

The Schwarz Report



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And do not participate in the unfruitful deeds of darkness, but instead expose them. Ephesians 5:11

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by Dr. Michael Bauman

When, in the 18th century, Adam Smith tried to decipher the mystery of wealth and of sustained economic progress, he travelled throughout Europe in hope of finding the answer. Smith discovered that the key to prosperity was comprised largely of specialization, of learning how to perform a task so well for your neighbor that he could neither do it better nor more cheaply for himself. That level of excellent service, that sort of marketplace efficiency, could make life better for you and for your neighbor, as Smith discovered, a discovery he documented for us with rhetorical clarity and compelling argument in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the first great book on economics.

More than two hundred years after Smith's classic work first appeared, Tom Bethell set out on his own journey of economic discovery, one even wider in scope and vista than his British predecessor's. To Smith's argument for the fundamental importance of specialization in the accumulation of wealth, Bethell has added the importance of private property and of enforceable laws to protect it. In a word, Bethell has demonstrated both that prosperity follows closely upon the heels of well-established private property rights, and that poverty attends their demise.

From Bethell's book one learns that the chief and insurmountable obstacle to the successful management of communal property is human nature, specifically human depravity, which produces what economists call "the free-rider problem." In a system of communal property, where rewards are tied not to effort expended but to group membership, the so-called "free-rider" benefits from the labor of others, even though his own efforts have been meager, even pathetic. At day's end, the free-rider's stomach is as full, his sleep is as good, and his rewards are as expansive as those who worked selflessly for the common good. In time, when the industrious members of the commune finally discern the incommensurate rewards offered to the indolent by the communal system itself, they tend to become indolent as well. After all, their share of the benefits does not increase when they grow ever more industrious, just as it does not decrease when they become lazy. So lazy they become. In other words, when all are entitled to an equal share of the pie regardless of their efforts, the pie becomes smaller and smaller. Poverty engulfs all. Given the perverse incentives inherent in economic systems that exclude private property, the work product of the commune eventually becomes insufficient, even in the best of communal circumstances. The Israeli kibbutzim, widely considered the most successful experiment in communal living in the 20th century, are a telling case in point. Even though the kibbutzim contain only about 3% of the population of Israel—

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Dwell on the past and you'll lose an eye; forget the past and you'll lose both eyes." Old Russian Proverb

Why Communism Kills

by Dr. Fred Schwarz, Part 3 of a 3 part series

The Creation of Socialism

A successful revolution, the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Destruction of the Capitalist State and the Liquidation of the Bourgeoisie do not lead directly to Communism. There is an additional stage through which society must pass before Communism emerges. This stage is known as Socialism.

The Communists often refer to their own special brand of socialism as "the first stage of Communism".

The slogan of Communism is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." whereas that of Socialism is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Few, if any, of the alleged blessings Communism promises are proffered by Socialism. Instead of abundance, there is scarcity; instead of freedom, there is universal coercion exercised by the Communist dictatorship; instead of being able to take whatever is needed, the individual receives a ration of scarce commodities in accordance with his productivity in society. Instead of no government, there is an enormous oppressive state apparatus.

Socialism reaches its zenith in the society of the Gulag Archipelago, where each individual and group is given an amount of work to be done. The work is measured by the goods produced. So much timber must be felled, so much coal or gold must be mined. The daily allotment of production is known as the norm.

Those who do not produce their norm are penalized by a reduction in the daily allowance of food. This is equivalent to a death sentence. As the source of nourishment is lessened, the strength of the prisoner diminishes and his output becomes less also. This leads to a further cut in the food ration. A vicious circle is established which leads downward to death.

No Communist claims that Communism exists anywhere in this present world. The official title of the Soviet Union was the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" or U.S.S.R. Communist China claims to be a "Socialist State of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Soviet leaders claim that Socialism has been built in the Soviet Union and that they are now advancing towards the building of Communism.

Accomplishments and Prospects

The Revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Destruction of the Capitalist State, the Liquidation of the Bourgeoisie, and the Creation of Socialism have now been accomplished in the Soviet Union. We have the history of nearly 70 years since the Communist conquest of Russia to guide us. What is the result? Can we discern encouraging signs of the creation of the **new socialist man**, the withering away of the state, and the emergence of the blissful state of Communism?

All evidence indicates that the "new socialist man" is a cynical, apathetic, selfish individual. Alcoholism and crime are flourishing.

Whenever and wherever the opportunity exists, the "new socialist man" flees from the "regenerative" environment of Socialism into the "degenerative" hell which capitalism is alleged to create. The hideous price of mass murder and coerced labor, which the Communists have forced the people to pay, has purchased nothing but regimentation, militarization, and privation.

The state shows no signs of withering away. The monopolistic power of the Communist Party remains undiminished. The bureaucracy becomes more and more entrenched as it cherishes its special privileges. Human rights are occasionally affirmed in theory, but are ignored in practice.

The vision of ultimately reaching Communism has faded as scarcity, inequality, and authority become increasingly institutionalized. The special privileges of the elite few, the leaders of the Communist Party, increase. Maybe some of them have found their Utopia – but the people have found themselves in a prison of body and spirit.

Conclusion

Communism is the literal fulfillment of Psalm 14: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." The consequences are stated clearly: "They are corrupt: they have done abominable works; there is none that doeth good."

The delusional doctrines of Karl Marx bear the same relationship to mass murder that the malarial parasite does to the disease of malaria. We must expose the errors of the basic doctrines of Marx if we wish to prevent the actions that result from the application of those doctrines.

The repudiation of communist conduct is not enough. Communist defeats will be temporary if the errors of Marxist doctrine are not exposed. A new generation will be seduced by the doctrines, and communist killing will recommence.

Some of the statements of Marx are true. This is not surprising. Every false philosophy and system contains elements of truth. A mixture of truth and falsehood is usually far more deadly than pure falsehood which can be discerned and isolated once and for all. Once pure falsehood is exposed, the battle is over. When the lethal ideological mixture contains elements of truth, these elements tend to revive the doctrine after it

has appeared to have been destroyed. This accounts for the longevity of Marxism and its ability to survive the horrors of Stalinism, its history of brutality and terror, its multiple aggressions such as those in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, its censorship and disdain for human rights.

Essential elements of Marxist doctrines are false. This must be demonstrated, stated, and restated. The deplorable conduct of the communists is not due to their departing from the teachings of Marx, but to their obedience to them.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating." The ingredients of the Communist pudding are lethal. The massive and widespread homicide that characterizes Communist conduct is the fulfillment of Marxism.

The Marxist doctrines of ATHEISM, MATERIALISM, ECONOMIC DETERMINISM, CLASS, CLASS LIQUIDATION, CLASS DICTATORSHIP, and INEVITABLE PROGRESS are **false** and **deadly**.

Should Communism conquer countries with traditions of political liberty, artistic freedom and inalienable rights, the same doctrines that guided Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Pol Pot will generate programs of mass murder and universal enslavement. Doctrine that is sincerely believed will triumph over tradition, tolerance and compassion.

The Marxist demons conceived by falsehood, and nurtured by ignorance, must be exorcized by truth.

Communist Morality

by Paul Craig Roberts

Communism has failed, but its morality has prevailed. As an economic, social and political system, Soviet communism fell of its own weight without a missile fired. The same collapse is under way in China, where a communist government is peacefully dismantling its own socialist handiwork and substituting successful capitalist institutions.

But while our institutions are supplanting communist ones, communist morality is supplanting our own.

Communist morality is issue-driven. As the end justifies the means, it is permissible to lie, cheat, steal and murder in pursuit of an ultimate goal.

The communist notion of morality differs profoundly from the Judeo-Christian view. Respect for truth, and for the lives and property of others, are enshrined in the Ten Commandments. It is not permissible to lie, cheat, steal and murder in behalf of a cause.

Until recently, political democracies were governed by a consensus that the end does not justify the means. But this consensus has broken down. Increasingly in Western democracies, the political left decides a person's morality on the basis of his or her position on social issues.

This politicization of morality has turned people of upright moral character in the traditional sense into moral pariahs for having the wrong views on social issues. For example, class warfare against "the rich" has become such an obligatory position that Republicans are hesitant to propose tax cuts that might benefit the rich.

A scandal surrounding a Nobel Prize illustrates the growing influence of issue-determined morality. On Dec. 15, the New York Times revealed that Guatemalan Rigoberta Menchu won the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize for an autobiography that has turned out to be a false account of her life.

Miss Menchu inflamed class warfare with her made-up

story of her Indian family pitted in a struggle for land and survival against wealthy landowners of European descent, who allegedly manipulated government agencies to drive the Indians off their land.

In one of the most emotionally moving parts of the book, Miss Menchu describes the death of her younger brother, Nicolas, from malnutrition while her family worked for slave wages on a coffee plantation. In another wrenching episode, she describes the murder of another brother by army troops who allegedly poured gasoline on him and set him afire.

She tells how the effect of these injustices drove her into the guerilla underground where she became a political organizer.

Miss Menchu's book was amazingly successful. Translated into a dozen languages, it has spawned 15,000 university theses in the United States and Europe. Impressed by the righteousness of Miss Menchu's class warfare, the Nobel Committee awarded her the Peace Prize "in recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation."

It turns out Miss Menchu made up her story to fit her cause. She was in a boarding school operated by Belgium nuns during the years she claimed to be working for slave wages and serving in the underground. The land dispute was between her father and his wife's uncle. Brother Nicolas is alive and well, the owner of a homestead. And her neighbors say that despite the atrocities of a dirty war, "nobody was ever burned alive that way."

The Nobel Committee says, "There is no question of revoking the prize." Miss Menchu told a story the Nobel Committee wanted to hear. Her lies are permissible, because they focused hatred where it belonged – on rich landowners.

Washington Times, December 21, 1998, p. A 16

Who and What are the Democratic Socialists of America?

by Richard L. Sullivan

The Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a speech at the Leningrad Dvorsovaya Square on November 4, 1958. In this speech he stated that, "Only the latter (dictatorship of the proletariat) is able to insure the political leadership of society by the working class, the steady growth of production forces, the flourishing of a real democracy for all working people, and the raising of the standard of the people's masses."

When this quote of Khrushchev's is compared to the opening paragraph under <u>Organization</u> on the Internet Web page of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), a striking similarity is evident. The DSA web page quote is:

"The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is the largest socialist organization in the United States, and the principal U.S. affiliate of the <u>Socialist International</u>. DSA's members are building progressive movements for social change while establishing an openly socialist presence in American communities and politics."

In another paragraph under <u>Where We Stand</u>, they state that they have a vision to "achieve equitable distribution of resources, meaningful work, a healthy environment, sustainable growth, gender and racial equality, and non-oppressive relationships."

The final statement on their <u>Organizational</u> page is a plea to "Please join DSA as we work to build a better and more just world for all."

Like many ideologies and "isms" the exact origins are difficult to trace. They seem to start somewhere in the past and just evolve to their present day form.

The Democratic Socialists of America consider themselves in the lineage of three Socialist Leaders: Eugene V. Debs, Norman Thomas and Michael Harrington. Michael Harrington being the more recent spokesman and organizer of the modern day DSA, his leadership lives on through his DSA disciples, even though he passed away in 1989.

Michael Harrington formed the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee as a result of a split over the 1972 McGovern campaign. By 1982 the DSOC supposedly had 5000 members and a cadre of 500.

In 1982 the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee merged with the 500 cadre of the New America Movement. The result was the Democratic Socialists of America. The DSA supposedly is composed of 40 chapters, 12,000 mem-

bers and 500 cadre. The Youth section of the DSA claims to have 20 chapters, 1,000 members and 200 cadre. This information is taken from the DSA web page on the Internet.

The Progressive Agenda from the Democratic Socialists of America (1992) shows where they want to go. It is the very typical tactic of promising everything to everyone and paying for it all by cutting the "hated" defense budget by 50% and instituting a progressive tax system that strangles the productive corporate structure of American industry.

The Progressive Agenda (1992) includes such things as college loans for everyone and a national apprenticeship program for all who choose not to attend college. A massive public works program to build the national infrastructure and provide jobs. Convert to a peacetime economy. Require banks to provide loans for community development. Fund programs to combat racism. Require portions of bond and S&L capital to be set aside for affordable housing. Require broader affirmative action programs. Keep raising the minimum wage. Equal funding for all children. Provide Health care for all Americans with no deductibles, no co-payment, no out-of-pocket expenses, and doctor choice. Reproductive freedom. Promote full-time jobs at high wages. Mandate family leave and child care. Make all families legal, including those of lesbians and gay men.

It is very apparent that many of these issues are being funded in some form at the present time, and legislation is constantly being presented to bring these items into reality. All with the hope that somewhere out there in the great beyond, the money will show up to pay for it all.

People that believe in this Socialist approach to a wonderful future of peace and prosperity never seem to want to take time to look back and see that this approach is based on the very same promises that have been made by the Soviet Union since 1917. In reality, they don't want to face the fact that there is no existing form of government that will provide the Utopia that they are looking for, especially when it is run by government and paid for with money stolen by high taxes.

When the Berlin wall fell, most Americans felt that all this nonsense about Communism and Socialism would go away. It hasn't.

The Democratic Socialists of America pride themselves on having the support of and being able to rely on the efforts of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. This Caucus is listed by the DSA as a network of more than 50 progressive members of the US House of Representitives. Most of these "progressive" members of the House are Democrats. The names that we have become most acquainted with in recent months are the following. Maxine Waters (CA), Nancy Pelosi (CA), Fortney (Pete) Stark (CA), Henry Waxman (CA), Alcee Hastings (FL), Jesse Jackson Jr. (IL), Barney Frank

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(MA), David Bonior (MI), John Conyers (MI), Jerold Nadler (NY), Major Owens (NY), Charles Rangel (NY), and Pete De Fazio (OR).

The Democratic Socialists of America are aligned with and work with similar organizations throughout the world. The parent organization is Socialist International. In looking at a list of all of the countries and organizations involved in the Socialist International the most interesting observation is the total absence of any reference to Communism. It is as though the Socialists used the term for a period and then discarded it when the brand of Socialism that is represented finally collapsed. The battle ahead for America is one of dedication. A war is being waged for the future freedom of America and, as a general rule, most Americans aren't even aware of it.

To most Americans the concepts of freedom and liberty have become vague. Of course, we want our freedoms and liberties, but we have forgotten how we got them. We also seem to have forgotten the price that was paid to provide them. Our rights, privileges, responsibilities, needs, duties and desires have all become a jumbled morass of things that we don't even know how to fight for anymore.

Americans need to be aware that in the face of our confusion about these very important items, the Socialists still have a dedicated cadre of activists that know what they want and they know what they have to do to get it. We need to realize that in order for the Socialists to have what they so desperately want, the rest of us have to give up what we have so long cherished as our heritage.

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itself a small country — in but a few short years the kibbutzim racked up a debt of beyond 4 billion dollars, which their federal government had to absorb. Even though they are the best thing of their sort, the kibbutzim are an abject economic failure.

What the advocates of communal living (whether ancient, medieval, or modern) overlook, but what Christianity does not, is human sinfulness. In economics, human sinfulness implies that without work there is no prosperity, and that without incentive, there is no work. Communal living is the death of incentive, and therefore of prosperity. The tragedy of the commons, of communal living, is that the lazy are no longer required either by their needs or their wants to work harder than they feel like working. Rather than engendering work among its citizens, the commune and its socialist principles engender poverty, suspicion, hatred, injustice, gossip, slander, scandal, idleness, and catastrophe. The socialist dream of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" shall always remain just what it is — a dream. The world does not need dreams; it needs to wake up. The socialist dream, we all know, is a nightmare.

But waking up is sometimes difficult. The tragedy of the commons and of communal living is a hard lesson to learn, even in America, even among exemplary people like the Puritan settlers at Plymouth plantation in Massachusetts, many of whom actually died in the process of learning it. Ideas have consequences, and bad ideas have bad ones. Those bad consequences sometimes include even death itself. The numbers in this regard are more than staggering. Put conservatively, the number of dead under communalism, in all its partial and plenary forms, is now far beyond a hundred million persons, and growing daily.

To their great credit, the ancient Romans understood many centuries ago the fundamental importance of private property and of the laws that protect it and make it possible. So too did the British, upon whose worldwide empire the sun was said never to set. These two great empires reached the enormous dimensions they did, Bethell demonstrates, precisely because they valued and protected property rights far more effectively than did any of their political, military or economic competitors.

But not so the now defunct Soviet Union, the leaders of which waged a continual war on private property rights, without which you can have neither freedom nor prosperity. After seven decades of Soviet failure, no one has any excuse for falling victim to the colossal error of the communes, no matter in what seductive language their advocates try to dress them up.

Both the story Bethell tells and the argument he makes by telling it are as interesting as they are compelling. They deserve wide and careful attention because for us in the West to have spent so many centuries decoding the secret to sustained economic prosperity, for us to have that secret explained to us in such a powerful narrative as Bethell's, and for us yet to ignore it or to undervalue it, would be a tragic mistake indeed. Let us not make it.

Read Bethell's book, and thereby arm yourself with historical, political, and economic truth of the first order.

This article is a review of *The Noblest Triumph: Property and Prosperity through the Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, 378 pp., \$29.95)which is available through **The Schwarz Report Bookshelf**.

The Trouble with the KLA

by Mark Almond

Slobodan Milosevic's forces have retreated from the smoldering ruins of Kosovo. But the replacement for Belgrade's brutal misrule has not been a NATO-led force imposing Western standards of democracy and human rights—the ideas proclaimed by Bill Clinton and Tony Blair during the war. Deployment of the full contingent of NATO peacekeepers has been painfully slow. And the U.N.-sponsored police force for the province is even more notional. Instead, the force on the ground is the Kosovo Liberation Army.

The KLA is the big winner in NATO's war against Milosevic; its leaders are now determined not to lose the peace. Even as NATO troops moved into Kosovo, the KLA was rushing its forces ahead of them to seize the political initiative. KLA representatives have occupied the administrative posts vacated by Serb officials, and also filled the positions that might have been taken by the forces of local Albanian rivals like the pacifist Ibrahim Rugova, sidelined by the war.

A motley group of cheerleaders from the State Department spokesman Jamie Rubin to the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial writers has endorsed the KLA and especially its youthful self-proclaimed prime minister, Hashim Thaci, as the way forward for Kosovo. There can be little doubt that Thaci intends to lead Kosovo in the future and has a very good chance of doing so. Whether the West should rejoice at the prospect is another question.

The KLA's propaganda presents the group as emerging in response to Serb repression in the mid 1990s. In fact, its roots lie in an anti-Yugoslav movement created in the early 1980s by the Stalinist-nationalist regime of Enver Hoxha in neighboring Albania. Thaci's uncle was an activist in this self-declared Marxist-Leninist liberation movement. It was quickly neutralized by the Yugoslav secret police, which then still had many Albanian-speaking officers loyal to the Titoite regime. Indeed, part of the folly of the Serb nationalism sponsored by Milosevic is that it helped to unite the Kosovo Albanians against Belgrade.

Some commentators who acknowledge the Communist roots of the KLA argue that the West need not worry about such ideological hangovers in a post-Cold War world. True, the economic absurdities of Marxism may no longer figure on the KLA's agenda for the future of Kosovo, but a different sort of economic obtains.

The KLA has been widely accused by West European police forces of involvement in drug-running as a way of funding its armed struggle. One reason that the Czech Republic, one of NATO's new members, was so unenthusiastic about the allied

cause was the exposure in the Czech press at the beginning of the war of a drug-running ring in Prague linked to the KLA.

Of course, banditry and national liberation have gone hand in hand on all sides in the Balkans for as long as anyone can remember—and elsewhere as well. Those who romanticize the KLA as selfless freedom fighters and bristle at any suggestion that the group funds itself out of racketeering are as naive as fundraisers for Noraid who think that the IRA hasn't supplemented its income over the years through bank robberies and protection money.

What has changed recently is that, from Colombia to Kosovo, Marxist guerrilla groups have accepted the transition from Maoism to the market. Unfortunately, their preferred product is light, white powder that is easy to ship and very healthy for the cash flow. Even the rivalries between different emigre national-liberation movements that share the same core beliefs can be explained by their competition for the profits from Europe's black-market economy.

For instance, surely the Kurdish PKK—an ethnic group waging its own struggle for liberation in Turkey—would have backed the KLA? But PKK sympathizers were among the most vocal critics of the NATO war. It was not just Ankara's pro-NATO, anti-Serb line that shifted the PKK against the KLA, it was a turf war between the KLA's fundraisers in Western Europe and the PKK's. In the last few years, Kosovar and Kurdish mafiosi have been fighting to control the drug and prostitution rackets of many big West European cities.

After the mayhem in Kosovo, to expect the region to pick up the pieces and return to normal is naive. But what was normality there in any case? As in a dozen other places across the post-Communist world, even with the best will in the world, Kosovo's new rulers are beginning with a legacy of mismanagement and repression.

Take Chechnya as a possible model for Kosovo's future. Just like the rebellious Russian province, Kosovo looks set to exist in an international limbo run by warlords, neither truly a part of Russia nor yet independent. Chechnya finds itself in a halfway status that suits the sort of people who—for all their nationalistic rhetoric—find a legal Never-Never Land very congenial for their type of business. Kosovo too stands at the crossroads of drug—and people—smuggling from the Middle East to Europe.

Albania itself is another template for Kosovo's future. It is an example of a lawless "state," and many Kosovar refugees experienced it firsthand during the crisis. The refugees were not always received with solidarity and generosity. The local Albanian mafia battened on them, demanding protection money or trying to recruit destitute girls for their prostitution rackets in Italy.

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Many of the key international bureaucrats who are slated to run Kosovo have served time in Albania since its collapse into chaos and gang-warfare in 1997. In Albania, these international administrators and European Union peacekeepers were satisfied to appease gangsters and corrupt policemen. The pattern can be expected to repeat itself in Kosovo.

The KLA may have agreed to demilitarize but in practice this means it is going to transform itself into the local police—just in time for running local elections. Meanwhile, the

combination of a shattered society and the inflow of humanitarian aid is likely to provide a honey pot for the corrupt and those who feel their service in the KLA deserves reward. It was ever so.

History teaches us not to be surprised, and also reminds us not to ignore the downside of NATO's victory. In all likelihood, the fragile Balkans are witnessing the establishment of another mafia statelet. The Kosovo tragedy thus continues.

National Review, July 26, 1999

Resource Notes

☐ In a postindustrial society tending more to collectivism than individualism, parents are no longer honored figures. Presuming all parents potential abusers, the nanny state now sends out swarms of "experts" to monitor the rearing of America's children.

The ultimate social intervention—just one short step from state licensing of parents—entails nabbing first-time parents when their newborns are still in the hospital nursery. The idea is that agents of social uplift will go into private homes to "train" these parents for up to 50 visits annually per family. Expectant parents are enlisted by being asked to sign permission forms at the hospital, where amid all the excitement of a first birth they may not be aware of the implications for their privacy and parental rights.

Information that the agents collect from families will be put into a nationwide computerized system called the Program Information Management System (PIMS), which will contain medical and psychological entries and observations on family relationships.

PIMS' tracking of a newborn's development could easily be linked with other preschool and public-school data-banks currently being expanded. Eventually, the information in a comprehensive, permanent record could be shared with employers when an individual applies for a job.

Presented as a way to prevent child abuse, this movement has far broader implications. As Rep. Henry Hyde, Illinois Republican, observes: "This is Big Brother intervention as we have never seen it before. It is a case of the 'village' mentality run wild. Americans have never experienced such intrusion in their family lives."

The lead organization is the Chicago-based National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse (NCPCA). In a statement on their website (www.childabuse.org) NCPCA lead-

ers declare: "Parenting is too often a responsibility that cannot be performed alone. It is imperative for communities to support overburdened families with resources so that parents can provide their children with a safe and supportive environment."

Washington Times, Robert Holland, March 31, 1999, p. A19

☐ The head of Chinese military intelligence sent a Democratic fundraiser in Southern California \$300,000 in campaign donations to help President Clinton's re-election in 1996, the Los Angeles Times reported yesterday.

Gen. Ji Shengde sent the money to Johnny Chung, but only a portion of the money reached Democratic coffers, the newspaper said. The Times also reported Chung's testimony that Gen. Ji claimed to be sending money to the Clinton campaign through other channels.

Chung's testimony has given investigators their first direct link between a senior Chinese government official and illicit foreign contributions, the Times said, citing sources familiar with Chung's sealed statements to federal prosecutors.

It is illegal for U.S. political parties or candidates to accept contributions from foreign sources.

Chung, a Taiwanese-born businessman who is now a U.S. citizen, donated nearly \$400,000 to Democratic candidates and causes from 1994 to 1996, but the money was returned after questions arose about its legality.

Chung admitted making nearly \$30,000 in illegal contributions to Democrats including \$20,000 to the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign. In December he was sentenced to five years probation.

Washington Times, April 5, 1999, p.A6



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