C.G. Alario: Escape from Nicaragua

James D. Spounias: Ed Meese and the Supreme Court

# California Review

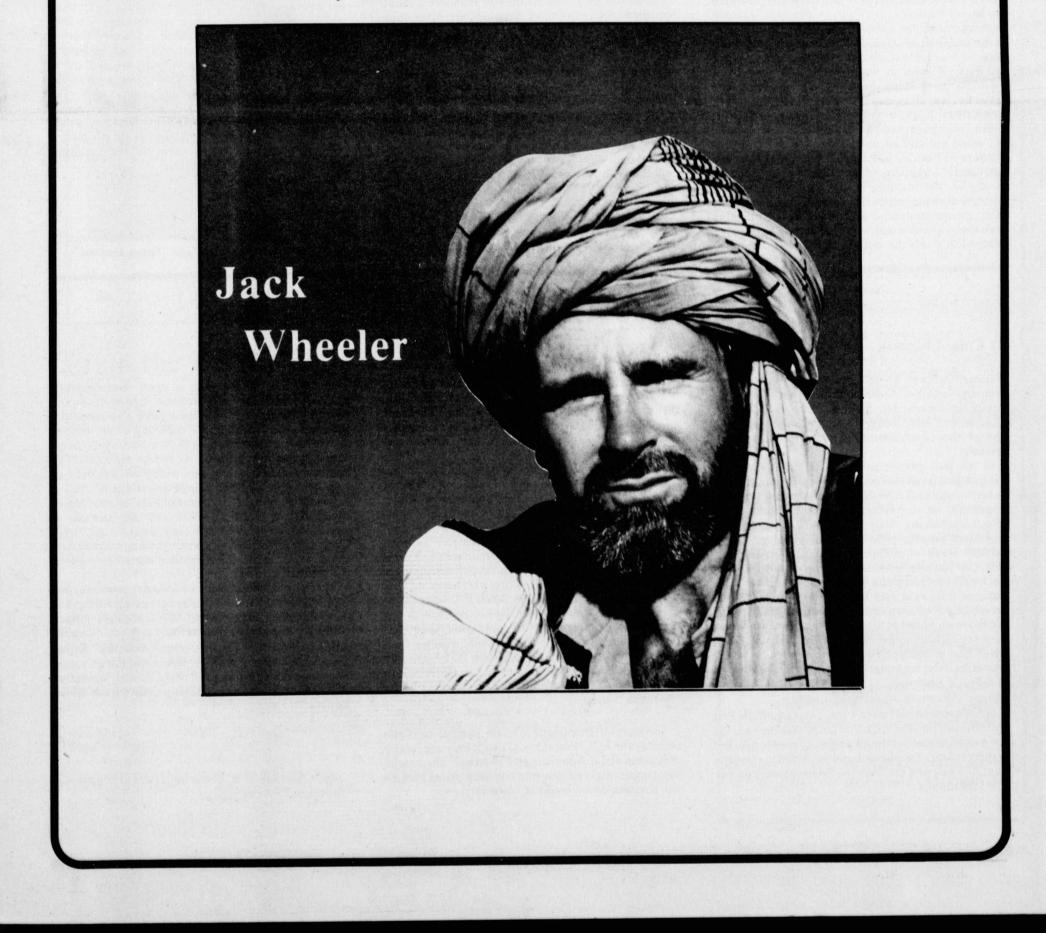
Volume V, Number 3 February, 1986



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P.O. Box 12286 La Jolla, CA 92037

Barry Demuth: Nicaraguan Nightmare Kurt Schlichter: The Sanctuary Bandwagon Samuel J. Spounias on Protectionism Also: Brent M. Johnstone, C. Brandon Crocker, and R. Lawrence Allyn



# 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 superstitution 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 lead to famine and despoiliation. 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 shread 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. Johnston 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 anticommunist 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 televison 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 peaceloving 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.

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# Letters



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.

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.

**Central America** 

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 denegrate itself by succumbing to the liberal infested media. Henceforth, Cicero will be credited where Cicero is due.

#### - PJM



In memory of the four U.S. Embassy Marines, two Americans, and seven Latin Americans who were masacared 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.

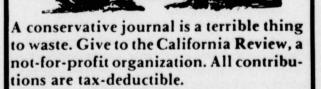
The marchers condemned the Costa Rican government for failing to protect them. The marchers claimed that the government had promised to protect them. A government official denied the claim. He responded, "I can't guarantee anything. I can't even guarantee your (the marchers) safety." The official added 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.

A week later, while in Managua, CR's fact-finding team encounter roughly 40 of the unwanted marchers in a restaurant. Hearing of the news from Costa Rica, the team probed the flustered herd of peaceniks. Posing as pessimistic students, advocating existentialist philosophy, the team inquired into the rocky events back in San Jose. Some were still noticeably upset. Others declared that they would never visit Costa Rica again. The marchers denounced the Costa Rican government and praised the Sandinistas' "People's Republic." One marcher remarked, "Costa Rica is a facist dictatorship." Perhaps it slipped the marcher's shallow mind that Costa Rica is the most politically stable country in Central America with a forty year old functioning democracy?

Marching through Central America will not bring peace to the region. The marchers accomplished very little. They came disguised as pacifists, however, they did not fool Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, or Guatemala. It was an attempt by Left-minded dupes to gain international support for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. And it failed. The first step towards peace in Central America will entail the removal of the Marxist regime in Sandinista Nicaragua.

-CGA

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STINI IIIX



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 alledgedly 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 praver 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.

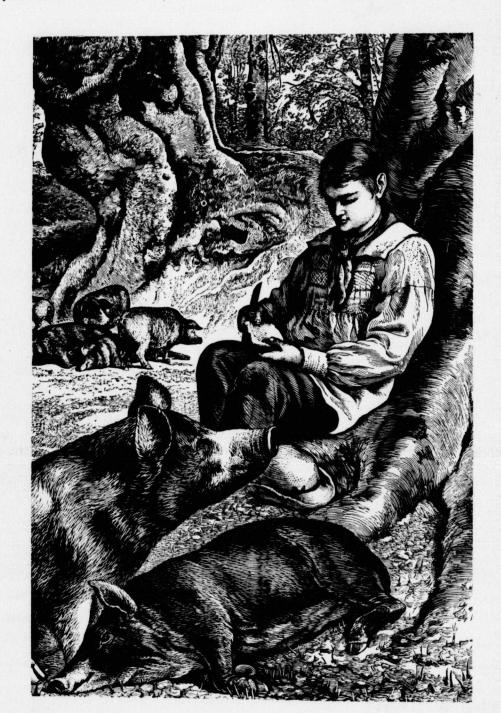
# In Review

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 fhis 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.



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 "counterrevolutionary 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 **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.

southern end of Nicaragua's Carribean 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 Permanant 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 assasinations) 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 selfprofessed Marxist-Leninist). Posters condemned the Contrasas 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 officialy 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 Sandinsta 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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	Name (Please print)	□5 Year Membership \$10.00
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**Central America** 

# 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 primative 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 unescapeable, encouraging enlistment into or support of the army. Anti-imperialists 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. Undoubtably 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



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.

Barry Demuth is a senior at UCSD

# WHO ARE THE SANDINISTAS?

#### By Alfred G. Cuzan

In a recent letter to The New York Times, Frank R. Safford, Professor of Latin American Histroy 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 histroy 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.

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 youth festival in the USSR and upon his return the young man wrote a book, A Nicaraguan in Moscow, setting the Soviet Union up as a model for Latin America.

In 1959, Borge and Fonseca, like many young revolutionaries of that time, deserted the traditional Latin American communist parties and formed guerrilla movements under Castro's tutelage. Having been defeated in battle by Somoza's national guard, Borge and Fonseca fled to Cuba. In 1960, they and Silvio Mayorga met in Honduras, where they founded the FSLN as a Marxist-Leninist organization.

Back in Cuba, Borge and Fonseca were joined by the Ortega brothers: Daniel (head of the "revolutionary government" since 1979, "elected" president of Nicaragua in 1984); Humberto (currently minister of the armed forces); and another brother killed in combat during the revolution. Fonseca, too, died in battle in 1976. Borge and the Ortega brothers - the latter became Castro's proteges - emerged as the dominant triumvirate within the FSLN shortly after the revolution. All three are members of a recently

(Continued on page 7)

Service.

**Central America** 

# 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

The idea itself was reborn only a few years ago, but it's 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 Fienstein'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 Sancturay 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 statments, nothing more. The notion that illegal aliens will flood Sanctuary cities is ludicrous. No alien is stupid enough to believe that the limosine 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 hugh 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 patroled 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 contemptable.

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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#### (continued from page 6)

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 Proletrarian 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 Cardenal 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 Sandinistadominated "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 Breshney, 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 histroian — 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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# InReview

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 go, he decided to stay. Married a lovely Salvad 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."

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# **California Review Interviews**

Born in Los Angeles, California, in 1943, adventurer-philosopher Jack Wheeler is well-known for his expeditions and adventures, rather than his scholarly articles on, e.g. the philosophy of Aristotle, or the internal incoherence of Marxism. Starting out at an early age - climbing the Matterhorn at 14, swimming the Hellespont and living with Amazon headhunters at 16. Jack continued his adventurous exploits while acquiring a B.A. in anthropology at UCLA and a Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Southern California. Drawing upon his experiences in Outer Monogolia, Russian Central Asia, South Viet Nam, the Sahara, the jungles of Africa and the Amazon, and the remote islands in the South Pacific, he wrote The Adventurer's Guide (New York: McKav. 1976). Jack has since led expeditions to New Guinea where his party discovered a tribe of cannibals never before contacted by the outside world; retracing Hannibal's route over the Alps with two elephants: and to the geographical North Pole. Jack has now been to the North Pole more times than anyone (10). But in 1983, Jack had an opportunity to uniquely combine his background in both adventure and philosophy. From June through November, he traveled around the world on a research grant studying anti-Soviet democratic liberation movements. Jack went clandestinely inside Nicaragua on patrol with FDN Contras, Afghanistan twice with the Mujahaddin, and Angola for five weeks with Jonas Savimi's UNITA guerillas. In 1984, Jack went inside Cambodia with the KPNLF guerillas, Burma with the Red Karen rebels, Afghanistan the third time for over a thousand kilometers with the famous Mujahid commander Qari Baba, and met with Laotian resistance leaders in the Golden Triangle. In 1985, Jack organized the first conference of the Democratic International, an alliance of anti-Soviet insurgencies, held in Liberated Angola; went inside Nicaragua again with the Contras; and inside Mozambique with guerillas of RENAMO. Jack has testified at four Senate/Congressional hearings, lectures often at colleges and civic groups, and writes frequently for various publications. The Wall Street Journal has acknowledged him as the "expert on Third World anti-communist guerilla movements." He is currently Director of the Freedom Research Foundation in Malibu, California. Dr. Wheeler spoke recently with CR's editorial board and Irvine Praefecti Ken Royal on a warm afternoon this January at his home in Southern California.

CR: If it can be said that the Third World rejected Western colonialism in the 1950's and 1960's and that they are rejecting Soviet colonialism today, are they moving toward the West or toward neutral territory?

WHEELER: Across the board you are seeing a movement throughout the Third World towards democratic institutions. If you read Alexis de Toqueville, who wrote 150 years ago Democracy In America, he came to America because he saw America as the future. Democratic institutions were the political future for most of the world, particularly for Europe. For many centuries he thought that virtually every great advance had a political fallout of a greater democratization, whether it is the printing press or the industrial revolution. I think history does not proceed down one path like some ridiculous Marxist nonsense. There is no inevitability about history. History can move in all different kinds of directions, sideways or up and down. Overall, you could say, with de Toqueville, that there is an increasing democratization taking place in the world. I think democracy got sidetracked to a certain degree when a Marxist took over the Russian government in 1917. Marxism and socialism became a giant envy trip; it is a real aberration. Cultures can go crazy in various ways: the United States' culture went crazy in the late 1960's, China went crazy in the cultural revolution, and Iran is crazy now; they will sort themselves out later. The whole flirtation and embracing of Marxism is a form of society going nuts. When the Bolsheviks took over, there was a very serious situation with a lot of sheer political psychosis. The twentieth century has seen many political psychotic moves, such as the Bolsheviks, Stalin, and Hitler and the Nazis, etc. As the world is realizing, as they try out Marxism, they find Marxism is a failure. Every place it's tried, it's a failure. Every place it's tried, people go broke and people go hungry. They start seeing a connection between poverty and Marxism. A wealthy Marxist country is

almost a contradiction in terms because wealthy people or more prosperous people do not take orders very well. They don't like to take orders from bureaucrats. But if the bureaucrat is issuing out food ration cards, and if you don't get one, you don't get anything to eat, then the bureaucrats have a hold over you. They say you've got to go to the propaganda meetings or else you are counterrevolutionary and you don't get your food ration cards. That's what is going on in Nicaragua, and there is power there. Marxism means governmental power over people. It will be very interesting, for example, to see what happens in China. China is trying to retain totalitarian political control, yet free up the economy and have more economic freedom; those two don't mix. You have got to have economic freedom and political freedom; one doesn't go without the other. So, there is going to come a crunch in China. At any rate, with the Third World, you can see that country after country has gone from having an authoritarian government to a democratic government or much more of a democratic government. Latin America would be the primary example. Country after country: Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia. The holdouts are Chile and Paraguay and what's going on in Suriname with Desi Voutresi and Guyana. In Central America, Costa Rica is a solid democracy, Honduras is a new democracy, Guatemala is a brand new democracy and El Salvador is a new democracy. Nicaragua, of course, is the one that has retrogressed. You can see a movement towards a greater democratization. I think that is very exciting and it's really encouraging. What Jonas Savimbi told me once is a very key quote and it has become a very well-known quote now. He said, "Jack, I think that it is the Third World that has to give the West the courage to oppose the Soviet Union and stand up for its own ideals, not the other way around." That's a very interesting quote. So, he thought, yes, that certain Western values of individual liberty, human rights, and democracy were being aspired to by an increasing number of people in the Third World.

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"What you have in Nicaragua is a genuine peasant rebellion."

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CR: Presently, the U.S. is providing covert aid to the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters, the Muhjaddin, and the Clark Amendment has been removed opening the way for U.S. aid to the Angolan rebels. What steps can the U.S. take to integrate freedom fighter movements into U.S. foreign policy in a more coherent fashion?

WHEELER: In 1961, Nikita Krushchev publicly announced that the Soviet government had a moral obligation to support and aid politically, economically, and militarily, what he called "national liberation movements." The Soviet government had a moral obligation to do that, which of course they proceeded to do. So the term "national liberation movement" has become almost synonomous with some Third World Marxist, guerilla movement backed by the Soviet Union. Today, that association is rapidly becoming passe as the majority of guerilla wars and national liberation movements are anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist. There is one anti-Soviet, Marxist, guerilla movement and that is the Eritreans in Ethiopia. With that exception, all the rest are both anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist. President Reagan has enunciated a policy which the press has dubbed the "Reagan Doctrine" as the answer to the Brezhnev Doctrine. The press has called the "Reagan Doctrine" the single most significant contribution of his presidency in foreign policy. In strategic defense, it is obviously the Strategic Defense Initiative. Domestically, it is deregulation. In foreign policy, it is supposedly this "Reagan Doctrine." Your question is a good one, but unfortunately it does not have one easy, simple answer. There are a number of reasons why we don't have what we need. What we need is a coherent and orchestrated policy of across the board support for the entire phenomenon of anti-Soviet liberation movements. The issue is not one of anti-communism. The issue is one of selfdetermination versus Soviet imperialism. It is the same

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"The Soviet Union not only possesses a colonial empire beyond its borders, but the Soviet Union is itself a colonial empire within its borders."

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liberation struggle that took place in the 1950's and 60's; you're seeing the second stage of it, the continuation of it. The Soviet Union is an imperial empire and people are trying to free themselves from it. It happens to be a very evil, very totalitarian, extraordinarily tyrannical empire that cares nothing about the welfare of the citizens that are under its sway. The Soviets only care about power and exploiting for its own benefit what ever resources it can extract out of its empire. Whether it is sucking all the natural gas out of Afghanistan or sucking every fish out of the sea. There is a particularly damaging kind of fishing where you just scrape everything off the bottom, all the coral, everything. Whatever you want like shellfish, you keep. Whatever you don't want, you toss back in. This turns miles and miles of ocean floor into desert. If you want to buy fish there, you have to import it from the Soviet Union. This kind of policy is what we do not have. I tend to think the principal reason we do not have an integrated foreign policy lies in the U.S. State Department. The State Department is composed of people who look upon themselves as some kind of special elite — the diplomatic elite. Like all elites in the world, they feel that they have something in common with members in other similar elites. If I am an American diplomat and you are a Bulgarian or Hungarian or Chinese or Upper-Voltan diplomat, we're all part of the same club. They develop what they consider to be a rapport and they're more interested in club membership and dealing with people in their club rather that actually dealing with the national interests of the United States. Now that is really harsh for a lot of people, but I think that is a tendency they have. There is an endemic elitism that is pervasive in the State Department. Another reason, within the State Department, however unconsciously, many of them have bought the Marxist line that Marxism is inevitable, that it is impossible to beat the Soviets, and that they are too big, too tough, and too strong. One quintessential example of it was Dan Rather interviewing members of the Afghan Muhjaddin. Rather was genuinely puzzled as to why the Muhjaddin would fight. He said, "Why are you fighting in a war you can't possibly win?" For the Muhjaddin, they didn't understand his question. The Soviets are men like anybody else; they can be beaten like anybody else. They are not supermen. When it's not true at all. They can be beaten like anybody else. It's a myth of hopelessness of Marxist inevitability. How many times have we heard, "Why should we support the Contras because the Contras can't possibly win." You hear that over and over again. It's this defeatist attitude that is in large part responsible for it. What we do need to get across to the people in Washington and to people in general, is to have them look at what is happening in the world not piecemeal, but to get the big picture. Not to look at the Contras in isolation from the Muhjaddin but to understand that you have got a worldwide rejection of Soviet imperialism that is emerging throughout the Soviet empire. Once people get a hold of that picture, then their perspectives can change. If in 1956, Guinea wanted its independence from France, and that was "if," France would have laughed. But when people see that country after country want their independence, Guinea wants its independence and Cambodia wants its independence, etc., that was not in isolation. People say,"Well, yes, that is just part of the whole movement that is occuring throughout the Third World that

CR: Do you think President Reagan could gather more support for his Doctrine if instead of funneling money to these freedom fighter movements covertly. instead going openly and overtly funding these movements, taking it to the people and saying, "Look, we have to support these people."

WHEELER: There are reasonable arguments on both sides of that. That is an issue for reasonable people over which they can disagree. I'm not sure what side of the fence to come down on although I do get very tired of this transparent sham that is going on with covert aid. It is not so much of a sham in Afghanistan as it has been in Nicaragua. By and large, I think it's a bad deal this whole situation of covert aid. For one thing, I don't think the CIA should have anything to do with it. The CIA has an incredible capacity to foul things up. Their charter is to gather intelligence. That is what they should be trained to do and that is what they can do. But as far as running paramilitary training and supply operation, the Department of Defense should do that. That's a job for soldiers. That's a job for people who are trained in the military. In my opinion, there should be a special branch in the Department of Defense that is set up to train and supply low-intensity conflicts which is what we are talking about. The Agency starts politicizing everything. In Nicaragua, at the peak of CIA activity, there were 103 CIA operatives along the border of Honduras and Nicaragua and in Honduras. What do you need with that many people? The whole thing was becoming bureaucratized and the entire situation was becoming politicized. Every military decision became a political decision. If Enrique Bermudez wanted to blow a bridge, he had to go through umpteen layers of approvals, people back in Washington asking him all kinds of questions about who lived where, what were the ramifications and what would happen. Then if it was finally approved, he would get the precise amount of C-4 explosive, the precise number of pressure devices, and the precise number of blasting caps. It was ridiculous. That, of course, was one of the main things that happened in Vietnam. Every military decision became a political one. That's what was happening with the Contras. I tend to think it should be much more overt, that we should be much more open and above board. If Kruschev could say it in 1961, Reagan can say it in 1986: "We're going to supply these people and if you don't like it, too bad." The State Department is frantic in its preservation of a policy in Afghanistan which they call "plausible deniability." You've got to be able to plausibly deny any involvement, like with the Afghan Muhjaddin. That's why you will never see any American weapons inside Afghanistan. So we pay the Egyptians and we pay the Chinese through the nose, I mean we're talking top dollar, for Egyptian or Chinese copies of Soviet weapons to get them into Afghanistan. So you'll see Chinese copies of AK-47's and Chinese copies of 12.7 Dashakas and you'll see these SAM-7's occasionally. What you will not see are American, heat-seeking, man-portable, shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles which is what they need above all. We have got thousands and thousands of Red-eye missiles that could be given the signature of the Soviet flares so that they will not be fooled by the Soviets punching out the flares out of their helicopters and go right for the engine of the Mi-24. They have all been warehoused because they are being replaced by the Stinger and Stinger-post, a new anti-aircraft missile. In Afghanistan, because of the State Department's policy which refuses to relent, the Afghans do not get the antiaircraft weapons they need. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have been killed by Soviet jets and bombs and thousands of villages have been destroyed. The loss of life and bloodshed is just

wants their independence." When we look upon the Contras or RENAMO or UNITA, we deal with them separately and independently and have a policy for one and have a different policy for another. We look at them all in isolation and piecemeal when we have to deal with them as a whole and develop a coherent policy for them across the board. There are things that are happening, I think, in the right direction. Congressman Duncan Hunter and I, for example, are in the process of forming a freedom fighter caucus of U.S. Congressmen. It will be an organized group of Congressmen and they will coordinate their activities with their staffs to promote this perspective and promote the policy of across the board support. In a word, to implement the "Reagan Doctrine." The Doctrine has been enunciated; it just has to be put into

# **Jack Wheeler**

beyond description. You have got a genocide being perpetrated: A modern-day holocaust being perpetrated by modern-day Nazis in Afghanistan, and State Department policy is preventing the Afghans from getting the weapons they need to prevent it. Eighty percent of all Soviet combat and logistical operations in Afghanistan are airborne. You have simply got to take the Soviets out of the air. And the State Department will not allow it.

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## "The CIA has an incredible capacity to foul things up." \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

CR: If the U.S. is not supplying some of these Freedom Fighter movements, then how are they being supplied?

WHEELER: Well, in many cases they are not. RENAMO is getting hardly anything. It's a very tough and difficult situation for them. It's a homegrown and locally supplied guerilla war going on in Mozambique and yet they are the closest of all to victory. It's very interesting. Savimbi does it in a number of different ways; he is a real born survivor. Angola is a very wealthy country and he controls a great deal of it. So whether it's diamonds or ivory or lumber, he is selling it and making deals. Angola is potentially the wealthiest country in Africa. They have tremendous amount of oil, one of the largest diamond producing areas in the world and vast stores of iron and minerals. There are European businessmen who are helping Savimbi out. Tine Rolands, for example, of the Longroe Company is an ally of Savimbi. He also happens to be an ally of Samoro Michel so RENAMO isn't getting anything. The Chinese have helped Savimbi out in the past. The Chinese sent him about 350 tons of weapons a few years ago. The South Africans have helped him. When the South Africans come in and capture SWAPO arms caches they turn it all over to Savimbi; it's all Soviet weaponry that Savimbi gets. About half a dozen black African countries and a few moderate Islamic countries are helping Savimbi too. Savimbi is the most astute politically and the best organized; it's an extraordinary operation. The Contras have survived hand to mouth with American private donations.

CR: Which freedom fighter movements do you feel have the best chance for short term victories?

WHEELER: At the top of the list is RENAMO, for two reasons: one is the weakness of the Samora Michel Ferlimo regime in Mozambique. Mozambique does not have oil and therefore it does not have a source of hard currency with which to pay for Castro's mercenaries. There are not many Cubans in Mozambique. They have to depend upon Zimbabweans. Starting in September, there was a tremendous invasion of several thousand Zimbabwean soldiers into the main areas of RENAMO. The Zimbabweans have been cut to ribbons. There is a lot of unrest now in Zimbabwe because so many Zimbabwean boys have been coming home in boxes. Mozambique is broke and RENAMO is very strong in certain places. They are such strong fighters that the combination of the weakness of the government and the strength of the insurgency makes that the best opportunity. We need to support them politically, diplomatically, economically and materially. It is not very much; it is not even a fraction of what Savimbi needs. With just a little bit of the right support, the Mozambiquean government could fall and RENAMO could come in. Next after that you have to say probably Savimbi. Savimbi is up against all Cubans. Some people have said that it is 60, 70, or 80% politics and the rest is military with a guerilla war. That is the way it is with Savimbi. Savimbi is very appreciative of that. With diplomatic and overt material support or any kind of support for Savimbi, it could be very interesting and things could change very quickly in Angola. Then it becomes more and more problematical. Nicaragua, I definitely think is winnable by the Contras. The Sandinistas are becoming less and less popular. The Sandinistas have lost most of the sympathy they have had in the world and even in the Left in the United States. Publications like The Nation are still going to support the Sandinistas. By and large, there is real unhappiness with the Sandinistas on the part of the liberals in the United States and throughout the world; they have just kind of lost it. That does not mean to say the Contras are popular and that support for the Contras is growing among liberals. Sympathy for the Sandinistas is rapidly evaporating. There are reports now that President Reagan may be able to get military support for the Contras; that is a major step. Things are definitely promising. With the Afghans, there are certain necessary conditions for them. They have to be given an adequate number of anti-aircraft weapons to take the gunships out of the sky. If you take the gunships out of the air in Afghanistan, you've got a very different war. Secondly, the Afghans have to figure out a way to get into the Soviet Union itself. The Afghans have to carry their Jihad, their holy war, north into Soviet Central Asia and among the Moslem

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economy.



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population there, primarily in Tachekistan and Uzbekistan. The Soviet Union contains the fifth largest Moslem population in the world, 50 million Moslems. It's an Achilles Heel, a ticking time bomb for the Soviets. Right now, there is no reason for the Soviets to have to get out of Afghanistan. The Muhjaddin control most of the countryside, but for the Soviets, Afghanistan is a forward staging area from which it can launch attacks in the Persian Gulf. Moluchistan is the main air base that they want to retain control of. If all of the sudden there is increasing insurgency, armed rebellion with an inflamed, revived Islam among their own Moslem population, inside the Soviet Union, then they can make a deal real fast. The longer a guerilla war goes on, the better it is for the guerillas. That is one of the common truths that hold for most guerilla wars. Time, I don't think, is on the side of the Soviets in Afghanistan. Those are the four principle ones. In Cambodia, it is a very different situation where there are about 180,000 Vietnamese troops and hundreds of thousands more Vietnamese that have occupied as settlers. There is a real Vietnamization of Cambodia taking place. If the isolation of Vietnam can be sustained by other Southeast Asian countries, and certain pressure can be put on the Chinese there, the Chinese are the key, there is a possibility. Vietnam has always fluctuated between governments that were very hostile to China and governments that were very hostile to China and governments that made an accomodation with China. China and Vietnam have a thousand year history. There is a faction within the ruling Politburo of Hanoi that would like there to be a greater accomodation because unlike America, they can puff up their chests and say what they did to America. But America is 8000 miles away. China will never go away. They have got a billion people right on their doorstep and there is nothing they can do about it. Either they have this endless struggle and war and hostility towards China or they come to some kind of accomodation. If that faction somehow emerges as predominant, then you will get the Vietnamese out of Cambodia because that will be part of the deal. The Chinese would insist on the de-Vietnamization of Indochina. Right now, the insurgency is tying down the Vietnamese troops and is performing more of a political function that a military function. Particularly, the non-communist resistance like Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) and Sihanouk's group. Right now, there is a power struggle going on within the KPNLF. Son San has lost all of his leadership. Dien Del, Son Suitsikan and most of the military leadership has left the KPNLF. He is getting old and senile and until he is kicked out, the KPNLF will continue to have some problems.

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"Sympathy for the Sandinistas is rapidly evaporating."

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CR: You have mentioned Cuba all over Africa: Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique. Do the other Eastern European countries play a part in any of this?

WHEELER: Yes. The Soviets have what I call "the Kremlin's Franchise for Totalitarianism." It's a modular thing. Like when you buy McDonald's franchise and everything comes in a module. You've got food supplies, accounting, architecture and everything is all set up for you. The way it's set up by the Soviets, they supply you with a massive amount of armaments, just tremendous supplies of military equipment. If they can place you in power, and you are a small clique with no power base whatsoever and no popular support at all, your purpose is to maintain power. The Soviets supply the administration for you; their bureaucrats and technocrats come in. The North Koreans supply the military training. The Cubans supply the cannon fodder and the manpower to back you up. Primarily, Czechs and Bulgarians supply the technicians as they are the most politically reliable.

They are agriculture specialists and wood pulp processors. I spoke to some Czechs who were wood pulp engineers that had been captured by UNITA. The East Germans supply the palace body guards which works both ways. They protect you from anybody trying to knock you off, but if you try to go pro-West, well, finita la musica. And the East Germans set up the informer and spy networks and that is the key. The key is to set up a system where nobody can trust anybody else. You can't trust your wife, your sister, your kid, nobody.

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"The Afghans have to carry their Jihad, their holy war, north into Soviet Central Asia among the Moslem population there."

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CR: Do they have cell organizations among the freedom fighter movements?

WHEELER: It is very difficult. Most of these organizations are rural and they fight on the Chinese model out in the countryside. Very few of them are urban. It is very frustrating and difficult to talk to them about this and get them to understand how they have got to go into the cities. Enrique Bermudez doesn't know how to do it and won't do it. He won't go into Managua. UNITA is the same. Savimbi was trained by Mao Tse-tung. That's the classic model: gain a base in the hinterland, gain the support of the rural population, surround and strangle the cities. That is the classic Chinese model of guerilla warfare. They won't go into the cities. UNITA will very rarely. You may see a car bomb in Huambo or a little activity in Rwanda but that's about it. I had several interviews with Vietnamese defectors in Cambodia. I asked them, "Where are the Vietnamese the weakest? Where are they the most vulnerable?" And they would all say, "In the cities; in Phnom Penh, Sray Rieng." There, the officers are going out with a girl to a restaurant and they aren't on guard. Whereas in the country, they are on guard. For whatever reason, they don't go into the cities. The only ones who hit the cities are RENAMO, that's the reason why they are winning, there are North Koreans patrolling the streets in Beira right now, as we are speaking here, and, of course, the Muhjaddin. The Muhjaddin control several cities: Herat, Qandahar or large parts of them. They are in Kabul all the time and are starting urban operations. It is sometimes frustrating to see what can be done and isn't being done on the part of these movements.

CR: Is it true that the Contras tanks are filled with old National Guardsmen from the Somoza regime?

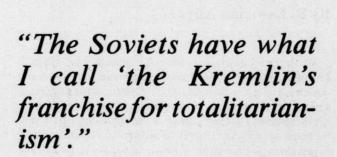
WHEELER: No. Somoza had this trick, which Marcos is starting to use, where anybody who opposes him is a communist. For the Sandinistas, anybody who opposes them is a Somocista. This Somocista story is getting old in time and very boring. At the peak, at the end, there were 11,000 National Guardsmen in 1978-79. There is only a handful of these guys, a few thousand at most. There are over 20,000 Contras. There are now about 120,000 Sandinistas under arms in Nicaragua. With the Sandinistas, they have multiplied fifteen times the size of the military in Nicaragua. Some of the officers of the Contras were with the Guard. The guys with the checkered history have been asked to leave. In the beginning, they were the only ones with any kind of military experience so the Contra leaders had to use them. Now, they have gott en better, more expertise. What you have got in Nicaragua is a genuine peasant rebellion. It is a rebellion of the campesinos. They are dirt poor farmers who have been exploited and ripped-off and worked over by the Sandinistas till they just can't stand it any longer.

CR: There have been many reports that the Contras are committing human rights abuses.

WHEELER: For one thing, you have a situation where the Sandinistas are setting up special assassination teams disguised as Contras. It's an old trick of the Soviets; they've done it many times. I met this lady in a Honduran refugee camp spontaneously; it wasn't set up in any way. I just about ran over her kid with this horse I was riding. She told me how her husband was executed by this group of so-called Contras. She recognized one of them and said, "You're not Contras, you are Sandinistas." And she recognized the guy; she had seen him at the Sandinista barracks. He was a Sandinista Sergeant. She named this man and I've got his name in my notes. They took off after her and she managed to escape and they shot her son. It's a long story, but she made it into Honduras. There are these teams that go around and create this kind of havoc, kill people and do all these atrocities and then put them at the feet of the Contras. For one thing, the Contra uniform is a Sears workshirt. It's the Sears blue-green workshirt. Anyone can order them. I am very sure that the Sandinistas have ordered many of these shirts and dressed up their own guys as Contras, particularly when they hit villages that are suspected of being Contra sympathizers.

CR: Did you see any examples of Soviet atrocities when you were in Afghanistan?

WHEELER: It's very difficult to grasp unless you actually see it. The emotional impact of it is devastating. I have seen with my own eyes hundreds and hundreds of villages in Afghanistan that look like crumbling ruins of some lost civilization centuries ago. Just rubble. Obliterated. And they were functioning villages just a few months or a year before with kids, flocks of sheep, orchards and ponds with ducks and streams. What is going on in Afghanistan is a modern day genocidal holocaust. It is the most extraordinary situation in the world today. My friend, Bob Simon, of the International Medical Corps, has pictures of children who have been tortured with burning gasoline. Soldiers will put gasoline on a child and set the child on fire in order to force the parents into confessing where the Muhjaddin are hiding or what their activities are. It is just story after story of horror and barbarism that you find it difficult to believe that human beings are capable of it. The Soviets obviously are capable of it. There are maybe a million men, women and children dead in Afghanistan.



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CR: What do you think the prospects are that the Soviet Union might be overthrown?

WHEELER: I think that all imperial empires have to collapse sooner or later. The Soviet Union not only possesses a colonial empire beyond its borders, but the Soviet Union is itself a colonial empire within its borders. It is composed of countries that were at one time and would be now if they had any choice in the matter free, sovereign, and independent nations: Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Belorussia, Georgia, the Ukraine and the Islamic Turkish states of Central Asia. And they hate the great Russians. Sooner or later the Soviet Union has to break up as an intact political entity. I would be very surprised if the Soviet Union lasted as an intact entity to its one-hundredth anniversary. Within twenty or thirty years, I don't think there will be a Soviet Union as we know it now. CR: Well, thank you very much. WHEELER: Sure.

# ProtectionismWon't Work

#### **By Samuel J. Spounias**

Presently before Congress is a pile of trade protection bills. The proposed legislation has surfaced from protectionist Congressmen seeking to protect their major regional industries. Lacking President Reagan's economic vision based upon free trade, these Congressmen seek to build economic barriers and stymie the United States' participation in the burgeoning world



President Reagan has proven his free trade stance with the 1983 Caribbean Basin Initiative and the free trade agreement with Israel. Both of these actions reduced economic barriers by cutting trade restrictions. Although President Reagan has had to compromise his position somewhat in supporting limited protection for domestic steel and negotiated "voluntary" limitations on Japanese auto imports, these policies temporarily prevented Congress from imposing stricter protectionist measures.

Since the U.S. has recently become a debtor nation for the first time since 1914, the battle between laissezfaire economics and protectionism is expected to strain relations between President Reagan and the Congress. The fact that Reaganomics has created seven million jobs is of no solace to the protectionists. Senator John Heinz (R-Pa.) retorted that "virtually all (of the created jobs) are in the service sector." While this "service sector" aspect may come as bad news to Senator Heinz and his industrially-oriented state of Pennsylvania, it is received as excellent news by forward-thinking policy makers who understand the economic transformation now occurring in the U.S.

The U.S. economy is undergoing a major metamorphosis - from an industrially-based, blue collar economy to a technologically-based, white collar one. With any major change, symptoms arise that may have been signs of illness for the industrial sector, but are healthy signs for the new dominant sector. As the technologically-based "super-industrial" (as social scientist Alvin Toffler termed it) America begins to rise, antiquated economic policies must be discarded in favor of those that promote the general welfare of the economy. Protectionist trade restrictions are at the heart of bad economic policy.

For example, Senator Heinz wants both steel and textile (major Pennsylvania industries) protected. Senator John Danforth (R-Mo.) wants his home state's shoe industry protected. Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Representative Ed Jenkins (D-Ga) want textiles protected. Steel, textiles and shoes can all be imported for much lower costs than U.S. industries can presently afford to market them. Yet, these protectionist legislators expect the American consumer to subsidize their industries instead of enjoying the price advantage of foreign imports. Let these protectionists and their constituents face economic maxim: If they cannot compete on an even keel in those industries, then let them find an industry or service where they can compete, and profit.

Does the U.S. owe these industries a guaranteed profitable economic environment? I think not. What every business in this country deserves is an opportunity to earn a profit. Guaranteed profits are an evil reserved only for certain capital-intensive utilities. Those industries and their respective workers have had every opportunity to adapt and change during the transformation of the economic environment

The local, state and national economies do not operate in vacuums. The use of protectionist policies may save some industries temporarily, but as foreign industry becomes more and more efficient, operating in an environment of competition, a major gap will develop between the protected industry and the competitive industry once their sanctions erode or become lifted.

One major reason that the U.S. can no longer compete in the foreign arena is because the quality of U.S. products has not improved accordingly. Kuniko Inoguchi, an associate professor at Sophia University in Tokyo stated quite emphatically at a recent trade conference that even if prices of U.S. products were lower in Japan, the Japanese would not buy our products because of the lesser quality. Inoguchi conceded that U.S. quality has fallen because of the falling educational level, stating the statistic that 90% of Japanese youths obtain their high school diplomas while only 75% of American youth do.

Another major contributor to U.S. decline in quality is the spread of substance abuse. Drug abuse exist in every level of our national economy, from factory worker to executive. Many production line workers brag of being "stoned" from morning coffee break to the evening whistle. One need only purchase an American-made automobile, or other major consumer product, to realize that what they paid for was not a quality product by comparison to many imports. In many instances the consumer will learn he has paid for some factory worker's "good time."

What the failing U.S. steel, textile and shoe industries need is a good dose of no-holds-barred competition to either get them in shape or put them out of business. President Reagan should hold firmly to his free trade policy and not cave in to protectionism for poor quality, antiquated equipment and overpriced labor. The political pressures of provincial legislators must be thwarted for the good of American business overall. If protectionism prevails, American business will never be able to catch up and compete in world trade, but will be devoured by world competi-

Although a harsh reality, it is one which favors the pioneering spirit and the entrepreneurial genius that originally made America the greatest nation on earth. Samuel J. Spounias is a senior at UCSD.

# TO HELL WITH THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

### By R. Lawrence Allyn

With the magic of Sunday mornings, Sam Donaldson voices his personal opinion on matters which during the weekdays he reports with alleged objectivity. The views Sam utters are not original in their content - for Sam is a strict disciple of the School of Conventional Wisdom. Conventional Wisdom is determined by ordering all the popular views (those expressed on TV network news) on any particular subject from Left to Right and taking the one precisely in the middle as the balanced truth. This explains why Conventional Wisdom is quite often wrong and practically always dull. So when Sam opens his mouth, the words which spill forth are usually old and entirely predictable.

Such is the case when the subject turns, as it has quite often recently, to the question of Middle Eastern terrorism. Consistently and mindlessly after each successive terrorist attack, Sam regurgitates that famous dictum: "I think settling the main problem in the Middle East at the moment, which is the Palestinian question, would help bring peace to that area." That Sam repeats this formula as a cure for Middle Eastern terrorism surely demonstrates his undying commitment to even outdated bits of Conventional Wisdom. Even most of those in Washington realize that the Iran-Iraq War, the Lebanese Civil War, and Colonel Qaddafi's World War cannot be blamed totally on Israeli policies in the West Bank. And it is probably unlikely that Sam actually believes that the solution to the Palestinian question would temper the Ayatollah Khomeini, the Lebanese warlords or Muammar Qaddafi. What he appears to suggest then by repeating that hackneyed phrase after each PLO terrorist attack is that the terrorists have some good reason for their actions which must be addressed. Hence, Israel must change its policies toward the PLO. And where Sam leaves off, other purveyors of Conventional Wisdom

Conventional Wisdom proposes that as a means to end Palestinian terrorism, Israel negotiate with the PLO and Yassir Arafat. Here is the logic. Arafat is a moderate Palestinian leader who would be a good negotiating partner. If Arafat and Israel were forced (preferably by the U.S.) to sit down and come to an agreement, peace would prevail between Israel and all moderate Palestinians led by Arafat's wing of the PLO. As for more radical PLO splinter groups, moderate Arab states would be in a better position to pressure them to halt their terrorist activities after an Israel-Arafat peace agreement. Sounds simple Unfortunately, such logic is too simple and ignores reality

Taking the last point first, the possibility of moderate Arab states pressuring radical PLO splinter groups presumes that those moderate states do in fact exert influence over such radicals. But most of the more radical PLO groups are shielded physically and sustained financially by rejectionist Arab states. Abu Musa's Fatah organization, which broke away from Arafat in 1983 after his defeat in Lebanon, is supported by Syria. Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council (of Rome and Vienna airports fame), which split with Arafat in 1973, is backed by Libya, Syria and non-Arab Iran. Other PLO splinters receive assistance from Iraq. Hence, it is ludicrous to presume that Egypt, Jordan or Saudi Arabia (the so-called moderate Arab states) would have much influence with such radical PLO groups before or after any Israeli conciliation with Arafat. Quite possibly, any movement toward such conciliation would spur on yet more terrorist attacks by PLO groups opposed to Arafat.

As for the moderation of Arafat himself, there is none of which to speak. While some contend that he has reformed from his violent past, such sentiments are unfounded. Terrorism is still a way of life for Arafat. After all, it was one of his subordinates on the

PLO Executive Committee, Abu Abbas, who masterminded the Achille Lauro boat hijacking and murder. It was his special protection squad, "Force 17," which carried out the brutal murders of three Israeli vacationers on a yacht in Larnaca. It was also his "Force 17" that stands accused of the torture and murder of two Israeli seamen in Barcelona. Arafat's moderation is a figment of somebody's imagination.

With regard to Arafat's November Cairo Declaration in which he renounced all forms of terrorism committed outside the State of Israel, this too is nothing but a public relations ploy and an attempt to recover from the international embarrassment over his role in the Achille Lauro affair. And it does not prohibit acts of terror in the future as long as they are perpetrated inside Israel. As Charles Krauthammer of the New Republic says of Arafat's declaration, "Terror has now become a diplomatic inconvenience.... The wrongness of terror is purely a matter of geography, not morality."

Furthermore, Arafat has none of the qualities of a responsible practitioner of statecraft. He has spent the last 20 years of his life presiding over yahoos rather than crafting future citizens. The governorship of the West Bank cannot be put into the hands of an irresponsible terrorist. Rather, other responsible negotiating partners need to be found - either indigenous Palestinians or the Jordanian government. Also other formulas for peace need to be looked at from the condominium plan leaked by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' office, which would entail the establishment of an autonomous state on the West Bank with political and economic ties to both Israel and Jordan, to a form of unilateral withdrawal first conceived of by Israeli Generals Allon and Dayan, which would involve the withdrawal of the military

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# 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.

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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 postoperative-care wards, combat injury wards, a surgical operating room with anesthesia and sterilization equipment, and a laboratory equiped 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 restoroing damaged equipment and weapons. For example, they use the wreckage of downed aircraft to make working missles, 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 soley 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, histroy, geography, natural science, and basic hygiene. There are 15 secondary schools providing an education in such areas as solid geometry, triginometry, 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 guerrlla 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 forth 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.

Ken Royal is a sophomore at UC Irvine and CR's Irvine Praefecti.

# A Program for Freedom

#### By Deroy 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 scmblence 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 Bulganin which

(continued on page 13)

Right.

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,

# 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

Marxism: Philosophy and Economics is divided into two sections. The first, which consists of threequarters 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.

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

#### (continued from page 12)

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.

In the interim, the Soviets will have to play fireman around the globe which will divert resources they would otherwise direct against the West.

Finally, in this age of fiscal prudence, IFFA need not be a budget-busting item. Why not pledge one dollar per American citizen for the defense of democracy? A fund of roughly \$230 million would provide ample assistance for the six main anti-Communist resistance groups now in operation while leaving money available for insurgencies which might arise later. This figure is a start. Perhaps a higher sum would be even more appropriate.

Secretary of State George Shultz recently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "After years of guerilla insurgencies led by Communists against pro-Western governments, we now see dramatic' and heartening examples of popular insurgencies against Communist regimes. If we turned our backs...we would be conceding the Soviet notion that Communist revolutions are irreversible while everything else is up for grabs" (in essence the Brezhnev Doctrine).

The U.S. now has the opportunity to overturn poor old Leonid's dogma and replace it with a Reagan Doctrine guaranteeing partnership with those who seek liberty for their homelands. On this matter, American should recognize the wisdom of President Reagan's universally applicable gem, "If not us, who? If not now, when?"

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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 by 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 prophesies 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 misintepreted political doctrines, and all interested parties should make use of it.

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

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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 not 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 policies dilemmas anyway; that is the job of intelligent policy makers.

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#### 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 nonexistant, 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.

# **Original Intention**

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-ondemand 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 nigh-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 accessable 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 irrelevent. 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 reasonsing 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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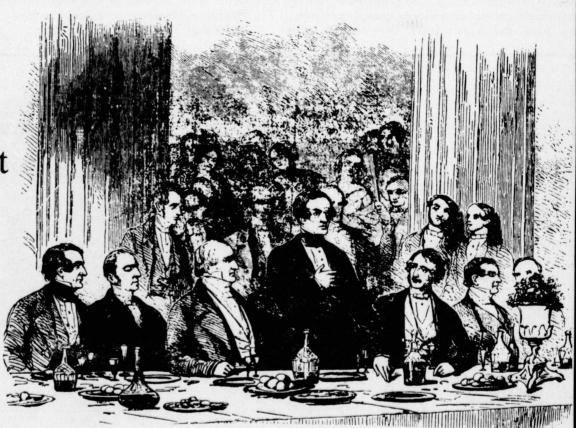
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