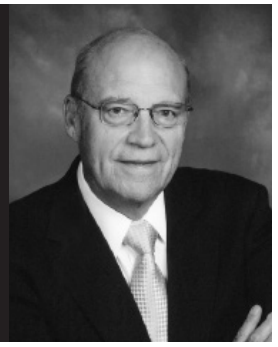




Dr. Fred Schwarz

The Schwarz Report



Dr. David Noebel

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Zinn's Red History

by Richard Kirk

If anyone wonders why youngsters today are less patriotic and more inclined toward socialism, they need look no further than the most popular “history” textbook in the United States, Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States*—a one-sided work written from the perspective of a Communist activist that contains a plethora of distortions and outright lies. In 2012, the director of the American Textbook Council noted that Zinn’s text had sold two million copies and was the “best-selling survey of American history.” By 2018, it was estimated that the book had sold more than 2.6 million copies.

Mary Grabar’s new book, *Debunking Howard Zinn: Exposing the Fake History That Turned a Generation against America* (Regnery History) does us the service of exposing the mendacious, non-scholarly character of this work that was praised to the hilt by Zinn’s former Cambridge neighbor, Matt Damon. In “Good Will Hunting” the film’s protagonist exclaims, “It will knock your socks off!” making an even greater rock star of Zinn and solidifying for impressionable teens the bona fides of a propaganda tome composed in a scant year. Even a sympathetic leftist historian, Michael Kammen, called the book “simpleminded” and a “scissors-and-paste-pot job.” The well-known liberal scholar Arthur Schlesinger was even more critical, labeling Zinn “a polemicist, not a historian.” Grabar herself notes that after his graduate school book on Fiorello La Guardia, Zinn produced not a single piece of historical scholarship until decades later he slapped together his *People’s History*—a work that relies overwhelmingly on secondary sources and for which “there is no evidence that Zinn ever actually made extensive notes,” as he claimed, in preparation for its writing.

Grabar provides scores of examples of Zinn’s modus operandi—one that ignores, distorts, or simply lies about evidence to construct a Manichean portrait of good versus evil as those categories are conceived by a Marxist activist. Zinn’s caricature of Columbus sets the stage for his presentation of American history as a series of holocausts. In one case Zinn quotes Columbus’ diary entries out of context to portray the explorer as a rapacious gold-seeker who wouldn’t be averse to enslaving the island’s primitive inhabitants. To accomplish this goal, Zinn ignores Columbus’ positive comments about “freedom” for the “Arawak” tribe and splices together separate entries that make the explorer appear a nascent slave trader on first viewing the island’s inhabitants. In fact, the damning comments about the natives being “good servants” were made days later and concerned the perspective of a warring tribe intent on subjugating their more docile neighbors. The other side of Zinn’s narrative involves the beatification and Marxification of the Americas’ native population—a portrait at odds with any objective history of the New World which was filled with wars at least as ubiquitous and violent (including the cannibalism that Zinn omits) as those in “capitalist” Europe!

To top off the lies about Columbus, Grabar shows that a good deal of Zinn’s “scholarship” is plagiarized from a 1976 work by fellow anti-Vietnam War activist Hans Koning, *Columbus: His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth*. Grabar shows how page after page in Zinn’s history was lifted almost verbatim from Koning’s book. Indeed, “The first five-and-a-half pages of *A People’s History of the United States* are little more than slightly altered passages from *Columbus: His Enterprise*.” The secondary kicker is that Koning wasn’t even an historian, much less a Columbus scholar. In fact, Koning’s “slim volume does not cite any sources.” Grabar also reveals additional instances of Zinn’s plagiarism—one of which was discovered by a leftist professor who didn’t publicize the truth lest it harm their common ideological objectives. So much for professional standards that were applied even to a well-known historian like PBS’s favorite scholar, Doris Kearns Goodwin, who “resigned from her post on the Pulitzer Prize review board and took a ‘leave’ from PBS NewsHour” when parts of her work were found to be plagiarized.

Michael Bauman

February 14, 1950-October 2, 2019

I don't recall my first meeting with Michael Bauman. I'm confident it followed my first meeting (or phone call) with Francis J. Beckwith. And I was introduced to Frank by J.P. Moreland.

I think my first introduction to the thoughts of Bauman and Beckwith was their essay critiquing the Evangelicals who were snuggled up with President Bill Clinton. Their thoughts were pronounced so clearly in an essay entitled, if I recall, "The Breakfast Club."

They wrote something like this: "These Evangelicals would rather have a Baptist on the White House john than a John the Baptist in the White House." Ahahahaha. That quality of a turn of phrase—surely reminiscent of Chesterton—has stuck with me ever since!

After nearly 25 years on staff and faculty with Summit Ministries, and a couple years only on Summit's faculty, I will admit a few things.

First, many of the faculty started as mentors, several became peers, and then somehow a few morphed into being friends. That process was gradual and, honestly, surprising. But it was fun to see, decades hence, when I could stand with these few, mutually confident and competent.

Second, in all honesty, there is only one Summit faculty member who ever intimidated me. It wasn't that he had more knowledge. I think they all had more knowledge in some or more ways. It was Mike's command of the English language, of his discernment, his artful expressions, his Socratic methods, and the way he could point up when words were strung together with feeling and yet were just plain nonsense. Frankly, he scared me...but as a friend.

Third, he was a friend. His many corrections of my misspeaking were expressed for my benefit. He never came off as attempting to be smarter than me. He wanted me to be smarter than I was, more careful than I was—to develop a more capable vocabulary. He wanted this for everyone.

Fourth, he never suffered fools. I tried hard not to be a fool but an apprentice. I wanted to learn. No one ever motivated me more to learn the English language than did Michael Bauman. And over decades of reading and listening and learning, I think I've gotten better. Honestly, though, if Mike were present, I'd still doubt myself. He had a way of instilling humility.

Fifth, many of Summit's faculty members are friends, but few are truly close friends. They are fewer than a handful, if I'm honest. There are few who are living that I could mention. But there is one who just passed away that I've now lost. Mike would seek me out when we both were in town. There are two, perhaps three, maybe four who did that this last summer. I am so grateful for their friendships.

Right now, I grieve. I grieve for the man who was my friend, and sometimes my confidant. I grieve for the death of my friend who wrote the magnificent essays in *Pilgrim Theology: Taking the Path of Theological Discovery*. There were two chapters that were seminal in my own theological development some 20-25 years ago. Forgive me for not recalling them precisely: One was "Fortress Theology" and, sadly, I've forgotten the title for the other one.

Mike pointed up how we can be so dogmatic regarding the truth that we actually miss the it or grossly muddle it. He pointed up how one theologian could get it very wrong whilst also quoting the Bible with greater frequency than another. But Mike, most of all, could point up how the use of words did not equate with the communication of meaning.

No, sloppy words signified sloppy thinking. And sloppy thinking, Mike would note, could even lead to harm, even to the deaths of innocents. So, he tolerated not the sloppy expressions of evil, the rhetoric of abuse, the dehumanizing words of the political left, the foolish fashions of feminists that resulted in a history of inhumanities. No, he would not permit profusely common words to camouflage injustice. In this cause, Mike was a champion.

If you doubt me, just read *Pilgrim Theology* (<https://amzn.to/2OkP94D>) and you will see for yourself. But I



warn you: you'll never again settle for such nonsense again. I've warned you...

Thank you, Mike. Thank you for mentoring me over the years. And thank you for your friendship.

And thank you, our Father in heaven, for lending us Mike for these short decades of discipleship. We are truly grateful!

—Kevin Bywater, Director and Scholar in Residence at Oxford Study Center, Summit Faculty

I wish to say publicly how much Michael Bauman has meant to me personally and how much he has meant to *The Schwarz Report* and Summit Ministries.

Even though Michael was a professor at Hillsdale College, he was also a wonderful professor at Summit Ministries (both its summer programs in Manitou Springs, CO and Summit Semester in Pagosa Springs, CO) which I headed for 50 years.

At one time nearly 10% of Hillsdale College students were Summit grads. They went to Hillsdale because they loved the teaching of Michael Bauman.

When I asked Michael to be a part of *The Schwarz Report*, he said, “yes, of course, I always respected the work of Dr. Schwarz.” We both thought Dr. Schwarz was a living hero for giving up his medical practice in Australia and debating the Communists on America’s universities and thesis/antithesis/synthesis that the Marxists were never able to overcome.

As far as I know, no one ever thought to persuade Michael to cease his relationship with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and its Report and blogs.

Over the last few years, Michael experienced many physical ailments. How he was able to face these serious setbacks and continue to teach at Hillsdale and the Summit, I will never understand. When he taught at Summit Semester in Pagosa Springs, he had to fly from Detroit to Chicago to Denver to Durango. He then had to drive 60 more miles to the campus and proceed to teach 3 courses to 25 eager students.

When my wife suffered a stroke 5 years ago, he called us many times to see how she was doing. Sometimes he called from a hospital.

I will miss him more than I can express right now. May he rest in the presence of his Savior and Lord—Jesus Christ.

—David A. Noebel

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Chapter two of Grabar’s book reviews the life of Zinn as a dedicated Communist activist whose Marxist beliefs and activities spoke louder than any card he may or may not have carried. Chapter three shows how Native Americans are used as props for Zinn’s ongoing Marxist cartoon, with Europeans and Americans forming the necessary oppressive class. As for his account of the Iroquois Indians, it was again largely plagiarized from another patently biased historian, Gary Nash. One critic said the descriptions of this well-known American tribe resembled “California countercultural rebels, defenders of women’s rights, and communist egalitarians...” In Zinn’s telling, any butchery and slavery on the side of oppressed groups (even the Aztecs) is ignored, distorted, or excused. Thus, Zinn’s “history” conforms perfectly to Professor Fred Siegel’s observation about the “New Historians” for whom “American history became a tragedy in three acts: what we did to the Indians, what we did to the African-Americans, and what we did to everyone

else.”

Concerning the second act of that tragedy, Zinn somehow manages to blame capitalism for American slavery, though the institution has been around for all of recorded history and still exists in some very noncapitalist African states. He also ignores the fact that only in America, where slavery was said to be the cruelest, were slaves, despite the evils of the institution, able to grow their population through natural increase, something not possible in regions where slaves died or were killed so frequently that only a constant influx of new victims maintained their numbers.

Grabar clearly demonstrates that Zinn takes the orthodox Communist line when discussing any topic: The Founders were more interested in their investments than the welfare of oppressed groups. Lincoln was more a capitalist tool than a president committed to ending slavery—or a friend to his adviser and later Republican political official, Frederick Douglass. Even World War II

was fought to maintain the capitalist system, as was, of course, the Vietnam War, where, according to Zinn, the My Lai massacre was “typical.” Also in the 60s, radical and violent groups like the Black Panthers are given greater attention and more credit for (always inadequate) civil rights progress than traditional groups like the NAACP—even though the latter organization clearly accomplished more than the former and was supported by blacks (despite Zinn’s insinuations) far more than their violent counterparts.

Earlier in the book—and also in closing—Grabar makes a telling point about the duplicity of modern historians by comparing their vigorous denunciation of David Irving’s Holocaust-minimizing work with the plenary indulgences given to Zinn’s unbalanced, unreliable, often-plagiarized volume. Why, she asks, should Zinn’s false American holocaust history not be judged by the same standards that make Irving’s account of Hitler’s crimes totally unacceptable? The obvious answer is that most historians, even those who think Zinn’s book is more propaganda than history, are still sympathetic to the ideology that permeates Zinn’s distorted view of the US—a sympathy illustrated by their spirited defense of the book whenever official attempts arise to remove it from state-related classrooms. Grabar provides sufficient evidence to make the case that Zinn’s history is every bit as contemptible as Irving’s and should be viewed with equal revulsion. That Zinn in 2004 signed a statement supporting an investigation into a possible 9/11 Bush Administration conspiracy says all one really needs to know about Zinn’s animus toward America. That professional historians, clueless high school teachers, and even Google searches (no surprise) present Zinn’s history as reliable is a big reason many young Americans no longer feel pride in a nation that’s been presented to them through the jaundiced eyes of a Communist who cares not a whit for professional historical standards—or the truth.

—*American Thinker*, September 7, 2019

The Religiously Unaffiliated

by Eric Utter

The Democratic National Committee recently passed a resolution extolling the values and virtues of “religiously unaffiliated” Americans, noting that they constitute the “largest religious group within the Democratic

Party.” Ironically, most of those in the “largest religious group” in the Democratic Party are utterly irreligious except for their belief in big government—and their own infallibility.

The resolution praising the ungodly was passed unanimously at the DNC’s August 24 meeting, appropriately held in San Francisco, California. This elated the Secular Coalition of America, an organization that lobbies for public policy benefiting agnostics, atheists, and humanists. The SCA touted the DNC’s action as the first time a major party “embraced American nonbelievers.”

It is easy to believe that the Democratic Party is now formally wooing nonbelievers, embracing non-embracers. In 2012, Democratic National Convention attendees actually booed the mention of “God.” At their 2016 Convention, a preacher was heckled while giving the opening prayer. And, earlier this year, Democrats reintroduced the “Equality Act,” which if passed will effectively repeal the First Amendment to the Constitution, destroy the concept of religious liberty, and force the devout to ignore their consciences. (The freshly radicalized Taylor Swift, on tour promoting her new album “Lover,” recently opened a concert by performing “You Need to Calm Down,” an LGBTQ anthem she co-wrote mocking Christians as uneducated, unsophisticated, homophobic rubes. Large gold letters on the stage spelled out “Equality Act.”)

The DNC’s resolution unironically states, “Religiously unaffiliated Americans overwhelmingly share the Democratic Party’s values” and notes the need to advocate for “rational public policy based on sound science and universal humanistic values.” Satanists almost universally share humanistic values and almost universally vote for Democrats. When will the party officially seek the Church of Satan’s endorsement? Fittingly, the “church” of Satan was established in San Francisco in 1966. The circle is unbroken!

SCA’s director of governmental affairs, Sarah Levin, lauded the resolution as a way “to ensure that policy is driven by science and evidence, not sectarian beliefs.” Because we know that scientists are unbiased and more trustworthy than God.

The Democrats are targeting nonreligious voters as part of their strategy to beat President Trump, in part because Trump appears to have the evangelical vote locked up and in part because it is who they are. Levin also said that “America was founded as a secular government,” a preposterous assertion. For Levin’s benefit, here is the definition of “secular”: “denoting attitudes, activities, or other things that have no religious or spiritual basis.

Contrasted with sacred.”

Final sentence of the Declaration of Independence: “We Mutually Pledge To Each Other Our Lives, Our Fortunes And Our Sacred Honor”.

John Adams: “Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other.”

George Washington, “father of his country,” in his Farewell Address: “Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports[.] . . . And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.”

Levin further added, of America’s supposed secularism, “I am proud to see the Democratic Party take that to heart by bringing secular Americans into the fold.” Note to Levin: It’s not hard to bring secular Americans into the fold. All you have to do is eliminate all standards and promise them free stuff.

The Freedom from Religion Foundation, on whose website an “unabashed atheist” appears by the words, “Not Afraid of Burning in Hell,” released a statement saying it “is optimistic that the DNC resolution is a sign of bigger and better things to come for freethinkers and would like to see every party at every level of government adopt similar resolutions.” Bigger and better things to come for freethinkers? Doubtful. For free-lovers, free-basers, and freeloaders? Maybe.

—*American Thinker*, August 20, 2019

Destroying Christianity

by Bill Thomas

The United States “is a Christian nation.” These words seem shocking today, but they were part of the 1892 Supreme Court decision in *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*. They were penned by Justice David J. Brewer as he wrote for the majority.

President Harry Truman once said, “We must never forget that this country was founded by men who came to these shores to worship God as they pleased. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, all came here for this great purpose. They did not come here to do as they pleased—but to worship God as they pleased, and that is an important distinction.”

Historically, worshiping God has not been a partisan issue in the United States. It was generally taught

across this land that our nation was founded by those who sought freedom to worship as they chose and who built what we now call a Judeo-Christian heritage.

Mark David Hall of the Heritage Foundation wrote in 2011, “My contention is merely that orthodox Christianity had a very significant influence on America’s Founders and that this influence is often overlooked by students of the American Founding.”

Now, though, a simple search of the phrase “Judeo-Christian” will elicit multiple articles declaring that the phrase is meaningless and outdated. As frustrating as that is, what’s more appalling is the Left’s desire to erode our country’s Judeo-Christian foundation and to minimize the influence of the Christian faith.

The Left’s assault of the Christian faith is three-pronged. First, leftists seek to redefine what it means to be a Christian. Next, they seek to silence Christian voices in the arena of public discussion. Third, they want to elevate the ideas of non-Christians to change traditional thinking. Hard to believe, but let’s look.

The Left wants to change the way culture sees Christianity. We see it on several fronts. The Left wants to divide the church about what is right and wrong. The United Methodists are ready to split on the issue of same-sex “marriage.” There’s a push among a small but loud faction of liberal voices that declare themselves “exvangelicals,” who resist the church’s stance of LGBT issues and abortion but want to retain and redefine what it means to be a Christian in 2019.

In redefining Christianity, they want to shift the emphasis from a changed life to doing what they define as societal good. Presidential candidate Mayor Pete Buttigieg (D) of South Bend, Ind. is attempting to put a new spin on the “old time religion.” Kirsten Powers writes, “Does the country need an awakening of the Christian left? Presidential hopeful Pete Buttigieg thinks so.” In Buttigieg’s understanding of the Christian faith, since Jesus never specifically mentioned abortion, we shouldn’t spend so much time on it. In his view, most of Scripture points to “defending the poor, and the immigrant, and the stranger, and the prisoner, and the outcast, and those who are left behind by the way society works.” Buttigieg, as a gay man, is a staunch supporter of LGBT rights and thinks the church’s view on them should change. For Mayor Pete and those who think as he does, Christianity is about not transformed lives, but rather a social gospel and agenda.

As the left redefines what Christianity is, it also wants to shame and silence those who are Christians. Curtis Wong, in a *Huffington Post* column, wrote, “New

Orleans Saints quarterback Drew Brees faced a barrage of criticism this week after appearing in a video promoting an event organized by an evangelical Christian group known for its anti-LGBTQ stance.” Wong continued, “Brees partnered with Focus on the Family to promote ‘Bring Your Bible to School Day,’ now in its sixth year and slated for Oct. 3. The athlete encouraged students to ‘share God’s love with friends’ in a 22-second video.”

The “barrage of criticism” Wong mentions was more like a hate-storm. Newspaper columns, tweets, and blog posts blasted the Saints quarterback for speaking out for a Focus on the Family event that encouraged students to bring their Bibles to school. That was it. There was no hidden agenda, nothing about any other social issue. Just bring your Bible to school. The Left, though, has no tolerance for Focus on the Family, whom leftists describe, as Wong did, as “anti-LGBTQ.” So anything Focus on the Family does is inherently evil, and those who work with or for it must be shamed and silenced.

When Focus on the Family’s president, Jim Daly, defended Brees, he rightly spoke of how the Left views any disagreement as hate. *Patheos*, an atheist website, responded, “Daly treats his critics as people unable to handle a different opinion. That’s a complete lie. That’s a Christian lie. A difference of opinions might accurately describe which baseball team will win the World Series or whether a movie is really as good as people say. Whether or not LGBTQ people deserve civil rights is not about a difference of opinions. Rejecting their humanity isn’t showing respect.” It’s hard to see how opposing the attempted redefinition of marriage is denying anyone’s humanity, but that’s not the issue. It’s about shaming and silencing those who think differently.

As they seek to redefine the Christian faith and silence those who hold to a traditional or historic view, they seek to minimize Christianity’s voice in the public arena.

On August 24, 2019, the Democratic National Committee passed a resolution that celebrates the role of non-Christians in the Democratic Party while attacking those who adhere to what the Bible teaches.

The Democrats and those on the Left believe that the number of those who classify themselves as having no faith is growing, and they seem to like it. They also acknowledge that this is a group that overwhelmingly agrees with the Democrats’ beliefs on same-sex “marriage” and open borders. The Democrats seem proud that their plan for America cannot be connected with traditional Christianity.

The resolution also asserts, without supporting evidence, that the non-Christians have been subject to bias and exclusion in American society, especially in policy-making. The intent of this part is not to address acts of bias against people. There aren’t any. It’s an attempt to unwind the Judeo-Christian heritage upon which this nation was built. The Democrats want to unravel that by emphasizing worldviews that do not put God at the center.

Remaking Christianity seems to be part of the Left’s plan to remake America. Kind of sheds a new light on 2020.

—*American Thinker*, September 15, 2019

Socialism’s Knowledge Problem

by Kevin D. Williamson

In his 1920 paper “Economic Calculation in the Socialist Commonwealth,” the economist Ludwig von Mises dealt what should have been an intellectual death blow to socialism, showing, as he put it, that “rational economic activity is impossible in a socialist commonwealth.” Mises expanded on the argument in his *Socialism*, and F. A. Hayek took up what came to be known as the “knowledge problem.” Socialism, which purported to be scientific before it purported to be humanitarian (both claims have proved false), assumes that all relevant knowledge is essentially scientific in character and that economic problems may be solved in more or less the same way as engineering problems.

But there are other kinds of knowledge—local, temporary, transitory, dependent, subjective, situated in complex nests of subordinate and superordinate relationships. In Hayek’s view, it is this knowledge that guides the “constant small changes which make up the whole economic picture.”

There is beyond question a body of very important but unorganized knowledge which cannot possibly be called scientific in the sense of knowledge of general rules: the knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place. It is with respect to this that practically every individual has some advantage over all others because he possesses unique information of which beneficial use might be made, but of which use can be made only if the decisions depending on it are left to him or are made with his active coöperation. We need to remember only how

much we have to learn in any occupation after we have completed our theoretical training, how big a part of our working life we spend learning particular jobs, and how valuable an asset in all walks of life is knowledge of people, of local conditions, and of special circumstances. To know of and put to use a machine not fully employed, or somebody's skill which could be better utilized, or to be aware of a surplus stock which can be drawn upon during an interruption of supplies, is socially quite as useful as the knowledge of better alternative techniques. And the shipper who earns his living from using otherwise empty or half-filled journeys of tramp-steamers, or the estate agent whose whole knowledge is almost exclusively one of temporary opportunities, or the arbitrageur who gains from local differences of commodity prices, are all performing eminently useful functions based on special knowledge of circumstances of the fleeting moment not known to others.

The socialists of Hayek's and Mises's time believed that a properly empowered bureaucracy overseen by a committee of disinterested experts could comprehend the entirety of an economy—within an industry, within a country, or around the whole globe—given sufficient resources and scope of action. This was rooted in what was contemporary scientific thinking. In 1814, around the same time that Charles Fourier was writing his utopian socialist blueprint *The Social Destiny of Man*, Pierre-Simon Laplace published *A Philosophical Essay on Probabilities*, in which he posited what came to be known as “Laplace's Demon,” which he described as “an intellect which at a certain moment would know all forces that set nature in motion, and all positions of all items of which nature is composed.” In Laplace's thought experiment, “if this intellect were also vast enough to submit these data to analysis, it would embrace in a single formula the movements of the greatest bodies of the universe and those of the tiniest atom; for such an intellect nothing would be uncertain and the future just like the past would be present before its eyes.” This is the idea of scientific determinism, which holds that if one could know the exact location and momentum of every atom in the universe (Werner Heisenberg had not yet thrown in the monkey wrench of uncertainty), then the future of the universe and everything in it could, in theory, be calculated according to the laws of physics.

The socialists themselves were quite taken with the idea, hence the strange history of “Soviet cybernetics,” by means of which the central planners in Moscow imagined that they might develop a computer system so pow-

erful that it could consider every variable in society at once and spit out scientific maxims about how many acres of potatoes to plant, and when and where to plant them. The prestige of science in the middle of the 20th century was enormous, and such dramatic scientific advances were being made so regularly—in the Soviet Union as elsewhere—that this did not seem entirely implausible.

It is precisely this view that Hayek is responding to:

If we possess all the relevant information, if we can start out from a given system of preferences, and if we command complete knowledge of available means, the problem which remains is purely one of logic. That is, the answer to the question of what is the best use of the available means is implicit in our assumptions.

Mises and Hayek intuited (and showed) that complete knowledge was not attainable in social, economic, or political questions. Later, scientific studies of chaos and complexity worked out that in many cases of complex adaptive systems—such as markets and evolution—knowledge of the sort Laplace imagined is not available even in principle. In *Complexity: A Guided Tour*, computer scientist Melanie Mitchell of the Santa Fe Institute writes that “two major discoveries of the twentieth century showed that Laplace's dream of complete prediction is not possible, even in principle.” The first was Heisenberg's “uncertainty principle,” but that applies only at the quantum level, “an interesting curiosity, but not one that would have much implication for prediction at a larger scale—predicting the weather, say. It was the understanding of chaos that eventually laid to rest the hope of perfect prediction of all complex systems, quantum or otherwise.” In chaotic systems—Mitchell lists “cardiac disorders, turbulence in fluids, electronic circuits, dripping faucets” as examples—seemingly trivial uncertainties in measurement can produce staggering errors in predictive models. Chaos is the reason we cannot accurately predict the formation and behavior of hurricanes, even though we know a great deal about them and have a great deal of data to work with. Economies are even more difficult to predict and to manage, because market participants will react in unpredictable ways to intervention.

It is a little ironic that Hayek spent so much of his career warning against the scientific pretenses of economics and his profession's mathematical manias only to see his work incorporated into a broad scientific theory expressed in recondite equations.

Some of the intellectual socialists of the 20th centu-

ry took this criticism seriously and responded seriously if unsatisfactorily, inventing such ultimately incoherent ideas as “market socialism.” And they have largely abandoned their plans for unitary central planning of entire national economies, turning instead to trial-and-error approaches to managing markets (e.g., the Affordable Care Act) and to limited, industry-specific management schemes—as though central planning on the installment plan were any more rational than the whole-enchilada version.

If this sounds a little esoteric, there are some well-understood, down-to-earth applications. Compare the US food-stamp program with socialist management of agriculture, whether through collective farming or by other means. The food-stamp program has its defects, to be sure: There is fraud, and abuse, and malingering, and food stamps create some poor economic incentives. But, generally, the program does what we want it to do: It helps some very poor people to get more and better food. Food stamps are welfare, not socialism. Socialism—central planning—would be something more like the government’s trying to direct not only the farms but also the food-distribution networks, the grocery stores, and, inevitably, household diets and food economies. Even in their least ambitious forms (e.g., in Venezuela), those kinds of socialist undertakings have proved catastrophic. For all the gulags, purges, and massacres, the major socialist powers of the 20th century killed far more people through starvation than with bullets, sometimes intentionally (the Holodomor in Ukraine), sometimes through pure mismanagement, and sometimes a bit of both. For American conservatives, the conclusions are obvious when it comes to things such as K–12 education, which is one of the few truly socialized enterprises in the United States and, not coincidentally, one of the most defective. The conservative preference for the voucherization of social services is the Right’s intelligent response to the problems of central planning, but it is by no means an intrinsically right-wing position. It is simply an acceptance of the fact that having taxpayers pay for welfare services is a different and more manageable thing than having government act as a direct provider of welfare services. No modern state outside of libertarian

fantasy restricts itself to the provision of public goods (goods such that your consumption does not prevent my consumption and neither of us can be forced to pay for our consumption—e.g., the light of a lighthouse). But the more intelligent governments have largely given up on central planning, even at the single-industry level. The Nordic social democracies so dear to the self-styled socialists of the United States mostly have been divesting themselves of state enterprises; indeed, the most common kind of socialism remaining in the world today is the one least loved by Bernie Sanders et al.: the oil company, many of which remain state-run. Even many reasonably successful state-run enterprises, such as the Swiss railroads, have been converted into stock corporations or reformed in other market-oriented ways.

For a too-brief period at the turn of the century, most mainstream progressives and conservatives were in broad agreement about some substantial part of the mechanics of welfare, including the desirability of letting markets work where possible. There was disagreement about how much to spend, about eligibility, about work requirements for welfare, and the like, but the central-planning impulse seemed to have crumbled with the Berlin Wall. But the “fatal conceit,” as Hayek called it, is immortal.

The anti-capitalist Right flirts with it from time to time, too—for instance, in Republican presidents’ desultory forays into the steel industry or the question of where the components of catalytic converters for automobiles are assembled, not normally matters about which one would consult a hotelier. The Wilsonian instinct for “war socialism” occasionally affects Republicans, usually abetted by pork-barrel politics. That is why we have a national “strategic helium reserve,” and many other silly things.

The subtitle of Hayek’s *Fatal Conceit* is “The Errors of Socialism.” Of course Senator Sanders and Representative Ocasio-Cortez have failed to learn from those errors, in the same way that they have failed to learn from anything. You cannot call yourself the party of science and the party of socialism, too. You have to choose one or the other.

—*National Review*, June 3, 2019, p. 21–23

Founded in 1953, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, under the leadership of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz (1913-2009) has been publishing a monthly newsletter since 1960. *The Schwarz Report* is edited by Dr. David A. Noebel and Dr. Michael Bauman and is offered free of charge to anyone asking for it. The Crusade’s address is PO Box 129, Manitou Springs, CO 80829. Our telephone number is 719-685-9043. All correspondence and tax-deductible gifts (CACC is a 501C3 tax-exempt organization) may be sent to this address. You may also access earlier editions of *The Schwarz Report* and make donations at www.schwarzreport.org. Permission to reproduce materials from this Report is granted provided that the article and author are given along with our name and address. Our daily blog address is www.thunderontheright.wordpress.com.