

vis-a-vis the Soviet Union has eroded to an alarming degree in recent years. Rood argues that each successive crisis "has reduced the freedom of action of the West to wage effective war, while increasing the Soviet capacity to do so."

Rood asks us to reevaluate, for example, the Cuban Missile Crisis. The United States supposedly won; yet in exchange for the removal of Soviet missiles, the US government agreed not to invade Cuba, in effect ratifying Cuba's status as a forward Soviet base.

What of Soviet promises to keep Cuba free of Soviet offensive weapons? By 1978 Cuba was operating as a full-fledged Soviet base, capable of supporting Komar-class missile boats, Yankee-class nuclear missile submarines, TU 95B long range bombers, and MIG 23s, all capable of delivering nuclear weapons against the United States. Of course, who can forget the celebrated Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba no doubt to

According to Rood, the situation in Cuba demonstrates that US policy-makers have not considered war a possibility. This conforms to our ignorance or neglect of strategy. What would happen, he asks, in the event of a war elsewhere in the world? Cuba controls the sea routes to the Panama Canal, the Florida Straits, the Windward Passage, the Yucatan Channel, and the Bahama Channel. Soviet and Cuban air and naval forces could severely disrupt the sea lanes to Europe and the Middle East. In order to eliminate the Cuban threat, the United States would be required to divert the entire force now earmarked to reinforce NATO. The essence of strategy, which the Soviets understand while we apparently do not, is "to force one's enemy to defend that which he has no choice but to defend in areas away from the principal theater of war, while one's own forces concentrate to achieve a decision in that theater of war where the outcome of battle will decide the outcome of war."

The lesson of Rood's book, which we ignore at our peril, is that defense policy must be based on a realistic acceptance of the possibility of war. However much we may hope for a peaceful and liberal world, we must be prepared for others' not sharing that vision. "Military policy must fit the requirements for successful strategy and successful strategy does not derive from the notion that war is impossible."

M. T. Owens recently left the Economics Department at the University of Dallas to join the Smith Richardson Foundation as a program officer.

Re-viewing Multinationals

Private Power.

By Axel Madsen.

New York: William Morrow. 1980.

258 pp. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Don Markley

Private Power probably would not have been published in the 1970s. In a decade where everything from coups to pollution to poverty were blamed on multinational corporations, a book with the subtitle *Multinational Corporations*

for the *Survival of Our Planet* would have found only the smallest of audiences. But perhaps now, with Americans' evident wearying of governments' grand plans, the idea of global companies being more useful than governments in bringing about a prosperous and peaceful world will receive a warm reception in at least some circles. And that is precisely Mr. Madsen's theme in *Private Power*.

In the introduction he states: "The strongest defense of global enterprise is that it stands in stunning contrast to government power . . . National governments are inadequate when it comes to dealing with the planet's necessities, and we may legitimately wonder whether the

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SOCIALISM
Ludwig von Mises



importance of nation-states isn't greatly exaggerated and whether politicians deserve star status."

Madsen chronicles the failure of governments large and small to achieve their plans and details how political jealousies and nationalistic narrowmindedness lead to policies that harm their own citizens. In contrast, says the author, "Multinational corporations suffer none of these ills. . . . If the world economy can be characterized by slow growth, chronic underemployment, large trade deficits, and pronounced instability, the 'transnationals', as U.N. bureaucrats like to call them, give every appearance of permanence and stability."

What seems to fascinate Madsen most, and leads him to the conclusion that the multinationals are our last best hope, is their ability to "roll over," to cope with change. Much of the book is taken up with examples of the resiliency of the successful multinational—how they change the products and services they offer to meet shifting demands and new technology; how they survive wars, government takeovers, etc.; how they manage to profit despite operating under widely varying systems of taxation and regulation.

Curiously, Madsen employs arbitrary criteria for determining what is and is not a true multinational: Over 50 percent of earnings must be outside the corporation's home country, and revenues must be at least \$10 billion. He comes up with a list of only 18 firms (and a 10-corporation second-string whose members need only a little growth or earnings reallocation). Neither General Motors nor Ford is on the list, but Volkswagen and Daimler-Benz qualify.

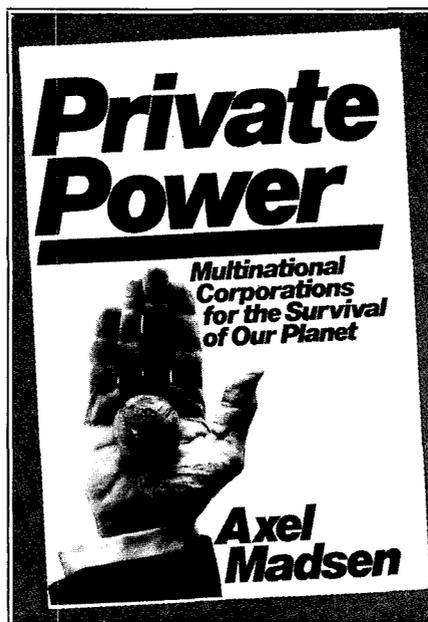
Although his brief sketches of the chosen 18 are sometimes quite interesting and serve to back up his central theme, Madsen must realize that GM, Ford, and many other companies consider themselves multinational in scope, as do the governments of the countries in which they operate. Both the standards and the list seem rather unimportant to the matter at hand.

Of course, through all this Madsen is guilty of a selection bias. Many large corporations *do* suffer from instability, slow growth, deficits, etc., but they don't stay large for long, and several have disappeared. Corporations are not successful because they operate around the world; they sperate around the world if and when they are successful.

Several chapters are devoted to the ways in which governments try to control business and trade or enter into business themselves. Comparisons are

made between free trade and protectionism, private and government ownership, democracies and dictatorships. Many governments are seen as needing the International Monetary Fund to control their largesse. The United Nations is depicted as a meaningless squabble ground, producing no workable solutions to the problem of the ever-widening wealth gap between First- and Third-world nations.

The reader is left to draw his own conclusions, and the following are fairly obvious: (1) resources, technology, capital, and skills will flow to the areas where they will be most profitable, and this is usually where they are least encumbered by taxes and state controls; (2) because of multinationals and the Eurocurrency market, governments are somewhat



helpless to manipulate this flow for their own purposes; and (3) multinationals do not exploit less-developed countries but are in fact the most efficient means enabling people to build wealth in the Third World.

Madsen has done an admirable research job, and he writes in a lively style, which makes *Private Power* interesting and thought-provoking. It is disappointing, however, that he did not seem to be carrying the book's theme with him as he conducted his research. He didn't ask the leaders of the multinationals about the grand design of a near-stateless world and a global marketplace. Thus we get few ideas about how to get from here to there, or, more importantly, whether the multinationals see that as a goal to strive for. (I suspect many would not. Most of Madsen's chosen elite owe much of their success to an ability to manipulate "the system," winning

government contracts, gaining trade restrictions, or becoming partners with government in major enterprises.)

The future role of multinationals, governments, and quasi-governmental organizations in the world economy can be thought of as a puzzle. *Private Power* gives us a good look at the pieces of the puzzle but barely begins to put them together.

Don Markley has a Master's in Business Administration and works for a Los Angeles-based corporation.

letters

(Continued from p. 10.)

develop consciousness." Even if a fetus could be proved to have a completely developed conceptual faculty, it would have no "right" to exist within its mother's body, for *separateness* is as much a part of what we call a human being as its conceptual faculty. For example, no separate adult human being may claim a right to the organ of another in order to survive, even if the other individual has organs to spare. Why then would a fetus be able to claim a right to sanctuary within its mother's womb simply because it has achieved a certain level of brain activity? The principle of self-ownership supersedes such a claim. However, if upon separation the baby should survive on its own, it then possesses all rights of any human being, and killing it would be murder. . . .

It is fallacious to equate calmness with reasonableness. Sometimes it is because we see things so clearly that we feel so deeply about them. Perhaps when men are able to calmly face their own loss of freedom to the military draft, women will be able to calmly face their loss of freedom to unwanted children.

Susan Love Brown
San Diego, CA

Mr. Bissell replies: Mr. Verive glosses over the very real and essential difference between the various creatures he lumps together. If you're asleep or intoxicated, your *actual* rational faculty is "out to lunch." If you're unconscious (and not permanently so), it is "temporarily out of order." In each case, you have basically workable cognitive machinery that is temporarily out of commission—machinery *not* possessed, however, by the pre-28-week fetus (not yet workable), the baby born without a cerebrum (no machinery), or a Karen Ann Quinlan (never again workable).

Mr. Kunz rejects my "actual perception" requirement and implicitly equivocates between human *qua homo sapiens* (a genetically human being) and human *qua rational animal* (a functionally human homo sapiens). To answer his question in this light: what we have from conception onward is a living homo sapiens that does not, however, become a rational animal with rights until about the 28th week.

Mr. Maybury misses the requirement for "potential conceptualization," not just actual perception, and ends up asserting animal's rights. No matter how wrong or immoral it may be to destroy them, no creatures without at least the potential for moral behavior can be said to have "rights" in the political-legal sense.

Mr. Dunn claims that actual perception alone isn't adequate. True enough. Like Mr. Kunz, he fails to grasp that perception for a normal fetus marks the beginning of its rational faculty's operation, because *perception* (for such a fetus) *is and must be part of the process of reason and concept-formation!* If concepts and reason are our distinctive tool for grasping

reality—rather than merely manipulating percepts—then conceptual integration and the reasoning that flows from it must be thought of along with perception as parts of a unified, natural, characteristically human process: *reason*. The alternative is to sever concepts from reality, thus invalidating all morality and rights.

Similarly, just as reason for humans is not some faculty apart from perception of reality, neither is volition some faculty apart from the faculty for consciously directed choice we (and fetuses) make on a purely perceptual-automatic basis—and which we *begin* to make when our perception begins at 28 weeks.

As for "overstepping available evidence": Dr. Purpura, cited in my article, based his claims on simultaneous studies of both structural and functional aspects of brain development, correlating results of brain wave, *visual*, and other tests with autopsy studies of premature infants. The evidence is extensive and the implications clear-cut. (For more on Purpura's findings and other supporting research, see *The Secret Life of the Unborn Child*, by Thomas Verney, M.D.,

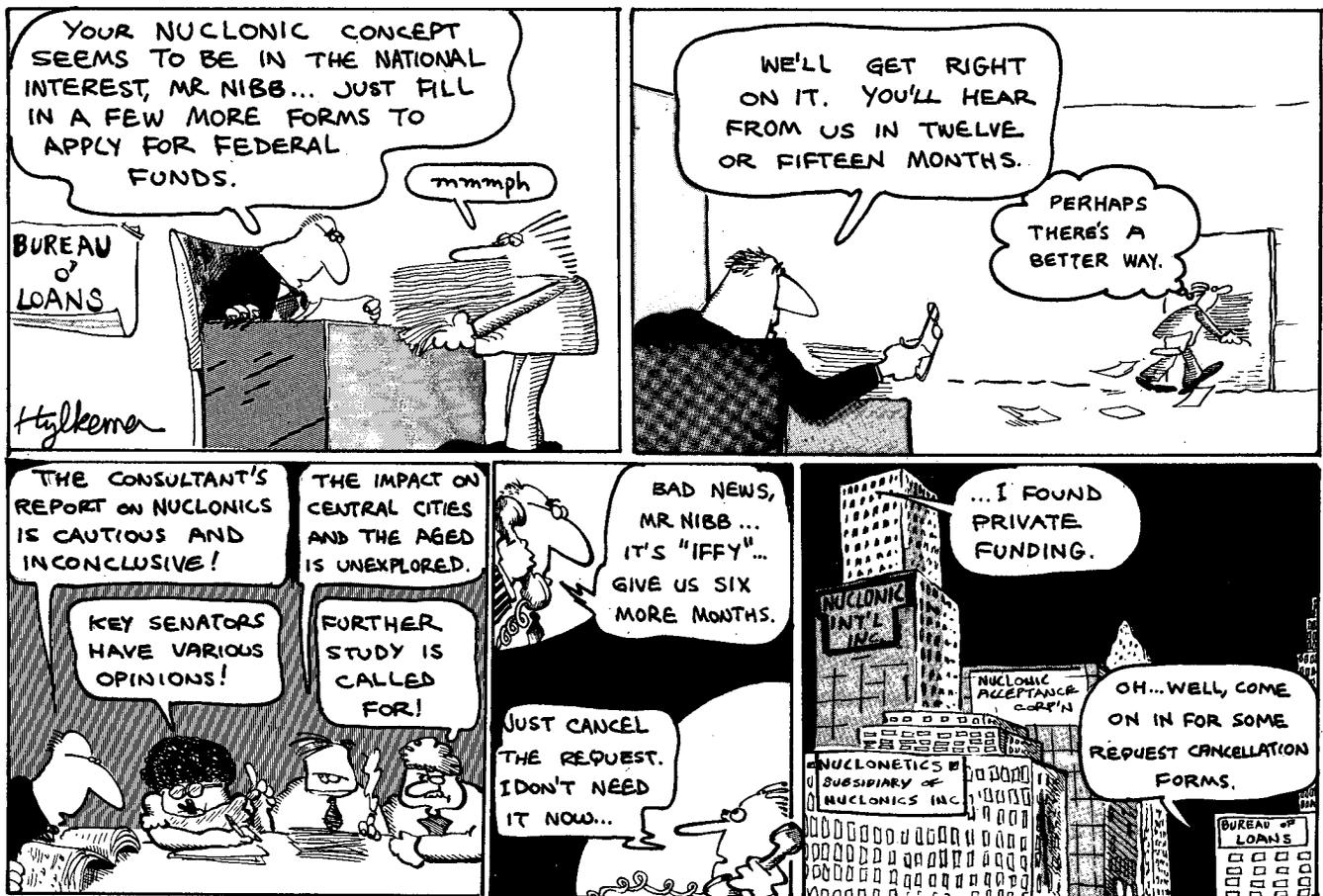
Summit Books, 1981.)

Ms. Brown's offer to recognize a baby's right not to be murdered "if upon separation the baby should survive *on its own*" is "generosity" of a particularly empty kind. What is the moral and practical difference between throwing a non-swimmer into the ocean and the additional act of holding his head under until he drowns? The right to life, for disabled rational beings (including babies and post-28-week fetuses), *is* the right to support from anyone who caused their predicament. In particular, a mother has no logical or moral right to regard the support of her baby (or third-trimester fetus) as "involuntary servitude" or "slavery." That support is a *just* claim.

Self-ownership, the "sole right to control what happens to your own body," is not an out-of-context absolute. If, in exercising your right to self-ownership you indebt yourself to another person, then reneging on that debt is a violation of that person's rights, because the goods are rightfully his. Being required by law to make good on that debt is *not* a violation of your self-ownership.

rudebarbs

Randall K. Hylkema



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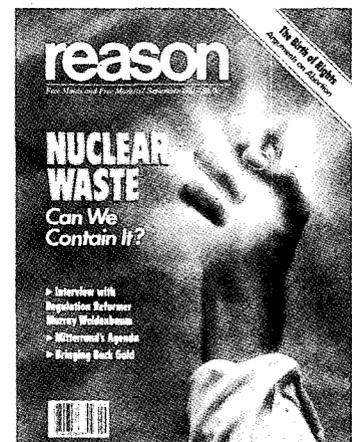
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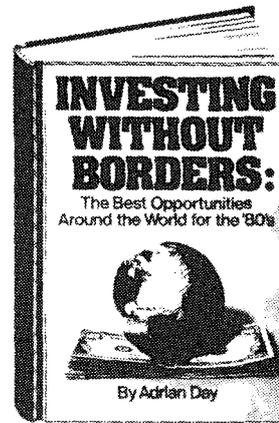
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