

C.G. Alario: Escape from Nicaragua

James D. Spounias: Ed Meese and  
the Supreme Court

# California Review

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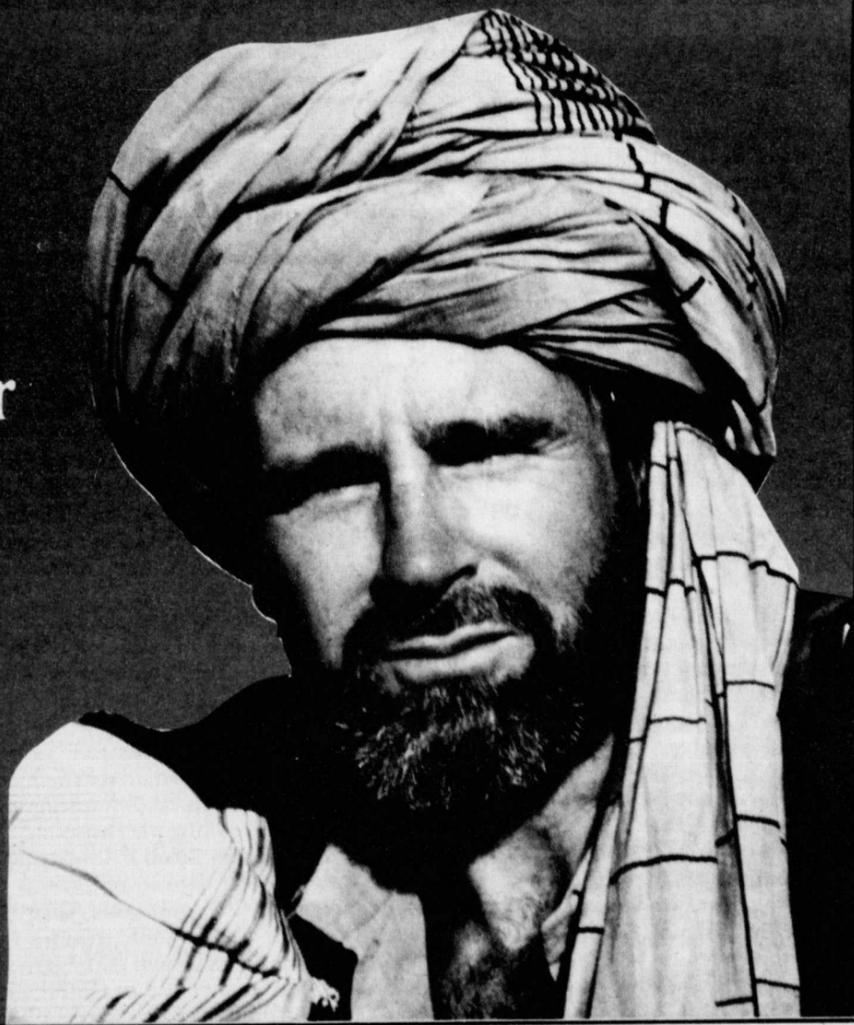


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Barry Demuth: Nicaraguan Nightmare  
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Also: Brent M. Johnstone, C. Brandon  
Crocker, and R. Lawrence Allyn

**Jack  
Wheeler**



# The AIA Debate

By Brent M. Johnstone

Since Socrates, people have argued, often bitterly, about the role of the university and about the specific limits of academic freedom. The recent furor over Accuracy in Academia reopens this old question, and adds a new twist or two.

Most of the controversy has raged over AIA's tactics and the organization itself. That controversy has badly divided conservatives — who could imagine Midge Decter and Jeffrey Hart disagreeing on any other issue? And yet no one, it seems, has focused on what is for me the really interesting question. Insofar as a special concern of AIA is the 10,000 Marxist professors (according to *U.S. News and World Report*) who teach in universities across the country, are we or aren't we, under the dictates of academic freedom, obliged to permit Marxists to teach? And, the question of their tactics aside, is AIA wrong in wanting their removal?

Why, yes, say AIA opponents, we are obliged to permit Marxists to teach. The university is the bastion of academic freedom, an arena into which different contestants ride, each upholding their interpretations of the truth. Or, to vary the metaphor, all ideas start "even in the race," and through a free and open contest — of conflict, argument, and performance — truth will emerge victorious and error defeated. Thus, preventing any viewpoint from being taught is wrong.

But that argument quickly collapses under fire. What reason is there, outside of blind, ideological faith, to believe that truth will *always* win out? Not enough people may recognize the truth; those who do recognize it may not exert themselves sufficiently to defend it; or many may see the truth, but be indifferent to it. Germany was arguably the best-educated country in the world in the 1930's, but it succumbed to the lure of Nazism.

Furthermore, no university actually practices academic freedom, so defined. What college would hire a Nazi, or a sociologist who revealed himself as a racist and lectured about the anthropological superiority of the white man? None, because the values such men advocated are demonstrably false: Nazis are totalitarian thugs; blacks are not an inferior race.

But, by implication, all ideas are *not* created equal, but some are correct and others are not. And, as William F. Buckley has argued, given that how can you justify — morally, pragmatically, or epistemologically — the teaching of ideas for which it is the purpose of education to discredit? Even John Stuart Mill, the quintessential libertarian, asked no more than that a question not be closed as long as one man adhered to it. He did not ask that a man, holding a

chart of the Ptolemaic universe and teaching that the sun and the planets revolved around the earth, be made a professor of science.

A further point: no society can preserve constitutional government, or even prevent dissolution, unless it holds in practice certain truths to be self-evident, not subject to the changing will of the majority of any



other human sovereign. As the late Willmore Kendall frequently argued, not *all* questions are open questions: some are so basic that by declaring them open we abolish our existence as the sort of society we hitherto understood ourselves to be. Academic freedom? Of course, but not the freedom to advocate the suicide of society; not the freedom to teach falsehood and error.

And Marxism is false, the greatest superstition of this century. We believe that the individual is important, that he has certain inherent rights which may not be violated. But Marxists see mankind only as a collectivity. It sees the individual as useless except as a member of that collectivity and is prepared to crush the individual in pursuit of an ideological abstraction. As economics it has led to famine and despoilation. As a philosophy it begins with the childish absurdity of splitting all mankind into two social classes, and ends

as a totalitarian ideology that has justified the death of millions in the Soviet Union and China, and keeps millions more in chains behind the Iron Curtain.

Nor can you excuse Marxism from historical experience by arguing that it was perverted by Lenin or Mao or Pol Pot. "If the socialist hypothesis were valid in general," wrote disillusioned leftist Max Eastman in his *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, "some tiny shred of the benefits promised by it would have appeared." But while the withering away of the state has not appeared, the Gulag Archipelago has. Yes, Marxism should be studied — but as a phenomenon to be critically examined and deflated; not presented as a reasonable alternative of government. You otherwise might as well teach that the world is flat, or that configurations of tea leaves reveal the future.

But, it will be objected, I overstate the case: 10,000 Marxist professors do not a revolution make. So, why the fuss? Because this issue cuts to the very purpose of education itself.

"Unless the great concepts which have been traditional to the Western world are rooted in a reasoned view of the universe and man's place in it, and unless this reasoned view contains in its orbit a place for the spirit, man is left in our day with archaic weapons unsuited for the problems of the universe." I do not know who wrote that paragraph (William Buckley reprinted it in his new introduction to his book *God and Man at Yale*), but it expresses perfectly our dilemma. The university serves society by teaching students the history of their civilization, its vital traditions, its structural underpinnings, and by inculcating those values necessary for its sustenance. It does not serve society by offering an enormous buffet from which students can select their moral values — a little Marx here, some Rousseau there, a scoop of Darwin on top. The graduate is otherwise left to believe without judgement, to decide without wisdom, and to act without standards: left defenseless against the intellectual vandals who surround him.

Only a society which has loosened its social cohesion and allowed its standards to decay would permit Marxists to teach. Drawing the lines — removing them — may not of itself solve the problem. But it might not be a bad place to start.

Brent M. Johnstone is a senior at the University of Texas and editor-in-chief of the "Texas Review."

# Censoring "Amerika"

By Colin Chapman

In early January, Soviet cultural officials launched a campaign against American films that are "anti-Soviet" in nature. The Soviets attacked "Rambo," "Red Dawn" and "Rocky IV" in their opening salvo against the commie-bashing taking place in U.S. theaters.

In his first press conference of 1986, President Reagan was asked by a reporter if he was going to talk to his friends in Hollywood about stopping the anti-communist tilt in American movies. Reagan's reply: "No, I was talking to my friends in Hollywood when they were making pro-communist pictures." Score another one for the Gipper.

But the Soviet efforts to stop Americans from using the media to slander the Soviet state (the same thing Sakarov is in exile for) have gone farther than just persuading Phil Donahue to apologize on national television on behalf of his fellow Americans who have been saying bad things about the Evil Empire. Sure, ABC has announced that it now intends to air "Amerika," but the budget has been cut. Soviet threats to suspend ABC News operations in Moscow is still a blatant attempt to censor "Amerika."

Donahue fancies himself a real advocate of the first amendment, and the ACLU believes that they are the last line of defense for the civil rights of people who live in this country. They have, however, failed to raise any kind of a hue and cry over the Soviet assault on our first amendment.

Perhaps if I could convince Donahue that Ed Meese is the one really responsible for the Soviet censorship, then maybe we could get a chance to hear Phil whine about it a little. But even then, don't expect to hear him say anything bad about the Kremlin's role in this whole affair.

Robert Novak, the conservative columnist for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, is fond of asking his liberal counterpart on CNN's *Crossfire*, Tom Braden, why it is that he has never heard him call for the overthrow of a communist government.

I have not even heard Tom Braden give any real answer to Novak's question, but whatever the reason is, the hesitancy of the left to express any outrage over Soviet censorship is an interesting phenomenon.

On the other hand, if Larry Speakes threatened to suspend ABC News' White House operations for failure to air "Amerika," I am quite sure that Donahue's reaction would be far more stronger than ABC's Brandon Stoddard's statement that, "It is only responsible that the Soviet situation be factored into the decision" to postpone further work on the "Amerika" series.

Secretary of Education William Bennett took the tact that the ACLU would be taking if they were really concerned about American civil liberties. "The American people might be denied a television series because the Kremlin does not like it," said Bennett.

In addition, the Kremlin is upset over Wendy's linking up with Sylvester Stallone to gang up on the Kremlin (Wendy's Hamburgers have also irked the Russians over a commercial depicting a very rotund babushka in a Soviet fashion show modeling the latest in grey tents for wear by the women of Moscow). The Mikhael Gorbachev's of this world are not used to having people say bad things about them. And if someone should be so inconsiderate of the peace-loving Soviet leader as to commit the *faux pas* of saying something unflattering about him, well, Comrade Gorbachev is used to providing for their care in one of Moscow's finest medical wards for political dissidents.

The Soviet Cultural Affairs Ministry's action against "Amerika" is the Kremlin's way of sending ABC off to the Gulag. The sad part is that ABC is letting it happen without putting up a fight. Bennett called it, "Capitulation to bullying." The miniseries "Amerika" depicts a Soviet invasion of the U.S. But in real life they need not waste the effort of a full scale military operation — because we are already taking orders from Soviet leaders.

Colin Chapman is a senior in Political Science at Washburn University.

# Letters



Several statements, and at least one book, have erroneously been credited to J.F. Kennedy by his journalist friends who do not practice their trade *secundum veritatem*.

They have been so successful in their fabrication of misinformation that even the Temple of Mars has been deceived. Cave!

Corinne Engelmann  
The Temple of Mirnerva,  
Searcher for Truth  
Carlsbad, CA

Editor's note:

High Priestess Englemann:

The quote does indeed come from Cicero in its most purest sense. Yet, John F. Kennedy was the person who spoke it in the form as you saw printed.

I am aghast to think that you believed the Temple of Mars would denigrate itself by succumbing to the liberal infested media. Henceforth, Cicero will be credited where Cicero is due.

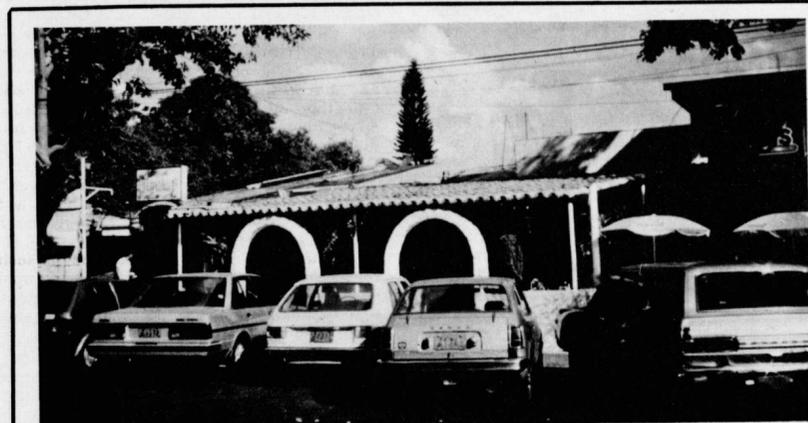
— PJM

To the Editor:

I am very disappointed to see that you have succumbed to a piece of propaganda from the liberal press. Your November-December issue made a serious mistake in ascribing the following phrase:

"Ask not what your country can do for you  
— Ask what you can do for your country."

to anyone other than our dear friend and colleague, Cicero. He made the statement about 25 B.C. to his fellow Romans.



In memory of the four U.S. Embassy Marines, two Americans, and seven Latin Americans who were massacred in this cafe in San Salvador, El Salvador by FMLN terrorists on June 19, 1985. May they rest in peace.

# From the Editor:

In December, some 300 peace marchers from around the world were besieged at La Toruma youth hostel for more than two hours in San Jose, Costa Rica. Angry Costa Ricans and Nicaraguan exiles demonstrated against the so-called "March for Peace in Central America" participants. When the buses arrived with the marchers, a tear gas grenade was thrown by a demonstrator which provoked panic; chaos ensued. The demonstrators chanted slogans, burned red flags, and hurled rocks to protest against what they saw as a political ploy instigated by the Sandinistas to legitimize their regime in Nicaragua.

Minutes later, the rain of rocks forced the marchers and their supporters to seek shelter in the cramped hostel. The stoning continued for two hours shattering windows in the hostel. The crowd of protestors were estimated at numbering 200. No arrests were made the entire evening.

The marchers condemned the Costa Rican government for failing to protect them. The marchers claimed that the government had promised to protect them. A government official denied the claim. He responded, "I can't guarantee anything. I can't even guarantee your (the marchers) safety." The official added that the night's events had demonstrated that the marchers were not welcome in Costa Rica and to avoid any further disturbances their visas would be revoked. He asked the marchers to board Nicaraguan-bound buses at first light.

— CGA

# California Review



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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

■ Members of the Coalition for a Free South Africa again demonstrated their ability to deny a law abiding citizen of his First Amendment. A harmless evangelist known as Brother Jed was continually heckled, and later forcefully assaulted while speaking at USCD on January 23. Denying an individual of his right to express himself in public, is one of the worst displays of behavior that has become typical and expected from these mannerless throwbacks.

■ Whilst on a junket to Chile, Sen. Ted Kennedy was at the receiving end of an angry protest. Among those blockading the airport when Teddy arrived were some people wearing life-preservers emblazoned with the word "Chapaquidick."

■ F.Y.I.: On December 25, 1541, England's Unlawful Games Act decreed that only archery could be played on Christmas. Golf was definitely a no-no.

■ An American father is worried that his son is being influenced by television and the news media too much. It seems the lad wants a rifle rack — for his tricycle.

■ "I'd have given him a medal for protecting his property." — White House spokesman Larry Speakes, on the case of White House supply clerk Ramon Pineda, who was charged with carrying a gun without a license after he pulled a weapon on a man who was allegedly breaking into his jeep.

■ The Guardian Angels held a vigil in a New York City subway to support vigilante Bernhard Goetz one year after he shot four youths he feared would mug him on a crowded subway train. The Angels passed out fliers and hung a "symbolic" wreath with \$5 inside it at the subway station to mark the anniversary.

■ "I am sure my fellow Californians will agree with me that 6 cents per person is a reasonable investment for communicating with their senator." — Senator Alan Cranston, D-Calif., trying to rationalize why he spent \$1,631,832 on government-paid newsletters to his constituents in just three months.

■ Fashion comes to the Kremlin! Pierre Cardin has signed an agreement with the USSR that could bring his fashions to 5 million Russians. "Smilin Mike" Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, already wears the designers' clothes. Cardin says, "It is my goal to dress all 280 million Soviets."

■ Two Soviet guards found another use for the forests they were supposed to be protecting — building an industrial-capacity distillery of illicit alcohol, the Soviet news agency Tass said. According to Tass, the activity cost the men two years of "corrective labor."

■ Senator Barry Goldwater on prayer in public school: "As long as there are chemistry tests, there will be prayer in public schools."

■ Spurred by a vehement anti-smoking protest from Sam Donaldson of ABC News, Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes has formally asked White House reporters to put out their cigarettes in the briefing room. Hopefully, the clean air will clear the minds of the liberal media in attendance.

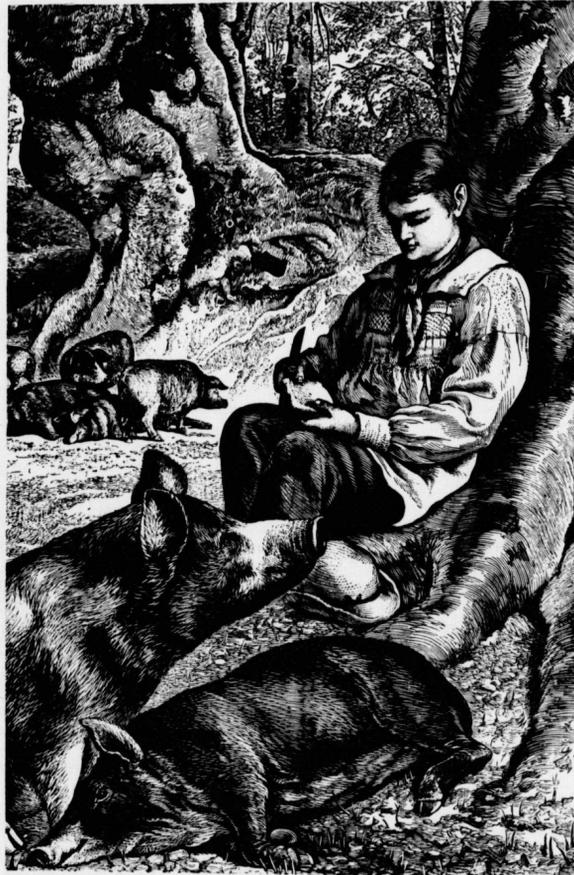
■ A farmer ordered to return a tractor because he was behind on his payments drove it through the door of a Lafayette, Colo., bank, causing extensive damage. The driver was charged with attempted vehicular homicide and driving while intoxicated.

■ The original Bozo the Clown recently announced the winners of the Bozo of the Year Awards. Among the winners were: Geraldine Ferraro in the field of politics; Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, the international winner; and a special lifetime award to Michael Jackson for "singlehandedly reviving the glove industry."

■ The Turkish Supreme Court lifted a ban on the sale of *Playboy* magazine. The ban began in the late 1960's on the grounds that *Playboy* was pornographic. Chalk up another for freedom of the press.

■ CR would like to congratulate the omnipotent Chicago Bears in their most impressive Superbowl victory over the New England Patriots. Under the supreme guidance of coach Mike Ditka the Bears proved without question that they were simply the best during the 1985/86 season.

■ The death of colorful Canadian newspaper man Milt MacPhail earned him this epitaph from a friend: "A victim of fast women, and slow horses." It's on his headstone in Toronto.



■ A drinking prankster shot an adhesive called liquid nails into 102 parking meters throughout Crown Point, Indiana. The 39-year old carpenter didn't find his escapade so funny when he discovered that he faced a maximum sentence of four years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Sobered him up in a hurry.

■ Before the Geneva Summit, President Ronald Reagan was asked if he would fire Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger after a letter from Weinberger to Reagan had been leaked to the press. Reagan stopped and asked the reporter if he would like a one word or a two word answer. "Two words," answered the reporter, to which Reagan emphatically replied, "Hell, No!"

■ The KGB has set up its own Oscars! A documentary about the late president and former secret police chief Yuri Andropov won the top "1985 KGB of the U.S.S.R. Award." First prize for works by Chekisti (KGB members) and border guards went to the oppressive documentary film "Pages From the Life of Yuri Andropov."

■ George F. Will emulators beware. *Success* magazine says bow tie wearers are fastening a noose around their necks because the adornment makes them "distrusted by almost everyone."

■ Texan Danny Mladenka was surprised when the city of Houston spent 17 cents to mail him a letter threatening to sue if he didn't pay a delinquent tax bill — for 8 cents! 5 cents was for his 1983 income tax and 3 for a penalty payment. Mladenka says he is going to ask the city to mail him a receipt.

All America is saddened by the loss of the crew of the Space Shuttle Challenger. In our time of grief, we must remember that achievement comes only to those who take risks. So, in the spirit of the unknown, we salute the Challenger heroes and look to the future.

The opinions and views contained in *California Review* do not represent those of the ASUCSD, the Regents, and/or the University of California. They belong to a dedicated few who are committed to freedom of expression and the preservation of our glorious Republic.

## Central America

# Inside Sandinista Nicaragua

By C.G. Alario

Over Christmas break, I journeyed to Nicaragua's new socialist paradise. It was my first encounter with a Communist-controlled country. The *Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional* (FSLN) is the ruling Marxist dictatorship. The Sandinistas are supported by thousands of Cuban, Soviet, and Soviet bloc "advisors." They have publicly declared that Marxism-Leninism is the goal of the revolution. Somoza was overthrown in 1979 to be replaced by a new clan of *Somocistas* — the Sandinistas.



Sandinista propaganda declaring the FSLN the "Vanguard of the People."

Upon arrival, I immediately called on the U.S. Embassy to inform them I was in Nicaragua. For twenty minutes I was briefed by an embassy official. He started off by describing Nicaragua as a police state. He warned me that "acting disrespectful to a Sandinista official" or participating in "counter-revolutionary activities" were against the law and could land me in jail. Ending up in jail, however, was not a problem, he said. But there have been cases where the Sandinistas have failed to inform the embassy that an American had been detained. One incident, the Sandinistas did not inform the embassy for four months. Do not trust anyone off the street, he stated. He continued by explaining that the Sandinistas maintain an extensive informer network and it was unwise to go spouting off anti-Sandinista remarks. Nicaragua is unlike other Central American countries, he concluded; play it smart — good luck.

After the embassy official's sober briefing, I inquired about visiting Bluefields. First, he warned me that it was highly militarized and politically unstable. Then he informed me that permission from the Ministry of Interior was required.

Bluefields is a former British colony located on the southern end of Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. A large English-speaking black population lives in Bluefields. It was here where the first riots erupted against the Sandinistas in September, 1980. The Permanent Commission for Human Rights reported that the blacks rioted against the increasing presence of Cubans and resented foreigners attempting to raise their political consciousness. Bluefields is currently considered a military zone.

I went to the Ministry of Interior as instructed. For three hours, I argued with Sandinista officials, but to no avail. I was denied permission because it was too "dangerous." Later, I discovered that Bluefields was routinely closed to foreigners whenever the blacks became restless.

At PoneLOYA, a sleepy beach town north of Managua, I met a British woman who enthusiastically supported the Sandinistas. I told her about my difficulties with the Ministry of Interior. I claimed that Interior Minister Tomas Borge was preventing me from seeing social unrest among the blacks in Bluefields. She said I was wrong and the Sandinistas have nothing to hide. I laughed. There is a civil war raging, and the *Contras* operate in that region, she cried. The Sandinistas were thinking of my safety, she screamed. Again, I laughed. The *Contras* operate in the Northern departments, but I did not need permission to travel to Esteli. She grew silent and frustrated. I firmly asserted that it was the Sandinistas who betrayed the original goals of the revolution — freedom, democracy, pluralism, and civil rights — and aligned themselves with Cuba and the Soviet Union that gave rise to the U.S. supported democratic forces opposing the Marxist regime. She was shocked and accused me of voting for Reagan. And then she stomped off.

Sandinista repression is twofold. First, there is the physical repression of political opposition, the Catholic Church, and "counter-revolutionaries." From Interior Minister Tomas Borge's standardized "special measures" (the euphemism for political assassinations) to the October "State of Emergency" declaration (which suspended most civil rights in Nicaragua), physical repression is commonplace in Nicaragua. It is documented in the Western press for those who care to read about it.

There is, however, a parallel system of psychological repression. The "Sandinistization" of Nicaragua has created a state of intimidation. It entails instilling an element of fear into Nicaraguan society, making it clear that opposition to the regime will not be tolerated. It has to a certain degree been effective. Some noticeably averse Nicaraguans I encountered were complacent, choosing to play it safe and not resist the Sandinistas.

Walking through the streets of Managua, Esteli, and Leon, Sandinista propaganda premeated the landscape. Here was a clear example of "Sandinistization." Fences, sides of buildings, and houses were littered with FSLN graffiti. Slogans depicted the Sandinista as the "Vanguard of the People;" some denounced "Yankee Imperialism." Billboards displayed similar slogans and paid tribute to fallen Sandinista leaders, such as Carlos Fonseca (one of the founding members of the FSLN and a self-professed Marxist-Leninist). Posters condemned the *Contras* instruments of the CIA; others celebrated the sixth anniversary of the revolution. Anti-Sandinista propaganda was non-existent.

The *Comites de Defensa Sandinista* (CDS) is another example of "Sandinistization." The CDS's are officially known as the "eyes and ears of the revolution." They are an extensive network of neighborhood political organizations located in every city, town, and village. They do perform some social functions, but, moreover, they are the local arm of the Sandinistas. The CDS's monitor the activities and

attitudes of their respective neighborhoods. The CDS is a constant and concrete reminder of the regime. Everywhere I went I encountered the CDS. It was an uncomfortable feeling which breeds distrust and insecurity.

In Managua, while standing in line for the bus to Esteli, I observed a crowded terminal. Here was the backbone of Nicaragua — the common man and woman. Smiles were scarce, laughter sporadic. The people inwardly conversed among themselves, speaking softly so as not to be overheard. A frowning small child caught my eye. It was obvious that she was unhappy. She captured the mood of Nicaragua. There is a growing disenchantment with the Marxist regime among the tired people of Nicaragua.

At Sandino airport, waiting for my plane to Costa Rica, an older Nicaraguan gentleman approached me and introduced himself. He asked me if I had come to Nicaragua to support the Sandinistas. I told him no. He smiled and asked me to sit down and talk with him. He began by calling the Sandinistas Communists, who have inflicted unnecessary misery on Nicaragua. "We want democracy, like you have in your country," he said. As a Sandinista official walked by, the gentleman signaled to me to be quiet. Once the Sandinista official left, he continued, claiming it was the Cubans who were calling the shots, not the Sandinistas. "We are a proud people who want freedom, not socialism," he asserted. For a half hour he criticized the Sandinistas and how they had betrayed the revolution. He ended by asking me to pray for Nicaragua.



More Sandinista propaganda celebrating the revolution.

Sandinista Nicaragua is a tragedy. Setting aside the Marxist rhetoric and Sandinista disinformation, Nicaragua is suffering from the pains of a betrayed revolution. Communist tyranny has prevailed, not democracy. My experiences in Sandinista Nicaragua has cemented my opposition to the Communist regime. The democratic future of Nicaragua rests in the hands of the *Contras*. The United States must resurrect the will to make a firm and long-standing commitment to the *Contra* cause. The preservation of our freedom and democratic institutions rests on our willingness to support freedom and democracy throughout the world. A case in point is Nicaragua.

C.G. Alario is a Senior at UCSD.

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## Nicaragua: A Society In Decay

By Barry Demuth

Before visiting Central America in December of 1985, I began to question the willingness of the United States to oppose increasing Soviet aggression. Failure of the U.S. to recognize these ominous political forces has invited disaster. The political unrest in Nicaragua today, is partly a result of the soft trustworthy stance many Americans have adopted when dealing with the Soviet Union. As a result, Nicaragua and her people are struggling. Every sector of society is suffering from the growing pains of a revolution that has fallen far short of its goals. Support for the *Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional* (FSLN) is withering in Nicaragua, and, more importantly, among liberal policy makers in Congress. While other countries in Central America have made considerable gains in establishing Democratic governments, Nicaragua has regressed toward a Marxist-Leninist regime.

The Marxist-Leninist brand of government the FSLN is attempting to establish has never succeeded in the past, and it appears rejection is imminent in Nicaragua. While the FSLN continues to improve its relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union, they further alienate themselves from the United States — discontent grows. The people of Nicaragua have tasted life as it exists in other Communist countries for nearly seven years. The flavor is becoming unpalatable.



Barry Demuth and local Nicaraguans, traveling first class high atop a train.

After experiencing the misery of Managua, my traveling companion and I decided to travel north along the Pan American highway. We soon discovered that to travel virtually anywhere in Nicaragua by bus was primitive and barbaric. One has to be in good physical condition to survive the horror. Due to the shortage of gas and the lack of buses, many people are forced to stand for the duration of the trip. Consequently, many Nicaraguans choose to travel by train. Thinking that traveling by train could not possibly be any worse than traveling by bus, we decided to find out for ourselves. After riding on top of the roof for five

hours to travel a distance of 100 kilometers, we concluded that our best choice would have been to stay in El Salvador.

During my stay in Nicaragua, what I saw and experienced I had hoped was only a bad dream. The presence of Soviet influence was overwhelming. East German army trucks roar through the streets. Sandinista soldiers as young as fourteen years old proudly display Soviet AK-47 assault rifles. Soviet manufactured compact cars called Ladas, are a favorite among the FSLN officials. Propaganda is unescapable, encouraging enlistment into or support of the army. Anti-imperialist slogans are fashionable on billboards, buildings and the sides of houses. It is obvious the Soviet empire has provided members of FSLN with the comforts and necessities to maintain and enjoy power. In contrast, the revolution has insured a life of constant hardship and despair for the common man and his family.

Nicaraguans who are property owners have plenty to fear. The Sandinistas have successfully weakened the value of private property by legalizing government confiscation. Therefore, as a farmer you are forced to continue to produce more and more in order to satisfy the land greedy Department of Agriculture. Shortly after the FSLN gained power in July of 1979, they forcefully took control of land along the Coco River. The Coco was a main stem, uniting 25,000 Nicaraguan Indians, Miskito and Sumo, living near its banks. After spending an entire morning trying to get permission to visit this area, we were eventually denied. Undoubtedly opposition is rampant among the Indians toward the Sandinistas. Restricting tourist not to travel to certain areas in any country leads one to suspicion. How can an individual accurately focus proper perceptions without seeing the entire picture?

The FSLN forced the Indians who lived near the Coco River to leave, supposedly for their safety. This precaution caused 10,000 Indians to evacuate to Honduras, or other Nicaraguan cities. Another 10,000 were marched to relocation camps, many miles from the river. Last summer the FSLN permitted the Indians to begin to return. What they found was devastation. The Sandinista army had burned buildings and houses, presumably to prevent guerillas from using them. For a government that says they advocate land reform. They have alienated those who own land through force, and those who desire to own land through fear.

It would be misleading not to note the impressive gains that the Sandinistas have made. During the reign of Somoza, the National Guard reached an all-time high of 11,000, however the Sandinistas armed forces number 129,000 (70,000 of which are regular army) and are supported by thousands of Cuban, Soviet, and East Bloc advisors. There is no opposition that has any measure of power or influence. The secret police network, set up by East Germans and Cubans, is

## WHO ARE THE SANDINISTAS?

By Alfred G. Cuzán

In a recent letter to The New York Times, Frank R. Safford, Professor of Latin American History at Northwestern University, argues that, as with Cuba 25 years ago, the United States, "by attempting to bring down a revolutionary government," gives it "no choice but to align itself more completely with the Soviet bloc." By "equating Marxism with Soviet alliance," he says, "we" (meaning the United States) "are acting quite successfully to fulfill our own dire prophecies." Once again, the United States is being blamed for "pushing" a communist dictatorship into the Soviet bloc. Therefore, it is worth relating the political history of top leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the ruling elite of that which Safford calls "a revolutionary government." The biographies of these men leave no doubt of their status as communists and Soviet agents long before they replaced Somoza as dictators of Nicaragua in the 1979 revolution.

<sup>1</sup>Most of the information about the FSLN directorate comes from a book by a former Sandinista, *Breaking Faith*, by Humberto Belli, a Nicaraguan sociologist presently in the United States. This valuable book, along with *Nicaragua. A Revolution In The Family*, by Shirley Christian, should be compared with *The End And The Beginning*, by Sandinista apologist John Booth.

It is appropriate to begin with Tomas Borge, minister of state security, because, at 55, he is the sole surviving founder of the Sandinista front. In the early nineteen fifties, Borge and Carlos Fonseca Amador, while university students, joined the traditional,



Moscow-line communist party, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), and studied Nikolai Bukharin's *The ABC's of Communism*. The party sent Fonseca to



A typical bus scene in Nicaragua.

operating smoothly, monitoring or suppressing any form of "counterrevolutionary activity."

Last July marked the sixth anniversary of Nicaragua's new society. The Sandinista record is clear: the economy is a disaster; poverty is out of control; society has decayed; and lastly the social reforms that the Sandinistas and their international supporters laud about are more talk than actual deeds. The Sandinistas conveniently blame the United States for their mounting problems and why not, every other problem in the world is blamed on the U.S. There is a bloody civil war raging at the moment, because the Sandinistas abandoned long ago the democratic principles that would have enabled Nicaragua to prosper. The United States-supported freedom fighters or Contras are a result of the growing discontent toward the Sandinistas. Cardinal Obando y Bravo has long urged the Sandinistas to talk to the Contras, a position supported by the U.S. However, according to Bravo, "the Sandinistas said they did not want to have dialogue except through the mouths of machine guns." Caught in the crossfire are innocent people whose needs will continue to be neglected. It is these people who will determine the future of Nicaragua. They have grown tired of war and the difficulties it presents. In refusing to recognize and negotiate with the Contras, the Sandinistas will continue to fight an uphill battle in which all will suffer.

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## The Cynicism of Sanctuary

By Kurt Andrew Schlichter

Once again municipalities across the country have hopped on a moral bandwagon. Thirteen cities, including Los Angeles, Seattle and San Francisco, have declared themselves to be "sanctuaries" for illegal aliens from war-torn El Salvador and Guatemala. These localities have instructed their agencies to refrain from inquiring into the immigration status of the sanctified aliens. They have also forsworn any cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The idea itself was reborn only a few years ago, but its origins date back to medieval times when churches could provide "sanctuary" for wanted persons. Its application today is simply a convenient way to justify the breaking of immigration laws by churchworkers and others. Trials last year sent a number of these people to jail, but it still has not stopped the problem.

The first thing to remember when considering the sanctuary movement is that it is for all practical purposes a purely symbolic exercise. Politically-correct aliens are smuggled into the United States, but putting the number above even two or three thousand would in all probability be giving the movement too much credit. Compared with the millions of aliens already here, even ten thousand aliens would be hardly a drop in the bucket. The sanctuary movement is not concerned with bringing aliens into this country. It is an instrument of political propaganda directed against United States policies in Central America. It can be effective too. San Francisco mayor Diane Feinstein's holiday visits to Salvadoran families holed up in local churches received wide television and newspaper coverage. The opportunity to blast the President's Central American policies was not missed. The refuge problem was blamed on the right-wing death squads, as opposed to the economic factors that are the more likely culprits. Strangely, no mention of President Duarte's successful campaign to control the death squads, nor of the equally reprehensible leftist guerilla death squads was made. Accuracy and truth have nothing to do with the Sanctuary movement. It is blatant propaganda.

Coating propaganda in the robes of moral indignation is nothing new. It has been done many times before. There was the "nuclear-free zone" campaign a few years ago and, more recently, the South African divestment scheme was popular. Today, Sanctuary is fashionable. Thus, so-called sanctuaries are springing up everywhere, as "nuclear-free zones" did when the freeze movement was at its height.

Conservatives rightly criticize these useless acts, but many do so on the faulty assumption that these resolutions are meant to actually do something. Some call sanctuary unconstitutional while others warn of

municipalities being flooded by illegals. Sanctuary is certainly unconstitutional as it violates the separation of Federal and local laws, but that does not really matter. No one is planning to actually do anything about these resolutions. They are statements, nothing more. The notion that illegal aliens will flood Sanctuary cities is ludicrous. No alien is stupid enough to believe that the limousine liberal who promulgated these resolutions will protect them from *la migra*.



All measures of this type are meaningless. Otherwise they are not adopted. Nuclear-free zones cost nothing and do nothing. Where it costs relatively little money, divestment succeeds in passing. Sanctuary similarly costs little or nothing. Critics awaiting a flood of aliens applying for city services will be waiting for a long time, and Sanctuary supporters know it. Make no

mistake about it; these resolutions are 0% cost and 100% benefit. San Jose even saved itself a few bucks by refusing to train police from Equador in anti-terrorist techniques. The reason given was that the city council did not want to show support for the President's Latin American policies. It was perversely satisfying to see the self-righteous members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors grow very uncomfortable when they discovered that a resolution calling for a ban on the City doing business with any company doing business in South Africa would cost the financially troubled city a huge sum of money to enforce. Upon realizing the cost of not doing business with General Motors, IBM, Coca-Cola and a host of others, the Supervisors called for a more sensible, i.e. less costly and inconvenient, measure.

As long as they are just meaningless statements the local politicians will keep right on passing them. The problem is that while divestment means very little in Los Angeles to blacks in South Africa it is their livelihood. In Equador, someday innocent people may very well die because the police never got the chance to train with the San Jose anti-terrorist squad. In Central America, the situation could be even worse. Most immigrants come from those countries to find jobs. The unemployment rate in El Salvador is running at about 44%. With the guerillas hitting economic targets, that figure is unlikely to decrease for the present time. It is not only the quantity of these people that is of concern but the quality. What kind of person walks a thousand miles just to cross a patrolled border into a strange land. The lazy and the shiftless are not the ones that come. The United States gets the best and the brightest of Central America, the very people that will be needed to rebuild El Salvador when the war ends. Any encouragement of this is contemptible.

Once again they jump onto a bandwagon. It must make them very pleased with themselves to be able to prove their righteousness once again. They make their speeches and pass their resolutions and go back to their comfortable homes while a GM factory in Johannesburg closes and puts a few hundred blacks out of work. The illegal Salvadoran has a sanctuary he cannot dare to use, while the Nicaraguan or Afghan does not even have that. At election time these righteous officials know that the interests will not forget how they passed the litmus test. They know that they will be re-elected to their post in their divested, nuclear-free sanctuary.

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created five-man committee within the nine-member national directorate of the *frente*. This new Sandinista "pentarchy" is headed by (who else?) Daniel Ortega.

In 1975, Jaime Wheelock and Luis Carrion established their own FSLN faction, which they named the Marxist-Leninist Proletarian Tendency. Like many other communists, old and new, these two men were born to upper-class families. The darling of American "progressive" academics, Wheelock studied at the University of North Carolina and is reputed to be a scholar. As minister of land reform, he is one of the "inner five." He has described the FSLN as "the guardian angel of Nicaragua."

Carrion came to the FSLN via a group of "revolutionary Christians," middle and upper class university students financially secure enough to pursue utopia in idyllically-situated monasteries or "popular" churches in "working class" neighborhoods. This is how wealthy "priests" like the Cardinal brothers and Miguel D'Escoto (none of them members of the directorate) became public relations front men for the FSLN. Only Carrion soon discarded any pretense for religious belief. Today he is deputy minister of state security, a member of the national directorate though not of the pentarchy.

Named deputy-chief of the Sandinista pentarchy is Bayardo Arce, the party's organization man. In 1984, before the "election" of Ortega and a Sandinista-dominated "constitutional assembly," Arce gave a

secret speech to the PSN, the old communist party to which Borge and Fonseca had originally belonged before founding the FSLN. The speech was surreptitiously recorded and published abroad, to the embarrassment of Sandinista apologists the world over. In it, Arce called the election a "hindrance" and confidently forecast the creation of a one-party state joining all communists into a single organization. In 1982, Arce and Daniel Ortega signed a sycophantic eulogy to Leonid Brezhnev, mourning the loss of a great defender of the "Great Fatherland" to which the Sandinistas betrayed their country long ago, i.e., the USSR.

In light of the political biographies of the Sandinista elite, it should be evident that, contrary to Professor Safford's tendentious letter, the FSLN was thoroughly aligned with the Soviet Union even before it seized power in 1979. In light of this history — which should be known to a Latin American historian — how can Safford suggest that it is the United States, rather than the Sandinistas, the Cuban communists, and the Soviet Union, who is turning Nicaragua into Moscow's second colony in the Americas?

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## In Review

### From Central America

■ While visiting Central America CR's fact finding team had the privilege of meeting an American living in El Salvador. Lured to the country thirteen years ago, he decided to stay. Married a lovely Salvadoran and began to establish roots in a small coastal village. He spoke knowingly and freely, his thoughts reflected a deep concern and understanding of the political forces existing in the region. When asked of his views regarding the Sandinistas in Nicaragua? He replied "the Sandinistas are a bunch of overly aggressive communist bastards who do not play by the rules."

■ Residents of Corn Island, Nicaragua refuse to be fooled by the spirit of revolution. Although maintaining power for nearly seven years, the Sandinistas can only boast five card carrying members among the island's population of 4,000. A once tropical getaway where tourism and fishing flourished. Today the island is treated by the FSLN as fruit fallen from a nearby tree, only to be tightly squeezed until its juices are no longer. According to a former fisherman "we are having a hard life compared to what we used to live with Somoza." Another resident warned "only President Reagan now has the power to change the destiny of Corn Island and Nicaragua." Nodding to his three year old son, he said "he don't have a future if Reagan don't work fast."





## The Angolan Example: Savimbi and UNITA

By Ken Royal

Last year, with barely a mention in the press, Congress repealed the "Clark Amendment," a ten year-old law prohibiting overt or covert aid to any Angolan freedom movement. In late January, President Reagan earmarked up to \$15 million in secret military aid. A quiet battle is, however, being waged right now in Congress whether to provide additional aid to Savimbi's UNITA. Rep. Mark Siljander (R-Michigan), has introduced a bill to provide UNITA with \$27 million in military aid. The U.S. is wobbling over a decision which could prove decisive. If UNITA can succeed, it will send a message to all the Soviet satellites that they can resist the most expansionist and imperialist state in the world.

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is a well organized fighting force. Jonas Savimbi, their founder, has a doctorate in political science from the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. He is fluent in seven languages — Portuguese, English, French, Umbundu, Chokwe, Luchesse, and Ganguela. He was taught the methods of guerrilla warfare in China. He disagrees with their theories of how to run a society, but feels they really know how to tear one apart. When UNITA was formed, China and the Soviet Union were in the thick of their rivalry for anticolonial champion of the world. The Chinese would help anyone who would counter the Soviets' MPLA guerrillas who were also fighting Portuguese rule.

Savimbi received help from the Chinese starting in 1965. By 1974 the Portuguese had come to realize that independence was inevitable in the Third World, and the Portuguese agreed to leave in 1975. All the Angolan fighting groups agreed to elections. The Soviet-backed MPLA didn't keep the agreement; however, with thousands of Cuban troops they drove UNITA and the FNLA (the other non-Marxist fighters) out of the country. After 400 years of Portuguese control the Angolans were now dominated by the Soviets and the Cubans. There have yet to be elections.

Down to only 67 men, Savimbi had to start rebuilding if he was going to bring freedom to his country. This he did. He has been steadily advancing back into Angolan territory, and after fighting for 22 years, seems on the verge of victory. UNITA controls over one-third of Angola, and has substantial control over another third. Together, that is an area larger than Texas. Raids into the government-dominated area are continuing with persistent success. Only the desert area in the southwest and the oil enclave at Cabinda go unharrassed.

The size of the area that UNITA controls is not their only symbol of success. Their whole organization is run with the type of professionalism and sophistication that only the Contras and Mujahadeen could dream about. There are 24,000 regular troops and 36,000

guerrillas. They have a main training camp at which 1000 men graduate each month. After basic training, they have specialized schools for logistics, communications, quartermaster, commando, intelligence, artillery, and even engineering.

The MPLA has been supplied by the Soviets with about 60-70 aircraft, including MiG 17's and 21's. They also have about a dozen MI-24 "Hind" gunships which have become famous for leveling complete Afghan villages. These are all useless, though, as UNITA has maintained control of the air by capturing large numbers of Soviet-made anti-aircraft weapons. In fact, the few journalists who have gone to UNITA have simply flown in, unlike other movements where people must sneak through unguarded border areas.

Africa is famous for its poverty. Fighting a guerrilla war, Savimbi has an excuse for any hardships the people in his area must live through. But patience and steady growth of his state within a state have given him the opportunity to make the people for whom he is fighting appreciate him. After all, it is the Chinese way to win the hearts and minds of the people. There are five central hospitals in the area he controls, and 211 regional hospitals and clinics. These are for military as well as civilian use. At the hospital in Jamba, for example, there are maternity wards, rehab and post-operative-care wards, combat injury wards, a surgical operating room with anesthesia and sterilization equipment, and a laboratory equipped for basic analysis.



They have their own clothing factories which make clothes for women and children, as well as 1000 combat uniforms per month. They have repair shops for overhauling engines and converting URAL truck engines, which don't work well in hot weather, from gasoline to diesel. They also have a variety of precision lathes and power-driven machine tools for restoring damaged equipment and weapons. For example, they use the wreckage of downed aircraft to make working missiles, and strip the aluminum to make cutlery for

villagers. They have a joint agriculture center with local villagers producing 55 tons of vegetables a year. In all, they are a net exporter of food in Africa.

UNITA's educational system is one of its most attractive points, especially to those who live in government areas who children are taken from them and force-fed Marxist swill. In fact, many families flee to "Free Angola" almost solely for their children's education. There are nearly 1000 primary schools located in every village, agriculture center, and guerrilla base. The curriculum consists of Portuguese, reading, spelling, composition, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, history, geography, natural science, and basic hygiene. There are 15 secondary schools providing an education in such areas as solid geometry, trigonometry, algebra, physics, chemistry, and even Latin.

Savimbi is at a vital stage in his pursuit of freedom. He is in the third and fourth stages of guerrilla warfare as defined by its most successful warrior, Mao Tse-tung. The first phase is subversive activities; the second is small guerrilla actions; the third is wide-scale guerrilla actions; the fourth is open, conventional warfare. He successfully passed the crucial first test last summer of his powers to succeed in the fourth stage. The government launched its largest offensive against UNITA yet, with the goal of taking "Free Angola's" capital, Jamba. It failed miserably, even with the Soviets pouring in extra armored lorries, helicopters, tanks, artillery, and aircraft. 30,000 Cuban troops played a supporting role, while 400 Soviet officers, including a general, were in command. While Savimbi stopped the offense in its tracks, they simultaneously struck at other points, one of which was 38 miles from "Slave Angola's" capital, Luanda.

The Soviets, however, won't give up. It's time the U.S. joins the host of other countries who now support UNITA, such as Morocco, the Ivory Coast, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and China. It's a strange mix of countries, with one thing in common — a commitment toward working against Soviet imperialism. The Soviets and their comrades have a commitment too. In Angola, there are about 1500 Soviet advisors; 2500 East Germans, who operate the vast network of informers and secret police; 3500 Polish, Czechs, and Bulgarians, who provide technical assistance, and 40,000 Cubans, 5000 of whom guard oil installations, 5000 of whom are civilian workers, and 30,000 of whom are openly soldiers. Conflict between Soviet and American troops is not in the cards, but the side who is willing to provide assistance to those who are fighting will show their commitment to the global struggle taking place between freedom and Soviet domination.

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## A Program for Freedom

By Dery Murdock and Gerald Alexander

Things have improved dramatically on the Rollback front. After years of watching the Domino Theory occur in practice, America has finally taken several steps designed to reverse the forward march of Communism. In June the House of Representatives discarded its soft stand on the Sandinista regime and voted to provide \$27 million in humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. The same week, the Senate voted to repeal the Clark Amendment, a 1975 prohibition on aid to the democratic resistance in Angola.

About the same time, conservative leader Lew Lehrman organized a "jungle summit" involving representatives of anti-Communist rebel groups worldwide. Radio Marti is on the air to Cuba, and, of all people, Rep. Steven Solarz (D-NY) is pushing for aid to the anti-Marxist forces in Cambodia.

Despite these heartening developments, the Reagan Administration's behavior in this area remains "a mishmash of ad hoc decisions, or nondecisions, as to

who gets aid, with no apparent consistency or strategy," as the *Washington Post* recently reported. Supporters of democratic resistance groups have called for a "Reagan Doctrine" which would establish a consistent and publicly articulated doctrine of support for freedom fighters.

In pursuit of such a policy, the President should propose, or Congress should legislate political, financial, and military support for the various forces struggling to liberate their nations from Marxism-Leninism. What is needed is the International Freedom Fighters Act of 1986 (IFFA).

What would IFFA do? In general, it would appropriate funds for overt assistance to freedom fighter groups battling pro-Soviet regimes identified by the White House, Congress or both. (The Afghan Mujahideen, Nicaraguan FDN, Angola's UNITA, Cambodia's KPNLF, Mozambique's RENAMO, and the Ethiopian rebels in Eritrea and Tigre would fall into this category.) In addition, IFFA would make material support for such forces available. Most

significantly, such a bill would declare America's solidarity with those who rebel against Moscow.

Above all else, the need for this initiative is a moral one. As a humane nation dedicated to the ideals of decent government ruling with the consent of the governed, America cannot look aside as Communist powers burn Indian villages, shut down newspapers, imprison poets, and starve their populations. It is a moral imperative for America to support fighting people who hope to replace tyrannies with more compassionate states which embrace human rights, economic common sense, and some semblance of ethics.

Freedom fighters worldwide deserve our overt assistance. Moscow makes painfully clear its concrete commitment to its allies; they show neither shame nor stealth in aiding those engaged in advancing Communism (witness the Soviet freighter *Bulgankin* which

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## Marxism vs. Reality

By C. Brandon Crocker

Thomas Sowell's *Marxism: Philosophy and Economics* is a book every Marxist should read, for it is the arguments in Dr. Sowell's succinct critique that they will have to counter if they want Marxism to be taken seriously. But this book should also be read by anyone interested in political theory as the bulk of the work is a judicious reading of Marxism which should serve to correct many misconceptions of Marx's thought held by members of both the political Left and Right.

*Marxism: Philosophy and Economics* is divided into two sections. The first, which consists of three-quarters of the work, is a careful and fairly comprehensive, yet very readable outline of Marxism. The second part is a powerful critique of Marxism and of the alterations made by Lenin. Dr. Sowell takes great pains to present Marxism as it was intended to be taken by Marx and Friedrich Engels, and in the process clears up many widely held misconceptions caused by later faulty interpretations of Marx's thought and misunderstandings of Marx's terminology and the purpose of his writings. For instance, the belief that Marx saw capitalists as opposing socialism merely out of self-interest is a manifestation of a serious misunderstanding of Marx's theory of history.

Marx was not, as many believe, concerned with increasing the wages received by the working class. After all, to Marx the human relationships inherent in capitalism was what needed to be changed; the level of wages was not the issue, and, in fact, higher wage rates would only serve to postpone the proletarian revolution. On the topic of revolution, Marx did not rule out a peaceful revolution, (though he never denounced violence, and occasionally condoned it), nor did he envision a necessity for any dictatorship (as we normally conceive of one) but was hopeful of achieving the "dictatorship of the proletariat" through the new institutions of democracy.

The first section of the book is not a disguised diatribe but an excellent primer on Marxism. Dr. Sowell leaves his criticisms to the final chapter.

Perhaps the best known tenet of Marxism is the theory of surplus value. Labor, states the theory, is the source of the value of products. Capitalists can only make profits, therefore, by extracting surplus value from their laborers. Dr. Sowell gives several reasons for doubting this, not the least of which is the lack of any factual evidence to support Marx's assumption. As Dr. Sowell states,

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delivered weapons to Nicaragua in broad daylight in November, 1984 as the international press watched).

America should stop blushing and diving for cover each time it considers aiding freedom fighters. Liberty is something all Americans should be proud to defend; there are few causes more noble. That is why our aid to democratic forces should be given up front and in the open for a watching world to see.

Granted, in some cases this aid might "violate international law" if done overtly. This is, however, tantamount to saying that it would be unlawful to violate the speed limit to stop an escaped murderer headed toward a nursery school with a machine gun. Yes, it would be illegal. But there are some times when a lesser law must be broken to prevent a greater crime. Such a situation exists today in which America can choose to obey the strictures of "international law," while acquiescing to totalitarianism, or avoid them as impediments in the struggle for freedom.

IFFA is also in America's national security interest. In each of the countries where freedom fighters are opposing Soviet-style governments, there would be a considerable strategic advantage to the rebels' victory. For instance, when the Afghan Mujahideen succeed in regaining control of their nation, they will deal the USSR a political body blow while possibly discouraging further Soviet encroachments through Pakistan or Iran and on to the Persian Gulf.

Similarly, Jonas Savimbi's UNITA troops could end the Soviets' access to ports in all of southwestern Africa while keeping the USSR away from the vast strategic mineral wealth of that region on which the West relies for its military and industry. In short, America's investment in freedom fighters promises to yield valuable returns. These forces victories will keep Moscow out of geopolitically vital areas of the world.

The empirical implications of a special or exclusive productivity of labor would be that the countries that work longer and harder would have higher output and higher standards of living. But the reality is more nearly the opposite — that countries whose inputs are less labor and more entrepreneurship tend to have vastly higher standards of living, including shorter working hours for their workers.

Empirically, Marxism falls flat on the notion that the economy determines culture. This has been clearly shown to be false from past experiences with trying to develop Third World countries through massive capital transfers. These attempts did not work, as they did in post-World War II Japan and Europe, because unlike Japan and Europe after World War II the Third World recipients did not have cultures compatible for transforming capital into an industrial base. Missing



in their cultures were such things as a "commercial mentality" and achievement orientations which stressed commercial success. Other factors such as culturally based opposition to change also hindered industrial development. This is not to say that these cultures are "inferior" but only that they are not conducive to industrial development. Culture may to

*Marxism: Philosophy and Economics*  
by Thomas Sowell  
William Morrow and Company, Inc.  
281 pages, \$15.95

some extent be determined by the economy, but clearly culture has a great effect on the economy as well.

So too does empirical evidence refute the Marxist contention of increasing misery and alienation of the proletariat under capitalism. But in addition to the falsehood of the notions, they have a dangerous consequence, as Dr. Sowell comments,

The subjective aspect of "increasing misery" among the working class revolves around the concept of "alienation" — essentially thwarted human development. But this very concept implies that third-party observers can tell untold millions of their fellow human beings how they should "really" evolve, feel, and act. If they could, it would be a mandate for totalitarianism. Indeed, the *assumption* that they can has become an intellectual basis and a moral shield for totalitarianism. Humane and intelligent people excuse lies, repression, slave labor and mass extermination when they are done in the name of "ultimately" promoting the "real" interest and development of the working class — as conceived by others.

While many present day Marxists are correct in asserting that current totalitarian states such as the Soviet Union can not be described as totally abiding by Marxism, Dr. Sowell correctly points out that Marxism must also be judged on its implications. Unfortunately for a great number of people, Marxist rhetoric and the Marxist view of ethics, ("historical justification" being the supreme ethical principle), has been used to justify the most egregious acts of violence and subjugation, just as Marx himself excused the excesses of the Paris Commune.

In order to explain the unfulfilled prophecies of increasing misery of the proletariat and the destruction of capitalism through increasingly severe economic crisis, Lenin developed his theory in imperialism. Yet Lenin never substantiated the core assumption in his theory that the undeveloped world was the major target of foreign capital investment. The evidence demonstrates that this cornerstone of Lenin's theory of imperialism is fallacious. The great majority of foreign direct investment from developed nations goes to other developed nations (the current figure is about 75%).

Dr. Sowell has produced both an excellent outline and critique of Marxism. This work promotes more informed and intelligent discussion of one of today's most misinterpreted political doctrines, and all interested parties should make use of it.

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administrative authority from the West Bank coupled with plans for local autonomy.

But the pretext for exploring these alternatives for peace is not as response to terrorism. It should be understood that a resolution to the Palestinian question on the West Bank is required to preserve Israel's commitment to democracy and other liberal ideals. Jews do not wish to turn another people into second class citizens. And even though other Arab countries have refused to assimilate their fellow Arab-Palestinians and treated them terribly over the years, Israel must sink to their level. Additionally, it should be understood that any movement toward peace will meet (and has always met) with resistance from all the factions of the PLO — for a compromise which leaves any of the State of Israel standing is a betrayal of the PLO Charter. In fact, progress in the direction of a settlement will undoubtedly give rise to new terrorism, reversing Conventional Wisdom's formula. But a settlement had ought to be pursued on its own merits. As for Sam Donaldson and Conventional Wisdom, they should actually not be expected to come up with realistic and meaningful formulas for foreign policy dilemmas anyway; that is the job of intelligent policy makers.

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## Original Intention

By James D. Spounias

Last year, Attorney General Edwin Meese III declared that the United States Supreme Court should employ "a jurisprudence of Original Intention by seeking to judge policies in light of principles... (by so doing) the court could avoid both the charge of being either too conservative or too liberal."

What did the Attorney General have in mind? Does Mr. Meese want to turn the historical clock back to the 1780's, or does he suggest that contemporary jurists look to the Constitution, rather than the Ouija board, when deciding constitutional issues?

The doctrine of "Original Intention" is indeed problematic. Historians, jurists and constitutional scholars continuously haggle over what the framers intended, and they base their disparate positions on scanty, sometimes nonexistent, evidence.

For example, the role of the Supreme Court with respect to the other two branches of government was undefined at the time of the Constitution's adoption. Chief Justice Marshall in 1803 (*Marbury vs. Madison*) astutely established the basis for the court's power. As Boalt Hall professor Martin Shapiro observed, "Marshall (in *Marbury v. Madison*) took a court of law and 'made it into an organ of government.'" Hence, Judicial Review — the court's ability to review Congressional, and subsequently other areas of governmental powers, was born.

Perhaps much of the flack Mr. Meese received from the Court, especially from the *activists*, stems from one major ramification of Original Intent. If the Court adopted the Original Intent philosophy, the Court just may well decide itself out of its judicial review power — verily abdicate its power, prestige and autonomous authority to uphold the intentions of the Framers of the Supreme Law of the Land.

Mr. Meese has not questioned the legitimacy of judicial review, and he probably won't. Mr. Meese's invocation of Original Intention was borne of his desire to have the Supreme Court decide Constitutional issues. Many constitutional scholars agree with Meese's assertion that the Court has failed to use the Constitution when deciding some constitutional issues.

William Kristol of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, observed this paradox. Mr. Kristol stated that "Christopher Wolfe of Marquette University has described the theory and practice of contemporary constitutional interpretation as taking the Constitution out of constitutional law. This phenomenon is not just a matter of a few sloppy decisions as stretched by interpretation. It is a matter of a long train of abuses and usurpations which, if they do not pursue invariably the same object, do rest on an underlying understanding of constitutional law as a vehicle for social justice and moral evolution."

Mr. Kristol continued: "Much of contemporary constitutional law thus uses the Constitution merely as a point of departure, at the end of the long journey from that point lies a host of decisions that have little to do with the Constitution, the intent of its framers, or the meaning of its language, and that have everything to do with various law professor's views of equality, social policy and individual autonomy — views that have not on the whole been ratified by the American people."

The epitome of the Court's diversion from its duty can be seen in the *Roe v. Wade* case, the controversial 1973 ruling, not because it is bad constitutional law, but because, as Stanford law professor John Hart Ely has said, "it is not constitutional law and gives almost no sense of an obligation to try to be." President Reagan declared: "Make no mistake, abortion-on-demand is not a right granted by the Constitution."

Mr. Meese did not vigorously debate that *Roe v. Wade* was wrongly decided when it appeared before the Court in 1983. However, *Roe v. Wade* and other poor decisions are far from being settled, and Mr. Meese, alone, cannot change decades of distortion by nightfall. When asked if an already sound basis for constitutional rulings exist on abortion and religion, Mr. Meese responded, "most decisions at the Supreme Court are relatively new in these categories. They're not settled law because cases in these areas keep coming up time and time again."

When one considers the map the Court has recently



charted, Meese's plea for Original Intention seems like a sensible and necessary proposal. It should not be construed as a hindrance to progress and growth because it insures that progress and growth emanating from the Court will have a strong and noble foundation — the Constitution.

Not only should the issue of Original Intention be considered at the national level, but at the international level. As much ado about a socialistic "one world" government notion floats around our propagandized globe, responsible Americans should examine the Constitution and the intentions of its architects, and then make it available to the millions of freedom seeking people in foreign nations, who need a palatable model for government. The U.S. Constitution is, after all, the one aspect of our model government to survive the evolution of democratic government. Mr. Meese is trying to keep it that way. We should not only keep it, we should export it. Why not tap the wisdom that pervaded America 200 years ago in hope that this same spirit may infuse itself around today's unstable, confused world.

James D. Spounias is a senior at UCSD.

## Conservatism and Creationism: A Rejoinder

By Dr. William S. Penn, Jr.

In *California Review* for October 1985 on page 6, Dr. G. James Jason reviewed a book and attacked "creationism." His position was summed up in his last paragraph. Jason "would hate to see the conservative movement suffer the same loss of face in opposing evolution that the (Roman) Catholic Church suffered in opposing Copernican astronomical theory." "Conservatism should be about how to maintain and protect a virtuous society, and not about biology." The paralleling of an event of high-ancient history with the creationism vs. evolutionism is, at best, unfortunate. While none of us would like to see this outcome for the conservative movement, it is by no means an assured outcome. Many conservatives are "creationists" and many, "evolutionists." Feelings run deep and are strong on both sides and may well be leading to some excesses in the words of the proponents. That, however, does not provide for the position taken by Jason, an obvious "evolutionist."

Evolution is by no means a "fact." Jason would have us make the *theory* of evolution "the fact of evolution." Nonsense. A theory is not a fact, even if many believe it to be such. Indeed, the reason for its being denominated a theory is that it is not a fact. It cannot be made one except on the basis of faith or belief, something denigrated if providing the basis for holding to the creationist point of view, but (apparently) commended if used as the basis of evolutionism. Sound arguments against the evolutionist theory have been soundly based, ranging from Anthony Standen's words on the subject in his "Science Is A Sacred Cow," long out of print and not accessible in the local libraries, to "Evolution — The Fossils Say No!" by

Duane T. Gish, a 1970's book. There are other equally qualified publications which provide for the understanding of the large holes that exist in evolutionism, holes no smaller than those given by Jason for creationism.

Kitcher whose book is reviewed is called "a philosopher of biology," this giving him the requisite credentials for "exceptional understanding of what constitutes genuine science, and what constitutes mere pseudoscience." If Jason's words reflect Kitcher's stand, then that statement is to be doubted. He does not appear to be able to distinguish between "theory" and "fact," a deadly error if one is a scientist or even a philosopher of one area of science, in this case, biology.

In his sixth paragraph, Jason notes the significant facts that (a) "less clear even now is the exact explanation of evolution" and (b) "that in the hundred years...biologists have developed more sophisticated theories about evolution." Theory has been transmuted into fact and is still a theory? Speaking of inconsistencies! Jason is confused about the cause of gravity and the existence of the phenomenon. The example seems irrelevant. One thing about gravity that is absent from evolutionism: we can currently observe and record gravitational phenomena, something that we cannot do in the case of evolutionism. The creationist has his cause; the evolutionist searches for his, and searches and searches.

Inconsistencies and inaccuracies are "inherent" in the "creationist theory," according to Jason. Are they not similarly inherent in evolutionism? Scientific examination of the theory or theories of evolution

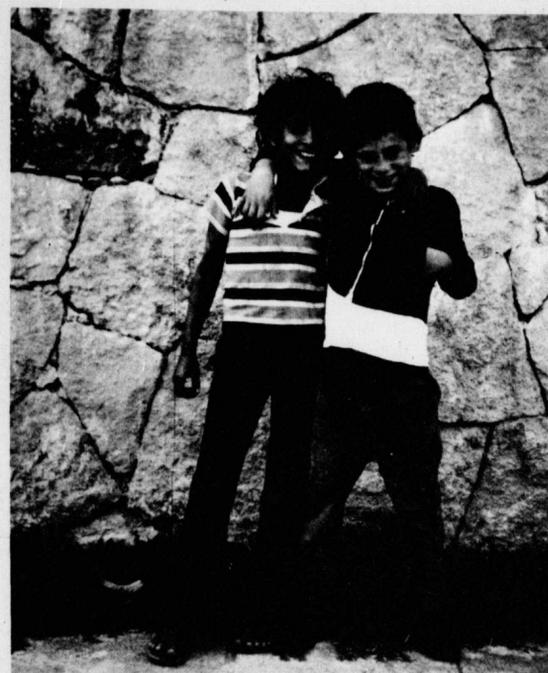
would readily identify many of major significance, among them those that led to the revision of Darwin's theory noted earlier. That Kitcher's discussions of predetermined (inherent) inaccuracies as he sees them are "often witty" scarcely commends them to our consideration, save for their possibly being less turgid writing to read.

The example of coprophagy is "used to point up the difficulties of creationist theology." Well, now we have moved from "creationism" and "creationists" to their theology, something that credentials in the philosophy of biology are unsatisfactory background for, I submit. But the specious questioning of whether or not an omnipotent "being would create animals which have no other way to fully digest their food but by eating their own droppings?" is obviously out of place and utilized solely for the purpose of sowing doubt where there is no doubt. Such animals exist, factually not theoretically. Jason maintains that evolutionary theory (isn't it interesting how we flit from theory to fact to theory?) "accounts for the existence of such animals easily." That assertion is put in opposition to Jason's questioning the Omnipotent Being Who had no difficulty at all in creating such an animal. That is doubtful reasoning to employ in the defense of evolutionism.

It is not true that "most scientists are surprised (astonished?) to hear that many people have doubts about evolution." Nor is it any more true that the "scientific community feels that the whole issue was

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settled more than a century ago." The theory of evolution is defective in lacking a cause or starting point, something the creationists do not share with them. Some point at which the evolving began has yet to be found. Does Jason postulate an Omnipotent Being (or does Kitcher, for that matter) as a beginning, a starting point? Or is refuge taken in the avoidance of the necessity for a beginning?

The major point to be made is that there are sincere persons on both the evolutionist and the creationist sides of the matter. Just as Conservatives are of many and widely varying backgrounds, races, colors, creeds, and male and female sexes, there should be no

extraneous persuasions on essentially non-political, non-economic issues allowed to divide the fundamental agreements that in the relevant fields identify conservatives as distinctly differing from liberals. Thus, whether one is by faith (for either side is based on that) an evolutionist or a creationist, defense of the conservative economic and political stands should not be lost in externalities, matters not fully germane to conservatism as such. As a sincere scientific creationist, I find no problem arises in my being a devoted conservative. Neither should anyone else.

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

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