

Brooke Crocker: Nina's Journey

The Adventures of P.C. Scipio

California Review

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Letters

Dear Editor:

My compliments, Miss Crocker, on resurrecting what I was sure was a moribund paper. I found it generally outstanding, its standards of form and content still parsecs beyond those I remember the *New Indicator* et al, observe. And it was amusing to see the familiar woodcuts that were used by your brothers during their tenure and by Pete Moons and I during our time at the CR helm. Nice to see that some things remain constant in this turbulent world.

I would also be remiss if I did not take exception to the review of *Weak Link*. Please note that as an Infantry officer, Mr.

Brian Mitchell never led female soldiers. I have, and do. When I was a platoon leader, my personal safety, not to mention the mission capability of my platoon, depended on female soldiers being able to do their job if the balloon went up. As an executive officer, it still does. There are certainly females that can't cut it. There are males who can't cut it. That's why there are leaders. Leaders make soldiers make the mission happen. The failures of female soldiers have less to do with chromosomes than with bad leaders letting standards slip. Yes, I have been faced with female single parent soldiers. But then again, I have yet to be awakened in my officer quarters at one o'clock on a Saturday morning to come take care of a female who decided to battle it out with a knife over a stuffed ALF.

I am very disappointed in my fellow conservatives who have waxed ecstatic over this latest silly salvo in the fight over sexual equality. Here and now let's clear up some misconceptions, shall we? First, there is some kind of assumption that female soldiers "never have to soldier". Wrong answer. Every trooper carries an M16 automatic rifle just like mine, male or female. Everyone digs foxholes, learns how to patrol and qualifies at least twice a year with their weapon, male or female. If my chemical decon platoon had rolled to war, the women would not stay back waving good-bye with their hankies. They would have been driving, navigating or sitting on the roof with an M60 machine gun pulling air guard.

Out of the 147 of us that started my Officer Candidate School class at Fort Benning, Georgia, only 97 were considered

fit to be commissioned and receive the gold bar of a second lieutenant. One of these, one of the dozen or so females in the class, was the first one out of the plane six months later when we both attended the elite US Army Airborne school. She wears the same silver wings that both I and Mr. Mitchell wear. She has nothing to prove to me, to him or to anyone else.

That said, let me once again say that the CR is again making me proud. You do not know how lucky you are. Stuttgart may be pretty in the fall, and this business about the Wall very exciting, yet, on the whole, I would rather be in La Jolla. Keep up the good work.

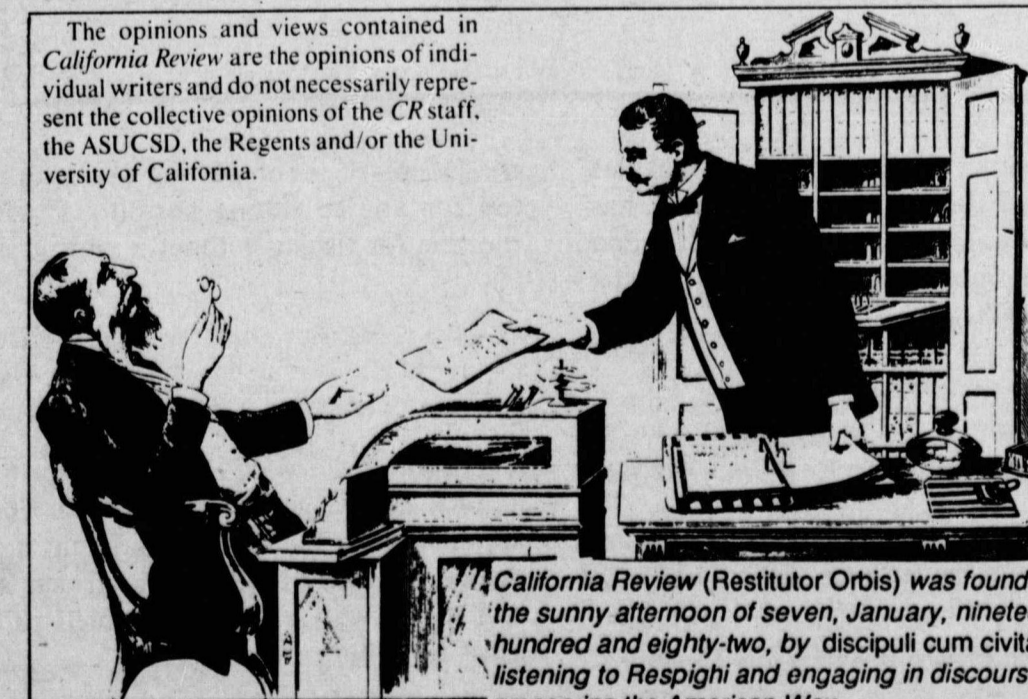
Kurt Schlichter '87

Note: Kurt Schlichter wishes it to be known that his views are his own and not necessarily those of the United States Army.

Dear Ms. Crocker:

Your article in the October issue critiquing Brian Mitchell's book on the feminization of the American military is right on target and so is he. Women should not fight in combat and every man who ever has knows it. The book could just as aptly be entitled "The Feminization of American Military Leaders" for they are the ones who have allowed it by not standing up for the truth- probably for fear of losing some miserable peace time promotion. Lucky for us that World War II was the last war to be fought man to man with conventional military strategy being the final arbiter of who wins. (Korea and Vietnam were not wars in the sense that we fought to win) For some years it has been obvious to all men and women having common sense and good logic that the major powers ability to respond to any attack with nuclear force has regulated modern armies to the business of controlling their own citizenry and combatting so called terrorism under civilian auspices. Conventional forces are no defense to attack from outer space of attack nuclear submarines. So it really doesn't matter that much of our military is feminized. It does keep down

(Continued on page 15)



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California Review

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In Review

■ The fall of Communism and rise of capitalism and freedom in Eastern Europe has been so dramatic that one can even envision the new tide sweeping through the offices of the *new indicator* and the Communications and Literature departments. Well, on second thought, we guess that it's still pretty hard to envision that.

■ Oops. Iraqi soldiers shot down an Egyptian airplane as it approached a Baghdad military airbase to appear in an air show.

■ Finally, a home video for dogs. Harley Toberman of Minneapolis has produced "Doggie Adventure." The video takes its canine audience through parks and barnyards, all in stereophonic sound to give a dog the sense of "being there." The tape, which cost \$15,000 to produce, has its roots with a home video that Toberman made of his dog "Miss Piggy" during a trip to a friend's farm. "Every time she saw that tape," Toberman recalls, "she'd start barking furiously."

■ In Seoul, South Korea two film directors who are part of a group trying to stop Koreans from seeing foreign films, released 14 nonpoisonous snakes into a movie theater showing *Fatal Attraction*.

■ On New Zealand playgrounds, rocking horses are giving way to "rocking chickens."

■ A lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union was arrested in Billings, Montana after offering an undercover policewoman posing as a prostitute \$40 to urinate on him. Surely, there must be people willing to perform that service for less than \$40.

■ Yet more controversy in the art world. A 14-by-16 foot portrait of a white, blond and blue-eyed Jesse Jackson with the caption "How Ya Like Me Now?" was damaged by a group of black men with sledge hammers. The work, produced by black artist David Hammons, was being installed in a downtown Washington, D. C. parking lot at the time, for an art show entitled "The Biyes Esthetic: Black Culture and Modernism" sponsored by the Washington Project for the Arts. Jesse Jackson's press secretary reported that Jackson "got kind of a kick" out of the portrait.

■ The perils of oat bran: *Esquire* magazine reports that "a man was admitted to a Connecticut hospital, where a two-foot-long piece of solid oat bran was removed from his small intestine."

■ Kenneth Thompson of Naples, Florida who had his driver's license suspended after six arrests for driving under the influence, has now also been barred from driving his Toro 10-horsepower lawn mower. It seems that Mr. Thompson recently ran his Toro through a red light, while, of course, drunk.



■ Yet another technological marvel has come out of Japan. A stonemason has patented a tombstone which can withstand earthquakes measuring up to 7.9 on the Richter scale.

■ The people of Sri Lanka have reduced their consumption of a local delicacy, bloodfish. The reduction comes after fears that as Sri Lanka's rivers have been filling up with corpses from the country's civil war, that the bloodfish is eating human flesh.

■ The Associated Press reports the a marine scientist has found a Holstein cow in 690 feet of water off the coast of Alaska.

■ The manufacturer of a paving roller has to answer some questions concerning its products effectiveness to the authorities of Bordentown Township, New Jersey. For instance, it will have to explain how a Gilbert Godbout survived when a runaway paving roller ran over him while he slept in a wooded area.

■ Denmark is considering charging a \$70 fee for an ice fishing permit. Currently, the fine for fishing without a permit is \$27.

■ Macio Aquino of Redwood City forgot to pick up his girlfriend after her doctors appointment. In order to make up a good excuse, he had a 15 year old friend shoot him in the arm, and then claimed to have been a robbery victim.

Cuba: The Politics of Geography

By Alfred Cuzan

As recounted by Nestor Carbonell in *And the Russians Stayed, The Sovietization of Cuba* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989), the saga of Cuban history is in a crucial way similar to that of Poland, a country perennially hanging in the balance of geopolitics, its aspirations for national independence buffeted by the covetousness of conflicting big powers. From Spain to Great Britain (which seized Havana in 1762, only to return it to Spain in exchange for Florida the following year), and the United States to the Soviet Union, world powers have for centuries wanted to control Cuba for its strategic location. The island lies astride the Caribbean sea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, dominating the "choke points" formed by the Florida straits to the north and the Yucatan channel to the west.

Using Cuba as a base, Spanish explorers and conquistadores ventured forth to defeat the Aztec empire, discover the Mississippi, and drive the French out of Florida. Cuba was also used as a rendezvous for Spanish fleets returning to the metropolis laden with precious metal and other colonial products. In the 19th century, the island became an American concern: several presidents unsuccessfully sought to purchase it from Spain and others warned that the U.S. would not tolerate its transfer to a hostile power. In the Spanish-American war, the U.S. invaded Cuba, with future president Teddy Roosevelt leading his Rough Riders at the Battle of San Juan Hill.

In 1902 Cuba became independent of the United States but under the shadow of the Platt amendment, a proviso in its constitution authorizing Washington to intervene in Cuban affairs. American presidents exercised this option twice before the outbreak of World War I. Thereafter, especially after the abrogation of the Platt amendment during the presidency of FDR, the U.S. continued to exert influence on Cuban affairs, but by means other than the threat of military intervention.

After Castro's conquest of power in 1959, what many American statesmen had feared for a century and a half became a reality: a hostile power, namely the USSR, began to use Cuba to threaten the security of the United States, this time with nuclear missiles. The crisis of October 1962 was resolved without war, thanks to the Kennedy-Kruschev pact, by which the Russians agreed to withdraw the missiles and the U.S. not to invade Cuba. Thus, Castro's regime, and a Soviet occupying force numbering at times in the tens of thousands, were rendered immune from the U.S. attack.

In a chapter on "The missiles and the Caves," Carbonell asserts that Cuba's geography offers the Soviets another asset of strategic value: a hollow geology. A vast labyrinth of caves, with underground chambers and corridors, honeycombs much of the island. Many of these cave

complexes have been taken over by Russian military personnel, who have built connecting tunnels, some with railroad tracks and climate control systems. It is in this underground network of caverns that Carbonell suspects the Soviets may have hidden some of the missiles supposedly withdrawn in 1962.

Significantly, Russian interest in Cuba's caves pre-dates the revolution. In the early 1950's geographer Antonio Nunez Jimenez, a Communist who presided over the Cuban Speleological Society, explored and mapped nearly a thousand caves and caverns, dispatching to Moscow a comprehensive study, "Subterranean Cuba." During 1959,



economy and to put up with his Napoleonic complex, his bad manners and temper tantrums. The island's strategic uses, to which must be added Cuban forces deployed to prop up unpopular Marxist-Leninist states in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, have evidently been worth it to the Kremlin.

Less easy to understand has been U.S. acquiescence to the Sovietization of Cuba. Carbonell relates that in December 1962, after they had been ransomed with trucks and medicines, Cuban leaders of the Bay of Pigs expedition were told by President Kennedy that the reason he had reneged at the last minute on the American pledge to provide air cover and other support for their landing was that the Soviets had threatened to attack West Berlin in retaliation if the U.S. gave full backing to the operation. He told them that, fearing the outbreak of large-scale war, he had

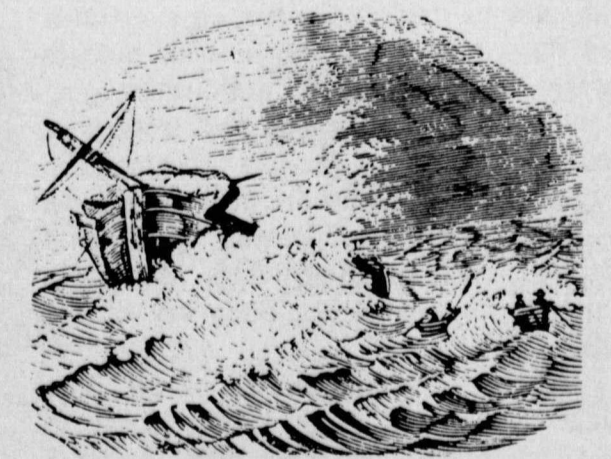
chosen to preserve peace. In other words, Cuba was bartered for West Berlin. Who got the best of that deal is for history to judge.

But if, as it is becoming increasingly probable, the Soviet empire begins to break up in Eastern Europe, the geopolitical equation may change so much as to render the Cuba-for-West Berlin swap moot. Poland, with whose fate Carbonell compares Cuba, and Hungary, whose uprising in 1956 was crushed by Soviet tanks as the world watched in horror, appear to be slipping away from Soviet control. Perhaps the sentences handed down by the court of geography are not irrevocable: Cuba may one day regain its freedom after all.

Dr. Cuzan is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of West Florida, in Pensacola.

Castro was seen and photographed with Nunez visiting caves, purportedly evaluating their tourist potential. Early the following year, Soviet Vice Prime Minister Mikoyan, accompanied by Russian military personnel, paid a visit to some of the largest caves. By 1962, Soviet-bloc experts had converted to military uses cave complexes lying in the perimeter of four of the missile sites.

Whether some missiles remained behind of not, in the quarter of a century since the October crisis the Soviets have considerably expanded their military use of Cuba. They now have a base for submarines at Cienfuegos, another for bombers at San Antonio de los Baños, and still another for electronic intelligence operations outside Havana. Soviet naval task forces frequently stop at Cuban ports, and a combat brigade is permanently stationed on the island. It is no wonder, then, that Moscow has been willing to bear heavy costs subsidizing Castro's inefficient



Virginia's Shenandoah Valley

By P. C. Scipio

Washington, D.C. offers its visitors quite a lot: beautiful architecture, history, and all the cultural amenities one might desire. Providing serenity and natural beauty, however, is not one of Washington's specialties. Anyone seeking these qualities must look outside the metropolis, and one of the most rewarding places to look is Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

Taking Highway 29 west, the traveler will notice a distinct change in atmosphere soon after leaving the city of Fairfax, some 15 miles from the heart of Washington. The urban and suburban views quickly change to rolling rock-strewn hills, and forests with occasional clearings. Not far outside of Fairfax the highway becomes bordered by wooden fencing, and off on some of the hills can be seen cannon. The visitor is now passing through a gateway into a land far removed from temperament from Washington, D. C. This gateway is the battlefields of Manassas.

It is appropriate that the Manassas (or Bull Run) battlefields are the first bit of rural Virginia one encounters on his way from the Capital to the Shenandoah Valley, for it was here, at the Battle of First Manassas in 1861, that Confederate General Thomas Jonathan Jackson earned his nickname "Stonewall." Jackson later successfully defended the Valley from stronger Union forces throughout the early part of the Civil War, and locals refer to the Shenandoah as "Stonewall's Valley."

The Valley was of great significance during the war because it was an important source of food for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and was a natural invasion route into Washington, D. C. By keeping this invasion threat open, Jackson forced General McDowell to keep his 38,000 Union troops guarding the approach to Washington, rather than taking part in the first Union assault on the Confederate capital of Richmond in 1862. If McDowell had been free to move south Richmond might very well have been taken.

Beyond Manassas lies more rolling hills dotted with cows, horses, and farmhouses. To get the best view of this scenery you will want to stay off the freeways. And if you do, you will also be able to take in myriad churches and "antique stores." (Churches, antique stores, and statues of Lee and Jackson are as common in Virginia as bureaucrats are in Washington). A couple hours after leaving Washington you will reach the Blue Ridge Mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley.

About a 75 mile stretch of the Blue Ridge Mountains, from Front Royal to Waynesborough, is preserved as the Shenandoah National Park. Many areas now in the park had been cleared for farmland in the early part of the century. In 1936, however, the park was established and nature has reclaimed what had been domesticated. The park is now 95% forest with 500 miles of hiking trails (including a

portion of the Appalachian Trail), and even some equestrian trails. It is home to about 100 species of trees and 200 species of birds. The many trails provide for pleasurable encounters with forest, creeks, waterfalls, and occasional wildlife. The frequent lookout areas along Skyline Drive (35 mph speed limit) which runs the length of the park, provide some wonderful panoramic views.

The Shenandoah Valley sports more in natural beauty aside from the Shenandoah National Park and majestic mountain vistas. For those interested in underground views, the Shenandoah region is a paradise of caverns. Among the most visited are



New Market Battlefield

Grand Caverns north of Waynesborough and Luray Caverns just outside of Luray.

One of Virginia's most interesting and historical natural wonders is a large limestone arch called Natural Bridge located about 15 miles south of Lexington. George Washington first surveyed the Bridge and Thomas Jefferson, who was enamored by it, became its first private owner when he bought it, along with some 157 surrounding acres, from the Crown for 20 shillings in 1774. Roadside signs advertise it as "One of the Seven Natural Wonders of the World." In fact, it is only one of the Seven Natural Wonders of the United States, and even then it doesn't make every listing. Nevertheless, it is still an impressive sight. The Bridge spans a gorge some 215 feet deep and 90 feet across. It is up to 150 feet wide and supports U. S. Highway 11. Though some might prefer to have seen this monument left in a more pristine state, from the bottom of the gorge neither the highway nor the nearby gift shop is noticeable by either sight or sound. A path along the bottom of the gorge follows a pleasant creek under the Bridge and past a few other minor natural points of interest.

Though natural beauty and serenity is easily found in the valley, The Civil War is also an inescapable part of any trip through the region. Winchester, at the northern end of the valley, served at various times as

the headquarters of both Confederate General Stonewall Jackson and of Union General Philip Sheridan. Underscoring the strategic importance of the valley, control of this gateway town changed 72 times during the war. Philip Sheridan's victory over Jubal Early in October 1864 at the battle of Ceder Creek, some 15 miles south of Winchester, finally brought the valley under Union control and all but sealed the fate of the Confederacy.

The site of the famous action of the cadets from Virginia Military Institute in 1864 is preserved in the town of New Market. The cadets helped to defeat a larger Union force, charging and capturing a Union battery. Adjacent to the site of the cadets' charge is located "The Hall of Valor" which features many civil war exhibits. A reenactment of the Battle of New Market is performed the second Sunday of every May.

VMI is located some 70 miles south of New Market in Lexington. The Institute was burned by Union forces not long after the Battle of New Market, but was rebuilt retaining its distinctive castle-like facade. A statue of Stonewall Jackson (who served as a professor here, and who is buried in Lexington) stands on the parade grounds behind the four cannon (which he named Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) with which he trained cadets. Alumnus George C. Marshall has a museum to his honor on campus which displays mementos from his life and times, including his Nobel Peace Prize. The VMI Museum, also on campus, houses many items associated with the Institute and those who attended it, including the bullet-holed coat Stonewall Jackson wore when he was mistakenly shot by his own men (the wound he received in the shoulder led to his death), and George Patton's pearl handled revolvers.

Directly adjacent to VMI is Washington and Lee University. Robert E. Lee served as president of Washington and Lee (then known as Washington College) from 1865 until his death in 1870, and is buried on the grounds in Lee Chapel (his horse, Traveler, is buried nearby). The Chapel features the elegant marble "Recumbent Statue" of Lee by Edward Valentine and original surrendered battle flags of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The spirit of pride and independence that the population displayed during the Civil War still permeates the Shenandoah Valley. The memorials to Confederate ancestors evoke not a spirit of lingering hostility but rather the values of courage, sacrifice, independence, and the inspiring stoic strength that only comes through defeat. The strong, beautiful, and sometimes foreboding mountains which envelop this valley seem the perfect backdrop to showcase these values.

P. C. Scipio is a recent graduate of UCSD.

Lithuania and the Future of Gorbachev

By J. Kevin Bell

The recent awe inspiring reforms which swept through Eastern Europe, and to some extent the Soviet Union, have created a potentially dangerous feeling of euphoria in the United States. The many, various problems which plague the Soviet Union have long been evident, but the Soviet's recent acknowledgement of these problems has encouraged Americans to sit back and relax secure that a rosy future lies ahead; a future in which the Russians abandon their misguided attempts at the inherently immoral and unsuccessful ideas of communism; a future in which the United States grasps the hand of the big, cuddly bear and joyfully leads it into the gleaming, shiny Utopia. Unfortunately recent events in Lithuania may signal an end for Mikhail Gorbachev and his reform policies upon which any hope for that storybook future ultimately rely.

Gorbachev, like Krushchev before him, realized that the rapidly sinking Soviet economy was rendering the future of Soviet superpower status precarious at best. Like Krushchev, Gorbachev has attempted to strengthen the Soviet Union through improved East-West relations which would allow for decreased Soviet military spending (which even under Gorby still hovers around 20% of GNP) and bring in sorely needed trade with the economic and technological powerhouses in the West. Now the cork is off, the genie is out of the bottle and no one is more surprised than Gorby at the incredible developments which have arisen from his original schemes of perestroika and glasnost. And like Krushchev, Gorbachev's reforms now seriously threaten to become the catalyst for his downfall.

The exciting and explosive movements for political freedom in the former captive East European nations have prompted cries for similar liberties in the Soviet Union, where promised political reforms have whetted appetites while proceeding very slowly and only under the still stifling control of the Communist party.

Lithuania's Communist Party, in an attempt to avoid the precipitous downfall which befell its counterparts in Eastern Europe, declared its independence from Moscow. This was a desperate attempt to win back confidence from the people before the scheduled February 1990 elections. The population at large, however, wants to go further--it desires total political independence.

Although Lithuania's move does not initially appear spectacular when compared with all the excitement in Eastern Europe, it must be remembered that the Soviets consider formerly independent Lithuania to be a piece of their nation, not just a

satellite state. The central committee has resoundingly decided not to allow Lithuania to secede and voted to send Gorbachev to Lithuania so he could calm down the



rambunctious populous, and prevent the empire from splintering apart. The current situation has the Soviet central committee in a panic concerning domino effects and the disintegration of the Soviet empire, and portends of an end to Soviet reform, the resurgence of hard-line communist factions and the political decline of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gorbachev will now attempt to cajole and coerce Lithuania into dropping its demands for independence. Meanwhile, the Lithuanian communists, fearful of the consequences if they fail to heed the increasingly vehement public cries for independence, will attempt to impress upon Mikhail how serious they are about independence and that independence for

Lithuania would not have serious repercussions in the other "republics." Faced with this diplomatic stalemate, Gorbachev has two choices, both of which play directly into the hands of the military and political hardliners: 1) Gorbachev grants Lithuania independence, upon which every annexed territory or unsatisfied ethnic group demands similar independence from Moscow. Gorbachev is then overthrown, labelled an agent of the West and tried for alleged crimes against the state, and the conservatives with the help of the military, crackdown to prevent the dissolution of the USSR. 2) Gorbachev seizes emergency powers and resorts to use of the military in Lithuania. This actions strengthens the conservatives by illuminating how far out of control the liberalizing reforms had gotten, and Gorbachev, in order to stay in power,

is forced to enter into an alliance with the hard-line factions.

In both cases we see an increase in power for the conservative groups in the Soviet Union and a subsequent increase in US/USSR tensions. Of course, there is a chance that Gorbachev, with his considerable political experience and diplomatic expertise, will manage to worm his way out of this sticky situation, but until the outcome is known we should not allow our euphoria over events in Eastern Europe to blind us to the fact that Gorbachev and his reforms face a very uncertain future. Lithuania aside, the hardliners are increasingly anxious concerning Gorbachev's liberalization policies--perestroika and glasnost have not yielded the promised economic boom but have led to the loss of the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe.



The chances are good that Gorbachev and his refreshing ideas will not last long. Consequently, the United States, while sincerely discussing possibilities for military cutbacks, should wait prudently before actually initiating any major cuts or major changes in military strategy.

J. Kevin Bell is a senior at UCSD.

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California Review Interviews

Nina Markovna grew up in a world that most Americans probably cannot imagine. She endured the horrors of Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Germany, and of World War II, and escaped attempts by the allies to send her and her family back to Stalin's Russia. Her amazing story is told in her new autobiographical tale, Nina's Journey: A Memoir of Stalin's Russia and the Second World War, published by Regnery Gateway. Nina Markovna recently spoke to CR's Editor-in-Chief, Brooke Crocker, about her experiences and views on the current state of Soviet life.

CR: What prompted you to write your book?

MARKOVNA: Well, I think there are three reasons. About four years ago when my mother was dying, it was very sad to part with her because she was the only powerful link to my native land. I was overcome with sadness to part with her. I wanted to remember her as she was when I needed her nurturing. She helped me to overcome so many obstacles when I was a child. I wanted to remember her as strong, young, and healthy. So in a sense, I am immortalizing my parents, but at the same time I also realized that I am giving my son, a career naval officer, a clear idea of where his Russian roots came from. The third reason can be explained in the words of George Orwell. He talked about Soviet history and said anytime that a Soviet leader did not want to face the reality of

Soviet history he would simply "dump it in the memory hole." That memory hole explains everything, and in a way I tried in my own story to fill that hole up, just to give a different side of the history that the Soviet historians give.

CR: How much did the common people fear Stalin?

"Parents feared Stalin to the point they would compromise their inner integrity, their religious beliefs, so as to protect their young ones from becoming orphans."

MARKOVNA: An American child could not understand how perverted our childhood was in the Soviet Union. It was perverted by Stalin and his people. They even robbed us of our natural joys of childhood. We feared Stalin as an anti-Christ, and perhaps that was what he was. So, we whispered. Neighbors would never

say "good morning" and begin to gossip. We could only do it silently where no one would hear you. We feared him to the point of inner paralysis. Parents feared him to the point they would compromise their inner integrity, their religious beliefs so as to protect their young ones from becoming orphans. Even the Soviet dissidents, survivors from Gulags, and even Solzhenitsyn, concentrate on the way adults suffered under Stalin. There is no one who dedicates something to the fate of Russian children. Because I was a child, I focus on the children.

CR: What sort of indoctrination techniques did you encounter in school?

MARKOVNA: Well, that is part of a Soviet childhood. It is amazing that people would be interested in the Pavlik Morozov story. In a sense it is a devastating thing. Even in your own home, a parent truly had to be on his guard, because he knew that Soviet schools from the very first day of elementary school, that first class would present him with the "industrial nation" subject. For us, Soviet schoolchildren, the name of that eleven year old boy was as familiar to us as Dorothy from the Wizard of Oz is to you. Except Morozov was not a fairy tale. We were taught to emulate him in our behavior. He betrayed his own

Soviet Emigré Nina Markovna

father for hiding a few potatoes during the famine. It was forbidden to hide food, and Pavlik ran to the authorities and his father was shot as an enemy of the people. The man was shot for trying to feed his own family. There are monuments to Pavlik all over the Soviet Union, and many libraries and schools are named after him. In 1989, in our *Palm Beach Post*, there appeared a small article which mentioned that the parliament of Soviet deputies was meeting to discuss among other things what to do about Pavlik Morozov—to eliminate him from the school books or to keep him in. They have not decided yet. I was very shaken because I truly thought that that would have been gone by now, but he is still in Soviet school books. So while you and I are talking to each other a Soviet child is being indoctrinated to betray his own parents. I truly don't believe that much has changed in the Soviet Union, if the Party still finds it necessary to teach such things to more than 100 million human beings, to teach children to be more faithful to the Party than to their family. To me there is no perestroika as long as this continues.

CR: What popular reforms—such as in religious toleration—did Stalin institute during World War II?

MARKOVNA: Starting at the end of 1941, when things were going so badly for the Soviet Union, and America had not started giving enormous financial and military help to Stalin, Stalin was truly frightened. He was scared to death that he would lose power. That was not, strictly speaking, a national war for Stalin, it was a war to preserve the power of the Communist Party

"On the 1st of September the newspapers carried the story that Hitler was our great friend and that the people of our two great nations would be marching side by side."

over the population. That must be clear. When he was that frightened he gave the Soviet people some leverage. He allowed churches to open and allowed priests to preach openly. Townsfolk and peasants poured into churches to pray not only for Russia, but in their naivete, they were so encouraged by the reforms, that they even prayed for Stalin. As soon as Stalin was

strong again—and I must say he became strong and survived through American help—everything was thrown out of the window. Churches were closed and became anti-religious museums, and priests by 1948 were being arrested. To this day, cathedrals and churches which the Russian people labored over and gave their last kopeck to build still function as anti-religious museums. So let's not brainwash ourselves into believing that from a religious point of view that Russia has returned to being a Christian nation. Not yet, not yet. Although, on the other hand, I feel that by denying people the opportunity to express themselves religiously, Communist rulers are breeding brand new Russians who are dedicated to Christianity to the point they would even die for it. So perhaps that is how it will be, that new generation who feels a longing, a hunger, for that spiritual life that was denied their parents. Perhaps those people will finally save Russia.

CR: What were the Russian people told about the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939?

MARKOVNA: That pact was signed August 23, 1939. It was sudden, no one knew of any dealings between our leader and Hitler. Then, on the 1st of September, the newspapers carried the story that Hitler

(Continued on next page)

A Journey Through Totalitarianism

By Brooke Crocker

Try to imagine a world where your parents set out their clothes every night in case the police come to arrest them, where the government cares little for its people (if they are not Communist Party members), and has a work system where one can be fired for being 20 minutes late. It seems difficult to imagine, but once you've turned the pages of Nina Markovna's autobiography *Nina's Journey: A Memoir of Stalin's Russia and the Second World War*, this world, her world, becomes yours.

Stalin's Russia, a land of blissful Communist life where all people are equal but some are more equal than others. The reader first meets Nina when she is ten years old living in Dulovo. Her family is loving and close which makes the danger of the NKVD (the Soviet secret police) all the more menacing. The NKVD randomly picks out citizens who are arrested, no explanation given, and one can be sure the arrestee will never be seen again. Often the NKVD arrests both parents which results in children being orphaned and forming bandit gangs to survive.

Though some might be lucky and be overlooked by the NKVD, no one is overlooked at work. Nina's mother and the other workers in the porcelain factory are forced to make a "gift" of a 48 piece tea set to Stalin, the result being a loss of two days pay. The women are allowed to "vote" on the gift but under the eye of the

NKVD they are not expected to say no. The lack of freedom to keep one's wages shows just how far Stalin's hand intrudes into the lives of the Soviet citizens.

To escape NKVD arrest Nina's family journeys to the Crimea, but life does not lose any of its suppressive quality. When Nina innocently repeats to a teacher her mother's remark that sugar was readily attainable in the time of the Czar, though the teacher had claimed otherwise, Nina's mother is taken from her work and beaten. Not even children in their classrooms are safe from observation and even the most simple comment is perceived as a threat to the State. The school also stresses that children should follow the example of one Soviet child, Pavlik Morozov, who had his father arrested for stealing potatoes to feed his starving family. The man was executed for his crime and the boy was declared a hero of the state for exposing his "parasite" father. The state's mode of thinking is not agreed to by the people of Nina's village who hold family higher than Communism.

Throughout Nina's life the Soviet system of distribution shows itself to be highly inefficient. Only Moscow is constantly stocked with food and supplies, for it would not look good if the cradle of Communism had to do without. This forces those living in other areas to spend precious wages to journey to Moscow to get medicines, cloth, and other necessities.

Yet, even in Moscow there are long lines and often shops run out of goods before all are served. It becomes clearer and clearer that the great Soviet state is failing to meet the needs of all its people.

While Nina is in the Crimea, World War II breaks out and all men, including her father, are forced into service. The Soviet government stresses that a man should die before being taken prisoner. If one does become a prisoner of war his family will be exiled or jailed for his "crime." This doctrine is well adhered to when extremely wounded hospitalized Soviet soldiers are left to die in a hospital fire set by the retreating Red Army, to prevent them from becoming prisoners of war. When the Soviets retake Nina's town they rape, loot, kill and treat their own people like the enemy.

The Germans retake Nina's village and she and her family volunteer to be sent to Germany to work. In a scene straight from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the Russians are picked over by their perspective "owners." Miraculously, Nina's family (except for her father who is a prisoner of war) stay together and work in a series of factory jobs. Wages, housing, and food are meager and the workers are forced to wear tags labeled "OST" identifying them as Russians. Eventually, the family is sent to work in Poland where Nina pulls the seams of clothing shipped from the Polish village of

Nina's Journey: A Memoir of Stalin's Russia and the Second World War
By Nina Markovna
Regnery Gateway, 560 pp., \$21.95

Oswiecim, or as the Germans called it Auschwitz.

Liberation comes in the form of the American army and Nina and her family are thrilled to be under the control of the Americans. Not one of the Russians in her group wishes to return to the USSR were jail and ill treatment await. Yet, the Americans bound by the Yalta agreement are required to send all the Russians back to the USSR, using force if necessary. Nina's family makes an escape by fleeing to the French controlled zone. The French did not attend the Yalta Conference.

Nina's life is one of sorrow, tragedy, and pain, but also it is filled with an intense love for and devotion to her family. This is a story with many facets. We see Nina grow from a young girl to a beautiful 17 year old shyly flirting with the American troops, we see her family torn by war, Stalin, and fear of the cannibalistic Soviet state that devours its citizens. It is a book of intense emotion that inspires awe at the courage and bravery of one family. One reader commented that all women should read this book. She was wrong. Everyone should read this book.

Brooke Crocker is a Junior at UCSD.



(Continued from page 9)

was our great friend, that the Fuhrer was the most wonderful human being on this Earth, and that his goals were very close to those of our own leader. We were told that the people of our two great nations would be marching side by side. For the next 22 months that is precisely what we, the Soviet people, did. I was 11, and Soviet children were taught how to march in the Nazi goose step and do the SS Nazi salute, which our teacher told us was the salute of the Roman Senators, very honorable and ancient. We, children, were all terribly taken with the Nazi propaganda and that was very disastrous. None of us believed in the evil of Hitler, we believed in the goodness of Hitler. So later, when Maya, my best friend, who was Jewish, was killed, if we had been given the truth about Hitler, Soviet citizens would have been prepared for the worst. That shows how very naive Soviet citizens were because our borders were closed and completely shut

off from the rest of the world. There was no free media--only the newspapers and films that were produced under the censorship of the Soviet leaders. There

"We discovered very quickly that since we were Russians, no German doctor would perform the operation on my mother."

was nowhere for us to turn to for the truth of how the world was beyond our borders. That hasn't changed a bit. There is still no free media for Soviet citizens. I think through my book I am opening a part of Soviet Russia that is not even known to American people, as free as they are, and with as many books as there are dealing

with this subject. The average American reader doesn't know how the Soviet population is cut off from the rest of the world.

CR: How did your family react to the Nazi invasion of the USSR.

MARKOVNA: I must correct you. Not Nazi invasion, German invasion. There is a big, big difference. There is a great ignorance in the new generation when it comes to the German invasion. Nazis were only the SS men and the Gestapo, the rest of the German army were not Nazis. Nazis were denied the right to enter the regular army and were recruited for the SS. So Nazis were the ones who killed Maya and the other Jews, not regular German soldiers were involved in those massacres. I must admit, we greeted the German soldiers as our liberators. We greeted

(Continued on page 15)

The Justness of Operation "Just Cause"

By Sherry Lowrance

The recent U.S. intervention in Panama has triggered a series of heated debates on the legal and moral justifications for such extreme measures as full-scale invasion. Reactions have varied: on the eve of the invasion, Congress eagerly supported Bush's decision to send troops to Panama, yet other nations, especially Nicaragua and Cuba, eagerly condemned the U.S. move. In response, the Bush Administration has given four legal justifications for "Operation Just Cause": to protect American lives, to defend democracy in Panama, to apprehend indicted drug trafficker Manuel Noriega, and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty.

The first legal justification, to protect American lives in Panama, was obviously one of the immediate causes of the U.S. operation. While there have been hundreds of cases of harassment of Americans in the past two years, the U.S. took action only three days after an American soldier was shot and killed by a Panamanian Defense Forces trooper. In addition, the U.S. had received an intelligence report about a planned urban commando attack on U.S. citizens in Panama. It is quite apparent that American lives were in danger and some kind of action was needed to protect them. This action need not have been full-scale invasion, but when other factors were considered, invasion became a more plausible solution.

The second justification given by the Bush Administration, to defend democracy in Panama, had much less legal legitimacy than moral legitimacy. Many international law scholars claim that the U.N. Charter does not allow for the use of military force to install a democracy, or any other kind of government, into a foreign, sovereign nation. This assertion by some scholars leaves the legal claim of the Bush Administration much weaker. Nevertheless, the popular appeal and moral legitimacy of defending democracy gives much support for the Panama intervention. The public outrage at the rigged elections in Panama last spring affirms this claim. Noriega rigged the election and had the opposition leaders beaten, but somehow he still lost the election. He subsequently proceeded to nullify the results of the election, causing a public outcry in Panama and throughout the world. After the U.S. chased Noriega out of power in December, however, Guillermo Endara, the former opposition leader and the winner of the elections was sworn into office. The installation of a legitimately elected president and the removal of a dictator in Panama both morally defend the action of the U.S.

The third legal justification, to apprehend the drug trafficker Noriega, is without precedent. The use of armed forces to apprehend and indict criminal is a question that has stood unresolved for many years. Apparently, the question is now close to a resolution, as we can see

from the decisive, swift act in Panama as well as the increased use of the Navy to monitor drug shipments from Columbia. The legal foundation for the American military's pursuit of Noriega comes from three opinions issued by the office of Legal counsel of the department of Justice. Unfortunately, these opinions are classified and thus shielded from the public eye. The *New Indicator's* renowned legal scholars, however, have already issued their official opinion in the January 3-16 issue. The use of U.S. armed forces to arrest a foreign drug dealer on foreign soil, they claim, "is an act of war against a country in which the "arrest" is conducted." What they forgot to mention is that Panama declared



war on the U.S. a few days earlier, certainly a very obvious act of war, thereby inviting the U.S. to engage in acts of war against Panama.

The Panamanian declaration of war brings us to the fourth legal justification for the invasion, to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty. The treaty prohibits Panama from adopting or enforcing any law or decree or taking any action that purports to interfere with the exercise by the United States of its rights under the treaty. In addition, the U.S. Southern Command in Panama is authorized by the treaty to use military force to protect the Canal from armed attack or other actions that threaten the security of the Canal. Panama's declaration of war endangered the security of the Panama Canal and also endangered the rights of the United States under the Panama Canal Treaty. Furthermore, a separate treaty signed by the two countries provides for the neutrality of the canal and stresses the obligations of each party to guarantee its neutrality. An extended state of war between the U.S. and Panama would have eventually caused a deterioration in the neutrality of the Canal.

Despite the legal evidence supporting the invasion, the worldwide reaction was mixed. Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher wholeheartedly supported the intervention in Panama, while Peru's President Alan Garcia angrily announced he was withdrawing his ambassador from Washington until U.S. troops leave Panama. Most Latin American and European nations issued statements that fell

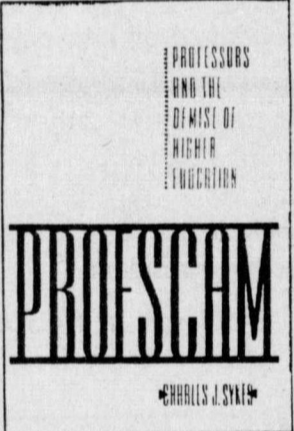
somewhere between Britain's glowing review and Peru's angry condemnation. Venezuela, for instance, said it opposed the intervention but also opposed Noriega's regime. It was the Communist nations that criticized the move by the U.S. most harshly. The official Soviet news agency Tass said, "This action is an example of notorious "gunboat diplomacy" which has been used for decades by the United States in an attempt to turn Latin American and Caribbean nations into its backyard." Nicaragua and Cuba, two Latin American Communist nations, have complained the most and the loudest about the invasion. Another U.S. enemy, Col. Moammar Gadhafi said in one of his rare public statements since the U.S. bombing of Libya, that the U.S. "made Nero and Hitler look like angels."

Here at UCSD, the reaction of the left was quite violent and at the same time, uninformed. The *New Indicator* claimed that the invasion violated international law and called for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and for the impeachment of President Bush. *NI* also claimed that every American is responsible for the deaths in Panama and the economic destruction caused by sanctions and war, and called for all Americans to take to the streets in protest of the invasion. In the real world, however, the streets are empty of protesters, the intervention still has the full support of Congress and most rational Americans, and Noriega sits in a U.S. jail. Three Cheers for President Bush! He may yet shake the wimpy image and prove himself to be an effective President.

Sherry Lowrance is a Sophomore at UCSD.

Three Books That Could Change America

PROFSCAM
Professors and the Demise of Higher Education
CHARLES J. SYKES



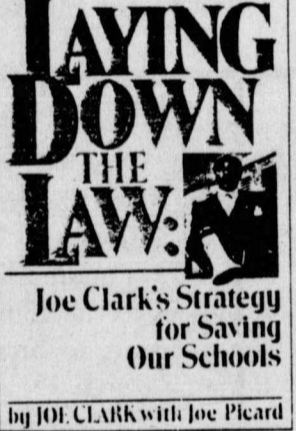
What are students and parents receiving in return for today's high tuition costs? Not much, answers Charles Sykes in his scathing book, *Profscam*.

Profscam documents the collapse of academic standards and the absolute neglect of college students by their professors. "The modern university," says Sykes, "is distinguished by lectures of mind-numbing dullness, teaching assistants who can't speak understandable English, curriculums that look like they were designed by a game-show host, costs that are zooming out of control, and a generation of college students who might not be able to locate England on a map."

Included in Sykes' indictment are chapters on "The Rise of the Professor," "The Crucifixion of Teaching," "Profscam," and specific chapters on the humanities, "The Abolition of Man," the social sciences, "The Pseudo-Scientists," the hard sciences "Beyond the Dreams of Avarice," and a call for reform, "Storming the Ivory Tower."

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Joe Clark's Strategy for Saving Our Schools
JOE CLARK WITH JOE PICARD



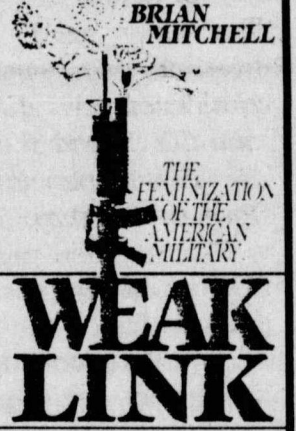
Laying Down the Law is the dramatic story of how Joe Clark cleaned up Eastside High School in Paterson, New Jersey, and how his prescription for reform can be duplicated by parents and principals everywhere.

When Joe Clark became principal of Eastside High in 1980, he was confronted with every form of educational and moral failure imaginable. Crime was rampant in the hallways, and learning was nowhere to be found. Clark decided to clean up the school the only way he knew how--by laying down the law. He began patrolling corridors with a baseball bat and megaphone to protect the weak and discipline the unruly; he chained school doors shut to keep drug pushers out; and he ensured that learning took place in the classrooms.

While Clark's method has been a subject of controversy, no one questions his results. Clark has won praise from former Secretary of Education William Bennett and former president Ronald Reagan. He has appeared on numerous television talk shows and is the subject of the major motion picture, *Lean on Me*. Joe Picard is a freelance writer who lives in Wayne, New Jersey.

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WEAK LINK
The Feminization of the American Military
BRIAN MITCHELL



The United States now makes greater military use of women than any other country in the world. But has this decision been made with the national defense in mind, or has the incorporation of large numbers of women into the American military been more the result of feminist pressure brought to bear on politically sensitive bureaucrats?

Brian Mitchell argues that women have had a profoundly negative effect on the fighting capabilities of the U.S. armed forces. He demonstrates how the service academies have had their morale, traditions, and standards shattered by women, how the armed forces have been softened by women's participation, and how officers and politicians in positions to know better have capitulated to what is politically expedient, instead of what is right.

Brian Mitchell was commissioned in the Regular Army through the Reserve Officers Training Corps at the University of Cincinnati. He served seven years as an infantry officer and intelligence agent, earning the Ranger tab, the Expert Infantryman Badge, and senior parachutist wings. He is now a *Journalist for Navy Times*, and lives in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife.

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The Myth of Japanese

By Brandon Crocker

Record trade deficits and the fear that America is losing its manufacturing base have focused attention on the need to restore American competitiveness. One proposed solution, which is popular with some policy advocates, is "industrial policy"-government intervention in specific sectors of the economy geared toward "improving the patterns of our investments."

Although the term "industrial policy" is somewhat vague, and is used to mean different things by different people, it usually encompasses some form of government intervention aimed at specific industries. Such intervention ranges from subsidies or tax breaks to government-financed employee training programs.

It is incumbent upon industrial policy proponents to answer three questions: First, under ideal circumstances, can industrial policy work? Second, in the real political world, will industrial policy degenerate into yet another means for politicians to pass pork-barrel legislation? And third, is the sacrifice of individual liberty involved in implementing a serious industrial policy worth the supposed gains? This article is concerned with the first two questions, for if the advocates of industrial policy fail on these two points, the last question is moot.

Proponents of national industrial policy often point to Japan as a showcase of what such policies can do. The Japanese government, through such agencies as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Finance, has played a powerful role in the economy, the argument goes, turning a war-battered Japan into an economic juggernaut in 25 years. The reality of the Japanese experience, however, does not provide support for a U.S. industrial policy.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Japanese banking system wasn't well developed, nor did Japanese companies have access to an efficient capital market. This enabled the government, mainly through the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Japan, to influence the availability of funds to specific industries. The government controlled a vast pool of private savings deposited with the post office, which had a virtual monopoly on private savings deposits.

With this power, the Japanese government effectively rationed credit, giving greater amounts to targeted industries such as steel, utilities, and communications. As domestic credit markets matured, however, and Japanese firms expanded and were able to tap foreign capital markets, the Japanese government lost the ability to control the flow of capital. Nevertheless, the government still controls a substantial amount of private savings which it uses for subsidized loans and loan guarantees.

MITI has long tried to influence company policies, while attempting to coordinate some industry activities, such as research and development. This role has grown in importance as credit rationing is no longer practicable. MITI has also loosened antitrust laws to allow firms to engage in joint research activities and to permit firms in troubled industries to cooperate.

The fact that the government has attempted to play an active role in an economy does not necessarily mean that it has significantly altered the final workings of the market. This seems to be the case in Japan.

During the 1950s and 1960s, when the Japanese government used credit rationing to allocate capital to target industries, Japan was rebuilding its industrial infrastructure which had been battered during the war. This made it relatively easy to see which industries needed to be developed in order to catch up with other industrialized countries. A private commercial banking system, however, probably would have targeted these same industries since they offered profitable returns at low risk. But even if the government's efforts at targeting industries after World War II hastened Japan's economic rebirth, such a policy would not be relevant to an already developed economy such as the United States in 1990.

MITI's influence over Japanese businesses is often overstated. Japanese firms generally follow only the MITI proposals with which they concur. MITI, for instance, did not want Mitsubishi and Honda to build cars, and did not want Sony to purchase U.S. transistor technology. The companies, however, went ahead, and entire industries were transformed.

MITI has not had any real power over Japanese industry since the Japanese government lost its near monopoly on the supply of credit in the early 1970s. Since then, MITI has made only suggestions, or has ruled on proposals from business leaders concerning industry cooperation and government loans. As Sadanori Yamanaka, Minister of International Trade and Industry, stated in 1983, "MITI works in an indirect fashion. When it guides industry, it is with soft hands. It has no real coercive power anymore."

The savings still controlled by the Japanese government are spread so thin among special interests that they are not an effective tool for industrial policy. Charles Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Carter, has concluded, "In Japan as in any other democratic country, the public investment budget has been divvied up in response to diverse political pressures. It has not been a major instrument for concentrating investment resources in carefully selected growth industries."

A case in point is semiconductors. This industry has been lauded as an example of the successful use of government financing for research and development. Yet the government's main investment arm, the Japanese Development Bank, has spent only one percent of its budget for semiconductor research and development, which represents only a few percentage points of total research and development in the industry.

In addition to being spread thin, Japan's public investment budget is relatively small. During the 1970s, net lending by the Japanese Development Bank amounted to only one percent of private non-housing capital formation. The Japanese government is responsible for



about 28 percent of its nation's non-defense research and development—the U.S. government provides 32 percent of our country's non-defense R & D. Far from being an aggressive partner in funding industrial research and development, the Japanese government is actually *less* active than is the U.S. government.



One true success story of Japan's industrial policy has been the government's ability to assist distressed industries. The Japanese government has achieved this by relaxing antitrust laws so that firms can work together in industries burdened by over-capacity and reduce research and development expenditures by entering into joint research projects. But this is not an argument for an increased government presence in the market; it is quite the opposite. The success of this policy comes from reducing government intervention.

Though the extent of Japanese industrial policy has been exaggerated, it cannot be denied that it has had some effect on the Japanese economy during the past 35 years. There is no convincing evidence, however, of a causal relationship between industrial policy and Japan's economic success. In fact, the argument could be made that the Japanese economy has flourished *despite* the activities of agencies such as MITI.

Aside from targeting basic industries after World War II, the performance of Japan's economic planners has left much to be desired. In contrast to the examples of Mitsubishi, Honda, and Sony, which had the determination and foresight to disobey MITI, some of Japan's big industrial disappointments such as shipbuilding and aerospace received much government favor and funding. The Japanese cement, paper, glass, bicycle, and motorcycle industries—all which are success stories—never received much assistance, and occasionally encountered some resistance from MITI. The two industries most associated by Americans with Japanese success—automobiles and consumer electronics—were never selected by the Japanese government as priority industries.

Industrial Policy

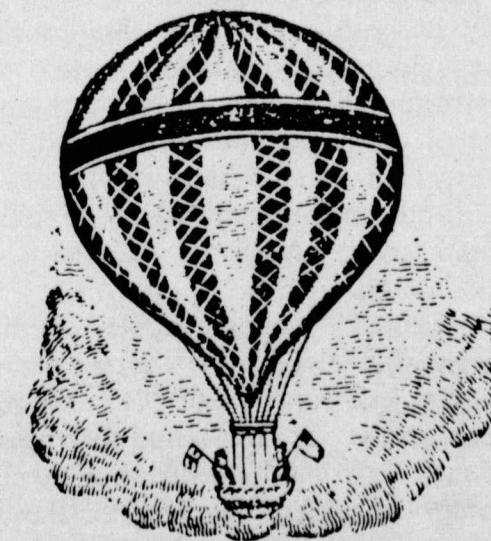
The Japanese economy has benefited from a number of factors since the early 1950s, none of which have had anything to do with industrial policy.

First, encouraged by low tax rates (especially on interest income, which for most individuals is tax-free) and the absence of a social security system, the Japanese have saved at a high rate. Over the past 25 years, the Japanese individual savings rate has ranged between 17 percent to more than 20 percent of after-tax income; over the same period Americans saved only four to seven percent.

Second, the Japanese have had access to relatively cheap labor until recently, as economic growth has bid up wages. This labor force has a strong work ethic, with most Japanese working six-day weeks and rarely taking holidays.

Third, Japanese management has done an excellent job in controlling production costs, recognizing and meeting consumers' desires, and in formulating human resource policies which have kept worker morale and productivity relatively high, and the power of labor unions low. With so many favorable variables at work, there is little cause for hailing industrial policy as the reason for Japan's economic robustness.

History clearly shows that the United States government is not well suited to making hard decisions on resource allocations, separate of political considerations. Charles Schultze cites the examples of the Economic Development Administration (which categorizes fully 80 percent of the counties in the United States as being eligible for "aid to depressed areas") and Lyndon Johnson's Model Cities program, which ended up dividing its budget among 150 cities. Government policy toward the tobacco industry, which is simultaneously taxed, restricted, and subsidized, is another indication of the



government's ability to implement a consistent industrial policy. A national industrial policy would not be any different from the existing hodgepodge of politically inspired handouts, except that more special interest and significantly more funding would be involved.

The Japanese government no longer "targets" industries as some industrial policy proponents would like to see the U.S. government do. The reason for this has been the realization by the Japanese government that it cannot predict what the best industries will be for Japan.

Aneel Karnani, Professor of Corporate Strategy at the University of Michigan, states the issue clearly: "What will be the better growth industry in the next decade, computers or biotechnology? Do you want some bureaucrat somewhere making that decision?"

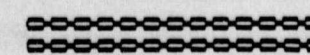
Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek has provided the answer: "It is through the mutually adjusted efforts of many people that more knowledge is utilized than any one individual possesses or than it is possible to synthesize intellectually; and it is through such utilization of dispersed knowledge that achievements are made possible greater than any single mind kind foresee."

The market brings together the information possessed by all individuals in the market and, therefore, is able to make better decisions on questions of optimal resource allocation than can any group of bureaucrats. To try to identify "winners" and "losers" beforehand is folly.



Japan's economic success is not due to industrial policy. The Japanese success story is based on high savings, hard work, and excellent business leadership. These are the areas in which the United States must improve to remain competitive in the world market. The U.S. government can make positive contributions by reducing the budget deficit, repealing burdensome regulations, and implementing tax policies which encourage work and productive investment. But attempts at "planned" meddling will not help.

Brandon Crocker is CR's *Imperator Emeritus* and a real estate executive in San Diego. This article is adapted from one that appeared in the April 1988 issue of *The Freeman*, the monthly publication of the *Foundation For Economic Education*.



Young Conservatives in Washington

By Peppin Runcible IV

I am an inveterate letter and memo writer. And I know why too. First of all, I find it a lot of fun to sit behind my typewriter and knock off a few paragraphs of jokes, asides, philosophical rambles, and political hectorings. But more than that, it is a quest for community--an attempt to find a community of souls through sending off the aforementioned and preparing rebuttals for replies. Unfortunately, of course, the replies rarely, if ever, come. My friends from my native California are, I suppose, too busy sunning themselves, playing volleyball on the beach, and making millions working in L.A. Technology has played its role too, making letters as old fashioned as contraception has made the redeeming virtue of women. And as far as my officemates are concerned, they have come to regard my memos with a sort of quizzical, bemused tolerance: Why does he do it?

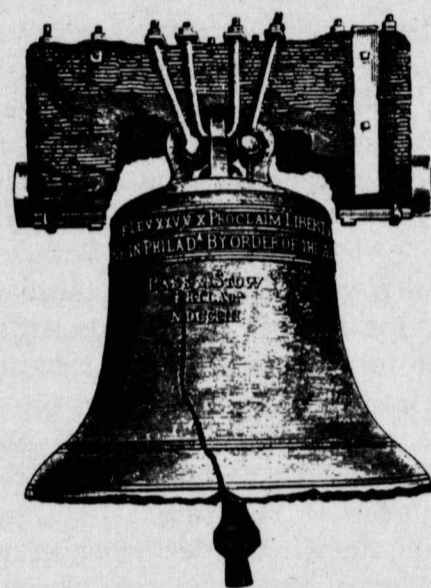
Well, frankly, perhaps I should give up the ghost, stop putting my thoughts on paper, and accept that there isn't any community for people like me. The trouble with being a young conservative in Washington is that most of one's supposed fellows are not. I mean this in several senses. Presumably, conservatives have some regard for the past and for the lessons and romance of history. But I have not found this to be true in the young conservative movement. Indeed, I notice that I am developing a stutter--as my mind stumbles over itself trying to find analogies that will mean something to my friends, with whom I seemingly have so very little in common. I've also, I've noticed, started to mumble--not to myself, I daresay, but when trying to talk to others--out of a sort of resignation that I might as well not speak up because no one will know what I'm talking about anyway.

All this might sound like arrogance, but I can assure you it is not. Let me sight a telling example. A young acquaintance of mine who holds a very important position in a prominent conservative think tank acted rather annoyed with me when I told him the books I was reading in my spare hours outside of work. They were all more or less historical. I was admonished that "we live in interesting times now. I only read history when it helps me draft policy." He went on to tell me that Jonas Savimbi was a great man, the greatest man of our time, the Churchill of our age. Cause and effect.

Young conservatives have an inbred, American suspicion of elitism. To hold in high esteem what are regarded as elitist values--a sense of history, a fondness for classical music, a sense of decorum and self-restraint--strikes them as immediately threatening, snobbish, and undemocratic. And as one is chastised for not enjoying what the masses enjoy, they never quite catch on that these elitist values are held

by a small and I would guess ever-diminishing minority under perpetual assault by the media-crazed *now* monsters, peer pressure, and majoritarian tyranny. Conservatives are supposed to know that it is the masses who have a taste for the coercive and levelling impulse to bring everybody down. One can find this insight in Burke, in de Tocqueville, in *The Federalist*, and in the Constitution.

One cannot, however, assume that young conservatives have read any of this. I was shocked to hear the confession of one thirty-year-old prominent conservative activist that she had never read *The Federalist*. I was tongue-whipped by another young conservative leader for doubting that the common man should be canonized, and was told in no uncertain



terms that it was this belief on which this country was founded, and if I didn't like it I could bloody well emigrate. It turned out that she'd never heard about the Constitution's provision for the indirect election of senators.

Young conservatives have not only made their peace with mobocracy, but with the guillotine. One young conservative female recently accused me of being "a sick and dangerous man" for disapproving of the French Revolution and, worse, distrusting those who excused its barbarism out of professed "love of the people." A pretty controversial stand on my part, to be sure, but one wonders what she makes of communism, fascism, Castroism, and Sandinismo.

Granted, young people are almost inevitably given to impudence and shallowness, but one is nevertheless surprised, is one not, to find such ignorance in such a glaring display from self-conscious conservatives and leaders of the young conservative movement?

Depending on one's expectations, though, I would advise all young conservatives who come to Washington to be prepared to get shocked quite a bit by the immorality of their peers--though I suppose this is a trait of youth too--many of whom seem to have fallen prey to the

doctrine of "think right, live left," which means that conservatives are correct on policy, but liberals know how to have a good time. In sum: cut my taxes, be virile abroad, and I can do whatever I like with whomever I like as long as I'm single. Another acquaintance of mine--another young conservative leader, but one who has since gone into business--told me of a friend of his--a girl--who had quit working at the Republican National Committee to work in X-rated films. He thought this was a wild story, but he also thought that, in a way, it showed how much she believed in our cause. After all, we're all for freedom, aren't we?

Well, not quite all of us. I'm with Edmund Burke when he said that the "effect of liberty to individuals is, that they may do what they please: we ought to see what it will please them to do before we risk congratulations, which may be soon turned into complaints." Drug abuse, divorce, adultery, illegitimate children, and common, everyday rudeness are all the results of individuals doing what they please, and I for one do not find such results to be salutary. Still, I suppose that that sort of attitude merely further exposes me as an anachronistic young fogey, not much useful or relevant to the contemporary struggle.

And who is this Edmund Burke fellow anyway? He wasn't Ayn Rand's lover, was he? Bartender, make that a double.



(Continued from page 10)

them with flowers, children hugged and kissed them, we gave them bread and salt. Older people kneeled right there on the sidewalk and wept and prayed for deliverance. It was not only my family and my town, I include the majority of 8 million liberated Soviet people.

CR: Why did your family volunteer to leave the USSR to go to Germany.

MARKOVNA: That was in the Spring of 1942. The Germans by that time had occupied the whole Crimea. We thought the war was going our way--by our way I do not mean the German way, I mean against Stalin. The Germans promised us liberation. Hitler did not plan to liberate Russia, but we thought he did. Meanwhile, to escape another terrible massacre when our town was retaken by Soviet troops, and in order to escape starvation, and to possibly get an operation for my mother's glaucoma. We quickly discovered, however, that since we were Russians, Soviet citizens, no German doctor would perform the operation on my mother. The operation was performed in Latvia, my mother's native land, and she retained some of her sight.

CR: Did you find much anti-Hitler sentiment among the German villagers you encountered?

MARKOVNA: I did find quite a bit of it among Bavarian villagers. There was one woman who was always dressed in black. Her husband had been arrested for speaking out against Hitler and was in a concentration camp. The Bavarians were exceptionally anti-Hitler. They hated him with a passion. They were Catholic, and Hitler once said something to the effect that "as soon as the war was over we will get rid of Jesus Christ." He actually said that Jesus was the son of a Roman soldier and Holy Mary was the whore of a Roman soldier. In March of 1945, I was living with

(Continued from page 3)

unemployment statistics and is really a domestic political issue.

I have done no academic research on the matter but as the acting commander of a company in an armored division in World War II I had the experience of having my men capture five German nurses somewhere in Bavaria. When I first saw them I was reminded that I hadn't seen a woman in months and though I was never close to them than 20 feet I could see the fear in their eyes. They were alone with 200 animals, and they were half dressed in hastily put on German soldier's uniforms to show they were prisoners of war, but I would have protected them in any case. Since I knew we were out of communication with the Third Army headquarters for a few days and would have to keep them with us temporarily assigned a sergeant I could trust to guard and feed them with the admonition that the honor of the United States demanded that they not be touched. But I wonder what might have happened to them had they been actively carrying weapons against us when they were taken.

a farm family in Northern Germany to earn my food rations, because we were literally starving. The husband was a Nazi. Truly a brutal man who almost raped me. That woman as soon as that ugly man left the house would just blast Hitler. She used to say, "not only you foreigners are victims of his policies, but he is dragging all of Germany into an abyss." I do not want to defend the German population, but I did encounter so many of them who were wonderfully big hearted people who were anti-Nazi.

CR: How did the Allied bombings of Germany alter your view of your liberators?

MARKOVNA: Well, it did not alter my view of my liberators, but my liberators were American. Americans were bombing only in the daytime not at night, so you had the chance to escape those bombings. Americans had a moral direction in their bombings, aiming at railroad stations, munitions factories, but not at churches, residential areas, etc., which was the policy of the British. The British people to this day, I believe, are ashamed of it.

CR: After the war, you faced the awful prospect of being repatriated to Stalin's Russia. Tell us about that.

MARKOVNA: Well, that is to this day an open wound in my heart and I do not want to sound angry about it. We called ourselves former Soviet citizens. We thought if we gave up Stalin, he would give us up, but it turned out differently. It was decided, behind our backs, Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta decided that we must be sent back to Stalin. While I was researching for my book I came across a devastating fact. Churchill in October, four months before the Yalta agreement, decided to send us back to Russia. Even though Stalin asked for our return, he never used the words "by force." He did not dare. He did not think he could use

But even in these days of strident militant feminism I hope you young fellows will remember that it is your duty to protect women. Good luck to you and California Review.

Joseph Shanahan
Lambertville, New Jersey

Dear Brooke Crocker:

I am subscribing to applaud the fairness and objectivity of your review of Brian Mitchell's book on women in the military. He actually understates the problems and your treatise was accurate.

I also enjoyed the rest of the issue, especially the bit on affirmative action. It too, hits the mark. It should be required reading for all college admissions deans.

It is gratifying to see the conservative viewpoint fighting back in the ultra-liberal realm of academia. Best wishes for continued success.

Richard Reade
Setauket, New York

those words with the Western allies who believe in "democracy." Churchill put the words "by force" in his own initiative. My family ran away and survived. But the British were commanded by one of their officers to "aim at their legs. If it does not stop their escape, shoot to kill." That was done in the Summer of 1945 when the war in Europe was already over.

CR: Are you surprised by the Soviet criticism of Stalin?

MARKOVNA: Well, I am not very surprised. The Communist system is erratic. It is sick. So we must be very careful when we confound those symptoms of the condition of the regime with the so-called "liberalism" of Gorbachev. It might not at all be liberalism but his desperate attempt to preserve his own and the Communist Party's power over the population. Even Dr. Sakharov, a few months before his death said Gorbachev is strengthening his own dictatorial power. He added that it might just lead to another cult of personality. Gorbachev to me is not a great liberator.

I don't think Americans realize that 48 hours after Gorbachev was elected, our American Major Nicholson was shot by East German guards. Not only was he shot, he lied there for two hours until he bled to death. His own chauffeur was not even allowed to come near him, not even to hold his hand. Major Nicholson could have been saved. If it was accidental, if the German guard thought it up himself to shoot Major Nicholson, who was there legitimately, that guard would have run to the telephone and asked "What do I do?" But he did not have to run to the telephone because, in my opinion, and it is a realistic one because I know the way the Soviets deal, he knew that Major Nicholson was doomed to die. I say that that was a signal that Gorbachev sent us immediately, to let us know with whom we were dealing. He may have a nice smile, but he has iron teeth. So let us see if those teeth are iron.

CR: Do you believe that nationalist sentiment will lead to the break up of the Soviet Union?

MARKOVNA: I want to believe that. I am longing for that. That those nations that were swallowed, some under the Czars and some by the Soviet Empire, I hope with all my heart that they will fall away from the Soviet Empire and become independent, so the people will have that national pride in their own traditions and language. Even more I am longing that my Russia, the great Russia, the Muscovy, my ancient native land, too would become free of Communism and remain free.

I want to quote you one phrase from Eugene Lyon when he is describing the civil war in Russia from 1918-21 in his book *Paradise Lost*, he said that "The Socialist alien system triumphed and Russia became a country occupied by an internal enemy." That is what my great Russia is. There is an internal enemy that I long for my people to get rid of.

<p>"Nostalgia isn't what it used to be." --Peter DeVries</p>	<p>"The heavens are high, and the emperor is far away." --Chinese saying</p>	<p>"They shall mount up with wings as eagles..." --Isaiah</p>
<p>"History repeats itself." --Thucydides</p>	<p>"Those who fight dragons are themselves destined to become dragons." --Nietzsche</p>	<p>"The only reason some people get lost in thought is because it's unfamiliar territory." --Paul Fix</p>
<p>"There is more to life than increasing its speed." --Mohandas Gandhi</p>	<p>"Things are more like they are now than they ever were before." --Dwight D. Eisenhower</p>	<p>"The avoidance of taxes is the only intellectual pursuit that still carries any reward." --John M. Keynes</p>
<p>"When the President does it, it means it's not illegal." --Richard Nixon</p>	<p>"In the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding on the back of the tiger ended up on the inside." --John Kennedy</p>	<p>"There is a tide in the affairs of men, which when taken at the flood leads on to fortune." --William Shakespeare</p>
<p>"Most people in California came from somewhere else. They moved to California so they could name their kids Rainbow or Mailbox and purchase tubular Swedish furniture without getting laughed at." --Ian Schoales</p>	<p>"I'll make thee famous by my pen-- and glorious by my sword." --Marquis De Montrose</p>	<p>"The marvels of modern technology include the development of a soda can which, when discarded, will last forever--and a \$7,000 car which, when properly cared for, will rust out in two or three years." --Paul Harwitz</p>
<p>"Without change, something sleeps inside us, and seldom reawakens...the sleeper must awake." --Frank Herbert</p>	<p>Parting Thoughts By Rory Cheeney</p>	<p>"The universe is full of magical things, patiently waiting for our wits to grow sharper." --Eden Phillpots</p>
<p>"The other day someone told me the difference between Democracy and a People's Democracy. It's the same difference between a jacket and a straightjacket." --Ronald Reagan</p>	<p>"They couldn't hit an elephant at this dist..." --The last words of General John Sedgwick at the Battle of Spotsylvania, 1861</p>	<p>"Stand firm in your refusal to remain conscious during algebra. In real life, I assure you, there is no such thing as algebra." --Fran Lebowitz</p>
<p>"If Sigmund Freud had watched Phil Donahue he would never have wondered what women want." --Nora Ephron</p>	<p>"Reading a translation is like examining the back of a tapestry." --Cervantes</p>	<p>"When choosing between two evils, I always like the one I've never tried before." --Mae West</p>
<p>"Pray to God, but keep rowing to the shore." --Russian Proverb</p>	<p>"Don't be so humble. You're not that great." --Golda Meir</p>	<p>"Californians invented the concept of life-style. This alone warrants their doom." --Don DeLillo</p>
<p>"The more control, the more that needs control." --Frank Herbert</p>	<p>"Common sense is the collection of prejudices acquired by age eighteen." --Albert Einstein</p>	<p>"An idea isn't responsible for the people who believe it." --Don Marquis</p>
<p>"The taste for science is an acquired one. The American people have not yet acquired that taste." --Edward Teller</p>	<p>"This fool wants to turn the whole art of astronomy upside down." --Martin Luther on Copernicus</p>	<p>"The closest a person ever comes to perfection is when they fill out a job application form." --Stanley J. Randall</p>
<p>"We must be the great arsenal of Democracy." --F. D. Roosevelt</p>	<p>"Democracy is based on the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people." --H. E.</p>	<p>"Lou Gehrig came down with Lou Gehrig's Disease. What are the odds of that happening?" --Don Ross</p>