hosts), wickedly funny—he found it impossible to deal with a man named Pasquali, because he expected a man with a name like that "to burst into song at any moment"—and to top it all, a first class misogynist. With Christmas approaching, one Miss Surridge, who evidently had the good General in her sights, wrote to him saying: "Think of me at Christmas, all alone." Gordon promised to think of her and said he hoped he would be all alone too.

It is, of course, from the siege of Khartoum that Gordon emerges in all his glory. Supply-siders can wax ecstatic over him because one of his first acts upon taking command of the city was to make an enormous reduction in the tax rate. For others, as Alan Moorehead comments in his highly acclaimed *The White Nile*, there is a quality to the Gordon of the "last days of the siege that seems rather to belong to legendary tragedy, to some incident of history as it is imagined in a fresco or a painting, than to life itself." Indeed there is, as anyone familiar with any of the Gordon literature or with the superlative film *Khartoum* can attest. And it is General Gordon himself who is responsible for this sense of marvel, of tragic inevitability, and of epic heroism. His character, powerful and radiant, works an inexplicable magic upon us.

Surrounded, cut off from communication with Cairo since March, the people starving, the worthless Egyptian soldiers giving way to more lassitude than usual, Gordon stands on the roof of his palace, peering through his telescope at the Mahdi's gathering hordes and at the falling Nile that gives them hope of breaching his defenses. He is a lone, devoted figure, prone to anger and to sarcasm, but always brave and always admirable.

Gordon had no fear of death. It was part of his religion and part of his glory that he did not. The way he expressed his fearlessness could sometimes be disconcerting, as when he struck Lord William Beresford on the shoulder and said: "Yes, that is flesh, that is what I hate, and what makes me wish to die." But it could also be inspiring, as when he led the "Ever Victorious Army" into battle in China armed only with a light cane; and proud, as when King Johannes of Abyssinia told Gordon that he could have him killed for his impertinence, and Gordon replied that nothing would delight him more.

So it was not for himself that Gordon sought deliverance from the Mahdi's seething fanatics. But he considered it incumbent upon Britain to rescue the people who were trapped with him. He would not abandon them, and when he discovered that the relief expedition had been mounted to save him, he was furious. He was merely doing his duty. It was Khartoum and the Sudanese garrisons, not he, that must be saved. "I am not the rescued lamb, and I will not be."

Gordon need not have worried about being the rescued lamb. Instead, he was the sacrificial lamb to Gladstone's disinclination to use military force for any purpose other than protecting trade routes. General Sir Gerald Graham had been sent in February 1884, a month after Gordon's departure to Khartoum, to clear the approaches to Suakin on the Red Sea. After he had done so, (his troops defeated

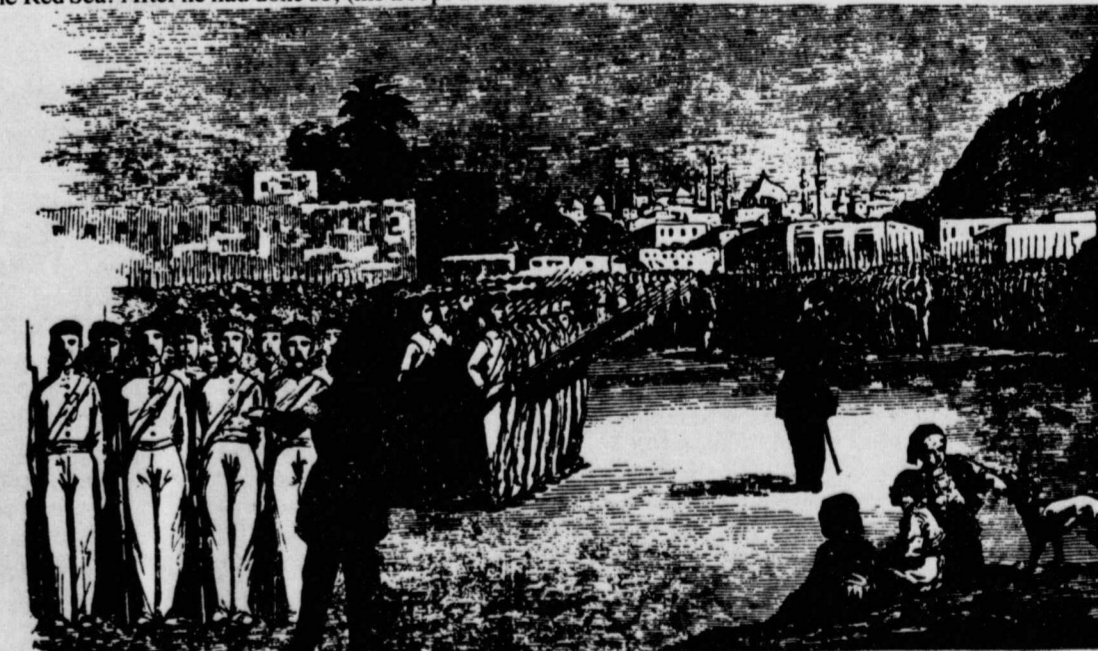
the rebels at El Teb on February 29th and at Tamai on March 13th), both he and Gordon expected that British forces would be used to preserve the lines of communication between Khartoum and Cairo by taking and holding Berber. Instead, Graham was ordered to return home. It was decided that it was "unreasonable" to keep troops in the Sudan to protect Gordon and Khartoum, for which the government held little hope, and under no circumstances did Gladstone want to "smash-up" the Mahdi, something Gordon recommended that Britain do now before it was compelled to do so later. (The Mahdi's forces were finally "smashed-up" by the British at Omdurman in 1898. The Mahdi himself died five months after Gordon.)

General Graham left the Sudan for Egypt on March 12th. On March 13th, the telegraph lines linking Khartoum and Cairo were cut, and the investment of Khartoum was complete. For the rest of his life, General Graham regretted he had not acted without orders to do what his military sense advised him. Even after Graham's departure, Gordon was certain that a relief column would arrive. Its constant failure to do so, tarnished his reputation with the people, who held him in reverence. He had told them over and over again that the British would surely come. The people's hopes diminished with every empty promise, but they would have had no hope at all without Gordon's continual reassurances that they were not forgotten. In October, he wrote: "If they [the British troops] do not come up before 30th November, the game is up, and rule Britannia. In this calculation I have given every latitude for difficulties of transport, making forts etc., and on the 15th November I ought to see Her Majesty's uniform." November passed. On December 13th, he issued another warning. "NOW MARK THIS, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than two hundred men, does not come in ten days, *the town may fall*; and I have done my best for the honour of my country."

There was no panic within him. He had, in fact, envisaged his demise in October: "It is, of course, on the cards," he wrote, that the expeditionary force would be "just too late." When the time came and the Mahdi's men broke into the city, at 3 a.m., embarking on a spree of rape, pillage, and murder that would last for six hours, Gordon changed into a white uniform, equipped himself with a sword and a revolver, and waited at the top of the stairs to the palace. There was a moment of silence as he stood confronting the surging warriors of Allah. Finally, one of them shouted, "O, cursed one, your time has come," and he was felled by a flurry of spears.

For those who have it within them to be inspired by valorous men, Gordon stands in marble in a pantheon of heroes. For all his individuality, for all his peculiarity, he represents many of the virtues that stout-hearted men hold dear. The relationship between Gordon the eccentric, the misogynist, and the *soi-disant* Christian and Gordon the hero is a complex one—the two sides of the man are mixed together in a truly epic grandeur; and the ineluctable fact is that the one gave birth to the other. Where do we get such men? They don't make them anymore. And that's a pity.

H.W. Crocker III is a co-founder of the Review and post-graduate student at the University of Southern California School of International Relations in London. This article reprinted with permission of The San Diego Union.



A Revolution Betrayed:

By C.G. Alario

In early January, CR editor C.G. Alario and Students for a Better America's (SBA) director of research, J. Michael Waller, visited the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) freedom fighters, who are fighting the Marxist Sandinista Government, at their camp in Jinotega, Nicaragua.

The trip was arranged by SBA.

The liberal media in the United States have painted a distorted picture of the FDN and its struggle against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The questionable expectations that the liberal media have fostered regarding the FDN freedom fighters, and Nicaragua in general, were quickly put to rest upon my arrival in Nicaragua. I found no evidence indicating Ronald Reagan's so-called "secret war." There were no CIA officials nor bands of American mercenaries. In fact, in May, 1984, the United States' "covert" aid for Nicaraguan freedom fighters ran out.

The FDN is not a band of undisciplined, barbaric guerillas nor divisions of former Somocista National Guardsmen as the liberal media would have you think. Rather, the FDN is a well-organized, disciplined and dedicated military force. The freedom fighters prefer to be called commandos, not contras. The term "contras" refers to counter-revolutionaries. The Sandinistas branded the freedom fighters with this inappropriate label.

The FDN insists that the Sandinistas have betrayed the revolution. The goals of the revolution, such as democracy, freedom and basic civil rights, have not materialized under the Sandinista government. The FDN is fighting to recapture the revolution and set Nicaragua on a course towards the people's original goals.

Who are these Sandinistas whom the FDN is fighting? In 1962, Carlos Fonseca Amador, a self-professed communist, founded the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Amador developed close ties with Cuba's Fidel Castro. The revolution would be modeled after the pattern of events that took place in Cuba.



FDN commandos on the firing range.

There are no doubts surrounding the Marxist/Leninist nature of the FSLN. Those in the United States who insist that the Reagan administration's policies towards Nicaragua forced it into the communist orbit are incorrect. The Sandinistas have always been orientated towards the Cuban model of communism. The Sandinistas sought to align themselves with many non-Marxists sectors of society in 1978, prior to the overthrow of Somoza. They presented themselves as if they too were seeking democracy. The people of Nicaragua believed them. However, since the Sandinistas have come into power, most of the people who supported the Sandinistas have seen their hopes of true democratic institutions in their country disappear.

Most of the commandos that I encountered were *campesinos* (poor peasants), not national guardsmen. A significant number of the *campesinos* I spoke to were unhappy with the Sandinistas and their agrarian policies. Most prefer farming their own little farms to the Sandinista's collectives. Another complaint I heard repeatedly was, as one *campesino* remarked, "the *piricuacos* (rabid dogs) take our good white sugar we grow and in turn give us ration coupons for brown sugar." The term "*piricuacos*" refers to the Sandinistas. Most of the FDN commandos

"I did not fight to overthrow Somoza to turn Nicaragua into another Cuba."

— Former Sandinista now with the FDN.

use this term when speaking about the Sandinistas. Nicaraguans are simple people, who enjoy simple pleasures, such as white sugar. The coffee that they drink resembles syrup due to its high sugar content.

Many former Sandinistas have joined the FDN. Most deserted after the Sandinistas gained power in 1979. There was an element of betrayal underlying their reasons given for deserting. The most common reply I was given for desertion was that the Sandinistas have taken an obvious and decisive turn towards Cuba and the Soviet Union for political direction and aid. My friend Crisis, a former Sandinista, stated, "I did not fight to overthrow Somoza to turn Nicaragua into another Cuba." I should note that FDN commandos assume fictitious names to protect their identities and the families of those who still live in Nicaragua from Sandinista persecution.



J. Michael Waller and two commandos inspecting a 50mm machine gun.

In numerous conversations with the commandos, I was told about the Sandinista's atrocities against their own people. These atrocities ranged from religious persecution to abduction of young boys into the Sandinista's ever-growing military machine. One particular incident I found horrifying is that the Sandinistas will use East German military trucks to block entrances of a street, then proceed to go from door to door searching for eligible young boys to abduct. Reports such as these, however, rarely seem to make the liberal-biased newspapers here in the States.

The number of former national guardsmen in the FDN is relatively low compared to the number of peasants and

former Sandinistas. I met only a mere handful of them. The ones who have joined the FDN fight not to restore a right-wing dictatorship, but, rather for free and democratic institutions. I became close friends with Sherman, who was a second lieutenant in the national guard. The Sandinistas captured Sherman in Managua shortly after the fall of the Somoza government. He spent two and a half years in prison. During this period, Sherman was continuously tortured, denied sunlight for a year and denied proper medical attention by the Sandinistas. Throughout this ordeal, his weight dropped from 192 pounds to 105 pounds. Finally, in June, 1982, with the help of his friends on the outside, he escaped. Shortly afterwards, he joined the FDN to fight the Sandinistas.

I was detested by the vast numbers of Nicaraguan refugees. Consistent with their bias coverage of Nicaragua, the liberals tend to ignore the Nicaraguan refugee problem. The problem should not be surprising for it follows the same pattern of other countries who have been "liberated" by so-called liberation fronts (communists). There are thousands upon thousands of Nicaraguans who have fled their country. Today, they continue to flee. There are large numbers of refugees now living in Honduras, Los Angeles and Miami. If life in Nicaragua is supposedly better under the rule of the Sandinistas, then why are so many native Nicaraguans leaving?

The FDN is a volunteer army. It does not need to abduct new recruits. Those who want to join find their way to one of the camps or come with a returning FDN patrol. The FDN maintains only one requirement. Every volunteer must be a Nicaraguan national. There were no foreign mercenaries at the camp I was at.

The FDN also maintains a strict code of honor and does not rape and pillage the countryside in Nicaragua or indiscriminately kill civilians. The liberals print these accusations in their continuous effort to discredit the FDN and its struggle against the Sandinistas. The FDN relies on the support of the countryside for its patrols inside Nicaragua. The commandos buy their food supplies from sympathetic *campesinos*. Some patrols remain in Nicaragua

for up to six months at a time. Also, the FDN provides a check against Sandinista abuses in the countryside.

During my stay, I became very fond of one refugee in particular — Jaun. He is ten years old. For the last two years, he has lived at the camp as an orphan. "The communists killed my mother," he told me. He has no recollection of his deceased father. Jaun is only one of the countless stories just like him. The FDN is sincerely committed to the cause of the refugees. The camp I was at doubled as a refugee relief center. The FDN supports other refugee centers along the Nicaragua/Honduras border. The FDN provides food, shelter and limited medical attention. Also, they assist Nicaraguans fleeing to safety in Honduras. The Nicaraguan refugees are an untold

A Report From Nicaragua

story, desperately needing attention.

Mike and I were invited for lunch at the tent of recently arrived refugee family. Mike spoke to the parents. I sparked a conversation with the parent's son Charlie.

Charlie is sixteen years old. He spoke very good English. Prior to his departure from Chinandega, Nicaragua three months ago, he was a student at the local high school studying English. He told me he had problems with the Sandinistas because of their Marxist/Leninist ideology. "If one wants to go to school," he says, "one must break with the (Catholic) Church." He continued to complain about the Russians and the Cubans receiving the better



Commandos relaxing with astute political commentary.



houses, cars and maintaining higher standards of living than the average Nicaraguans. "The Russians and the Cubans come and implant their ideology and then they contradict it," he remarked. Charlie continues to refer to the neighborhood committee and how if you speak out against the Sandinistas they will not give you your ration cards.

The neighborhood committees are officially called the Sandinista Defense Committees. They are located on every block in every town. They monitor the attitudes and activities of every person living in the neighborhood. In reality, these committees are just another arm of the Sandinistas' highly-developed intelligence network. The committees perform other tasks besides civilian surveillance. Also, they are in charge of ration cards distribution. People who actively oppose the Sandinistas do not receive

their ration cards from the committees. In this way, the committee can exercise control over their neighborhoods efficiently with limited problems. Ration cards must be presented in order to purchase goods like sugar or rice in government-run stores.

The gains the Sandinistas claim for their campaign to stamp out illiteracy are questionable. Incidentally, the liberals praise the campaign as a great triumph with unquestioned devotion. The only figures and pertinent information concerning the literacy campaign have been those released by the Sandinista government. At the camp, I heard repeated reports that the campaign was a fraud. And many people have reported receiving diplomas from the literacy program that they cannot read.

The Nicaraguan elections were neither fair nor free. The Sandinistas effectively abused their position of incumbency and severely hampered the campaigns of the non-Marxist opposition parties. Furthermore, Arturo Cruz and his "Coordinadora" party, the most viable opposition, withdrew from the electoral process due to the unfair conditions set forth by the Sandinista dominated Supreme Electoral Council. The most blatant abuses by the Sandinistas were the censorship of the press (even though Daniel Ortega pledged to lift it) and the restrictions on advertising time (the opposition parties were not allowed television time and were allowed on only one

of the country's 320 radio stations with a limit of 15 minutes a day for all of the six potential opposition candidates. At the camp, the general consensus was that the elections were a farce.

The FDN represents a force for freedom. Presently, they number between an estimated 15,000 to 17,000 strong, up from an estimated 11,000 the previous year. The FDN has the necessary manpower but they are in desperate need of more military arms and equipment to accommodate their growing numbers.

The FDN arms itself mainly with captured Russian-made weapons and ammunition from the Sandinistas. I saw a very limited number of American made weapons at the camp. The Russian made AK-47 is the predominant rifle used by the commandos.

The United States Congress has severely strained the FDN commandos in their fight for freedom by cutting off aid. Central America's, as well as the United States', interests are clearly represented by the FDN. Now is the time for the United States to make a firm commitment, both financially and publicly, to the FDN freedom fighters.

C.G. Alario is a senior at UCSD and CR's foreign correspondent.



Commandos back from a patrol.



A group of female commandos.

California Review Interviews

Congressman Hunter is currently serving his third term as the representative of California's 45th District. The Congressman serves on the powerful House Armed Services Committee and also on the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He is known as one of the conservative "young Turks" in Congress and is an active member in the Conservative Opportunity Society, headed by Congressman Newt Gingrich, which is dedicated to exposing the views of liberal Democrats and to forming a conservative Republican majority in Congress. Congressman Hunter was elected "class President" by his 39 sophomore Republican House colleagues last year and he is an active member of the Hispanic Caucus. Congressman Hunter, upon returning from Geneva, where he observed the recent arms talks, graciously took time to talk with CR's C. Brandon Crocker and James Kohut.

CR: Could you tell us about your activities concerning the talks in Geneva?

HUNTER: The only official negotiators at Geneva were, of course, Secretary Schultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko. I went to Geneva on my own hook to observe the talks and to get briefed on the talks by our people. Secretary Schultz had several people from the administration, none from the legislative branch, to assist him. One was former arms control negotiator Paul Nitze, and also Ed Rowny and Bob McFarlane, the President's Security Advisor.

CR: Given the President's success in Geneva, how will Congress respond to requests for funding the MX missile and the strategic defense initiative?

HUNTER: I think you have to look at the context in which the negotiations took place. Number one, they only took place after the President of the United States braced up the rest of the Western world and refused to give into the Soviets during the Euromissiles crises. As you may recall the Soviets walked out of the INF and START talks after we refused to refrain from installing ground launched cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe. The Western democracies held tough; they were resolute. The Soviets walked out of the talks and the President of the United States was immediately blasted by the liberal press for having "failed" to keep the arms dialogue going. And yet, because of that show of strength and because of the strategic defense initiative (which was another thing denigrated by the liberal press) the Soviets came back to the talks. So I think the President and the conservative members of the Legislature should be given credit for bringing the Soviets back to the talks; not by being conciliatory, but by being strong.

Coming soon in California Review: An exclusive interview with former Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig, Jr.

What we got out of Geneva this month was basically an agreement to talk. There are many obstacles still ahead. Let me tell you basically what our problems are. In the early 1970s, the Soviets were the party which had problems. They were vastly inferior to us in ICBMs, in every strategic sense. We essentially gave them a license to build under SALT. Since 1972, the Soviets have built 758 ICBMs — SS-17s, SS-18s, and SS-19s. We have built and deployed none. In bombers they deployed more than 200 long-range strategic Backfire Bombers. We've so far built and deployed one B-1. In the third leg of the triad they have built and deployed 38 ballistic submarines; we have built and deployed a grand total of four submarines. So the point is, the arms race of the 1970s was really no race at all. It was a unilateral move by the Soviet Union to gain superiority. So in these talks we find ourselves with a problem. Our problem is we never anticipated that the Soviets would become as strong as they have in so short a period of time and that their missiles would have attained such accuracy in so short a period of time. Alone, their 308 SS-18 missiles have the capability of destroying the entire land based leg of our triad, our Minuteman missiles, with a pre-emptive first strike. Since they developed that capability in the late 1970s, Jimmy Carter started looking at a mobile MX system to make our heavy ICBMs survivable. We have been searching for an answer to this vulnerability and we haven't found it. Even though we've been building these last four years and we've initiated some strategic defense programs, we haven't produced any. And we go into these talks in a position of relative weakness in comparison to our position in the early 1970s. If we're going to make any headway in these talks, the Soviets are going to have to allow us to take care of

"The arms talks only took place after the President of the United States refused to give in to the Soviets during the Euro-missiles crises."

this vulnerability we have right now. Right now we're under the gun. So looking at the arms talks, though the whole world is happy to see that the Soviets and Americans are simply talking again, our optimism must be very guarded.

CR: How much of a problem is Soviet compliance, or non-compliance, with past arms control agreements in reaching new accords?

HUNTER: There are some real compliance problems. The Soviets have violated the ABM treaty, they've violated the threshold testing ban. The Soviets, in some degree, have kept a general compliance with the SALT agreement. But they have violated many other treaties. They have violated the biological weapons accord, which is of great concern to us. Especially when it is coupled with the fact that they had a stray cruise missile go over Finland recently, and the Soviets, when apologizing for the errant missile, said that the missile had no toxic substances aboard. Nobody had asked if there were any toxic substances aboard. The only conclusion you can draw from that is the Soviet Union now has toxic weapons and is utilizing those weapons as warheads in some of their cruise missiles and probably some of their other armaments. And their use of toxic and biological weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan is of great concern to us and our allies. The Soviets have violated a number of accords, but I think, however, that the Soviets realize they

are dealing with a tough administration and I think they realize that if they want to reach any accords in the future, they are going to have to be accords that allow us to build certain parts of our strategic systems and also to go ahead with defensive weapons. So I think there is a new era of realism on the Soviet side.

"We never anticipated that the Soviets would become so strong as they have in so short a period of time."

CR: Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts was recently at UCSD and said he thought the elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua were pretty similar. What do you think of that comparison?

HUNTER: The comparison is not accurate. In Nicaragua, all the information I have indicates that all of the opposition parties, that is all of the parties other than the Marxist government, were allowed a total of about 10 minutes a week on television and radio. A number of the opposition candidates left the electoral process. I for one, have seen pictures of some of the major opposition candidates, that is the non-Marxist candidates, surrounded by young people brandishing clubs. This is not an environment that is conducive to the exercise of free speech. So I would say that the designation of the elections as a farce was a pretty accurate one. On the other hand, the elections in El Salvador were monitored by a great number of international observers, people who had no political interest in the outcome of the election. And to a man these international observers said they were fair elections — that the people expressed their will without coercion. So in El Salvador you have a case where international observers said the elections were fair, and in Nicaragua you have a case where, to my knowledge, there were no impartial international observers and there was no attempt by the Sandinistas to be fair to the opposition parties.

CR: Do you believe aiding the Contras in Nicaragua is important to achieving our objectives in Central America?

HUNTER: Yes I do. The Sandinistas, when they came to power, through correspondence with the Organization of American States promised to do a number of things. They promised to hold free and fair elections, which they haven't done in my estimation. They promised to allow freedom of speech, which they haven't done. They promised to allow freedom of religion, which they haven't done. I recently spoke to a former Sandinista intelligence official who was charged with harassing the Pope when he spoke in Nicaragua several years ago. And this young man related all of the things that he did, such as hooking up the Pope's microphone to a microphone being spoken into by a number of protesters so he would not be able to be heard when he made his statements. There have been reports of a great deal of antagonism towards the Jewish community in Nicaragua. The Sandinista's have not lived up to the pledges they gave to the Organization of American States. I think it's clear when you see pictures of Fidel Castro standing at the right hand of Daniel Ortega, the so-called elected leader of Nicaragua during his swearing in ceremony, that the United States is going to suffer because of that situation. The Contras are fighting

Congressman Duncan Hunter

because they are frustrated that the Sandinistas have not fulfilled their promises. In fact, many of them fought with the Sandinista troops including Eden Pastora who has made several trips to Capitol Hill and who was the famous Commander Zero. These are people who hoped for a Democracy and didn't get one. They are fighting to see that some measure of freedom is installed in Nicaragua. I think it's in the interest of the United States to help them.

CR: What areas of the budget would you most like to see cut?

HUNTER: I think if we're going to cut the deficit we're going to have to do something we didn't do in 1981, and that is to realize that the American people will accept sacrifice if it is shared across the board. I think there are going to be some drastic reductions in revenue sharing. I think there are going to be reductions in student aid, and a number of programs that aren't considered critical programs. By critical programs I mean food for people who wouldn't otherwise have enough food, shelter for people who otherwise wouldn't have any shelter. There is not a very good reason, talking about revenue sharing, for

"There is a new era of realism on the Soviet side."

people at the local level to pay tax money that is sent to Washington and then returned to them in the form of revenue sharing. I think that is something, especially in light of the surpluses that many of the states have, that's going to take a considerable cut.

CR: Of all the proposals for flat and simplified tax codes, which do you prefer?

HUNTER: I like the Kemp-Kasten plan. The main reason I like it is because it raises the deduction for dependents to \$2,000. That deduction was about \$600 in 1948 so in real terms that has not gone up much over the years. In fact, it has actually gone down. I think that's an important pro-family provision. Because of some of the liberal legislation that was sponsored under the Great Society you see in court, (I'm an attorney), prosecutors in welfare fraud cases prosecuting people for sneaking back inside their homes to visit their families because it violates part of the welfare code because their family has been receiving more benefits because the supporter of that family is not present. So some of these programs of the 1960s have really been tearing the family structure apart. I like that \$2,000 exemption. I think that helps support the institution of the American family.

CR: How successful do you think President Reagan will be in getting his way with Congress over the next two years?

HUNTER: I think fairly well because he has a lot of support from the American people. Whether the President likes you or whether you're a Democrat isn't really important. What matters is the thousands of phone calls and letters from your district telling you to support the President. So as long as the President remains popular with the American people, he's going to have a strong influ-

ence and he will retain the capability, I think, to push some really tough measures through Congress.

CR: Who do you think Republicans will rally around as Reagan's successor in 1988?

"In Nicaragua, the opposition parties were allowed a total of about 10 minutes a week on television and radio."

HUNTER: I tell you it's going to be close. Vice-President George Bush is going to have a leg-up. He'll

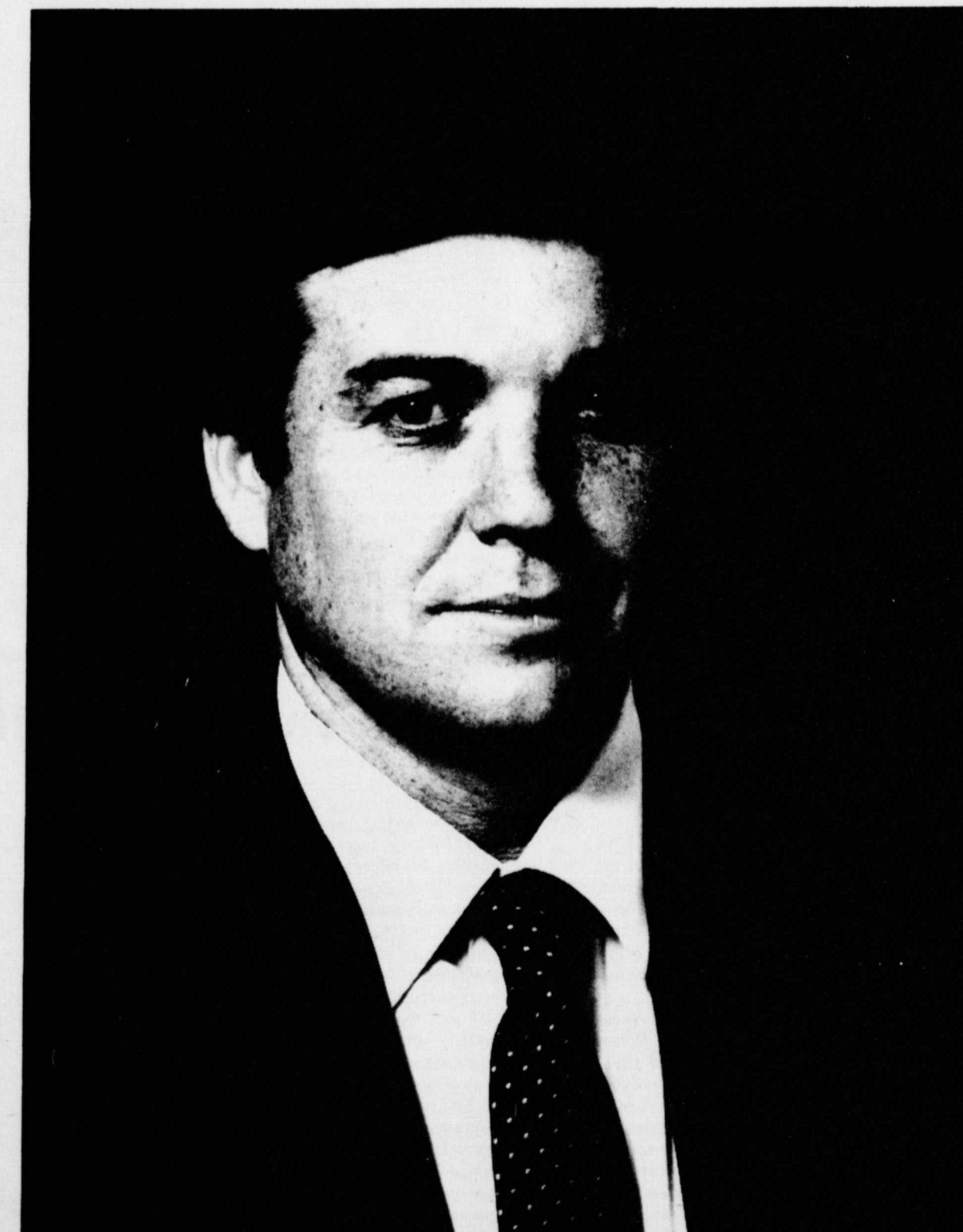
probably at that time have completed a successful eight years working side-by-side with an extremely popular president. That experience is going to give him an advantage. I think Jack Kemp is going to be a very strong

"Looking at the arms talks, our optimism must be very guarded."

competitor because his programs, to a large degree, have been the heart of the Reagan Administration's legislative agenda. I think it will ultimately boil down to a contest between those two men.

CR: Thank you Congressman for your time.

HUNTER: It was my pleasure.



The Market vs. Government Edicts

By C. Brandon Crocker

Socialists have always accused the market system of determining economic rewards of being inconsistent with what the rewards should be, given one's merit or the value of one's services to society. The popularity of this type of thinking, however, has surged recently. For instance, the proposals for "comparable worth" pay scales, which would set up a bureaucracy to "compare" each occupation in the country and set salaries based on their "worth," rests on the idea that the market distributes economic rewards unfairly. The detractors of the market call on government to usurp the power of markets to distribute economic rewards. This idea, however, is horribly flawed.

Perhaps nothing promotes the view of injustice in the market so much as the salary of, say, a star football player as compared to that of a construction worker. The construction worker produces something of obvious, sometimes even crucial, value yet earns far less than the star football player who is paid to play a game.

But is it unjust for the football player to be paid more than the construction worker? With the market system, both are paid on the basis of the value he produces. If one produces \$10 an hour through his labor and the employer pays him only \$8, it is profitable for someone else to offer him \$9 or \$9.50, all the way up to \$10. When a person is paid less than the value he produces, others will offer him more because it is profitable for an employer to pay an employee any amount up to the value he receives from employing his labor. No one will pay him more than \$10 because he would incur a loss if he did.

The star football player is paid more than the construction worker because the aggregate value society puts on his entertainment (as measured by ticket sales and TV ratings) is higher than the aggregate value it places on the product of the construction worker. So, if we are to use the values people freely place on certain activities, (as opposed to the values some group of "directors" believe we should place on certain activities), the market pricing system will dole out rewards based on the value given to society.

Of course, this theory only works perfectly when employers and employees have perfect information about productivity and wages and there are no costs to obtaining this information. Therefore, in the real world, economic rewards as doled out by the market will not perfectly reflect value. But with corporations in the U.S. making an average return on investment of about 8% (much less than can be obtained in the money markets—merely lending money instead of hiring employees for the creation of marketable products) corporations, on the whole, are not paying their employees significantly less than the value of their product.

Therefore, the market does not leave a whole lot of room for improvement, and there is no way a government bureaucracy would do a better job. The sheer bulk of information needed to construct "fair" pay scales for every segment of the economy cannot be obtained by any group of bureaucrats. The folly of such centrally controlled decision making is best

explained, I think, by Nobel Laureate Friedrich Hayek.

Compared with the totality of knowledge which is continually utilized in the evolution of a dynamic civilization, the difference between the knowledge that the wisest and that which the most ignorant individual can deliberately employ is comparatively insignificant....

It is through the mutually adjusted efforts of many people that more knowledge is utilized than any one individual possesses or than it is possible to synthesize intellectually; and it is through such utilization of dispersed knowledge that achievements are made possible greater than any single mind can foresee.

Substituting a governmental bureaucracy for the market pricing system would be like setting up a bureaucracy to usurp the powers of nature in order to run the environment better. Of course, I haven't even mentioned the cost of setting up such a bureaucracy and of obtaining and storing so much information.



Likewise "comparable worth" pay scales cannot be implemented fairly because all the jobs in the American economy cannot be adequately "compared" in value by any group of government "experts." In fact, comparing compensation of jobs is just as complicated. Not only must the bureaucracy obtain information on salaries but also on work environment, prestige, and geographical location. Because the value placed on these determinants by individuals differ, a bureaucracy

cannot make an accurate determination of what the compensation of any job is. That determination can only be made by the individuals involved—that is, through the market process.

Furthermore, government officials have been known to take bribes (of money and votes) from time to time. Until that changes, lobby groups (and with such an issue as wage setting these groups will be quite active) will do their utmost to skew the wage scales to their favor.

Advocates of "comparable worth" despite the already mentioned fatal flaws, insist that a "comparable worth" bureaucracy is needed to deal with discrimination. They cite the fact that women make only 60% of what men do. But this is hardly strong evidence of ubiquitous discrimination. This 60% figure is calculated merely by comparing the average of women's earnings to that of men's. Not even occupational differences are accounted for in this comparison. Controlling for just the costs of motherhood, the economist Thomas Sowell has demonstrated that women without families earn about 90% of what men do.

In the market economy, to practice discrimination based on race or sex is costly. The employer loses money if he hires less qualified people instead of those in the group or groups he is discriminating against. If an employer refuses to give someone the wage he is worth, some other employer will. Some feminists have claimed, however, that employers have circumvented the workings of the market with nothing less than a nation-wide conspiracy to keep the wages of women low. But in such collusive agreements there is always an incentive to cheat, (if there weren't there wouldn't be any reason to collude), and thus are unstable (witness OPEC). The fact that the handful of OPEC countries, which can overtly use sanctions against cheaters, is so unstable the absurdity of such covert collusion among hundreds or thousands of employers becomes quite clear.

The only way to abridge the disincentives to discriminate that exist in a market economy is to use the power of government to do so. Government wage-fixers don't answer to a profit and loss system and, therefore, do not feel any direct economic ramifications from their actions. If one is worried about discrimination, it seems much more sensible to have an economic system in which discrimination is penalized rather than one in which discrimination is costless.

The market is clearly a far better mechanism for distributing economic rewards than are government edicts. It rewards on the basis of an activity's value to society, not to some individual's idea of merit, which could have very little to do with value. The market places costs on racial and sexual discrimination, whereas with government edicts such discrimination is costless to those determining "fair" rewards. The market is imperfect, but even with its imperfections it is still amazingly efficient. Substituting government for the market mechanism of pricing would be catastrophic.

C Brandon Crocker is a senior at UCSD.

Suicide in American Politics

By John D. Kubeck

Perhaps the most exasperating aspect of the 1984 Presidential election is the naive claim of the Democratic Party leadership that Ronald Reagan's victory was one solely of style and not one of substance. It is such self-delusion which will eventually lead to the further erosion of the Democrats' traditional constituency.

One major problem the Democratic Party has is its failure to equate substantial losses in Presidential elections with errors of political position. While Reagan's amiable personality certainly worked to his advantage in the election, something more significant than personal charisma influenced Americans' votes. After all, according to George Gallup, voters identifying themselves as Democrats outnumbered Republicans 39% to 35% in the last six weeks of the campaign. Even this 4% advantage, however, is a far cry from the nationwide 27-percentage-point lead the Democrats had as recently as 1977. Clearly the Democratic Party has lost a substantial portion of its electoral base.

For example, while organized labor "leadership" (and I use the term loosely) was generally decidedly in Walter Mondale's camp, exit polls conducted by *The New York Times* and CBS showed that blue-collar workers nationwide voted for the President 53% to 46%. Also, the frequently obnoxious feminist leaders' support for Mondale-Ferraro failed even more miserably with the same survey showing that women supported Reagan over Mondale by a 57%-42% margin. So much for the much-publicized "gender gap." Even those over sixty-years old, supposed to be cringing in fear of Reagan's domestic cuts, supported him 63%-36%.

The message of this overwhelming rejection of the Democratic party standard-bearers by the supposed party faithful is simple: the Democratic Party no longer represents the people. It is a nominal majority party committed to imposing the will of an often perverse group of minorities on the entire people of the United States.

As the Democratic party has become the party of the socialists, the homosexuals, the secular humanists,

the appeasers, the feminists and the social parasites, the Republican Party has welcomed its disenfranchised refugees. Moderates and conservatives, blue and white collar workers, the old and especially the young; all are fleeing the Democratic Party's suicidal radicalism for the common sense and concern for the Average American of the Republican Party.

To be sure, the Republican Party has its faults, but they pale in comparison to the reprehensible indignities heaped on the American people by the leaders of the Party which brought us George McGovern, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale.

Until the Democratic party leadership realizes that it is alienating hard-working Americans, who believe in traditional moral values, their Party will continue to lose members and elections while it sinks into a cesspool of morally repulsive ideology.

John D. Kubeck is a student at Cal. St. Long Beach and is CR's Long Beach Praefectus.

Containing The Soviet Union: A Strategy of Competition

By James J. Kohut

The current inability of the U.S. to control the aggression of the Soviet Union, demonstrated by the continuing Soviet presence in Afghanistan and Soviet meddling in the Horn of Africa, should cause no alarm. Despite the ineffectiveness of classical methods of containment, using force or inducement, the U.S. can utilize an even more potent strategy for limiting the expansion of Russian influence. That is, the United States should compete openly and freely with the Soviet Union for influence among nations.

The U.S. can offer any country or indigenous political movement much more than the Soviet Union in the areas of arms, economic aid, and diplomatic support. In every one of these categories the U.S. possesses superior abilities: Our arms out-perform those of the U.S.S.R. (to wit the 1982 Israeli-Syrian confrontation in Lebanon), our economic aid vastly outstrips theirs, and American diplomacy is less rigid and much more creative than the Soviet version. In short, the carrots and sticks the U.S. has to offer nations which might come under Russian influence are clearly superior to those of Soviet Union.

This strategy marks a departure from past methods of containment. In the past the U.S. has sought to contain the U.S.S.R. by attempting to control it. In the early cold war years this took the form of force.



The various confrontations in Berlin, the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam war are examples of the use or threat of force to contain the U.S.S.R. In the early 1970s several forces converged and rendered the use of force as a means of controlling Soviet behavior (and hence containing its expansion) difficult, if not impossible.

The increase in the relative power of the Soviet Union limited our ability to face down the Soviets as we had done in Cuba in 1962. In addition, with the disillusionment of Vietnam and the decay of the political consensus supporting U.S. security policy, the United States turned to other means of containment. Thus sprang Detente as a containment strategy. Detente, with its complex web of economic and political incentives and disincentives, was an attempt to control Soviet behavior through inducement. However, in the late 1970s this complex strategy for containment was discredited by a series of events which culminated in the invasion of Afghanistan. In my estimation Detente suffered two flaws as a containment strategy. First, with the increase in the relative power of the Soviet Union, the ability of the United States to use inducements of sufficient magnitude to deter the U.S.S.R. is severely limited. Second, even partially successful execution of this strategy requires a diplomatic skill that simply does not exist in the abundance necessary.

I use the term Russia interchangeably with Soviet Union. In my opinion, this choice reflects the historical continuity and similarity of traditional Russian imperial ambitions and current Soviet expansionism.

Hence it is time for a new strategy of containment, one that is based not on attempts to control Soviet behavior, but rather one that is based on the superior ability of the U.S. to compete with the U.S.S.R. for influence in the world. There are several implications in the successful pursuit of this strategy. The first is that one of the most important criteria for U.S. support of a particular political group is its legitimacy within its own nation. If a group or government has the backing of a nation's populace, the U.S. should recognize its legitimacy and offer conditional support, in the hope of containing Soviet influence, regardless of the movements internal ideology.

For example, U.S. diplomatic overtures to China, in spite of its communist, totalitarian government, has served U.S. interests well vis à vis the Soviet Union. Communist China represents the greatest force for containment of Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. A pro-U.S. China, regardless of the PRC's ideological position on human rights and the means of production, benefits the United States. The U.S. insured such a pro-U.S. China because we bested the Soviet Union in influencing China: our diplomacy and military actions are less offensive and the benefits of trade more attractive. We now have a China tilting towards the U.S. as a result.

In addition to the case of China there is the Middle East. The Soviet Union has been virtually eliminated as a major diplomatic force in the area. Although they do supply arms to some countries, arms will always be available in the middle east, who supplies them is inconsequential. Most major actors in the area turn to the U.S. for aid (both both military and economic) and diplomatic initiative. Although the U.S. has limited ability to affect fundamental change in this violent and volatile area, the U.S.S.R. has none — its influence has been contained. But Russia has been stopped not by U.S. attempts to control it (either through force or linkage) but rather by the effectiveness of the U.S. in competition. Our arms have outperformed those of the Soviet Union in every confrontation and our diplomacy, from Kissinger's limited agreements in 1974 to the Camp David Accords, offer the only hope, albeit faint, for peace in the region.

In the cases where the U.S. has failed to contain the U.S.S.R., notably Vietnam and Cuba, a strategy of competition would have succeeded, had it been applied. The ability of the U.S. to induce Castro to a more neutral, if not eventually a pro-U.S. foreign policy was very great in the mid 1950s. The Castro government was new and had not yet definitely adopted the ideology of communism.

Whether we liked it or not Castro had, and continues to have, the support of the majority of Cubans. Instead of engaging in quixotic attempts to topple him, as in the Bay of Pigs, we should have actively lured him towards the U.S. There was nothing the Soviets could have offered in the late 1950s that we could not have matched. Although Cuba's current status as a world actor results from Soviet expansionism, which the U.S. cannot match, in the late 1950s Cuba had no such global aspirations and the U.S. could have competed successfully with the U.S.S.R. for influence.

In the case of Vietnam the situation was similar. In spite of the brutality of the Communists, Ho Chi Min was the most legitimate and widely supported anti-colonialist force in Vietnam. Ho had respect for the U.S. history of anti-colonialism and would, I believe, have welcomed aid from the U.S. over the Soviet Union. Even had the Vietnamese communists pursued a policy of non-alignment, juggling both superpowers, certainly this would have been preferable to the polarized, anti-American Soviet proxy that currently threatens Asian stability.

In order for such a strategy to work, in addition to evaluating the political legitimacy of a regime, the United States must accept ideological diversity and judge regimes principally on the basis of their foreign policy. A nation's ideology, however repugnant to the U.S., does not necessarily preclude a foreign policy favorable to America. For example, though France under Mitterrand is conspicuously to the left ideologically, its foreign policy is the most pro-U.S. since before De Gaulle.

In applying this strategy currently, the best case to examine is Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, though a totalitarian regime, enjoy great popularity in Nicaragua. Recognizing this (while at the same acknowledging the undemocratic nature of the regime) the U.S. should now attempt to eliminate Cuban influence in Nicaragua by competition with the Cubans. The attempts to undermine the Sandinistas by supporting the Contras, a small minority who control no territory, will only prolong strife, polarize the Nicaraguan people against the U.S. and allow Cuba (and

hence the U.S.S.R.) to increase its influence. Supporting the Contras up until now has been an effective tactic in dampening the Sandinista desire to spread revolution, and was therefore a wise move. But this can only be a tactic; the ultimate goal is to have a pro-U.S. Nicaragua free of Soviet and Cuban influence, with a popularly supported government. Therefore the U.S. should pursue a strategy of competition with Cuba, designed to insure a Nicaraguan foreign policy favorable to the United States. Certainly Nicaragua is unlikely to become a strong U.S. ally in the short term. However, it seems that U.S. support of the popular Sandinistas (as long as their foreign policy remains in-offensive) holds the best chance to reverse Nicaraguan animosity towards the U.S. in the long term.

Containing the U.S.S.R. by competition and not control leaves the U.S. free to pursue the beneficial aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations. For example, when the U.S. signs an appropriately negotiated arms control treaty which increases national security (such as SALT I) we should ratify it, regardless of Soviet behavior, not because we approve of Soviet behavior, but because regardless of such behavior U.S. national security is benefited from such a treaty and, more importantly, such linkage simply doesn't restrain the U.S.S.R. (to wit Afghanistan and SALT II).

Similarly in the case of trade sanctions, such a tactic will not restrain the U.S.S.R. and, given the permeable world economy, will only end up hurting the U.S. producers. To continue to link trade (such as grain sales) and arms control treaties to broader Soviet behavior simply does not work sufficiently as a containment strategy to justify the cost to U.S. business and U.S. national security.

By competing with the U.S.S.R. for influence according to the strategy outlined above, the U.S. can consider the indigenous complexities of countries under dispute with a dispassionate, objective eye. If a government or internal movement meets the twin criteria of popular support and potential for a foreign policy favorable to the U.S., we should seek to support and win such a government over. Even if a given country has a Socialist or Communist government, better that government be pro-U.S. in its foreign policy than under Soviet influence. A strategy of competition takes advantage of U.S. strengths in containing the Soviet Union. Our ability to offer third world nations more advantages in every area than the U.S.S.R. is something to be exploited. The United States should not waste its efforts in quixotic, counterproductive attempts to control the Soviet Union via linkage or force. Rather, let us contain the Soviet Union by means proven to our advantage.

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Of course the U.S. should not end the embargo on technology which directly benefits the Soviet military. Such embargoes are effective and necessary.

Coming next issue:

Thomas J. Edwards
on the "hard line"
policy of containment.

Among the Libertarians:

By H. W. Crocker III

London—One would not expect a gathering of anarchists, individualists, and fruit juice-drinking libertines to be a well-organized event, but the week-long Second World Convention of the Libertarian International, held last August at the magnificent Royal Holloway College in Egham—thirty minutes by rail from Waterloo plus a sweaty twenty minute walk from the Egham train station—was exactly that; and despite the last minute withdrawal of some eminent speakers—Paul Johnson, Brian Crozier, Aleska Djilas, and Count Nikolai Tolstoy among them—the intellectual level of the discussions was far above the rah-rah stuff usually bruted about at political conventions.

I have often fantasized about what life would be like if the Libertarian Party replaced the Democrats as the Republican's chief opposition. The GOP would own enormous majorities in both houses of Congress, (because libertarianism has something to offend everyone), and attacks on the morality of Reaganomics would no longer be the usual drivel about black orphans, Hispanic widows, and one-legged homosexuals being driven to the poorhouse. Instead, opposition spokesmen would rally the masses to the cries of "Taxation is robbery!", "Free trade not foreign aid!" and "Privatize the Post Office!". Seductive, isn't it?

Well, yes and no. As one Cary Grant look-alike—a silver-haired, impeccably mannered, retired British diplomat who had come to get some tips on union bashing—confided to me: "Frankly, I've been repelled by some of what I've heard here."

When libertarians talk economics they usually talk sense; and it is no surprise that when libertarians get together, economics is usually the main item on the agenda. But after listening to several intelligent convention speakers discourse on various aspects of the dismal science, there would inevitably be some outburst of adolescent rebelliousness. When it was announced that the leader of one of Britain's conservative student unions had come out in favor of legalizing heroin, the assembled masses exploded in cheers and applause. Why? Two reasons: (a) libertarians deify the individual and (b) they believe that man will reach a moral equilibrium if he is allowed total freedom (except for sanctions against the use of force or fraud). Even if a moral equilibrium is not achieved, the libertarians would rather the individual be liberated than society be preserved.

The libertarians need not be so silly, but they are because of their foolish adherence to ideology. Most libertarians are defective conservatives who have embraced libertarianism because it is *consist*—it has a blanket response for all problems: let freedom reign. There are several difficulties with this approach, one being that it is specifically ridiculed by one of their own philosophers, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who said that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds. It also pushes libertarians to extremism and forces them to violate some of the economic theorems they so eagerly apply to all human activity.

When talking about the legalization of heroin, libertarians will point out that Prohibition was a failure and that therefore all drug laws are bound to be failures too. This is typical libertarian reductionism. Libertarians don't like complexity because they want to be consistent; and they are more interested in the application of their ideology than in the circumstances of individual problems. The salient points to keep in mind with alcohol are that it has been with mankind for centuries, its use has been widespread and popular, and it is a mainstream aspect of western civilization. Marijuana, heroin, and cocaine have not played anywhere near a similar role in western society. For centuries they were relatively unknown to the West. When they did come into popularity, their use was limited to a very small segment of society—bohemian literati, cooled-out jazz musicians, and the counter-culture. We know that these drugs are deleterious to society—we can look at the addicts around us or we can look at the effect of opium in 19th century China—and economically sound libertarians should realize that legalizing heroin would not reduce its use, though most libertarians seem to think it would. If heroin were legalized it would be easier to obtain. The most fundamental of economic laws—the law of demand

and supply—tells us that if one increases the supply of a product, the price drops, and the lower the price of a product, the more of it that will be purchased. Legalize heroin and you increase the supply, increase the supply and you lower the price, lower the price and you inevitably increase demand for it. This is not at all an obscure argument. It can, in fact, be proven empirically. Legalized abortion has not led to fewer abortions. It has made abortion an alternative form of birth control. Presently, one out of every three pregnancies in the United States ends in abortion, (of course, to be fair to my libertarian friends, part of this fetus-culling is subsidized by the government). One could also take pornography as an example. When it was hard to come by, it was tamer and much less of an omnipresent phenomenon. As Malcolm Muggeridge has noted, one must be young and romantic to believe that man will eventually satiate himself with pornography and turn away from it in disgust. Man's depravity is limitless; and the farther man falls, the more we are prone to accept the merely semi-depraved as paragons of virtue.

John Donne's old saw about no man being an island is not the less true because it is old. Man is a social animal and individual actions have societal consequences. Conservatives want to allow man maximum freedom to do good for himself and to do good for society. Yet, those last six words are anathema to contemporary libertarians, even though those are the

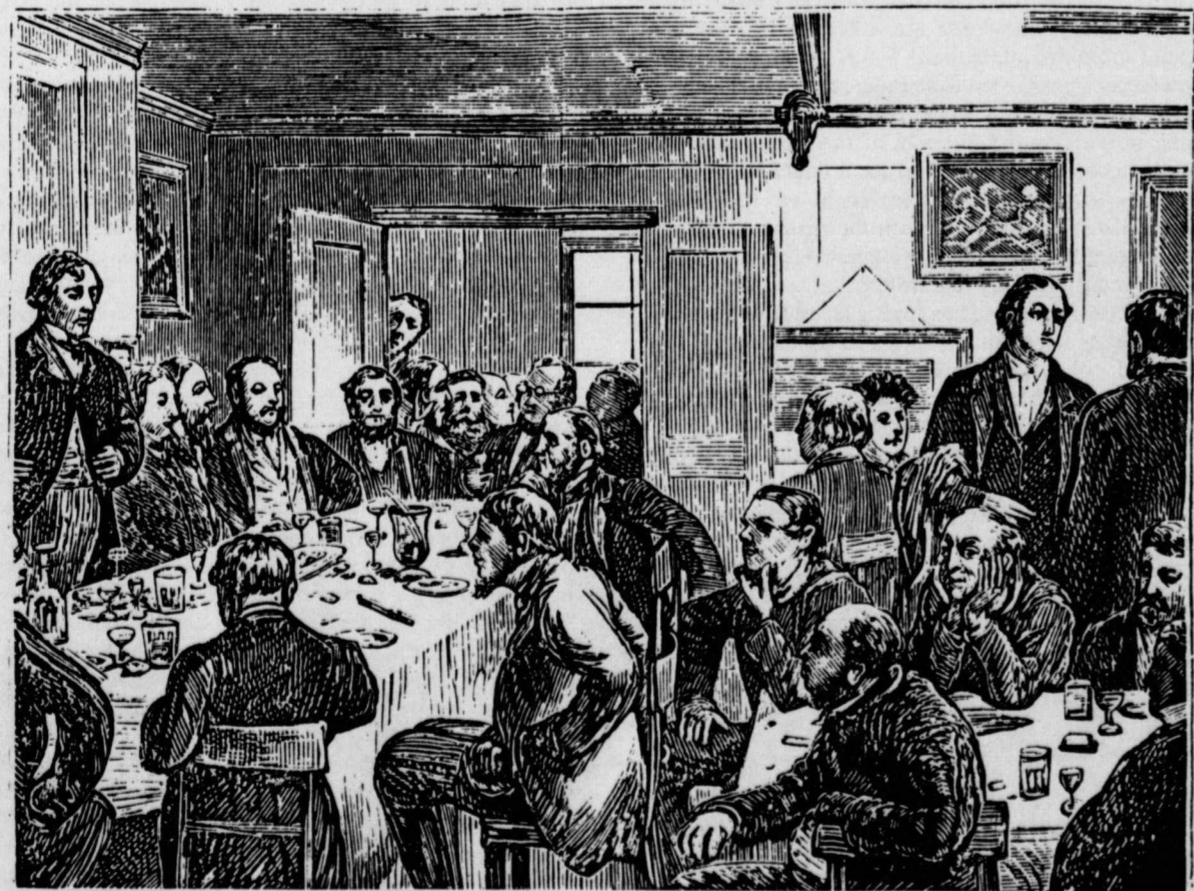
words of the classical liberals, allies the libertarians have had to shed in their historical drive to atomism. Adam Smith, the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, and Friedrich Hayek argue their positions from the standpoint of benefitting society. They are supporters of tradition. Adam Smith and Edmund Burke not only belonged to the same club, they shared many of the same beliefs—Burke, after all, was a Whig.

Today's classical liberals are conservatives, as Professor Arthur Shenfield of the Mont Pelerin Society discovered when he tried to convince the convention delegates of the need to control the spread of pornography, drug abuse, and deviant sexual practices. That he failed utterly in his attempt was in large part due to his futile effort to reconcile his conservative-classical liberalism with contemporary libertarian dogma. The two won't go together. Professor Shenfield would have done well to remember Frederick Bastiat's dictum that the worst thing that can happen to an argument is not that it is skillfully attacked, but that it is ineptly defended. Professor

Shenfield disarmed himself by accepting the ideological doctrines of his audience.

The primary historical problem of libertarianism is this: it is not the "ash-l-theory" of history enunciated at the conference, (which holds that the popularity of libertarian ideas is restricted by the number of ash-ls who espouse them) but rather that libertarians have caught the 20th century disease of all-encompassing ideology and moral relativism. In the 18th century, classical liberal ideas were rooted in a concern for society. In the 19th century, British liberalism was buttressed by non-conformist evangelicalism. In the 20th century, libertarianism has lapsed into solipsism and moral permissiveness. The result is that libertarianism has no moral anchor to keep itself from sailing away into inanity, (save for the proscription against force and fraud). So we have putatively intelligent people jabbering away like blabbering Marxists or medieval scholastic monks trying to apply their ideology to the questions of why should blackmail be a crime? why should libel be a crime? why should we have age-of-consent laws? As Max O'Connor argues in "Sex, Coercion, and the Age of Consent", a publication of the Libertarian Alliance: "Does it really matter whether the child has any understanding of sex? Sex is just another source of pleasure, a potentially potent source perhaps, but basically little different to any other. If there is nothing objectionable about an adult giving a child sweets or toys, why is giving sexual pleasure wrong? [...] Non-coercive sex with juveniles is not immoral—it is merely a matter of preference." Libertarians may be very good at recognizing the danger to human freedom posed by the state, but they seem blind to the danger posed by pleasure-seekers who would deny man his humanity.

This is no small problem with the libertarian program. Political democracy is acceptable not because it gives every man his say, but because it is the best defense, albeit an imperfect one, against tyranny and oppression. As Winston Churchill said, it is the worst form of government except for all the others. But the idea that every man's opinion is as valuable as every other man's is false. A society that is unable to distinguish between the opinions expressed in *Hustler* and *National Review*, a society which says they should have equal weight, that if an individual prefers *Hustler* to *National Review* he is expressing a preference no different and no worse from someone who prefers to spend his time reading *National Review* or *The New Republic*, will have a difficult time standing for any sort of principle, beyond the principle of ubiquitous *laissez-faire*, and it will more than likely sink in its



Are They Fair Beasts or Foul?

quality of life—which extends beyond the profusion of consumer goods, something libertarians tend to forget—until it achieves some sort of basic, common level of popular depravity. Laws are not needed to uphold all standards, but as Montesquieu understood, there is a spirit to the law, a spirit which is both shaped by and which helps shape man's character. Or, as George Will would say, statecraft is soulcraft. The law in a just society does not aim for servility, but it should not shy away from encouraging a certain kind of deference, a kind of deference that would encourage the belief, for example, that a monogamous, heterosexual marriage is superior to one's own passionate desire to engage in promiscuous homosexuality with African pygmies. Is it really so terrible to deny pornography people, forcing them, as it were, to look at underwear ads in the newspaper instead? Is it really so terrible for the law to deny children free access to sex with adults in the belief that sex is not a candy or a toy, but a means of procreation and spiritual, or at least connubial, bonding between husband and wife? No, a free society has a right to defend its culture and its values, which are, after all, what have made it free in the first place.

The second historical problem facing libertarianism takes us back to the classical age. Libertarians like to see their principles evolving from the Greek idea of the polis. All right, suppose we grant them that and even go so far as to agree that the polis was a pretty neat idea and that Athens was wild, man, just wild. Nevertheless, we must point out that Athenian democracy didn't last very long and that the Greek city-states were swallowed up by another society, admirable and free, but most definitely not libertarian—Rome; and that the Roman hegemony in the classical world was of much longer duration than the Greek. The Romans were unified under a single culture and believed in and fostered a feeling of *civitas*, of duty, and of *gravitas*, seriousness, that gave their civilization strength and endurance. When Rome fell it was because the Romans had lost their *civitas* in the pursuit of self-interest and self-aggrandizement, because the people had lost their *gravitas* while on a binge of sensualism and debauchery, and because the rising Christianity put a subversive emphasis on the individual rather than society. Admittedly, many of these problems arose because of an overweening and corrupt government. But it cannot be ignored that self-interest, self-indulgence, and individualism are aspects of human character on which libertarians are loath to put any restraint. And the idea of *civitas*—perhaps as illustrated by an acceptance of military conscription—or even of allegiance to the nation state is something libertarians scorn.

The libertarian, like the pre-1917 Marxist, gives his allegiance to an ideology rather than to a nation and its principles. The old Marxists yearned for a union of the liberated proletariat. The libertarian aims to liberate himself from everything that stifles him—government, society, even aging ("life extension" is popular with libertarians). Among all the books for sale at the convention—on politics, economics, philosophy, and the Soviet threat—the two most often seen under the arms of convention delegates were a book on psychology by Dr. Peter Breggin and a book on how to raise children the libertarian way by the winsome Frances Kendall.

Dr. Peter Breggin is one of those evangelical psychologists of annoyingly calm speech who refer to politics as a "threat system", economics as an "exchange system", and love as a "love system". According to Dr. Breggin, progress is based on the decline of "threat systems" and the rise of "exchange systems." The effect of Dr. Breggin upon his audience was like that of a television preacher upon his adoring shut-ins. They swooned for him, manifesting their love systems. When I confessed to a chap from South Carolina who was not a libertarian—he'd merely tagged along with a friend in order to see London—what a load of rubbish I thought this all was, he looked at me as though I were the most seditious of all possible heretics. "Why? Don't you believe in spirituality?" No, I'm afraid my love system doesn't function properly.

Frances Kendall, a sleek South African, informed the crowd about children and the role of the libertarian parent. "Children have no rights at all," she said. And indeed, their lot is a sorry one. Children have no property rights (for shame!), parents force them to share their toys (sharing equals crypto-socialism), and children are told how to play (denying them expression of the individualistic, dare I say crypto-entrepreneurial, side of their personality).



Ms. Kendall is very much in favor of creating a division of labor inside the household. Giving children pocket money, she says, is socialistic. Paying them to do chores such as washing the car—things one doesn't do for the love of someone else—is capitalistic. And instead of spanking children, the libertarian parent forces the guilty party to pay recompense to the wronged individual. By basing family life on these monetary transactions, parents create an atmosphere congenial for the raising of capable, confident, independent children. If they break something, they can buy a replacement, no more guilty angst. If they want something, they can buy it themselves. The one thing a libertarian parent must never do is to shield a child from the consequences of his actions. Which is all very admirable in its way. Children are generally spoiled; cossetted, and given to accepting handouts.¹

There was much ludicrous debate at the conference about whether the family is a socialist or a capitalist institution (it was even averred that love is a libertarian emotion because it is given voluntarily). But as the scurrilous Professor Walter Block pointed out, (Dr. Block is the controversial defender of libellers and blackmailers and is also Director of the Center of the Study of Economics and Religion run by the Fraser Institute in Canada) libertarianism is a political philosophy, nothing more. Dr. Peter Breggin disagreed. Socialism, he said, appeals to so many people because it is all encompassing. We have socialist ways of rearing children, socialist realism in art, socialist politics, economics, sociology, and everything else. According to Dr. Breggin, Libertarianism can only gain by following the socialists' successful example. I'm afraid that among libertarians this kind of insularity has already taken root. I overheard one young, dishevelled libertarian intellectual say that Shakespeare was a "statist", but of course, he added, they all were back then.²

¹The conservative critique of Ms. Kendall's position is that money should be earned outside the house working for other people and that chores should be completed upon request of the authoritarian parent with no ifs and or buts, just as a normal part of getting things done.

²Several years ago another libertarian told me he had given up Christianity after he decided Jesus wasn't a capitalist.

Conservatives expect to get sound advice on economics from libertarians, and the lectures on economics were some of the most entertaining and well thought out parts of the program. Walter Williams's paper on minority unemployment was the most humorous presentation. Dr. Robert Lefever's report on the British National Health Service was the most shocking, and Dr. Camille Castorina's slideshow on her recent "libertarian world tour" was the most piquant, (one slide showed the Chairman of the University of Canton's Economics Department in his office, flanked by bookshelves with no books in them).

What conservatives don't expect to get from libertarians is sound advice on defense. The Libertarian Party of the United States toes a new Left line on foreign policy. The speakers at this convention did not. Robert Poole, the editor of *Reason*, argued against a nuclear freeze because it would halt the process of phasing out the big, old-style "city-busting" bombs of the past for the new, smaller, more accurate missiles that are being developed to take their place in the United States. He supported President Reagan's "Star Wars" proposals. And most exciting of all, he recommended that Europe develop its own nuclear deterrent. Free societies, he said, do not make war on each other and have the least to fear from the spread of nuclear weapons to other free societies. It is, he concluded, the libertarian responsibility to make the Soviet nightmare of several nuclear superpowers a reality.

As salutary as Robert Poole's speech was, he still came out against interventionism. Joachim Maitre, professor of International Relations at Boston University, made the case for American involvement in Central America and said that David Bergland, the Libertarian Party candidate for President of the United States, "believes in the tooth fairy." But he made few converts. Although the libertarians are strongly anti-communist—communists are statist after all—many of them still share the rather juvenile position that individual contributions of weapons, food, and supplies to anti-communist forces will make a significant dent in the Soviet Union's armor—or in the armor of other communist states—and that such support is more effective and morally superior to American intervention. When it comes to this sort of idealism, libertarians are at their very worst. And when some of them talk about privatizing defense, I'm afraid all I can see are images of Lebanon and Chinese warlordism.

Despite all the criticisms I've made, I would still rather have Libertarians than Democrats as America's opposition party to the Republicans. Professor Shenfield said that the great strength of the Libertarians is that they take ideas seriously. If that is true, and I think it is, they should be able to think themselves into becoming conservatives. But if they do not adapt the new realism they are starting to develop on defense and foreign policy issues and apply it to the problems of culture and morality, they will soon be finding more and more of their members believing, like Hubert Jongen, the President of the Dutch Libertarian Centre, that health and happiness are more important than freedom and liberty. That is the ultimate ideology of the self-centered man.

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³Britain's 26,000 general practitioners have no x-ray units, no laboratories, virtually no gynecological services, and only 200 EKG machines (to obtain these services a patient must book himself into a hospital). Only 20% of British GPs have a full-time staff, 30-40% have no staff at all, infant mortality is rising, and one-half of the population is taking a mind-acting drug—such as sleeping pills or tranquilizers—because prescribing drugs is about all a family doctor can do.

Casting Pearls

By James D. Spounias

A day in a typical sociology course: Two homosexuals, one male and one female from a gay activist group speak out and answer questions from the class pertaining to their lifestyle.

Dull and meaningless answers were given to the generally unchallenging questions from the class until the question was asked: "Do you believe in God, and if so, aren't you sinning?"

The male homosexual cringed, made a cross with his fingers, and hissed like a python—contorting his face in a way that would leave the devil in a quiver.

"I hate the Bible, and all of its morality. How can I accept a religion that says I am not only wrong, but worse than an animal for being intimate with a man," he exclaimed. "And, I don't want to hear any of your religious crap! I was brought up in a strict Jewish home, and disowned when my family found out I was gay," he added sharply.

That hissing homosexual knew more about the Bible than his lesbian comrade. He honestly knew that he cannot "serve two masters." In fact, the homosexual frowned in disgust as the lesbian explained how she and "other homosexual Christians attend regular church and service and study the Word."

One incredulous class member blurted out: "How can you claim to practice Christianity when in the Bible God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for its immorality, and homosexuality was a big part of it?"

Today an increasing number of homosexuals are starting "Christian" churches and attracting homosexuals who have been disfellowshipped from traditional congregations. Other homosexuals who have not been necessarily barred from churches are flocking to the "gay Christian churches" to pray with those of their ilk.

According to a consensus of several San Diego area Biblical scholars from various denominations, there is absolutely no sound basis for defending homosexuality in either the New or the Old Testaments of the Bible.

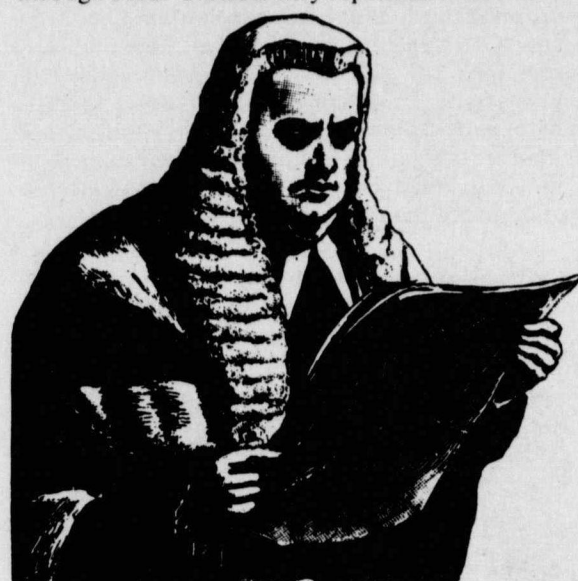
"God requires obedience from his people in order for them to enter His Kingdom," they all concurred, and noted further that "homosexuality is an abomination in God's eyes. God demands that his people abstain from homosexuality and other immoral acts."

One scholar explained that "the case of Sodom and Gomorrah illustrates God's contempt for perpetual sin. Here, God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone, a particularly violent form of punishment, for the iniquity that persisted in the two cities. In the Old Testament, God meted out His punishment upon sinners with severity, particularly on those who perverted their procreative bodily functions."

Another Bible expert added: "The law of Moses condemns homosexuality as an *abomination*—Leviticus 18:22: 'Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with

womankind: it is an abomination.' Additionally, Leviticus 20:13, 'If a man also lie with mankind as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.' Unlike today, under the New Testament, God ordered that homosexuals, as well as other transgressors of the law (Mosaic) be put to death."

"In the New Testament," the scholar added, "God gives forgiveness through repentance—which means literally a 'change.' People can obtain God's grace through Jesus Christ if they repent of their sins."



Noting that repentance and forgiveness are certainly a better choice than death by stoning, the Bible scholar cited the widely misused "He that is without sin..." verse in John 8 of the New Testament:

"In John 8, the Pharisees brought an adulteress before Jesus Christ to be stoned—under the law of Moses—for her sin. Jesus told the stone bearing men: 'He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone.' Without throwing stones, the men departed—affirming that the men did not condemn the woman to death. Jesus Christ then said, in John 8-11, 'neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.'"

Thus, Scripture did not condemn the woman for her sin, but commanded her to refrain from her adulterous acts. Repentance is available to sinners, but not condoning, which demonstrates that Christ's love is conditional, not unconditional.

Bible illiteracy appears rampant among the "Christian homosexuals" who are not only a contradiction in terminology, but insist upon justifying their lifestyles by misapplying Scripture.

The homosexual appearing before my class was better served, for whatever it may be worth, by ignoring and defying God's Word, than are those who

attempt to twist it for use as justification. The lesbian guest in my class does not win the trophy for Biblical ignorance, however.

In the December 1984 issue of *Sappho Speaks*, "The Lesbian and Gay Quarterly at UCSD," Anne M. Duddy writes a letter chastising the Reverend Owens of Santee, who earned considerable local notoriety for leading his flock in a picket line demonstration of homosexuals and abortion clinics. Ms. Duddy's letter exemplifies the zenith of Scriptural idiocy. She uses out of context fragments of the Bible to scathe the Reverend and justify iniquity.

Ms. Duddy is not totally inept because she prefaced her fractured Scripture recital with, "I'm sorry. I haven't read much of the New Testament, but..." And, later, she writes, "I'm not an avid Bible reader, but..." Of course, such redundancy was obviated by her recital itself.

Yes, Ms. Duddy has not studied much of the New Testament, nor even the Old, yet her commonly misused citations trying to exonerate homosexuality are thrust in print upon people regularly and believed as truth.

Contending erroneously that Jesus' message concerns nothing but sappy love for all, Ms. Duddy conveniently ignores, or is simply unaware of the obedience that Christ requires in order to obtain His grace. Ms. Duddy writes, for example: "I believe Christ wants people to come to him in love...A person's sexuality and sexual behavior is his or her own business...(except violent sex and child molestation)...It's doubtful that our sexual behavior in itself has as much weight as our overall attitudes and motives in deciding our meta-physical destiny."

Where is any of that in Scripture? Ms. Duddy should philosophize without trying to cite the Bible, like the hissing homosexual in my class.

In Romans 1:26-28, the Apostle Paul condemns homosexuals as well as other workers of iniquity as having been turned over to "reprobate mind." Paul adds, in 1 Corinthians 9-11, that "neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor male prostitutes, nor homosexual offenders...will inherit the kingdom of God." (New International Version)

Throughout the Old and New Testaments, homosexuality is declared unequivocally detestable to God. Thus, homosexuals who desire to be Christians must turn from their lifestyle to please God, not twist God's word to suit themselves.

Freedom of religion gives anyone the right to believe or not believe that the Bible is the inspired word of God. It even allows the freedom to participate in twisted logic, such as believing enough in the power of God's word to desire to quote it, but not believing enough to attempt to understand it.

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The Gratuitous Folly: "Experts" and The Future

By Dr. William S. Penn, Jr.

Not long ago the editorial-opinion page of the *New York Times* carried Tom Wicker's "overwhelming case against Star Wars," as he called it. The reference was to the proposal by President Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative", commonly (an inappropriately) denominated "Star Wars" by the press. The plain attempt to ridicule the concept is rather obvious in this choice of a name or designation for the proposal. Wicker's headline was "Star Wars Won't Fly." To support his denunciation, Wicker cites an article in *Foreign Affairs* written by four "bipartisan authors". These bipartisan authors were Robert S. McNamara, Gerard Smith, McGeorge Bundy and George F. Kennan, none of which appears to satisfy the normal criteria for "expert." My handy Oxford American Dictionary defines an expert as "a person with great knowledge or skill in a particular thing". These men appear to fail meeting that definition's requirements rather well. But that's not the reason for this note on Wicker's article, at least not the whole reason. It's time we debunked the "experts."

Among the library's treasures at home is a May 29, 1969 publication of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Its title displays its relevance: "Erroneous Predictions and Negative Comments Concerning Exploration, Territorial Expansion, Scientific and Technological Development; Selected Statements". Most relevant are the "statements" in the last section of this historical document. Let's look at a few.

Being of a perverse nature, let's select our first "expert" commentary from the *New York Times*. Wicker's platform. One week before the successful flight of the "Kitty Hawk" by the Wright brothers:

...We hope that Professor Langley will not put his substantial greatness as a scientist in further peril by continuing to waste his time, and the money involved, in further airship experiments. Life is short, and he is capable of services to humanity incomparably greater than can be expected to result from trying to fly...For students and investigators of the Langley type there are more useful employments.

That bit of expert evaluation appeared on the editorial page of the *New York Times*, December 10, 1903.

Here's Rear Admiral George W. Melville's comments in "The Engineer and the Problem of Aerial Navigation," from the *North American Review*, December 1901, on the prospects for building a successful flying machine:

...there is no basis for the ardent hopes and positive statements made as to the safe and successful use of the dirigible balloon or flying machine, or both, for commercial transportation or as weapons of war, and that, therefore, it would be wrong, whether willful or unknowing, to lead the people and perhaps governments at this time to believe the contrary...

So much for the impossible aeroplane! Let's turn to some other expert opinions. And why not return to the venerable (albeit wrong—again) *New York Times*? Here are their editorial views of Goddard's research on rockets:

That Professor Goddard with his 'chair' in Clark College and the countenancing of the Smithsonian Institution does not know the relation of action to reaction, and of the need to have something better than a vacuum against which to react—to say that would be absurd. Of course he only seems to lack the knowledge ladled out daily in high schools...

Permit me one more citation of expert opinion, please. Admiral William Leahy told President Truman in 1945, speaking of the atomic bomb:

"That is the biggest fool thing we have ever done...The bomb will never go off, and I speak as an expert in explosives."

This same publication has experts speaking out on a wide range of new ideas, from the speed of railroads being limited to a maximum of ten miles an hour to the impracticality of electric lighting and the incandescent bulb. In every case they were laughably wrong, sadly wrong. The question before us is whether or not these anti-"Star Wars" experts are not likely to be as wrong as their predecessors. And that's one we cannot answer with certainty...now.

If you shared the excitement felt by many when President Reagan announced his bold concept, then you may also feel the need to end this carping of self-designated, self-appointed "experts." The record of history indicates that they have been a sorry lot. Anything new to them has been suspect, nay, been condemned as impossible, as wild dreams, as unworthy of consideration by sane and sober people. Isn't it time we stopped taking them seriously? When boldness is the need, when bold new concepts are offered for evaluation, let's hear the "experts" but recall their dismal record of past evaluations.

Their use of the derogatory label "Star Wars" ought to suggest to us that the "experts" are far from being objective in their views. And they are more than likely wrong—again. Give the Strategic Defense Initiative the same probability that the USSR's actions tell us they do.

Dr. William S. Penn, Jr. is Professor of Business Administration at San Jose State University and one of CR's *Ivory Tower Praefecti*.

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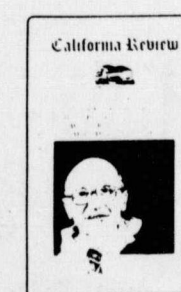
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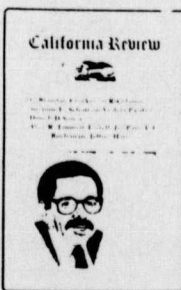
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