

Mr. McDonald Replies:

Mr. Graham repeats the myth that Canada was confederated in 1867 as two peoples in a bilingual nation. Then Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald called it "the Confederation of one people and one government instead of five peoples and five governments." Constitutional authority Senator Eugene Forsey said that "[Canada] was certainly not intended to be two political nations. Over and over again the 'Canadian' fathers of the Confederation, French, English, Irish and Scots, declared emphatically that they were creating a new nation." Section 133 of the British North America Act states that either English or French "may be used" in debates of the federal parliament and the Quebec legislature and that both languages "shall be used" in the written records of those houses. Either language "may be used" in a federal court or a court of Quebec.

English Canada's leaders opposed the Charter because it was to be "Canada's supreme law," denying the historic supremacy of Parliament. Trudeau's "compromise" was to insert a "notwithstanding" clause which enables federal and provincial governments to pass a law even if it contravenes certain provisions of the Charter. Provisions that *can* be overridden include the freedoms of conscience and religion, thought, belief, opinion and expression (including freedom of the press, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association), and legal and equality rights. Provisions that *cannot* be overridden include the people's democratic and mobility rights, the entrenchment of English and French as official languages, and the rights of minorities to be taught them.

Pierre Trudeau declared afterwards: "We've got all the aces. . . . We've got the entrenchment of both official languages, which can never be removed. We've got French in the educational system of every province." In his *Memoirs*, he wrote: "On the whole the Constitution Act largely enshrined the values I had been advocating since I wrote my first article in *Cité libre* in 1950."

The Meech Lake Accord was sandbagged by Pierre Trudeau when he attacked it in a nationally published article five days before the accord reached Ottawa. He wrote: "Those Canadians who

fought for a single Canada, bilingual and multicultural, can say goodbye to their dream: we are henceforth to have two Canadas, each defined in terms of its language." Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa responded that he was "in profound disagreement with [Trudeau's] analysis of federalism."

This remains the Canadian paradox. Trudeau imposed the French system of centralized authority and legislated rights on the whole of Canada. For all but two of the past 30 years, the near dictatorial power of a Canadian prime minister has been vested in politicians from Quebec, who see nothing wrong with a system which is the political opposite of federalism and which denies Quebec's original, and exclusive, power over property, civil rights, and education. I suggest Mr. Graham read my article again, as well as my 1995 book, *His Pride, Our Fall: Recovering from the Trudeau Revolution* (Key Porter).

On Casablanca

Well, thank Heavens! Someone has finally labeled *Casablanca* what it has always been: puerile war propaganda ("Restless Natives," March). I wish I could say that I recognized this film for what it was when I was a young schoolboy in the 1940's. Then, I endlessly pestered my parents to "sign" so I could run off to the palm-fringed Pacific islands and "fight Japs!" (They never signed.) But I do remember disliking the film because it was a mushy love story. And what about Bogart? Casting him as a former "American idealist" was a stretch. Bogie had only two modes of

character: he was tough and cynical, and tougher and more cynical. For this guy to be crying in his beer over being stood up by Ingrid was overly Hollywoody—even for 1940's Hollywood. Any war-intoxicated schoolboy who lost his own share of "true loves" could see how *unmanly* that was.

But even today Hollywood (oops!), I mean the Turner p.r. machine, goes on hyping the un-hypable. Great American classic, indeed! "Restless Natives" was right on target, and a good read.

—J.R. Wheeler
Port St. Lucie, FL

On Samuel Francis

I interrupt my work to express great praise for Samuel Francis's article, "The Other Face of Multiculturalism" (April). In a word, it is superb. As an intellectual analysis, it has a clarity that knows no equal, and it is truly a work of art. Would that we could persuade every congressman and school administrator to read it in the quiet of their studies. (If they have such!)

—Garrett Hardin
Santa Barbara, CA

On Errors and Bishops

Paul Gottfried's "Fascism and Anti-Fascism" (March) was a fine piece, but gremlins attack even the best. The *primas Galliae* is the archbishop of Lyons, not Paris.

—Duane L.C.M. Galles
Minneapolis, MN

— CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS —

SANCTIONS are a favorite instrument of U.S. foreign policy, but the Clinton administration seems to be having second thoughts. Recently, at a White House meeting with evangelical leaders, the President told the group that well-intentioned sanctions were getting in the way of U.S. interests. His statement echoes a report issued last July by the President's Export Council, which recommended the elimination of unilateral sanctions against Cuba, Iran, Libya, Bur-

ma, Sudan, and other countries.

If the assembled "Billy Bibles" were confused, they may have begun to get the point when a National Security Council document obtained by the *Washington Times* revealed the administration's plans to speed up the export of missile technology to China. Michael Chapman, writing in *Investor's Business Daily*, points out that the United States has already supplied China with a nuclear fission reactor, even though CIA

sources say "China was the single most important supplier of equipment and technology for weapons of mass destruction worldwide . . . and . . . a key supplier of nuclear technology to Iran."

Critics of sanctions do have a valid point. Foreign policy should be based on national interest, rather than on idealistic theories of human rights. But the administration is caught on the horns of a dilemma that it has helped to create. In recent years, sanctions have been used against Iran, Yugoslavia, Libya, Iraq, China, Burma, and Cuba (among other countries), usually on the grounds of human rights violations. In fact, however, sanctions are often used not as an instrument of human rights but as a tool of American foreign policy. The governments of Cuba and Burma have both committed atrocities against their own citizens, but their record of abuse is trivial compared with what the rulers of China have done over the past 50 years. And yet China has received Most Favored Nation status.

China's defenders like to focus on the Tiananmen Square massacre and argue that, since then, the Chinese government has pursued a program of liberalization. But the attack on the pro-democracy protesters was a minor incident in a history of oppression that includes tens of millions of Chinese citizens killed during the Cultural Revolution, to say nothing of the Chinese government's program of forced sterilization, compulsory abortion, and infanticide.

Some sanctions have been aimed at aggressor nations that invade their neighbors or export terrorism—Libya and Iraq, for example. But China is unexcelled in aggression. Since the 1960's, the Chinese have been involved in border clashes with the Russians, and they have aided the bellicose North Koreans. They shelled Taiwanese islands and tried to eliminate traditional Mongol and Turkish cultures within their own territory. After conquering Tibet, they have done their best to destroy the religion and culture of its people.

But whatever its crimes, China is forgiven because it offers opportunities to American military industrialists down on their luck. Iraq and Yugoslavia are not so lucky. In those countries, the people are held accountable for the crimes of their leaders. Food and medicines have been subject to a de facto blockade. The results in Iraq have been catastrophic—

perhaps a million civilian deaths since the end of the Gulf War, half of them children.

Let us be honest. "Sanction" is now a euphemism for embargo, and the U.S. government uses the two words interchangeably. An embargo is either an act of war or a preparation for war. It has nothing to do with human rights or humanitarianism. A real sanction is "the specific penalty enacted in order to enforce obedience to a law." But the United States does not have the authority to impose, unilaterally, a legal penalty on foreign countries. Nonetheless, our government not only declared its own sanctions against Yugoslavia, over and above the U.N. sanctions, but it also reserves the right, as a member of the Security Council, to reimpose the U.N. sanctions that have been suspended.

Yugoslavia's recent attempt to repress a rebellion in Kosovo has resulted in the call to reactivate sanctions, but Turkey, which is carrying out a wholesale extermination of the Kurds, is not even criticized. The Turks are, after all, our allies—and good customers, too.

In calling for a more pragmatic approach to sanctions, Bill Clinton is once again throwing sand in the eyes of the American people. The truth is, he wants to sell military technology to the bloodiest regime of the 20th century. At the same time his government is denying food and medicine to the children of Iraq. Will he get away with this brutal hypocrisy? Of course. Missiles to China mean jobs and votes, and if there is any moral dimension to the deal, that is strictly between the President and his wife.

—Thomas Fleming

JEAN-MARIE LE PEN is in trouble again. Imagine if Pat Buchanan had just scored a major political success, which had put him within reach of real political power—and then, just as he was reaching out to taste the fruits of years of hard work, political opponents threw a minor legal charge at him. Conviction on this charge would disqualify Buchanan from holding any political post, lumber him with a suspended prison sentence of three months, and strip him of his civic rights for two years. Would not the timing seem a little too convenient to be coincidental? This is what Jean-Marie Le Pen's friends, and liberal Frenchmen of all parties, are now saying about the *an-*

cien régime's latest assault on the National Front (FN).

In the last general election, Le Pen was helping his daughter, Marie-Caroline, to canvas in the Mantes-la-Jolie district. During a walkabout, the FN contingent was spotted by a Socialist mob, who showed their commitment to freedom of expression by threatening the much smaller FN group. In the front row of the mob was the Socialist candidate, a harpy named Peulvast-Bergeal who, according to Le Pen, was threatening and lunging at his daughter. Le Pen, an impulsive and chivalrous man, claims that he merely tried to fend off the Amazon, who was not hurt at all by the "assault," just even more aggrieved than usual.

The TV cameras which follow Le Pen everywhere in the hope of just such images captured the undignified moment. Because this was Le Pen, and not just a run-of-the-mill member of what has virtually become the Gaullist-Socialist-Communist coalition, nobody was willing to overlook this minor (if undoubtedly unpleasant) incident, in which there was fault on both sides. Inherently disposed in favor of litigation (like all leftists), Peulvast-Bergeal gleefully sued Le Pen for assault and won the case.

Le Pen's legal setback, if it is upheld, will mean—in addition to a brief jail term—that he will be unable to hold office or take part in politics. He does, however, retain his "civic rights" until his appeal can be heard. This latest legal attack on Le Pen is an obvious attempt to undermine the FN and to weaken his own position within the party—although some journalists, like the London *Times'* Ben Macintyre, find the prospect of an FN run by Bruno Mégret, Le Pen's obvious successor, even more terrifying (see "Softly, Softly, Speaks the Fascist," *Times*, April 22, 1998).

This assault charge is but the latest politically motivated frame-up in a number of unedifying attempts to close down the FN and disenfranchise the 15 percent of the French population who now regularly vote for it. The voting system was altered in 1988, cutting the number of FN members of parliament from 35 to just one; more recently, the left and so-called "right-wing" parties created the "Republican Front" in an attempt to defeat the FN at Strasbourg and elsewhere (they failed). The Republican Front was revived in March, when the FN became

kingmakers in many French regions after local elections. Local Gaullist politicians were threatened with expulsion from their respective parties if they held onto their places through FN assistance. Most of them obeyed orders, and as a result, the Gaullist parties lost large chunks of territory they would otherwise have held comfortably—a brilliant political strategy.

These contemptible challenges have been accompanied and inspired by an unrelenting, multilayered campaign of hatred against the FN, even to the extent of blaming them for the destruction of the Jewish cemetery at Carpentras. It is no wonder that FN members say bitterly that France is a one-party state—although there are now signs that the “respectable” right may soon split over attitudes to the FN.

It is of course immensely enjoyable to see the establishment horrified and frightened, but it will not be toppled overnight. Its acolytes will use every legal, emotional, cultural, financial, and—ultimately—physical weapon in its possession to enforce its globalist views and retain its privileges. The establishment does not see this epic confrontation as a crude battle for power, but as part of a holy crusade against “racism,” “darkness,” etc. This is what makes it so ruthless—and so very unpleasant. In modern France, it is all too easy to see who are the real haters, and which party really exemplifies the republican virtues.

—Derek Turner

SCHOOL UNIFORMS are back in the news. The school board of the nation's largest school system, that of New York City, voted unanimously this March to recommend uniforms for elementary school students. President Clinton endorsed the notion, though Norman Siegel, executive director of the New York City Civil Liberties Union, predictably threatened to sue if any student is forced to wear a uniform or ostracized for not doing so. When asked about the changes that occurred in schools in Long Beach, California, after uniforms were instituted in 1994—suspensions fell dramatically and the number of fights was reduced by half—Siegel said, “In Long Beach, they did a lot of other things that were educationally sound in addition to dress.”

Perhaps some personal experience could shed light on this debate. In 1935,

I was student at a Transylvanian *lycée*. The town belonged to Rumania (having been Hungarian up to the Versailles Treaty) and the schools taught in Rumanian (although there were sections in Hungarian, too). We all benefited from the French *lycée* system that I still regard as the best in the world. As far as the relationship between Rumanians and Hungarians, it was aloof, generously sprinkled with hostility . . . like everything else in Eastern Europe, then and now.

In 1935, a liberal politician, Petre Petrescu, was assassinated in Bucharest, most probably by nationalist students. In a matter of weeks, the government decreed that henceforward all students in the country must wear a uniform (by the way, a very becoming one); it was also decreed that between six and eight P.M. no student, in uniform or not, may walk the length of the Corso, the usual promenade of the population. Neither of these rules affected girls, so we boys were mad that we were not allowed to escort them during those precious hours.

The uniforms, however, we did not mind. First, they equalized our respective states of wealth or modest condition—although well-to-do boys had theirs prepared from better material. But none of us minded wearing a uniform, and the more mature ones understood the wisdom of the government decree. Moreover, it was exciting to avoid detection from six to eight, and the girls secretly appreciated that the boys were running a great risk—for them.

End of story. Such are my memories when I read about the silly cries of “human rights” or that “uniforms are not democratic” in our media. Their machine-minded authors know nothing of what boys and girls really think. They are still children of Dr. Spock.

—Thomas Molnar

THE ROCKFORD SCHOOLS controversy, approaching its tenth anniversary, is taking on the mythic stature of the Little Rock, Cleveland, and Kansas City cases. While still in its infancy (as desegregation cases go) and relatively inexpensive (only \$166 million through the end of the 1997-98 school year, compared to \$2 billion in Kansas City), the Rockford case is notable for both the determination of its opponents and the rapidity with which the city is being destroyed.

The determination of its opponents

was evident at The Rockford Institute's second annual “Rally for Rockford” at the Rockford Woman's Club in February. Over 500 people braved a late winter rainstorm to join Rockford Institute president and *Chronicles* editor Thomas Fleming, Congressman Don Manzullo, legal scholar Stephen Presser, local lawyer Michael O'Brien, and three Rockford School Board members in their call for an end to judicial taxation. Despite attempts by the local chapter of the NAACP to scuttle the rally—including intimidating the school board members—enthusiasm was high, as audience members sported buttons reading “Welcome to Occupied Rockford—P. Michael Mahoney, Presiding.”

Pleased with the response to his speech at the previous rally, Congressman Manzullo requested to be on the program again, to update Rockfordians on his legislative efforts to restrict the ability of judges to raise taxes. In addition, he has introduced a new bill which would require federal courts to pay any costs associated with a desegregation “master” ordered by the courts—an idea developed by John Stoeffler, president of the Madison Forum, whose article, “Judicial Taxation: The States Respond,” appeared in the February 1998 issue of *Chronicles*.

Michael O'Brien, the local attorney who represents—*pro bono*—Rockford's 16,000 tax protesters, discussed the progress of his suit, which is now headed for the Illinois Supreme Court. Mr. O'Brien argued that judicial taxation results from the destruction of the separation of powers, a theme that was echoed by Stephen Presser, who discussed the federal courts' abuse of the 14th Amendment to federalize a whole range of issues—from abortion to religion to education—that are properly the province of states and local communities.

For some Rockfordians, the rally was their first opportunity to hear school board members Ted Biondo, Patti Delugas, and David Strommer explain their opposition to the federal court's “remedies.” In speeches that belied the local Gannett paper's attempt to portray them as “rabble-rousers” unconcerned with education, the board members eloquently set forth a plan to regain local control of Rockford's schools, and to return a sense of sanity to both curriculum and student discipline.

The evening was capped off by Thomas Fleming's rousing speech re-

counting the political and legal victories of the past year. Lambasting the local Gannett paper (LGP) for its biased coverage of those opposed to federal control of Rockford's schools, Dr. Fleming remarked, "If you can believe the paper, you would think this crowd is a lynch mob." Recalling the slogan of the previous rally—"Vote, Organize, and Protest"—Dr. Fleming urged Rockfordians to continue their battle at the ballot box, in the courts, and on the streets.

The response of the LGP was predictable. After refusing to provide advance coverage of the rally (even though advance coverage of much smaller events is routine), the LGP printed a short story on page three, which quoted Dr. Fleming as saying simply, "You would think this crowd is a lynch mob." But the LGP's *coup de grace* was still to come. A month after the rally, the paper ran a two-part, front-page series on the League of the South (of which Dr. Fleming is a founding board member), under the ridiculous headline, "New Confederates Spark Outrage in Rockford." Replete with lies and distortions (as well as excerpts from a Ku Klux Klan website!), the articles and the accompanying editorial were clearly meant to stifle opposition to the desegregation case. But the LGP quickly discovered that its strategy had backfired, as the citizens of Rockford rallied to the Institute's side, both on talk radio and in letters to the editor. Perhaps in part because of the contempt that the citizens of Rockford have for the LGP,

the *Chicago Tribune* is now considering a Rockford bureau and a Rockford edition, welcome news for a town that's been "chained" to one newspaper for too long.

But amid the signs of hope, the case goes on, and Rockford may be approaching the breaking point. For the 1997-98 school year, blacks and Hispanics made up 40 percent of the public school population. The school district's initial estimate for 1998-99 was a 44 percent minority population, but the final number is over 46 percent, and the current projection for 1999-2000 is a 50/50 split. Historically, when the minority student population in a district under a desegregation order hits 50 percent, middle-class flight (both white and minority) becomes unstoppable. But that doesn't necessarily mean that "For Sale" signs will be popping up like mushrooms here in Rockford. With the third-highest property tax rates in the nation and some of the lowest property values, many homeowners may find it cheaper and easier to default on their mortgages and walk away.

—Scott P. Richert

BOB SANTAMARIA was not a name familiar to most Americans. But when he died in Melbourne, Australia, on February 25, 1998, he was mourned within his country and beyond as one of the greatest Australians of the century and as one of the world's leading cham-

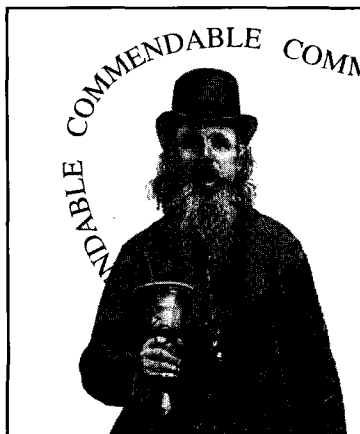
pions of freedom.

Born in 1915, the son of Italian immigrants, Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria grew up during the Depression and the rise of totalitarian ideologies and empires. At the state funeral accorded him in St. Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, Archbishop George Pell focused on the influence of the Spanish Civil War in the young Santamaria's life. With admiration, he cited Santamaria's words at the end of an historic 1937 debate on the war at Melbourne University: "When the bullets of the atheists struck the statue of Christ outside the cathedral in Madrid, for some that was just lead striking brass, but for me those bullets were piercing the heart of Christ my King."

This young man soon became the protégé of Melbourne's famed Irish archbishop, Dr. Daniel Mannix. In Santamaria, Mannix found the kind of lay leader who could mobilize people in the struggle against totalitarianism, not only with a clear mind, but through deep faith. This combination of faith and intellect later influenced the spiritual journey of friends such as Malcolm Muggeridge.

In an era when being Italian was not the way to "get on" in Australian WASPdom, Bob Santamaria was always proud of his ethnic roots. It is said that he was told that if he changed his surname he would surely end up prime minister. But he scorned the enticements of the establishment and ultimately came to exercise deeper influence on the nation than most prime ministers. Although he never was a member of a political party, his abilities in political, social, and economic analysis were matched by his skills as a strategist and organizer.

He was the mind behind the network of anti-communist cells or "industrial groups" set up within the powerful Australian trade unions during and after the war, when the Comintern had targeted Australia. But the left resorted to sectarianism in an attempt to destroy Santamaria and his friends. The result was the 1955 split in the Australian Labor Party, an event that drove many Catholics out and led to the formation of an anti-communist Democratic Labor Party, which held the balance of power and kept the conservative Liberal Party in office for nearly 20 years. A positive outcome was the granting of government aid to independent (mainly Catholic) schools, a feasible policy in a nation where the sep-



Aristotle, *Politics*. Autarky as the goal of political community.

Pat Choate, *Agents of Influence* (Knopf). A classic work on how foreign economic and political interests have undermined American sovereignty.

Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., *Opening America's Market: U.S. Foreign Trade Policy Since 1776* (University of North Carolina). Places NAFTA, GATT, and other recent free trade measures in historical perspective.

***The Big One*.** The latest movie by inveterate leftist Michael Moore may have to be taken with a grain of salt, but conservative critics of big business and free trade won't want to miss it.

aration of Church and State is not a dogma.

Santamaria's role in the Labor Party split made him a household name, hailed or reviled, but rarely ignored. When Rome responded to his foes in the Catholic hierarchy, he could no longer work within official Church structures. The Catholic Social Movement he headed was transformed into the independent National Civic Council. This think tank eventually included people of all faiths and some prominent agnostics, a particular advantage in this era of ecumenism.

Bob skillfully guided Catholic social thought through the Cold War and beyond, steering a course that never alienated working people from the Church yet helped Catholics and others to resist the totalitarians of the right and left. As the leading Australian opponent of communism and a loyal friend of the Diem brothers, he supported Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. He claimed it could have been won, had it not been for treachery and ineptitude on the part of American politicians and evident sabotage by the left.

In later years, he turned his attention to the internal struggles of Christianity. His widely read monthly *AD 2000* still gives hope to those who resist the incursions of modernism and politically correct globalism into religion.

Thousands responded to his oratory. With a familiar, slightly staccato voice (easy target for mimics), he steadily marshaled rational arguments and laced his analysis with homely analogies. His sternest critics followed his "Point of View" on television, reprinted in his own journal *News Weekly*. He could be ironic, but always with charity. His humble self-effacement was proverbial.

My first recollections of Bob Santamaria are of a small patient man who warmly welcomed a nervous young convert, just returned from Oxford in mid-1969. He asked me to speak about the Oxford "Slant" group and "Catholic Marxism," the European grassroots of what later became Liberation Theology. A subsequent excursion with his family revealed a beloved husband and father, challenged in argument by his children (and enjoying every minute of it). He was also an unabashed devotee of Australian-rules football.

When Bob Santamaria ended his earthly journey, he was respected, even admired, by former foes, including old

communists. He was recognized as an effective critic of economic rationalism who gave prophetic warnings of the disastrous effects of the unbridled power of the banks. Yet there was continuity of thought here, a consistency that marked his whole life. Bob taught us to see beyond the standard categories of left and right to what matters: the struggle for freedom, morality, family, and civilization.

In Australia, we mourn the passing of our captain and guide. But Bob Santamaria lives on in thousands of men and women formed and encouraged by this champion in the perennial struggle for freedom. He showed us what one man and much faith can achieve.

—Msgr. Peter J. Elliott

EPICYCLES:

- **On the Shoulders of Giants:** Apparently, not everything is bigger in Texas. In April, Lenoria Walker, the director of the Office of Affirmative Action and Contract Compliance for the city of Houston, was forced to resign after referring to a Republican city councilman as a "midget." According to the *New York Times*, Councilman Joe Roach is a dwarf and proud of it (a midget is small of stature but well proportioned, while a dwarf's features are out of proportion). It appeared that Ms. Walker might weather the storm until transcripts of her remarks revealed that she considered her minority employees to be more committed to **affirmative action** than her white ones. Discussing her role in defeating a ballot measure to end affirmative action, she stated, "I didn't use everybody in my office. I mean, I have whites, Hispanics, whatever. I used the ones that I knew was genuine and the ones that I knew wanted to save affirmative action."

- **Delmarva, My Delmarva?** During the War of Northern Aggression, Southerners hoped that Maryland—historically a Southern state—would join in their fight for freedom. Now, 135 years later, nine counties in Maryland are taking up the cause of **secession**. The *Boston Globe* reports that Maryland State Senator Richard Colburn, who represents a portion of Maryland's Eastern Shore, has sponsored a bill to allow its residents to "decide whether they want to ask Congress and the Maryland General Assembly for permission to leave the state."

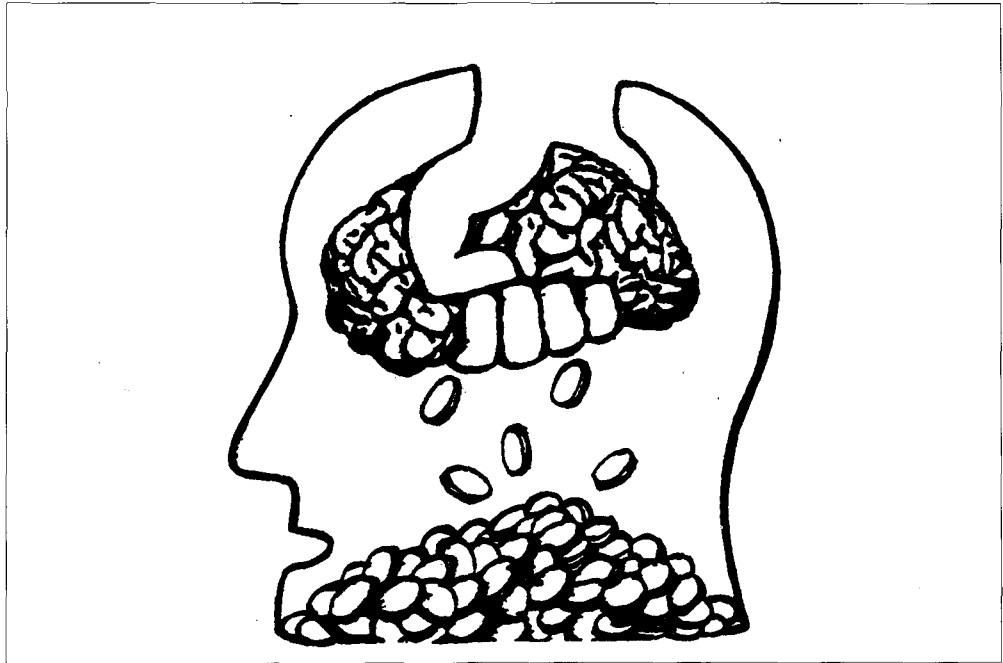
Colburn has also invited Delaware's Kent and Sussex counties and Virginia's Accomack and Northampton counties—all situated on the Delmarva peninsula—to join the new state. Showing his true colors, Colburn has proposed that Delmarva adopt the Bonnie Blue flag as its state banner. While he admits that the chances of Delmarva becoming a state are slim, Colburn hopes that his secessionist movement will convince Annapolis that the Eastern Shore can no longer be ignored.

OBITER DICTA: The plans for the ninth annual meeting of the **John Randolph Club**, to be held in Dallas in September, have been finalized. This year's meeting will be the least expensive in recent memory, and Randolph Club members will receive an additional discount. For details, please see the ad on the inside back cover. For further information, call Shelly Benson at (815) 964-5811.

North Dakota poet **Alan Sullivan** has contributed two new poems to this issue. A novelist who turned to poetry three years ago, Mr. Sullivan's work has appeared in many journals in the United States and the United Kingdom, including *Poetry*, the *Dark Horse*, and the *Spectator* of London.

Igor Kopelnitsky, a Russian artist living in Brooklyn, provides our art once again. Mr. Kopelnitsky's work has appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *Washington Post*, as well as in *Chronicles*.

Why not buy an extra copy of *Chronicles* for a friend? In **Illinois**, look for *Chronicles* at City News, 4013 N. Milwaukee Avenue, #422, Chicago; B. Dalton Booksellers, 222 Merchandise Mart, #204, Chicago; Borders, 49 S. Waukegan Road, Deerfield; Borders, Oak Brook Court, Oak Brook; The Newsstand, 309 W. State Street, Geneva; Zines & Beans, 360A W. Army Trail Road, Bloomingdale. In **Indiana**, *Chronicles* can be found at the Little Professor Book Centers, 6360 W. Jefferson Boulevard and 525 DuPont Road, Fort Wayne; Book Corner, 100 N. Walnut Street, Bloomington; and Barnes & Noble Superstore, 624 S. Green River Road, Evansville.



Igor Kopelnitsky

Selling the Golden Cord

by Thomas Fleming

Free trade, according to the usual pundits, is an issue that divides the right. The usual pundits are, as usual, wrong. Free trade, which has never been more than an undocumented alien on the right, is an ideal that does unite much of the left. It is a point on which socialism converges with both individualism and globalism—three roads that lead to world government.

This late in the 20th century, even libertarians have no excuse for not seeing the resemblance between international socialism and the multinational corporate state that is emerging, but free-traders, as opposed to those who advocate free markets and low tariffs (among whom I count myself), are a set of true believers every bit as impervious to argument and evidence as any cultist who thinks he knows God's first name or takes his scriptures from a fantasy novel.

Like most hot political issues in the United States, the trade debate is carried on with more posturing than argument. As in the debate over abortion or guns or immigration, one side misrepresents the problem and relies primarily on an argument from misdefinition: if you can believe the left, abortion is not infanticide, only a pregnancy termination; the Second Amendment was written only to arm the National Guard; and America is uniquely a nation of immigrants whose citizens have no right to control their borders or determine their future. There are people calling themselves conservative who want to kill babies, disarm the population, and swamp the country with 25-30 million immigrants a decade. As citizens, they have a right to their opinion, but they will take the first step toward credibility when they are willing to speak honestly about their aims.

The same sort of dishonesty goes on in the trade debate. The proponents of NAFTA and GATT insist they are supporters of

something they call free trade, and they castigate their opponents as advocates of protection. In fact, the issue is not about free trade at all. Free trade is a myth, a will-o'-the-wisp in the minds of economists, who are the least practical men on earth. The dishonesty begins with calling economics a science (or a social science—a contradiction in terms), implying that it is not merely a systematic body of knowledge, like, say, the rules of prosody, but an exact science like physics. As Richard Neuhaus used to say, theology is an exact science. Economics is only playing with numbers. Whatever else economics might be, it is not a discourse about the proper ends of human existence.

Economists have much to say about the most "efficient" means of reaching a goal, but they have nothing of any value to say about either the goals themselves or the route we choose to reach them. If I choose to go to San Francisco, it is none of their business if I decide to drive rather than fly, or if I hunt and peck my way, from friend to friend, wasting time, money, and gas. Nations have their own goals, their own peculiar characters, and if the French were to decide to ban Coca Cola or Hollywood films, I cannot imagine a useful comment that an economist might offer on their decision, although it is amazing how easily these scientific economists slip from questions of "is" to matters of "ought."

Every scholar is a prisoner of his discipline, and many economists think they can explain virtually everything in human life by their abstract and simplistic analyses. I, on the other hand, am a philologist, a student of language, and therefore I think that the first step in solving a problem is to define terms correctly. We all have some idea of what trade is: you have something to sell that I want, and we strike a deal over the