

THE DISABILITIES ACT is likely to entertain C-SPAN viewers for months to come. The bill, which in its current form is a compromise worked out between the Bush administration and congressional Democrats, extends sweeping civil rights protection to the nation's blind, deaf, lame, and degenerate (AIDS is, of course, a handicap). Times being what they are, the only serious debate is over money. The telephone companies alone may end up paying up to \$300 million a year in special services to the deaf, while many smaller businesses—faced with the bill for access ramps and special restroom facilities—will have to close up shop entirely. If we really do decide that there are 43 million handicapped citizens whose rights must be protected by federal law, the lawyers, as *The Wall Street Journal* observes, are the only real winners.

Forty-three million. That is something like one-fifth of the population. If you throw in blacks and Hispanics, atheists and religious minorities, old people and children, it will be hard to find an American who is *not* covered by some form of civil rights legislation. And 43 million is probably a low estimate, because a legally recognized disability in the 1980's means what a patent of nobility meant in the 17th century. The first thing that happens when a new privileged class is created is that millions of hitherto normal people suddenly discover that they too belong: members of the DAR married to descendants of Spanish grandees boast of their Hispanic surnames; North Carolina rednecks realize that their village really constitutes an Indian tribe; and deafness, which once meant the inability to hear, now is stretched to cover all forms of hearing impairment.

If you think about it long enough, everyone probably has some disability or another. I have this friend, a moderately successful white man from a middle-class family, but he does wear glasses and even had two operations on his eyes. What's worse, nature was unwise enough to give him a sharp tongue without the physique to match. The painful result was more than one

concussion administered by sore losers. Who knows what sort of money the poor fellow might have made if he had been normal? Everyone, I repeat, is handicapped by nature and experience. The children of the rich are so lazy and arrogant that they lose the family wealth in only two generations. The bourgeoisie spends so much time working and saving that it never learns how to enjoy life. Southerners are undisciplined, Scandinavians morose, short people neurotic. Which is the worse handicap, deafness or an IQ of 105? Who's going to decide? Obviously, Congress and the courts. The deaf law student with an IQ of 135 will receive every assistance, at taxpayers'

expense, to minimize the effects of his handicap, while the hardworking 105 would be well-advised to find another career or else start a lobbying group for people of ordinary intelligence.

Frankly, I don't think I am the only American who has heard about enough whining. How many times a day do you circle a parking lot, not daring to go into one of the dozen (always empty) places reserved for the officially handicapped? Who has not read of historic public buildings that had to be demolished because it would cost too much to provide access for wheelchairs, or college summer programs that had to be eliminated because of the high cost of providing



Janusz Kapusta

tutors for one or two deaf or blind students? All we ever hear from the various advocacy groups is how the handicapped don't want pity, that the only handicap is our insensitivity, that they want to be free to lead independent lives. It turns out, however, that their freedom and independence always comes down to the freedom to put their hands in our wallets. That, of course, is the definition of a civil right.

But more important than all the economic and political implications of the bill is what it says about our civilization. To our credit, we like to think of ourselves as the most generous and charitable people in the history of the world. We probably are. It is also to our credit that we are willing to do what we can to make it easier for the victims of circumstance to lead normal lives. But it is also true that we are a people who have bent all our efforts toward making life a little better for the worst off, toward raising the minimum standards of living and literacy a few notches up, while neglecting entirely that reaching toward superiority that has characterized all great civilizations. We are a nation of readers, but we are reading James Mitchener; a nation of music-lovers who listen to Irving Berlin and Michael Jackson; a great power whose affirmative-action army boasts of conquering Grenada. It is only in sports that we care about excellence, and even there we measure success by money. When we are gone, what will the Chinese historical encyclopedias say of us? That they were a genial people who worked hard, ate bad food, and felt sorry for the unfortunate. (TF)

SOUTH AFRICA has been unable to deflect interference with its exercise of sovereign rights within its own borders. Other states have declared that racial discrimination as practiced in South Africa is such an egregious offense against "fundamental human rights" that interference is required, and since the Carter administration, the United States has relentlessly asserted that South Africa could best be understood through the prism of human rights. This same guiding principle was reasserted during the second Reagan administration. Over the past decade, America has increasingly criticized South Africa for claiming the

sovereign right to project itself by striking the havens of armed opponents across its borders. South Africa has been said to be internationalizing apartheid by attacking black-ruled regional states such as Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Zambia.

Yet for at least the past two decades, and often quietly, South Africa has been reinforcing its international sovereignty and credibility by participating in a number of important development projects to assist other African states. Pretoria's Africa-centered approach was confirmed in New York City on December 22, 1988, when it joined Cuba and Angola's MPLA party in signing the Tripartite Agreement to provide for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Angola and for "internationally acceptable" independence in neighboring South West Africa/Namibia.

A few conservatives who had staunchly defended South Africa's sovereign right to determine domestic policy as well as make cross-border raids assailed the agreement as "suicide." Uneasy about where America's Africa policy might go after the 1988 election, some conservative critics of the Tripartite Agreement took aim at South Africa and especially its enduring foreign minister, Roelof F. "Pik" Botha. This reflects in part their visceral distrust of diplomats in general and the US State Department in particular. In Angola, the State Department prefers UNITA absorption into a cosmetically broadened MPLA regime to the free, fair multiparty elections envisioned in the Alvor Agreement. Some conservatives impute the same motives to South Africa. A few have visited there and assailed the ruling National Party, an endorsement welcomed by Conservative Party opponents. These American conservatives may have unwittingly allied themselves with South Africa's leftist opponents, who hope that Conservative Party gains in Parliament will polarize the country and make the revolutionary alternative irresistible.

Pretoria's international stance is, however, best evaluated in the light of the exercise of sovereignty, not burdened with analyses based on human rights standards or the struggle against international communism. If necessary, a sovereign nation must be willing

to go it alone. This is a right we claimed in Grenada, Britain claimed in the Falklands, and France in Chad. Sovereignty and the imperative to survive motivate South Africa in its goals, tactics, and strategies, and in its approach to domestic and foreign policy. The imposition of a human rights test from overseas or by domestic opponents is unlikely to lead to a productive description of what is happening in and near South Africa.

In exchange for sovereign rights, the US is only offering multilateralism. The concept of human rights, especially as conjured up in the United Nations Declaration, ideally suits itself to trashing South African domestic and foreign policy. What South Africa's American critics may not always realize, however, is that by questioning South Africa's sovereign rights we are endangering our own. Multilateral approaches can backfire. We who are now imposing the human rights test on South Africa, having accepted the legitimacy of that multilateralism, may find ourselves on the receiving end in the future, making the best of an unsavory deal.

In this we are not only violating our own tradition and principles, but (on a more practical level) willfully misunderstanding this country. By insisting that South Africa must adhere to human rights standards, and abandon its perception of national interest and sovereignty, the US and others enamored with multilateralism find Pretoria a frustrating puzzle. If Pretoria's central motivations are ignored, American policy will always fail—as, in fact, it has since at least September 9, 1985, when President Reagan capitulated to State Department pressure and, adopting a human-rights approach, imposed his own punitive sanctions. A conservative analysis will likewise fail if conservatives insist on interpreting the Tripartite Agreement as a capitulation to communism, when Pretoria has instead been focusing on its own preservation. The mixture of evolutionary reform at home and assertiveness across borders does not mean that South Africa will bypass a diplomatic deal when it perceives that deal to be in its national interest.

Following the September 6 elections, South Africa's challenge shifts to the domestic front. Some success as-

serting its sovereignty overseas has bought time for rapid, dramatic, and real political reform. In the election, English-speaking white voters returned to previous voting patterns and chose a new moderate-left party, the Democrats. Afrikaans-speaking voters picked either the National Party or the Conservatives. Finally, in the only province where successful multiracial power-sharing negotiations have occurred, Natal, voters were comfortable with the moderation of black leaders. The Conservatives were shut out there.

President F.W. DeKlerk's task is to preserve his nation's sovereignty by pacifying internal ferment through negotiation. His course may or may not scotch assaults on South Africa's sovereign rights. The American blindness remains: leftist Congressman Howard Wolpe, a Michigan Democrat, joins Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak in demanding more sanctions, while die-hard conservatives, calling DeKlerk's remarks a "speech at Appomattox," may raise funds in the US for the Conservative Party. America would do better to contribute to positive change by supporting a responsible course, not by making South Africa more turbulent by fueling revolution.

—Bruce Rickerson

THE ANTI-DRUG CRUSADE contains the common hype along with always-commendable pledges to crack down on drug criminals and introduce "zero tolerance" for users. Nonetheless, President Bush's war on drugs can only fail, for it insists on attacking the symptoms of the problem rather than the real disease itself.

Social research on the use of illegal drugs shows one consistent theme: intact traditional families strongly discourage drug use; broken families or "alternative family forms" encourage it. Our "drug crisis" is in large measure the result or symptom of our "family crisis." No number of new prisons or treatment programs can repair the damage to the young caused by family decay.

In the 1964 study *The Road to H*, Isidor Chein and his coauthors studied the family patterns of heroin addicts and found that 97 percent of "addict families" showed a "disturbed relationship" between the parents (e.g., di-

vorce or history of separation), compared to only 41 percent of drug-free families. Another intensive study from that period by William Westby and Nathan Epstein reported that "father-led" families with traditional mothers who were "deeply satisfied" with their role as housewife produced "emotionally healthy children." Meanwhile, "mother-dominant" families or "sharing fathers" (where the mother and father strove to hold equal roles) spawned serious pathologies in children, including the abuse of drugs.

Horatio Alger's Children, an extensive report on a sample from Marin County, California, prepared by Richard Blum and Associates in 1972, identified family-oriented factors related to "low risk" and "high risk" of teenage drug use. The team found that "low risk" families held an unquestioned belief in God; regularly attended church; were father-led and authoritative; had more children; and had mothers who gave first priority to their home and family, and had voted for George Wallace in 1968(!). "High risk" families, in contrast, had mothers who were employed and gave priority to meeting their "human potential"; had fathers who were "overly intellectual [and] took on mothers' functions"; and were skeptical about God and rarely attended church. Simply put, intact, religious, traditional families successfully used "protective measures to ensure that external influences will not affect family unity" and gave their children enough "intestinal fortitude" to fight temptation.

Work in the 1980's confirms the same points. One study found marijuana use by youth related to the presence of "unconventional" mothers. Another found that drug-users came from families where the fathers were "weak." A major study by Dr. Alfred S. Friedman of 2,750 adolescents admitted to drug treatment programs found that the larger the family of origin (more siblings and extended family members in the home) the lower the use of drugs, while parental separation and divorce produced more abuse among the children. In a 1985 article in *The American Journal of Sociology*, two researchers showed a strong negative relationship between "conventional family roles" and marijuana use. More recently, a study at

UCLA reported again that parental divorce and other signs of "inadequate family structure" significantly aggravated drug and alcohol abuse, while work at the University of Southern California found that "latch-key" adolescents with working mothers were twice as likely to abuse drugs and alcohol as those enjoying after-school care.

In sum, the overwhelming evidence shows that intact, traditional families help prevent drug abuse. Alternate family forms encourage it. The cynical reality is that existing federal and state policies actually help disrupt family life in ways that will invariably increase drug abuse. Take our welfare system, which discourages marriages and encourages female-headed families, or the day-care subsidies and the income tax structure that encourage mothers to work outside the home, or an ongoing war against "sexism" that disrupts traditional gender roles, or "no-fault divorce" that has cheapened the meaning of the marriage covenant. Proposed new programs of "workfare" and the ABC "child care" bill can only compound the problem.

On the one hand, government policy disrupts families and produces even more children and youth "at risk" of drug abuse. On the other hand, the government declares "war" on illegal drug use, and proposes to expand its powers, size, and spending. The predictable result will be both more government and more drug abuse.

—Allan Carlson

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION has come to mean no freedom of dissociation, at least not in Madison, Wisconsin. There a city statute barring discrimination in housing has been interpreted by the Madison Equal Opportunities Commission (MEOC) to apply to roommates. In other words, when Ann Hacklander and Maureen Rowe were told by their prospective roommate Cari Sprague that she was a lesbian, and decided (politely) not to room with her for that reason, they were breaking the law.

After Ms. Sprague complained to the city, the MEOC asked Hacklander and Rowe to come in and discuss the matter. In a 4-1/2 hour meeting, during which the two women were in tears,

the MEOC pressured them to agree in principle to this proposed settlement: that between the two of them they would pay Sprague \$1,500 in damages; that they would attend a two-hour "training class" conducted by a homosexual organization; that they would have their housing situation "monitored"—the word was not defined—for two years by the MEOC; and that they would write a letter of apology to Sprague. During this meeting the two women were not represented by a lawyer. When one of the women, just out of college and with a large college loan debt to repay, said the settlement would bankrupt her, the MEOC informed her that bankruptcy would not make any difference.

The Madison City Council president, Sue Bauman, while being a proponent of antidiscrimination legislation, thinks that the city housing law should not apply to roommate situations, and on September 19 the council voted 19 to 2 to amend the law accordingly. Mary Pierce of the MEOC, citing a confidentiality agreement, will not comment on the case at all. But as of this writing, according to

Hacklander and Rowe's lawyer, Bruce Davey, the MEOC is going ahead with its process, and taking the matter to its final stage—a public hearing before a hearing examiner. Presumably, with the City Council having clarified their language, with the precedent of the identical state law having been interpreted in their favor, and with several signs of duress evident in the way their case was handled by the MEOC, the two women have a good case. They will still be out their lawyer's fee, however, and not content with her MEOC action Ms. Sprague has filed suit in Circuit Court. Ms. Hacklander and Ms. Rowe will also still be out their time and their distress.

This is where equity legislation will get you. In the interests of protecting homosexuals—and, incidentally, convicted murderers, whom (according to Mary Pierce) the two women also could not legally have turned away—the city of Madison has proposed a series of punishments that would violate the rights of even convicted felons on probation.

Madison is not just saying that homosexuality (and a murder conviction) should be tolerated. Madison's Equal

Opportunity Commission is saying that homosexuality (and a murder conviction) are such goods that they must be protected with every bit of energy the law will allow. Protecting this actual lesbian and this theoretical murderer must come even at the price of frightening, harassing, fining, and "re-educating" two ordinary, tax-paying citizens.

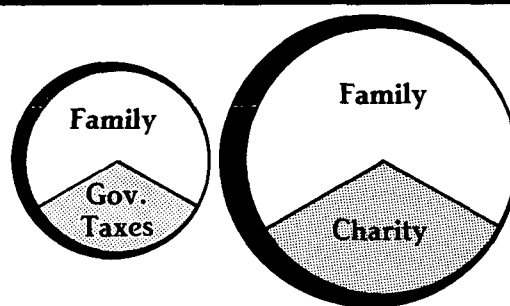
Ann Hacklander has said that she personally had no prejudice against lesbians, but that Ms. Rowe was uncomfortable with the idea of living with one, and so her roommate would hardly force it on her. After what Hacklander has gone through in the name of tolerance, does anyone think she is so friendly to the homosexual lobby now? (KD)

M.E. BRADFORD, who introduces the essay by Donald Davidson, is a professor of English at the University of Dallas. A former student of Davidson's, Professor Bradford is currently at work on a biography of the poet and essayist commissioned by The University of Virginia Press.

The Wisdom of the Planned Gift

There are a variety of ways to give to educational and charitable organizations, like The Rockford Institute, publisher of *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*. Most people make outright gifts which result in a "charitable deduction" from a person's taxable income.

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Principalities & Powers by Samuel Francis

If conservatives carried revolvers, they'd probably reach for them at the sound of the word "nationalism." Perhaps it's just as well they don't carry revolvers, since nationalism usually makes its appearance armed with considerably bigger guns. In the Europe of Metternich and Castlereagh, nationalism was the vehicle for the revolutionary destruction of dynastic and aristocratic regimes and the parent of all sorts of modern nastiness. "From the French Revolution," wrote the conservative Anglo-Polish historian Sir Lewis Namier, "dates the active rise of modern nationalism with some of its most dangerous features: of a mass movement centralizing and levelling, dynamic and ruthless, akin in nature to the horde."

American conservatives have never been much more enthusiastic about nationalism than their European counterparts. The opposition to ratification of the US Constitution was led by country gentlemen who knew very well that Alexander Hamilton's national unification meant merely the consolidation of Northeastern dominance over the states and their distinctive subcultures. For the first seventy years of American history, the main political conflict revolved around whether the nationalists of the Northeast would succeed in impressing their thumbprints on the wax of the new republic. That, as Richard Weaver saw, was the issue in Daniel Webster's debates with South Carolina's Senator Robert Young Hayne, and the concrete meaning of Webster's "Liberty and Union" speech was that the republic should be unified around the Northeastern goals of economic expansion and national power.

As every schoolboy knows (or used to know, back when teachers told schoolboys about Abraham Lincoln), those goals eventually triumphed, and the "equality" that Lincoln and his supporters preached with their terrible swift swords was largely a mask for an orgiastic ethic of producing and consuming, the Great Barbecue that culminated only in the present century. In Lincoln's day and under his leadership,

Northeastern financial and industrial centers finally gained enough material power and resources to crush their rivals. It was neither patriotism nor piety that ultimately made the *unum* prevail over the *pluribus*, but the acquisitive habits that Lincoln's "equality of opportunity" rationalized and that modern advertising, credit instruments, mass media, and government-managed demand succeeded in creating.

Be all that as it may, the United States today is a unitary nation-state, as much as traditionalist conservatives may be loath to admit it. If you don't believe this, travel to a city other than the one in which you live. You will discover that just about any place you visit in the United States today looks almost exactly like the one you just left. Fast-food palaces, shopping malls, mammoth supermarkets, hotel chains, modern highway networks, office buildings, high-rises, and parking lots now define the public orthodoxy of the nation. If you visit bookstores, watch television, go to the movies, or listen to music or the news in any American city, what you read, see, or hear will be very much the same as in any other city. On a recent visit to Atlanta, I found that the local TV news was all about child abuse, drug busts, and local political corruption—exactly the same as in Washington. Only the street names were different.

National unification of the United States has meant the destruction of local and regional variations and their homogenization under a regime of centralized power—economic and cultural as well as political. But homogenization doesn't stop at the water's edge. The universalist and cosmopolitan formulas that justified national unification—equality of opportunity, human rights, economic growth, and material progress—don't distinguish between one nation and another, and ultimately they demand the abolition of national distinctiveness and identity just as easily as they do the homogenization of subnational regional and cultural particularity. The forces that bring Kentucky Fried Chicken to Nebraska and Nevada, disseminate the political insights of Rivera and Donohue to housewives in Wyoming, and decide how small businessmen in

Birmingham should provide for the safety and health of their workers also will export such progress to the rest of the world. Indeed, the logic of this century's technological unification, and the interests of the elites that created and run it, dictate that the unity of the nation make way for the homogenization of the world.

The globalist dynamic is working itself out even now. The September issue of *Scientific American* was devoted to the topic of "Managing Planet Earth," and the thesis of Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, that the United States is in a condition of decline, is routinely exploited to justify the management of decline so that the United States, in Professor Kennedy's words, can "adjust sensibly to the newer world order." Secretary of State James Baker and Mikhail Gorbachev become almost weepy when they talk about the "transnational issues" that will fill the diplomatic platters of the future—arms control, conflict management, global environmental and economic policies, and, of course, drugs. American servicemen already are in South America to help its governments perform what ought to be entirely domestic law enforcement functions against the Medellin Cartel, itself a transnational corporate state. Global democratization is only one part of the effort to envelop the entire planet in a postindustrial web that will strangle local cultural, economic, and political autonomy.

Some Americans, especially the cosmo-conservatives in Manhattan and Washington, may fantasize that globalization will yield another "American Century," with Yankee know-how tossing institutional and ideological candy bars to fetching señoritas in the Third World. But blue-collar workers in Detroit and construction men in Texas probably have a better grip on the realities of globalization as they watch their own jobs disappear before Asian competition and illegal immigrants. Globalization doesn't mean that America will prevail, but that it will vanish among the electrons and laser beams by which the planet is to be held together, just as Midwestern small businesses and Southern family farms