

The Primary Source

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TUFTS UNIVERSITY

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The IRA: Not an Irish Investment

Waldemar Opalka A'88

Recently in Northern Ireland, there has been a surge in the sectarian violence that grips this region. The Irish Republican Army, or IRA, seems to have reverted to its old ways of frequent and very deadly attacks, not seen since the mid-1970s.

The recent escalation of violence appears to be part of a campaign to instill strong emotions and regain some lost support among Ulster's Catholics. The two and one-half year old Anglo-Irish Agreement, strongly opposed by the IRA, as well as losses in last year's general election, have given more influence to moderate forces in the province, such as John Hume's Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP).

The horror of the IRA was demonstrated bloodily last November during Remembrance Day (Veteran's Day) services in Enniskillen, when scores of innocent victims were killed or wounded in an IRA bombing.

More recently, however, three known members of the IRA, part of an "active-service" unit, were shot in Gibraltar by Britain's elite SAS. The three individuals were shot while allegedly planning to plant a car bomb near a military garrison. Although the three were unarmed, their explosives and timer were found by Spanish authorities some thirty miles away. It is believed that they had intended to bomb a military parade, where hundreds of civilians would have been present.

The shootings drew praise from Conservatives in the British Parliament who viewed the action as a preventive measure which may have saved many other lives. The IRA vowed revenge.

Belfast, the Northern Irish capital, became a hot bed of violence for the next several weeks. Most of the incidents, however, were centered around the Falls Road and West Belfast, a predominantly Catholic area. The situation was exacerbated

when a lone Protestant lobbed grenades and fired upon mourners attending the funeral of one of the IRA members killed in Gibraltar. Three people were killed and more than fifty others were wounded.

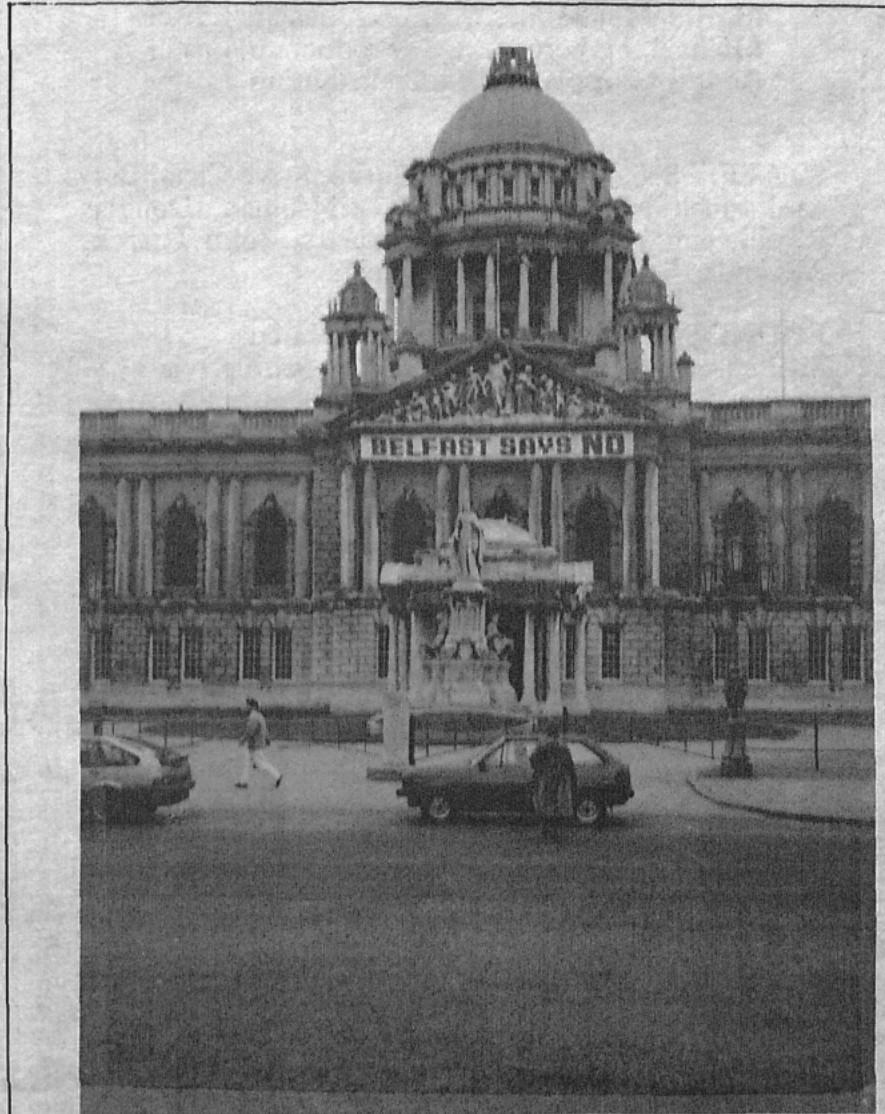
Three days later, a similarly gruesome incident occurred when two British soldiers were brutally beaten, tortured, and killed by a mob. The two soldiers had accidentally driven near a funeral for another IRA member, who had died in the previous incident. The soldiers' car was blocked, preventing them from leaving, while a mass of "mourners" cold bloodedly killed the two. Although the soldiers were armed, they refrained from using violence against the crowd.

The whole attack was also filmed by several television crews which showed the entire incident that night to millions of Britons and Irish. This incident seems to have exposed the true nature of the IRA and its disregard for life.

Although there is no clear solution to Ulster's problems, American influence has a major role in the region. For example, much of the IRA's financial and moral support comes from the US. If Americans were more aware of the IRA's connections, they would surely think twice before supporting them.

Americans must realize that the IRA is not a group of freedom fighters, but of terrorists. From their recent actions, they seem to have no concern for human life. They will and have killed Catholics as easily as they will kill British soldiers, members of the RUC, Ulster's police force, or Protestants. It is often the case that Catholics are found mutilated near Northern Ireland's border with the Irish Republic.

Further, many IRA members have declared their support for Marxism and Marxist "ideals." If they succeed in reuniting Ireland through violence, they will no doubt attack the present government in the Republic.



If Only American Cities Could "Just Say No"

The IRA does not recognize the legitimacy of the Irish constitution, nor is the IRA legally recognized by the Irish parliament as serving any legitimate function in Ireland. In fact, the IRA is outlawed in the Southern Republic.

These terrorists also have an ally in Libya's Khaddafi who is a major arms supplier for the IRA. When the Libyan ambassador was expelled from Great Britain, Khaddafi threatened to retaliate by giving more support to the IRA. Fortunately, several arms shipments from Libya destined for

this organization have been seized.

Americans should give their support, instead, to leaders like John Hume and his SDLP or (should I dare say) Lord Fitt, a supporter of the non-sectarian Worker's Party. Hume, for example, has won praise from British and Irish alike for his strategy of unification through cooperation and non-violence.

Further, there must be more done to break the barriers between the Protestant and Catholic communities. While in Northern Ireland, I realized

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ROTC AT TUFTS: THE REAL STORY

Jeremy Harrington A'90

This semester there has been considerable debate as to whether ROTC should be allowed back on campus. Many student leftist believe that since ROTC was banned from Tufts in 1969 for "moral" reasons, it should not be allowed back on campus.

"ROTC on campus" means units based at Tufts that consist of only Tufts students. As it is now, students from Tufts, Harvard, and Wellesley belong to ROTC units at MIT. At the present time, there are not sufficient numbers of Tufts cadets and midshipmen to warrant Army, Navy, and Air Force ROTC units on campus.

However, student leftist are not satisfied that there are no ROTC units on campus; they object to a military presence on campus—that is, students here who participate in the MIT programs. Evidences of the military "presence" here include glimpses of uniformed students going to and

returning from MIT, ROTC cadets and midshipmen carrying the flag up the Memorial steps on Veterans' Day, and, occasionally, a drill on campus.

I became aware of the feelings of the student leftists at the beginning of the year when I decided to enroll in Army ROTC. My experience in the program was a weekend long field training exercise at Fort Devens, Massachusetts. I spent this weekend running, doing push-ups, rappelling, marching, firing the M-16 rifle, and brushing up on my bed-making skills.

The Army commanding officers decided to fly us by helicopter from Fort Devens home to a school other than MIT. Harvard, out of principle, would not allow the helicopters to land on its campus. Tufts, being somewhat less reactionary, agreed to let the choppers land on Ellis Oval on September 27.

I remember jumping out of one of these helicopters and seeing a scraggly bunch of about thirty-five hippies

protesting my arrival with banners, chants, and "peace" signs made with two fingers held high in defiance. I wondered if they were the Volkswagen bus refugees one sees in Harvard Square taking drugs and playing Grateful Dead songs on the street. As I ran closer, I realized that while some these hippies were protest addicts that had come from afar to enjoy the felling of solidarity, most of them were my fellow Tufts students. This I found surprising—that the military, one of the functions of which is to preserve the freedoms so crucial to the university, is resented when it shows itself on campus.

Certainly some military policies have been worthy of protest, but to protest the existence of the military itself seems absurd.

Yet this is what the Tufts students were protesting at the helicopter landing: the presence of the military in any way, shape, or form on campus. Some members of the university-

funded group that sponsored the protest, the Tufts Political Action Coalition (TPAC), don't believe that Tufts students should even have the right to enroll in the MIT programs.

What is the reasoning being this fierce conviction? TPAC member Pam Greenberg wrote in a letter to the *Tufts Daily*: "I urge you to go to the archives room of the Library and find out why ROTC was banned from Tufts in 1969." If this ban should be upheld today and students should be prohibited from participating at MIT, the Naval ROTC unit at Tufts must have been up to some horrendous activities in 1969. I went to the archives room to find out.

A Naval ROTC unit had been established at Tufts in 1942. Naval Science was considered an academic subject and ROTC midshipmen received credit for these courses. The university/military relationship was successful was successful and har-

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THE PRIMARY SOURCE

The conservative journal of student opinion at Tufts University

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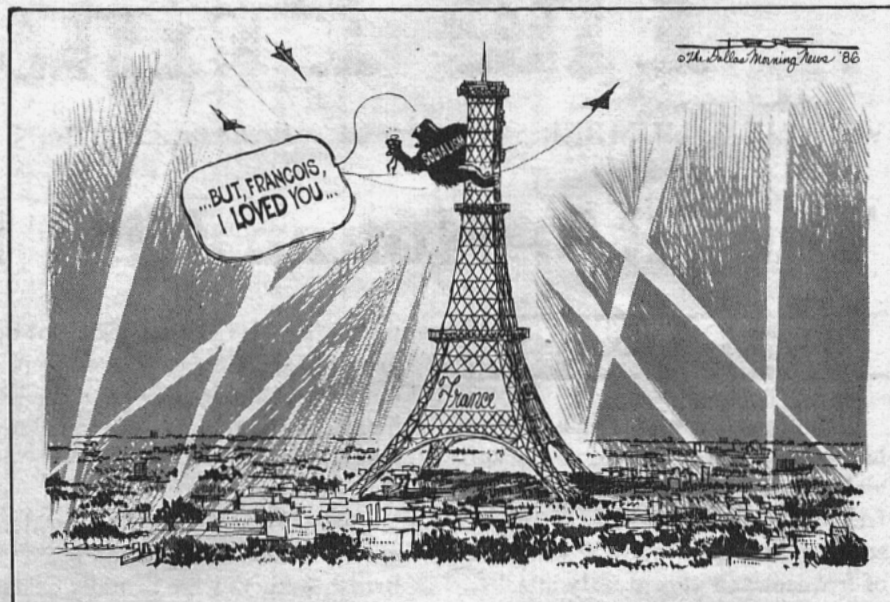
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ROTC at Tufts

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monious until the late 1960s when student and faculty leftists began questioning the "legitimacy" of a military presence on campus. These people that to be tolerant of a military presence at Tufts was to be complacent in the war that they considered immoral.

In a April 1969 referendum, 1050 students voted to retain ROTC, but to deny midshipmen credit for Naval Science classes and 325 students voted to eliminate it altogether; in all, 1375 students voted. This referendum was not binding, but a faculty vote on the issue was.

The Arts and Sciences faculty held several meetings to debate the issue after the student referendum. The April 1969 issue of *The Tufts Criterion* quotes Biology professor Saul A. Slapikoff as saying: "By having

ROTC on campus the university is in complicit agreement with the genocidal war in Vietnam and the imperialism abroad. It is antithetical to the humane ideal of the university."

Professor Slapikoff's view prevailed. The Arts and Sciences faculty voted 108 to 55 (with six abstaining) to recommend to the Board of Trustees that the NROTC be phased out by 1973 at the latest. With reluctance, the Board of Trustees declined to go against the will of the faculty.

The wrong-doing that Pam Greenberg implied doesn't amount to very much. It seems that NROTC was banned not because of specific immoral activities but because of the spirit of the time. Student and faculty leftists not only objected to the Vietnam war, but were also influenced by the anti-establishment, pacifistic, and pro-communist feelings

that permeated American campuses in the 1960's.

The Faculty probably did not ban NROTC from campus solely because of the war in Vietnam. They probably realized that the military is only an arm of the government and therefore Nixon administration policies were the core of what they objected to. Professor Slapikoff seems to believe that NROTC should have been banned for symbolic reasons.

NROTC represented everything that 1960s leftists hated: patriotism, political and social conservatism, and anti-communism in addition to the fact the NROTC represented the military, which was considered evil in and of itself. NROTC clearly did not "fit in" to the college campus of 1969.

That is, it posed a threat to the intellectual stranglehold on academia the Left established in the 1960s and has maintained to this day. Because it was not in sync with the values embraced by leftists at the time, NROTC had to go.

The faculty, pressured by student radicals (the office of an assistant dead who supported NROTC was firebombed), made an illegitimate decision based on their whims at the time. This decision does not reflect current values to the extent that it did in 1969 and, as such, should be reevaluated today. It is wrong for an institution such as ROTC that offers opportunities for knowledge and experience to be held subject to the prevailing winds of liberal sentiment.

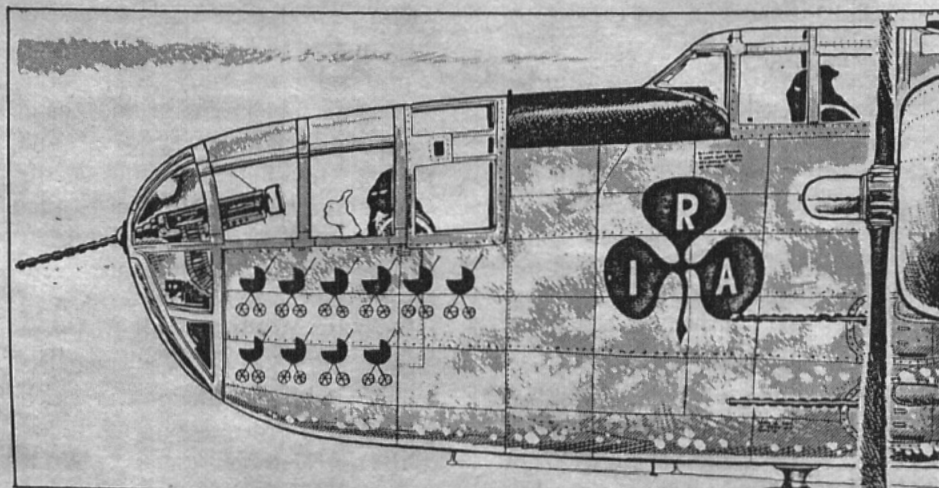
British Order in Northern Ireland

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that there are many basic misunderstandings and outright lies perpetuated by both communities. One way this could be corrected is through a greater emphasis on ecumenism. Cooperation between moderate Catholics and Protestants, such as the Anglicans or the Methodists, with emphasis on fostering youth friendship could help in ridding some prejudices within a generation.

I must comment about one more recent incident, involving Representative Joseph Kennedy, who recently toured Northern Ireland. Although his intentions may have been noble, he could not have gone to Ulster with the open-minded and "unbiased" attitude he claimed to have. Firstly, most of his contacts were reported by the press as being with Catholics who still remain the minority in Ulster.

Also, his interference with a British soldier's duty is another example of American ignorance about Northern Ireland. These soldiers are threatened daily, and must be constantly on



guard. Recent army deaths have no doubt created more uncertainty for the soldiers.

Rep. Kennedy's gripe with the British army stems from a soldier's unruly behavior towards his guide, who was a Catholic priest. Mr. Kennedy does not seem to believe that the IRA could and does use the Catholic Church as a front for some of their operations. Nor does Kennedy seem to understand the Protestant association of his name with the IRA cause in America, one of the false stereotypes one comes across in Northern Ireland.

The Northern Irish are a very friendly and giving people, Catholic and Protestant alike. They enjoy sharing their warmth with friends and travellers. It is a sad commentary on life that such truly good people cannot get along because of ignorance and intolerance.

Oh, what a wonderful place Ulster would be if Catholics and Protestants could live together in harmony. But then they would have no need for heaven.

Conservatism and Morality

Andrew Zappia A'91

There are many battlegrounds upon which conservatives and liberal wage their war of words. We argue about the Contras in Nicaragua. We fight over the economy and relations with the Soviet Union. Yet there is one field of battle, one entire range of issues, that liberals absolutely avoid, both in their own internal political disputes and when opposing conservatives. These are questions of morality.

I am not talking about liberal positions on Gary Hart's exploits with various women or even the question of Representative Gephardt's changing view on abortion, but about the old issues of morality play in liberal platforms. The fact is that liberals ignore these issues and whether that is honorable or not, it does make for good politics.

We all know the basic conservative beliefs on issues of morality. Generally conservatives favor prayer (or time to pray) in public schools. We believe that abortion is killing of innocent unborn children. When addressing poverty, we point to the decline of the American family as a major cause of economic crisis. Children without proper role models, teenage pregnancy, the absence of religion in public schools, and drugs all contribute to this economic crisis.

Conservatives want to see America return to those "traditional" values that made the American family the bulwark of progress. Conservatives talk about the family, while liberals speak of the statist welfare culture, as the cure for poverty.

Liberal positions on issues of morality are well known. They favor the right of a woman to murder her unborn child. They absolutely do not want God in the classroom. They even avoid reference to the traditional American family. How then do they ignore these issues? It's quite simple, they absolutely never talk about them.

Conservatives just cannot resist standing up in front of a crowd and extolling upon the virtues of traditional morality. It sure does sound good to other Conservatives, but it really puts fear in the hearts of moderates who wonder if we are going to impose our "morality" upon America. Concern over the separation of church and state and issues of person's control over his or her own life inevitably arise.

It is hard to make moral issues the foundation of one's campaign, and still hope for success. Yet these very same issues can destroy a campaign if a candidate does not live to traditional morality (yes, I am talking about Gary Hart).

So what's the advantage in espousing these beliefs? There may not be any, but that is not to say that abortion is not murder or that the family should not be protected. Conservatives are obligated (if not driven) to express their opinions about issues that are so important.

It is true that America is a strongly religious and family oriented society, but that does not offset concerns over state-sponsored morality. The best example of this is the candidacy of Pat Robertson. Rev. Robertson has said again and again that he will not impose his personal morals on America.

But voters cannot see how an individual can separate himself from something which is such an intricate part of his personality. Thus Rev. Robertson has become a divisive factor in the Republican Party.

Furthermore, Robertson would not even be in the race had Jack Kemp pledged his support behind the fundamentalist agenda. Such a pledge would have meant political suicide for Kemp, so Robertson is running and now it is the Republican Party as a whole which is being hurt. Not only do conservatives need to deal with Robertson, they are now associated with the entire fundamentalist movement, and are those type of people we want to be in cahoots with? At this point one can see the political liabilities of morality.

The liberals are indeed smart in avoiding issues of morality. There are few issues as emotional, as deep-rooted, as these topics. When politicians talk about values, they are sure to offend someone, especially in liberal circles where it is hard to find anything that does not offend some leftist organization.

In light of recent developments, the liberals seem to be awfully smart in their strategy. They avoid the issues that may divide their constituency, and play upon the fears of moderates who wonder what a man like Robertson would do once in office.

Look at Jesse Jackson. Here is a preacher, a man of God, who absolutely ignores abortion and prayer in school issues. It is not that he does not have a position, only that he never talks about it. As a result, few people have expressed the sort of fears associated with Robertson in regard to Reverend Jackson.

At this point one might conclude that morality issues are losers for conservatives. They very well might be, but the fact is that these issues are important. Conservatives have moral convictions and unlike liberals (who themselves have positions) they are willing to take the political damage in order to bring these issues to the surface.

There are those who are grateful to the conservatives for their courage in this regard, most notably Southern Democrats who are frustrated with the Democratic Establishment's neglect of moral issues. This is a major factor in the South's consistency in supporting Republican Presidential candidates. Whether this support significantly offsets the damage the conservative position on morality exacts is hard to determine.

There is great disagreement in America today over these issues. Yet only one political party is willing to enter the fray. I am not concerned with liberal positions on morality, but rather I am disturbed by their neglect. They don't they stand up and engage us on these issues? Maybe they are more worried about getting re-elected than getting the facts to their constituents. It is time for liberals to stop avoiding issues of morality. These are important questions to Americans and liberals should not avoid them just because it can be bad politics.

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Feminism: A Faulted Revolution

Norman Moon

The evolution of feminism, while beginning very long ago, has within the last fifteen of twenty years rapidly increased in influence and power. This recent change is due to many things and has been catalyzed by the ideologies of Friedan and Steinem and superabundance of writers who, like followers of Freud, have outdone their predecessor in intensity and dogma.

This change is further enhanced by feminists united in the sisterhood who write articles and thus relay the most recent thinking to each other through all the media to a ready-for-action female audience. Carried by this feminist media, favorable court decisions and the ideology of the human rights movement, feminism has moved through the burning bra and brash attacks on male institutions phases toward a more current and self-confident return to reassertion of female characteristics. There has been a less defensive and threatened attitude toward men because of successful intimidations of men while still (somehow) trying to have it all.

Currently, after the recognition by many women of the unreliability of the feminist ideology, a shift is occurring toward simple and indiscriminate raw women-power without regard to the implications of this attitude toward children, the family or women themselves. As a consequence of this enormous ego trip, a great deal of general disturbance has occurred nationally.

Unfortunately, according to the general success of this movement it has not received popular criticism. Perhaps this is in part due to a national human rights hysteria leading to the assumption that to criticize feminism is equivalent to criticizing minorities, demonstrating prejudice.

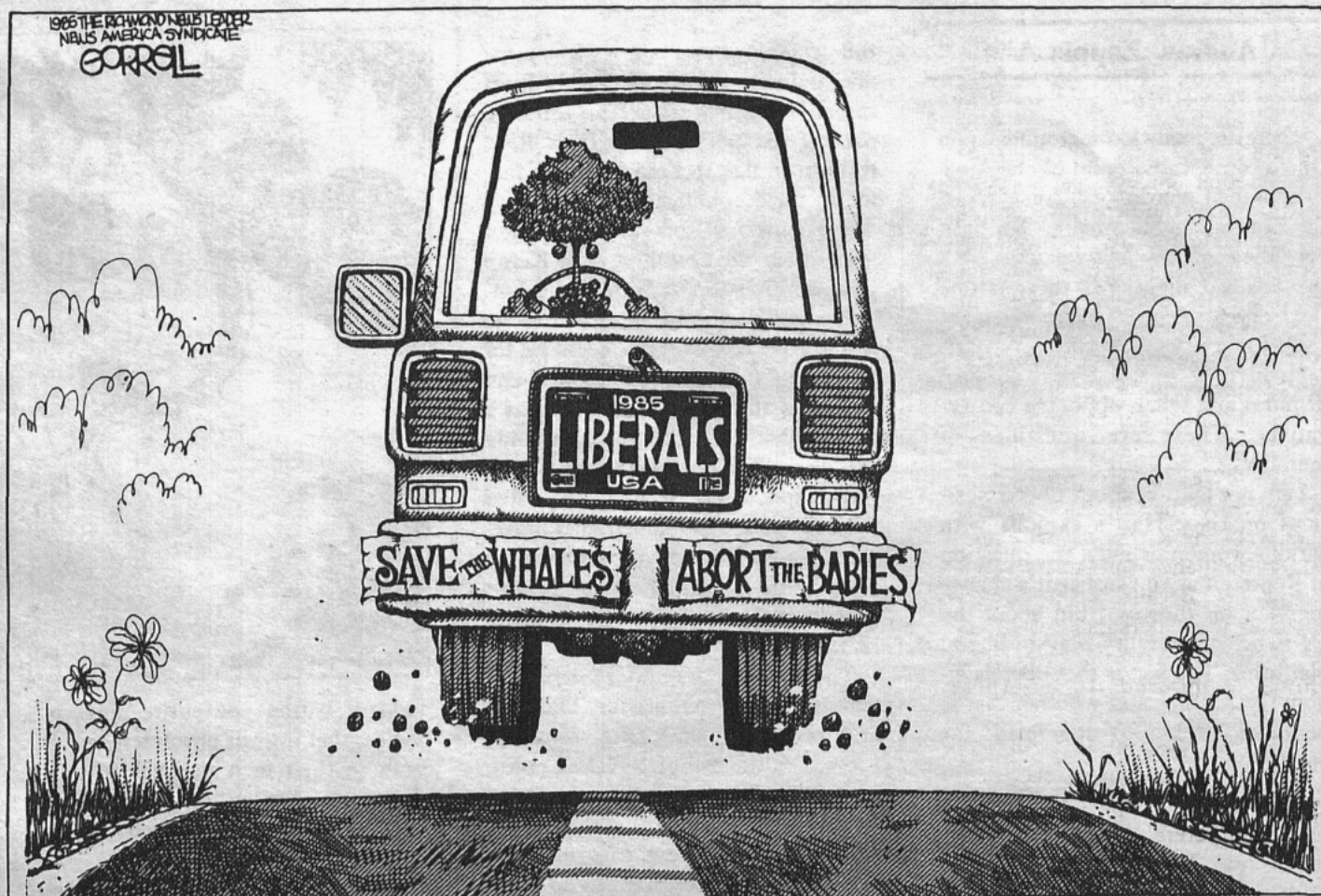
Perhaps men are afraid and confused, assuming a traditionally protective attitude toward women who (paradoxically) are anti-male or anti-masculinity.

Perhaps many men have inadvertently responded to women at the achievement level as identical to men and thus, unknowingly, ignored the self-sacrificing implications of maternity on the lives and careers of healthy women.

Confused by current fashions about social justice, many men seem to have learned not to trust their own feelings about what it is to be a man. While women have developed an intricate and enormously overblown ideology of their own worth, many men seem overly influenced by the popular promotion of women and are unable to defend, feel pride in, argue and fight (women!) in terms of their own masculine heritage and sex-role identity.

It is presumed that, while militant feminists constitute a relatively small percentage of the populations, feminist ideology is very influential and pervasive. And, whatever the present state of this movement or its ideals, we are also living with the results of its past influences and excesses, errors incorporated into the popular thinking of many if not almost all women and men today.

Only a few of these consequences can be named in a limited space. However, research, census data, and "clinical" observations of the



American scene over the last twenty years would strongly support the following propositions: 1. Children are the premier recipient of feminism's major uncertainty about the primary or secondary role of motherhood.

2. Increasing numbers of unmarried, childless women in their 30's and 40's (and other evidence) are indicating that many women in proving their independence are in fact actually achieving this independence and are distancing themselves from a complete, supportive long-term relationship with a man.

3. The movement reinforced by selfishness of the '60s has developed different values that change sexual morality, the idea of nationalism, and many women's perceptions about the worth of her unborn fetus, children and her husband, depreciating them in the process of enhancing herself.

4. There are far too many options available to women without appropriate constraints.

5. Condemnation of the role of the traditional American sexes indiscriminately cuts off by implication some, perhaps much, of our link with our own history.

6. To many men the feminist movement serves as an opportunity to avoid identification with the idealized males of the past, to criticize or ignore these men, their leadership imperatives and deep sense of social and moral responsibilities.

7. An illusion has been perpetuated whereby the only relationship between women and men is that of innocent victim and aggressor.

8. Every decision, every national, local or legal decision that enforces "sexual equality" rather than sexual differences by inference and example destructively influences the family make-up.

9. A major component of the feminist philosophy is an assault on a betrayal of traditional American men, by implication degrading us, distancing us from our kinship with The American Men of the past and attempting to replace this with a model that suits only women's needs.

10. "Women of the '80s" may be unreliable as mothers and wives

because of their readiness to dissolve the relationship as an assertion of independence.

11. Many women are unable to recognize normal male qualities and sabotage their own futures by becoming hypercritical of men.

12. Many "average" women would generally be happier with a more simple and controllable life suited to an expansion of roles within the "traditional" concept.

13. The feminist is left with the results of her imposed social change, weak men who have gladly handed power and responsibilities back to "Mother" or Welfare and who have leaped upon the opportunity for irresponsible freedom.

14. Men and women are being taught not to respect or support each other for their gender identities, further diminishing the depth and length of the relationship.

15. The courts have combined the concept "sexual-equality" (actually a contradiction in terms) and ignored the fact that institutions such as the family (sex roles and child rearing) are biologically infused, require role defined self-sacrifice, and are not completely subject to legal concepts of fairness, etc.

In 1976, Betty Friedan in *It Changed My Life* said, "Women's life now for us all means moving on unmapped roads, with signposts non-existent or not too clear, mapping it as you go along — and maybe not seeing clearly where it is leading until you are almost there, until you look back and see how far you have gone."

At that time twelve years ago she described an ongoing social experiment dependent moment-to-moment upon its successes building upon these successes. It is emerging from these experimental phases and thanks to such researchers as Blotnik, Lewett, Levine, Vitz, Christensen, Belsky, and many others including feminists, there is clear evidence that women in our society are being "abused" by a cause designed to help them. At the very least many soldiers have fallen following blind-alley rationales, having been sold a false bill of goods.

Nevertheless, at the surface of popular exposition and in the courts

where it is expressed as a human right statement it has generally been left in a favorable position, building upon each new change with its ideological base untouched, not held accountable for its growing destructive errors.

After the excesses of the '60s and '70s, we have many prime examples of the results of single-minded beliefs that have gone too far even though their core concepts have had legitimacy. In the recent past one can say that an incorrect exaggerated attempt has been made to eliminate all sexual differences in order to correct extremes in male-female roles.

Now, in order to promote women in a political contest with men for supremacy, the movement is evolving toward emphasizing all of "equality" plus all the extra privileges afforded motherhood. Many women can simply not resist a sense of righteousness and an opportunity for personal aggrandizement and influence over men; consequently the whole movement is now being driven by individual and class ambition.

In Europe, with the exception of some Scandinavian countries, traditional roles have been retained with much less polarization. In contrast, in an advocacy-oriented America, the women's movement has uniquely overreacted, acquired a life its own centered around political and individual female power and status, aggrandizement and promotion of women over men, over children, over family and over all. Unbelievably, this has become a generally accepted national scenario.

Throughout history we have repeatedly seen examples of political, cult, religious, terrorist and other groups making their own values, collecting injustices with an exaggerated feeling of being wronged, with a deep sense of self-righteousness, perceiving themselves as victims who are attacked and persecuted, excited by and justifying revolutionary ideas.

A few of these movements have succeeded, almost all have failed and some have melded into the larger cultural milieu adding to social justice but tempered by organized resistance. Social if not intrapersonal malad-

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Political Pundits and the 1988 Election

Micheal Flaherty A'90

Here it is.

Yet another college paper pontificating about the pros and cons of each candidate for the forthcoming election.

Such articles are an exercise in futility. After all, what is the purpose? Do we, as college students, truly think that we have any deep insight or political acumen concerning these individuals?

Hardly. We merely regurgitate what we read in the newspapers. Also, do we truly think that we will considerably influence someone's vote? Certainly not. Because people are so myopic in their personal selection, rarely do they even consider his shortcomings compared to another candidate.

Such a biased attitude is not as discouraging as the simple fact that the majority of people are unfortunately indifferent to the democratic gift of voting. Less than ten percent turned out to vote in Rhode Island. It is this indifference that compelled me to write what I normally consider a "token" and useless article.

Voting apathy is potentially dangerous. For example, consider the recent victory of Josh Rabinowitz, who was recently elected student government co-president at U-Mass Amherst. Rabinowitz is a member of the Young Communist League and an advocate of the worldwide communist revolution.

According to Rabinowitz, his victory "signals a decline on the campuses of anti-communism and McCarthyism. It's gotten to the point that students are looking to communists as viable student leaders. I think it goes along with the decline of Reaganism, and the fact that a lot more people are looking at the communist movement in a more positive light."

Rabinowitz's sorely mistaken sentiments reflect a considerable distance between rhetoric and reality. It is ironic that a communist who is also an aspiring journalist has already perfected the classic liberal media bias—distortion through omission. Rabinowitz neglects to acknowledge the fact that only 3000 of 19,000 students voted. These statistics indicate that Rabinowitz's triumph was not a triumph of ideology, but rather one of indifference.

Rabinowitz's victory sets an alarming precedent: the victory of an anti-democratic candidate as a result of neglecting the vital instrument of democracy, voting. Edmund Burke once said, "All it takes for the forces of evil to take over is for a few good

men to do nothing."

The Rabinowitz victory proves that a person unreflective of the interests of the majority may still be elected as a result of that very majority's apathy. Since college is considered a microcosm of society, such a victory is just as possible in the American elections.

Switching to the national level, the race has been narrowed down to three serious contenders: George Bush, Michael Dukakis, and Jesse Jackson.

Taking Jackson's history into account, it is surprising that he continues to receive such broad support. It is also scary.

Consider Jackson's previous affiliations: Fidel Castro, Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat, and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. Jackson's caustic criticisms of Israel, as well as other anti-Semitic remarks, have angered not only Jews but many Americans.

Nevertheless, Jackson remains neck and neck with Michael Dukakis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of Massachusetts. Both are completely inexperienced in national government. According to Senator Albert Gore, a slightly more palatable Democratic candidate, "Mike Dukakis and Jesse Jackson haven't spent so much as one day in national government. They haven't faced up to a single one of the tough choices needed to keep our defenses strong and our diplomacy steady."

Electable Presidential Candidates Still in the Race

Concerning specifically Dukakis, Gore has also said, "Quite frankly, I question whether Mike Dukakis can translate his good intentions in sound policy. His view of the world reflects what I think is a naive legalism, an exaggerated faith in the United Nations, and a seeming reluctance to ever have the United States act on its own when necessary."

Gore crystalizes my feelings rather well. For example, consider Dukakis' foreign policy concerning the struggle for democracy in Nicaragua. Like a good *little* liberal, Dukakis is vehemently opposed to the Contras. Such opposition is tacit consent for the potentially aggressive and hostile Sandinista regime. If Dukakis is ever elected, his Sandinista sympathies probably won't be limited to the confines of Nicaragua. By the time Dukakis is out office, he will have agreed to leave the question of sovereignty over Texas an open issue at the negotiating table with Ortega.

The Duke also wishes to establish socialized medicine. I wonder if the Tufts pre-med students who proudly support the Duke are cognizant of this and the ramifications it will have not only on their future practice, but also on their future pocketbook.

In the year that they supposedly had a lock on the election, the Democrats have surely assembled a sad lot. Eighty-eight no longer appears to be the "year of the Democrat." Gary Hart set the pace of impending doom. What killed Hart was not his affair

with Donna Rice, but rather the feeble attempt he made at defending himself when the overzealous press began to accost him. Instead of going on the offensive, Hart crumbled. If he had responded with any sort of spine, he may have cushioned the fat blow that the press dealt his campaign.

Robert Dole never would have reacted so feebly.

Such an opportunity never arose, however, for the Kansas Senator. He is the latest casualty of Republican presidential hopefuls. By process of elimination, George Bush is the sole remaining Republican candidate. Although Pat Robertson is technically still in the race, he has done everything but endorse Bush.

Bush is surely not infallible. Nevertheless, he appears to be the most qualified candidate, having served as Vice President for the last eight years. In addition to this office, Bush has many other accomplishments on his formidable record: decorated pilot in World War II, director of the CIA, Congressman, Ambassador to China, and Chairman of the Republican Party.

Although he is not perfect, Bush is naturally a pleasant alternative to Jackson and Dukakis, and thereby most worthy of a vote. After all, vary rarely does someone vote *for* someone as much as they vote *against* someone else.

Feminism and the Women's Movement

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justments often can be demonstrated in the cadre.

In order to better understand the total implications of feminism and the women's movement, they should be **more** popularly and publicly open to **criticism**. Women and men, but **especially** women, who have made it a religion, who have allowed themselves to become, to some degree, major and minor revolu-

tionaries should be privately and publicly challenged and rejected.

In addition, there is a need for the development of an awareness of and treatment for Feminist Psychopathology. This emotional disturbance is often shown in a self-defeating disturbance in relationships with men, paralyzing ambivalence around motherhood and children, denial of dependency needs, over-

-involvement in increased sexualization of issues and paranoia potentiated by anger (vengeance) generated by a one-sided ideology. Part of this syndrome is often the assumption of the **character** role of The Castrating Woman.

Most women and men, less deeply involved but nevertheless strongly influenced, having naively accepted superficially attractive arguments will

need to be firmly re-educated to the consequences and implications of the excesses in the women's movement. And men should understand that they are deeply involved in a sex war, a contest whose rules do not permit a positive and unique American Male identity.

THE MISTAKE OF DETENTE II

Douglas Rivelli A'91

In the shadow of the recent signing of the INF treaty lurks a monster more sinister than anything Hollywood ever imagined. It is a monster that serves to undercut the security of America and leave our nation vulnerable to enemy subversion. The monster is Detente.

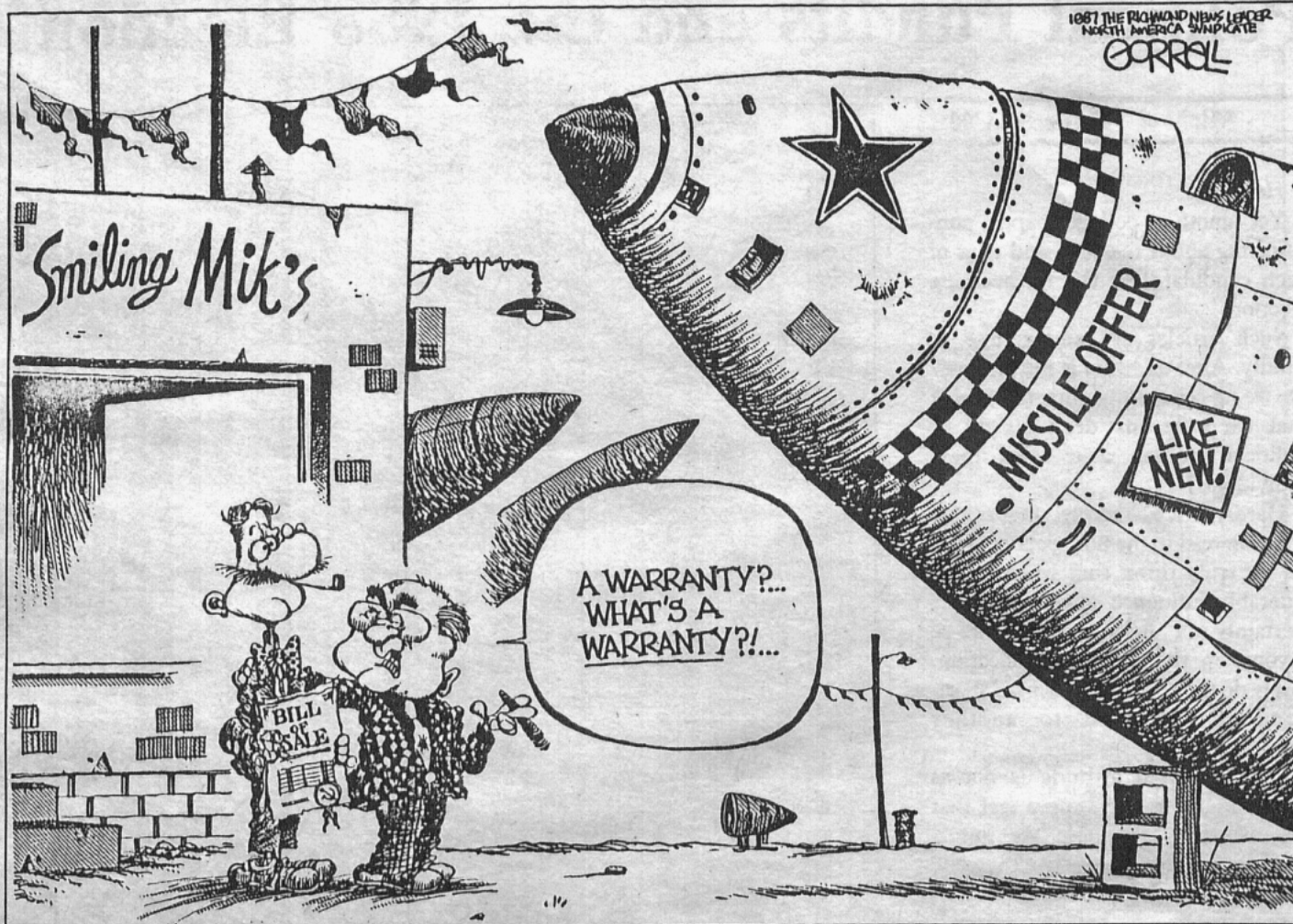
Lately, the word detente has become a catch-phrase of American liberals. Not since the Nixon-Kissinger days, when the Cold War took a summer recess, has the possibility of American-Soviet friendship saturated the minds of the Left. This is evidenced in statements made by prominent liberals (i.e. Bruce Babbitt) that contend that communism and Soviet expansion are no longer a threat to America and friendship between the nations is around the corner.

Unfortunately, such ideas are unsupportable and only serve to weaken—not enhance—American security.

Perhaps the most detrimental aspect of detente is that its definition and connotations are misunderstood. Many mistake the characteristics of detente with entente. In reality, detente is a relaxation of strained relations between nations. It in no way implies, like the word entente, that two nations are becoming friends or have adopted "forgive and forget" policy.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have not and will not become friendly. The Soviets are still volatile and untrustworthy, and signs of change of are not in sight. Tensions in the Persian Gulf, Central America, Afghanistan, and Africa are prime examples of deadly Soviet aggression.

Yet, avid peace worshippers continue to equate detente, and a sense of trust, with the Soviet-American relationship. Such an attitude gives one the dangerous illusion of increased security. If reality, the security of America, in light of modern Soviet



imperialism, has reached critically low proportions.

Never before in history has the Soviet Union gained strongholds so close to the continental United States and launched such a powerful campaign for communism throughout the world. The invasion of Afghanistan and the support for Iran (even during the hostage crisis) are prime examples of the dangerous expansionism of the Soviet Union. Even more threatening are Gorbachev's moves in Central America. Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras live under the threat of Soviet imperialism; a strain that is also strongly felt in America.

The Kremlin fails to understand that these Central American nations are part of America's sphere of influence. While we do not actually control the countries, under provisions of

the Monroe Doctrine we have the right to keep the Soviets or any other foreign aggressor out. An appropriate parallel can be observed in Soviet insistence that the United States remain clear of Eastern Europe, a demand America agreed to when it signed the Helsinki Accords in 1975.

However, the Soviets do not respect America's control in Central America. Instead, they only concern themselves with their own desires.

To most realistic Americans, these Soviet actions are hostile in nature. Those who believe entente is in our midst fail to understand this. They claim that Americans are blinded by their paranoia about the Soviet Union. If this argument is valid, how do they rationalize the Soviet destruction of KAL flight 007 in 1983? As a mistake, a fluke? The Soviet Union is, by

nature, a danger to America's sovereignty and freedom. Believing otherwise compounds, not alleviates, that threat.

By taking historical look at U.S./Soviet relations, the dangers of detente (or perceived detente) vividly stand out. In the years between 1955 and 1960, Americans had come to believe that the Soviet Union was not a hostile power and posed no direct threat to the United States. As a result, the U.S. let its guard down and lost "the edge" over the Soviets. Citizens felt that since the Soviets were becoming friendly, the United States no longer needed to exercise the "iron-fisted" foreign policy that had arisen from the hostilities of the late forties and early fifties.

America's trust, however, was continued on page 7

Defeat in Afghanistan

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bleeding wound continue to bleed for a few more years. Up the stakes and make certain that they not only don't save face but are royally humiliated.

Some might argue that this would impair diplomacy on other front, that its might endanger the START negotiations and the INF agreement. This betrays a profound misunderstanding of the operations of Soviet foreign policy. After all, some of our most important arms control agreements were concluded while we were at proxy war with the Soviets, including the INF agreement, which was negotiated while we were supplying the *Mujahedin* with enough weapons to bring down an aircraft a day.

Certain events inside Afghanistan indicate a pullout is coming no matter what happens. The *Mujahedin* have near total control of the Salang Highway, the only land link from Kabul to the Soviet Union. The Soviet military will fight its way out, but all other evacuation will have to take place through airlift.

Passes have been issued to Soviet civilians, Party workers and some of their favorites among the Afghan

population, which will allow them access to airports once the airlift begins. Those without passes will not be able to get out, and this is serious business, because no matter what sort of squabbles are going on between the various resistance groups, the first act will be one of revenge, and anyone associated with the "atheistic regime" is likely to find himself holding his head.

A statement from the Afghan government news agency Bakhtar seems to confirm this fate, stating that the communists "prefer to stay in the homeland rather than flee. They prefer an honorable death to lowness and abjectness in life."

Another sign of imminent pullout is that Soviet civilians, mindful of transport weight limits, have begun to sell off their possessions at Kabul's Karteh-e Market, and Soviet apartment complexes are being slowly deserted.

The Soviets are finished in Afghanistan, but we can't let them pretend to have achieved anything of value. They have been on a nine-year rampage of death and destruction, have killed a million, displaced millions more. They have created suffering and misery for the people of

Afghanistan, and have accomplished nothing at all.

The coming defeat is unprecedented. For the first time in history, a Soviet armed force is being compelled to withdraw from a country it occupied.

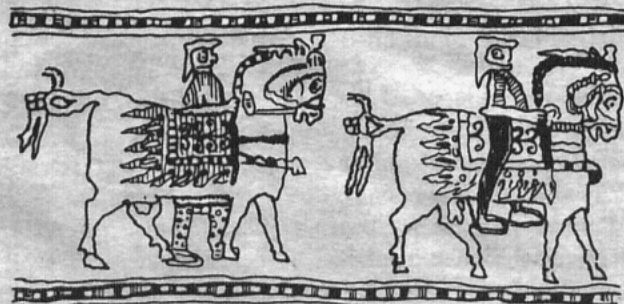
Unfortunately, we may not be equipped to see the closing chaos and the humiliation of the departing Soviets. This should not be underestimated; recall the shock waves around the world at the sight of the US evacuation of Saigon. The same will take place in Kabul, and may even be worse. Transport planes will probably be shot down or mortared on airbase tarmacs. Crowds will mob Afghan communist party

members and their sympathizers and tear them apart.

A bloodbath is coming which will make all before pale—but in the West we will see children throwing flowers, not frightened communists clinging desperately to helicopter skids.

For all the Stingers we have sent the *Mujahedin*, nothing could be more valuable to us at this time than a portable video camera, to capture the final ignominy of the Soviet withdrawal, the humbling of the Evil Empire, and the first step in its eventual rollback, not by US troops, but by the very people the communist have sought to enslave. This is self-determination in action.

Mr. Robbins is a student at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy



DEFEAT IN AFGHANISTAN

James Robbins

It seems that 1988 may be the last year of the Afghan War, or at least the last year of overt Soviet involvement in it. Over a period of nine years and at a cost of 20,000 lives, many more wounded and millions of rubles, the most powerful armed force in the world has failed to subdue an enemy which was until recently armed only with obsolete weapons and unshakable faith in their cause.

The main thrust of the Soviet counterinsurgency campaign was a political offensive to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people through land redistribution, political indoctrination, and economic control. This was coupled with a policy of social repression, carried out by the Soviets and their Afghan communist allies, with tactics ranging from random beatings and arrests to carpet bombing villages and wiping out rural food supplies. Over a million Afghans have died in this conflict, and over a third of the inhabitants have fled the country, leading one Afghan communist to observe that at least it would be easier to maintain power.

Yet it hasn't been easy, nor even possible, for the fractured Afghan communist government to gain control of its country, even backed up by Soviet power. The Soviets have tired of trying to erect a stable socialist Afghanistan. The war has been a drain on the less than healthy Soviet economy, and has caused popular antagonisms on the home front.

Furthermore, it has emasculated the Soviet armed forces, making them appear weak and ineffectual, a significant problem for a state which bases much of its prestige on military might.

For the US, the war in Afghanistan has been an opportunity. It has given us a change to pay back much of the humiliation we suffered in the Vietnam era, when Soviet backed North Vietnamese regulars and he client Viet Cong waged a guerilla war on US troops, eventually driving them from the country.



The comparison is apt; in 1980, when it became clear that the Soviets would be staying long in Afghanistan, the question arose: is this *their* Vietnam? Now we have the answer: yes.

The Soviets have won many victories on Afghan battlefields, as the US did in Southeast Asia. But the Soviets have been unable to turn their military power into political force, much as we were unable to do in Vietnam. They, as we, ran into international political pressures, and were regularly taken to task by non-client Third World politicians. Furthermore, they have discovered the problems of inexpensive defensive technology (e.g. hand-held surface-to-air missiles) which can render military counterinsurgency measures harmless.

There has been much discussion in

the press recently about a Soviet "pullout" as a "face-saving measure." The phrasing seems to ignore the reality of the situation. The Soviets are not pulling out, they are being driven out, as surely as we were ejected from Vietnam. One may claim that the *Mujahedin* have not defeated the Soviet armed forces; but what does this matter? The political aspect of war is always the decisive arena in which victory and defeat are determined. If the Soviets leave without having obtained their objective, they have lost by definition.

The problem is that there seems to be a sentiment in this country to acquiesce, to allow the Soviet interpretation of the events to dominate. Gorbachev is ready to "declare victory and go home," and the Soviet propaganda apparatus is no doubt prepar-

ing to film the triumphant withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Internationalist Troops, replete with flower-throwing children and waving young women.

One is reminded of the films of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. Yet, this tactic will only work if we allow it to work, and this is something we must not do. It is evident that the Soviet defeat is political in nature, but the image of a comfortable retreat will do little to bolster the impression that it is in fact a *defeat*, with all that implies.

Why let the Soviets save face? Did they let us save face when we pulled out of Vietnam? Not hardly. Do we fear that if we are recalcitrant the Soviets will stay in Afghanistan? Well, why not let them stay? Let the

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The Mistake of Detente II

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violently broken in 1962 when the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, attempted to deploy secretly offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba, only 90 miles off the coast of the continental United States. This action was one of total hostility and may never have been attempted had the United States not relaxed its attitude towards the Soviets.

President John F. Kennedy immediately reacted to the Soviet move by blockading Cuba. After the Soviets capitulated and withdrew the missiles, relations between the superpowers severely degenerated, leading to Khrushchev's vision of America's burial. The belief that detente existed between the superpowers and that a passive view of the Soviets was warranted proved detrimental to the security of America.

The second period of detente (1969-1979), born during the Nixon administration, also ended in near disaster. Nixon and Kissinger both tried hard to ease tensions between the

two superpowers and, at first, succeeded. Unfortunately, many Americans mistook this new relationship for friendship, and similar to the Kennedy era, demanded that the United States abandon its hard-line policies toward Moscow, leaving our interests around the world vulnerable to Soviet aggression.

By 1979, the Soviets had blatantly invaded Afghanistan as a first step in a move to acquire a warm-water port on the Persian Gulf. The Soviets had also, through proxies, taken over a number of Third World states, including Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam, et al.

The escalation of Soviet hostilities toward the West has increased drastically since the occupation of Afghanistan. Soviet presence in Central America and the unprecedented downing of the Korean airliner support this contention. Unwarranted, terrorist actions by the Soviets are now commonplace and America's weak-spirited attitude of the 1970s is at fault.

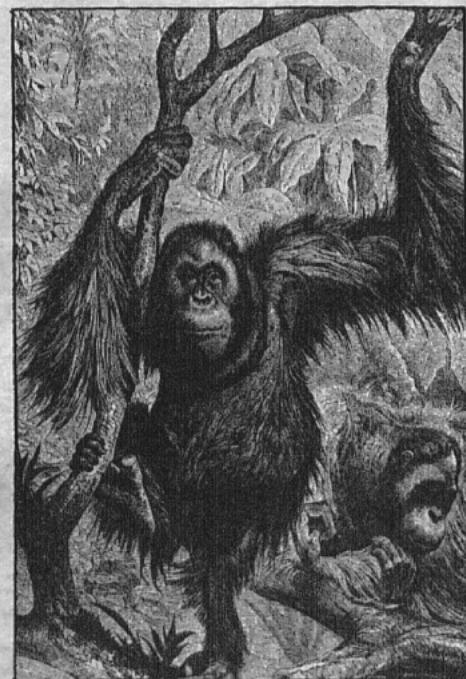
It is both ignorant and dangerous to

believe that the Soviets are our friends, can be trusted, or pose no threat to America. Much evidence points to Moscow's desire for world hegemony. The most obvious being their imperial expansion around the world since 1945, including areas in Africa far-flung from the Soviet empire and where the Soviet Union could have no conceivable geopolitical interest.

Achieving a non-violent relationship with the Kremlin is important, but it must be a relationship that is based on the understanding that friendship and trust are unattainable goals in the near future. If this can be accomplished, the security of the United States will be strengthened.

Mikhail Gorbachev, although seemingly friendly, is a trickster; he is trying to make us feel comfortable with the Soviet Union so we become weak-spirited against his real agenda which is continuing Soviet expansion. His policies of glasnost and perestroika are tools to fool the United States into thinking the Soviets are changing their hostile ways.

In the words of V.I. Lenin, after assuming power in 1917, "First Eastern Europe will fall, then we will take the Far East. Then we will surround the U.S., which, like an over-ripe fruit, will fall into our hands."



A SURVEY OF BAVARIA

Alexander Werner

"Live and let live"—I hope you will agree that this motto is truly Bavarian if you come over to this most rural, south-eastern quarter of West Germany. Munich with its 1.3 million inhabitants in Upper Bavaria is often called "Germany's secret capital," partly because of the big economic importance of this high-tech city. It is the center of production for Siemens, BMW, Krauss-Maffei which produces the Leopard tanks, Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm air and space industry among others. Munich is Bavaria's capital and as such is the political base of the arch-conservative and influential Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, not to mention the city's beauty.

Yet if you want to see real Bavarian places and people, better to not go to tourist trapping "Hofbrauhaus," but to the numerous churches, the beer gardens, the big pedestrian zone with the Marienplatz as its center and the Odeonplatz where Bavarian police crushed Hitler's Munich putsch ten years before he seized power. There is also the Nymphenburg palace, the Deutsches Museum (an excellent science museum), the Alte Pinakothek with famous European paintings, the BMW museum, a zoo, an American consulate, and many MacDonalds.

In Northern Bavaria, Franconia is also worth a visit as is Nuremberg which is an hour and twenty minutes from Munich by fast train. The latter is a fantastic medieval city center with cathedrals and a castle. Further north is Bamberg, a lovely city with a very

famous medieval cathedral. You should eat as many of the Franconian sausages as possible when being there.

If you like the sight of medieval towns, turn to the "Romantic Road" in the west of Bavaria with Rothenburg, Dinkelsbühl and Nordlingen. In Augsburg, a Roman foundation thirty minutes west of Munich, you should not miss the Fruggerei, the oldest social housing program in Germany, started in 1519.

In summer, the many lakes of Upper Bavaria are ideal for swimming.

My home town Weilheim, south of Munich, has a nice pedestrian zone and is the center of the Pfaffenwinkel (monk's corner) with rests of monasteries founded in the eighth century.

At Polling village, two miles south of Weilheim, you might have a chance of meeting me on a hot summer evening in the beer garden. Look for a slim man with short brown hair and glasses!

Garmisch and Fussen with the tourist attraction, Neuschwanstein castle, built in the 19th century by King Ludwig of Bavaria, are ideal starting points for mountaineering.

Bavarian food is hearty, not too delicate: try a Schweinebraten (roast pork), a warm Leberkas (liverloaf but without any liver or cheese), and some Weisswurst (white sausages) with a Breze (pretzel) and some beer—Helles (normal light beer), Dunkles (dark beer), Weizen (wheat beer), Bock (heavy), Doppelbock (very heavy), and various other types of beer, produced by many different breweries.

Because of the 500-year old Bavarian purity law on beer which permits only four ingredients—vix hop, malt, water, and barley (or



wheat), we honestly believe we have the best and healthiest beer in the world. Enjoy some of it on the Holy Mountain of Andechs, southwest of Munich, where Benedictine monks have been brewing for centuries a very renown and heavy beer.

There is also a wonderful rococo-church. South Bavaria is a rather Catholic region, with lots of nice churches and cloisters (partly dissolved).

So if you are not a teetotaller and if you do not see red whenever you catch sight of a church or chapel then you should really think of having a marvellous holiday time in Bavaria.

Mr. Werner, a friend of The Primary Source, attends college in West Germany.

I WAS JUST THINKING...

Steve Cicia A'88

Jesse Jackson recently said "Any nation that spends 55 cents out of every federal income-tax dollar for the military and only 2 cents for education has to reorder its priorities." The truth is, Mr. Jackson, that education spending is done mostly on the state and local, not federal, level. In addition, the federal government spends only 30 cents of every federal dollar on the military not 55. Let's see how far we can bend the truth, shall we?

Speaking of Jesse Jackson, he opposed the 1983 invasion that overthrew the Marxist-Leninist government of Grenada. He opposes aid to rebels fighting against the self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist government of Nicaragua. He opposes aid to the government of El Salvador, which is fighting self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist rebels. Comrade General Secretary Jesse Jackson. It has a nice ring to it. . .

Pam Greenberg should spend some time in a Cuban political prison.

Where's that recession that the anti-Reaganites predicted after the October '87 stock market crash?

A Ms. Rosa Carlota Tummerman, Cultural Ambassador of the Nicaraguan Embassy, claimed that things have improved in Nicaragua under the Sandinistas. Hmmm. Employed by the Sandinista government. Do you think there's a chance her information may have been a little...mmm...biased?

For the past seven years, liberals have been claiming that Reaganites are racists, yet they kept pretty silent when Jesse Jackson called New York "Hymietown."

Only in America can you find the moral integrity of Robert Bork being questioned by the likes of plagiarist Joe Biden and Ted Kennedy of Chappaquiddick fame.

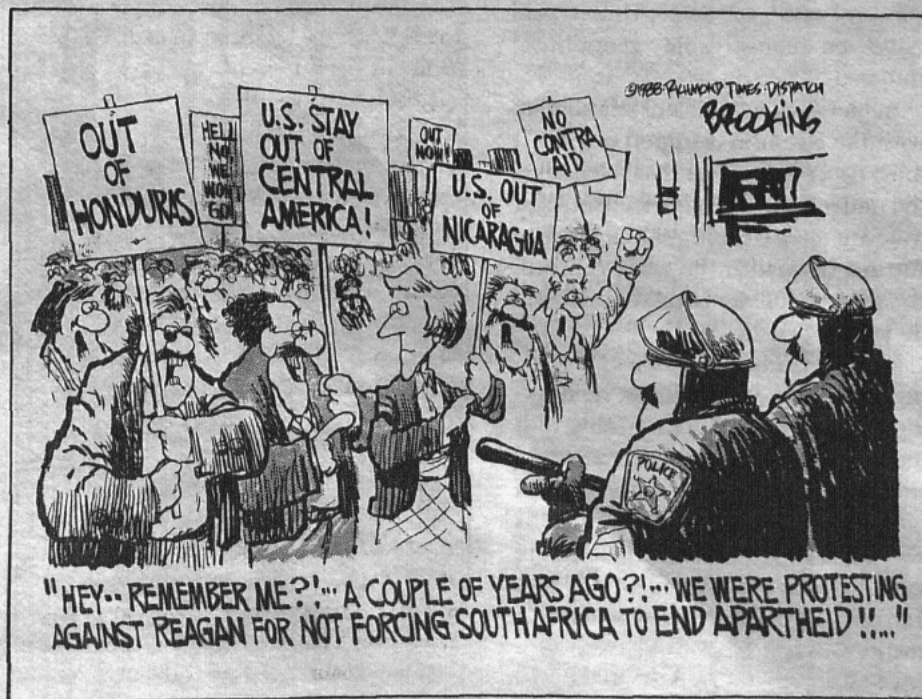
What makes me really wonder is that fact that there were big emotional protests over the nonexistent racially-motivated assault on Ian Kremer, but a year later there were no corresponding protests when some scuzball yelled, "Hey, look, a nigger and two hippies!" to a black Tufts student. What's the deal?

A friend of mine recently said that she'd rather have Mikhail Gorbachev as U.S. President than George Bush, because Bush has "lied to his people." Yeah, I gotta agree with her. Gorbachev has certainly never lied to his people.

Liberals are so smart. They generously informed us that terrorist attacks against US citizens would increase after the April '86 air raid on Libya. Still waiting for those attacks, guys.

Liberals are so smart (or did I mention that already?) Last spring these geniuses were absolutely up in arms over ABC's "Amerika," saying it was a bunch of right-wing propaganda that was going to ruin US-Soviet relations and increase hostility between the superpowers. Yeah, you were right on the mark, dudes. Hostilities increased so much that later in the year the two countries signed the INF treaty. Wow, how can we deal with such hostility?

Liberals had been saying that the Soviets don't have any kind of SDI. Then along comes Gorbachev to Washington and announces that Russia has been working on its own SDI for the past ten years. Whoops.



Gorbachev, Glasnost, and Lenin

James Burke F'89

During the last two and a half years, the world has been enraptured by the apparent changes taking place in the Soviet Union under the stewardship of Mikhail Gorbachev. Yet, what often gets lost amidst all the praise is that fact that Mr. Gorbachev is not just a "reformer," "young," and "energetic" as so many have described him, but he is, as he himself has stressed over and over again, a true died-in-the-wool *Leninist*. Underneath the veneer of a pseudo-western liberal fighting staunch conservatives in the military and KGB to achieve greater economic prosperity for his own people and peace for the world, is a man who is, at heart, a true Leninist ideologue, and therefore a potentially greater threat to the West than his stultified predecessors.

The reality behind the facade is often bewildering for those unfamiliar with the hows and whys of Gorbachev's rise to power. Gorbachev was, in fact, the protege of Yuri Andropov (head of the KGB from 1967-81) and Mikhail Suslov (chief Kremlin ideologist under Brezhnev and reputedly a vehement anti-Westerner). And, in contrast with the popular view, Gorbachev rose to power and has remained there with the support of both the KGB and the military, with the KGB supporting him by helping ferret out corruption and undermine political opponents. The military has supported him because it sees in *perestroika* the mechanism through which to develop the economic strength required for it to continue its massive military buildup at the same pace it has since the early eighties as well as bring in some needed technology and imbue the military (and society) with a new *elan* through increasing "military-patriotic education."

But, perhaps more important than the fact that Gorbachev's supporters could hardly be called "liberals," is that Gorbachev is indeed not the type of Soviet leader we in the West have come to expect. He offers the West a new-old style of leadership based on a Leninist "operational code."

The old-style Soviet leader (I leave out Lenin intentionally) was above all a cautious one, who often—though not always—operated within self-constraining ideological frameworks,

and was concerned at home less with economic growth and increasing living standards than he was with lining his pocket, Brezhnev and cronies. An example of how the communist ideology often constrained the actions of Soviet leaders is Stalin's consistent desire to avoid a direct East-West confrontation, not because he feared the West, but because he wished to avoid provoking an inter-bloc war before the real world war occurred, an inter-capitalist one in which a militarily strong Soviet Union would deliver the coup de grace and deliver the world into communism. There was also Brezhnev's willingness to more actively exploit Western political and diplomatic shortcomings because of a stultifying rigidity regarding which types of national liberation movements and radical Third World regimes the Soviet Union would support.

The results of this style of leadership were, at first, progress, but only because the West did not have the moral strength to resist communist expansion around the globe. But in the post-Afghanistan era, the West achieved an almost unprecedented degree of solidarity in its opposition to communist aggression around the globe. The Soviet Union thus faced a more difficult challenge in attempting to spread its influence around the globe. Worsening economic problems at home, an aggressive stand for freedom by the United States, and Alliance solidarity behind the decision to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe made the Soviet leadership wary of bringing in another leader who would seek merely to maintain the status quo, a status quo of ever diminishing world power.

Into this ideological and economic morass, however, has stepped Gorbachev, smiling, walking, and talking.

Gorbachev promised a return to the era of grand and often incredibly over-optimistic designs for rapid economic growth—a point on which Gorbachev himself was criticized by Boris Yeltsin before he was given the boot. His "new" economic proposal are reminiscent of Lenin's New Economic Policy and similar to Khrushchev's economic reforms. Gorbachev, like Lenin in his day, has also promised greater economic growth and new technologies for the military so that it would still be able to achieve "military-technical



superiority," now called "defense sufficiency," over the West—while not chewing up more than the already phenomenal amount of current defense spending, some 15-17 percent of total GNP.

Gorbachev has promised a "new" foreign policy with greater flexibility and a greater willingness to support strategic allies. Gorbachev is presently in the midst of a very active political campaign seeking to fracture the Alliance. The recent Soviet "third zero" proposal, and political propaganda against NATO nuclear and conventional force modernization is obviously aimed at trying to neutralize West Germany in the wake of the INF agreement. The program has had much success, as West Germans from both sides of the political spectrum have supported the Soviet proposal and remain weak on support for conventional and nuclear force modernization, much to the consternation of nearly all of West Germany's allies. The current Soviet political offensive against NATO follows in the best tradition of Lenin's efforts to split the capitalist camp in post-World War I Europe, i.e. the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922.

Gorbachev's current political-military offensive in the Third World is reminiscent of Lenin's policies. Lenin's strategy of supporting Third World "exploited" regimes and movements both communist and nationalist as a means of diminishing capitalist world power is manifested in Gorbachev's strategy for the Third World. Gorbachev, however, has displayed greater operational flexibility in this policy area than any of his predecessors.

Under Gorbachev, the Soviets have expanded their military stockpiles in South Yemen after helping a more pro-Soviet faction get into power in 1986; expanded the naval and air facilities at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam; dramatically increased arms shipments to Ethiopia, Angola, Cuba, and Nicaragua over the amount shipped the previous year; taken control over the fighting in Angola; and stepped up the war in Afghanistan in search of a political and diplomatic resolution, not solution, to the war.

Gorbachev has also shown an incredible degree of willingness to support even non-communist Third World allies by sending them the most advanced weapons systems in the Soviet arsenal today. Under Gor-

bachev, the Soviets have delivered MIG-29 fighters to India, Syria, and Yugoslavia—none of which are bloc states. Gorbachev has also agreed to send MIG-29s to Iraq and Zimbabwe. And this, when even the Soviet military has yet to receive its full complement of MIG-29s and the East European militaries have not received a single one!

Domestically, Gorbachev, like Lenin in his day, has been singing the praises of the KGB as the "sword and shield" of the Party. Investment in the KGB gone up under Gorbachev with precious resources going primarily into increased activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and throughout the West procuring much needed technologies. In addition, the KGB, the GRU (Chief Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet military), and the CPSU International Department have all been active in propitiating the development and propagation of the current "peace offensive"—as Gorbachev himself calls it.

And, what about this "peace offensive"? In actions that Lenin would be proud of, after all, he coined to the practice of spreading outrageous falsehoods about U.S. foreign policy, such as claiming that AIDS was created by a U.S. chemical warfare lab, that the CIA was behind the Jonestown massacre, and that the CIA trafficked in the body parts of babies from the Third World. It was interesting, in this respect, to observe that after Secretary of State Shultz complained about the disinformation campaign to Gorbachev in November, the Soviets stopped the campaign, only to resume it again this January after the INF treaty has been signed. What kind of gestures of "peace" and "friendship" are these?

In 1986 and 1987, the Soviets allowed national protests to be seen on a selective basis by Western reporters, but have recently begun to crack down on such protests. Moscow has prohibited Armenian protests in Armenia "anti-socialist," and just recently called out the troops to prevent further Armenian protests in Armenia and Karabakh. A year ago, protestors in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Crimean Tatars were allowed small open protests free of disruption, but in the last several months similar protests in Estonia and in Moscow have been roughly

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Gorbachev, Glasnost and Lenin

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dispersed—in one case resulting in the brief arrest of a CNN correspondent.

Perhaps the most masterful effort at strategic deception to date by the Dobrynin-Yakovlev (Gorbachev's chief foreign policy advisors) has been that of attempting to create in the minds of Americans a belief that the Soviet political system is actually very much like our own. I refer of course to the results of the infamous "Capital to Capital" show run by ABC, in which members of the U.S. Congress were pitted against members of the Supreme Soviet in a televised discussion of various pre-arranged topics.

While those who possessed even the most minor degree of familiarity with the Soviet political system were probably rolling in the isles, many Americans were led to believe that the Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress were vaguely similar in the legislative functions. This deception became ludicrous when the Supreme Soviet began "debating" the INF treaty at precisely the same time that the U.S. Senate was doing the same—and this when the main primary body of the Supreme Soviet does not even have the power to ratify an international treaty, the body's elite Presidium possesses that "right," such as it is.

The reality is that while the U.S. Congress is made up of elected officials who have an important role to play in the governing of this country, the Supreme Soviet is nothing more than a rubber stamp for policies dictated by the true source of power in the Soviet system—the Party.

Glasnost is being used by the Soviet leadership as a tool in an ever widening ideological war with the West. It is a classic case study in the art of indirect warfare, much in the tradition of Sun Tzu, Lidell Hart, and Andre Beaufre, and most appropriately, Lenin.

Gorbachev's strategy of economic liberalization, seeking greater trade with the West, and launching a "peace offensive" while actively expanding Soviet influence around the globe all are very reminiscent of Lenin's strategy from 1917 until his death in 1924. The New Economic

Policy, and Lenin's policies of building up the Red Army, exporting revolution while supporting nationalist leaders, and conducting a "peace offensive," all have their direct parallels under Gorbachev in the policies of *perestroika*, *glasnost*, increasing "military-patriotic" education in society as a whole as well as in the military, importing technology and Western engineers and companies, and current Soviet policy in the Third World. Gorbachev, at once seeks to return to the basics of Leninism, while putting the spark back into Soviet society.

To gain an insight into Gorbachev's general world view and to understand his views on everything from "disarmament" and "peace" to the "just nature" of the manner in which the war in Afghanistan has been fought, it is best to become familiar with Lenin's political thought. But, because such a task is formidable, it is perhaps better to leave the reader with a few choice quotes from Lenin's library, quotes that are most certain-

ly in Mr. Gorbachev's lexicon as well:

We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. (V.I. Lenin Collected Works, vol. 29.)

We are internationalists. We aim at the firm union and full fusion of the workers and peasants of all nations of the world into a single, worldwide Soviet republic. (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24.)

On arms control and disarmament:

To put 'disarmament' in the (Socialist) program is tantamount to making the general declaration, 'We are opposed to the use of arms.' There is as little Marxism here as there would be if we were to say: We are opposed to violence. (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 23.)

Advocacy of 'disarmament'... is the most vulgar opportunism; it is

bourgeois pacifism. . . Arming the proletariat in order to defeat, expropriate, and disarm the bourgeoisie (is) the only possible tactic of the revolutionary class. (ibid.)

On Terror (apropos to Soviet policy in Afghanistan):

In principle we have never rejected, nor can we reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable, even essential, at a definite juncture in the struggle. (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5.)

And most importantly, on ties with the West:

The capitalist will supply us with the materials and the technology that we lack. They will restore our defense industry, which we need for our future victorious attacks upon our suppliers. In other words, the capitalists will work hard to prepare their own suicide. (emphasis added; V.I. Lenin State Papers, 1921.)



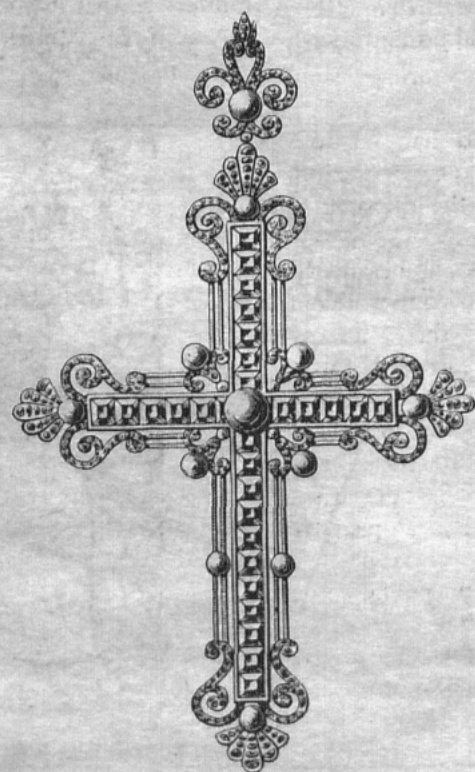
Conservatism and Morality

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willing to take the political damage in order to bring these issues to the surface.

There are those who are grateful to the conservatives for their courage in this regard, most notably Southern Democrats who are frustrated with the Democratic Establishment's neglect of moral issues. This is a major factor in the South's consistency in supporting Republican Presidential candidates. Whether this support significantly offsets the damage the conservative position on morality exacts is hard to determine.

There is great disagreement in America today over these issues. Yet only one political party is willing to enter the fray. I am not concerned with liberal positions on morality, but rather I am disturbed by their neglect. They don't they stand up and engage us on these issues? Maybe they are more worried about getting re-elected than getting the facts to their constituents. It is time for liberals to stop avoiding issues of morality. These are important questions to Americans and liberals should not avoid them just because it can be bad politics.



Iranian Initiative: An Opportunity Wasted

Bernard Finel A'89

This summer, as the Congress rushed to capitalize on the political mileage to be gained from the Iran-Contra affair, the opportunity to debate and discuss the Iran initiative in an objective light was lost. The value of selling arms to Iran in return for favorable consideration in regard to American hostages held in captivity has been debated, and admittedly the policy has some flaws. But the concept behind it is remarkably sound, even if the actual execution left something to be desired.

The main qualms people have had with selling arms to Iran in return for hostages is that it supposedly undermined U.S. credibility in the world. This is argued to be true because the U.S. government had repeatedly insisted that it would not deal with terrorists, and had urged its European allies to follow suit, and had then proceeded to do just the opposite.

This is an argument that is loaded with naivete. It is reasonably obvious both from common sense and from history that rhetoric and action are not, and should not, always be the same.

The reason for publicly declaring that we would not deal with terrorists is obvious. To say otherwise would be to encourage more terrorism.

However, we must not assume that terrorism is something that will then just disappear. Hence, it is imperative that some channels are opened to deal with terrorists, to try to meet some of their demands, and to prevent future acts. This cannot be done unless we are willing to negotiate with terrorists. This also does not imply that we should, therefore, also make a public declaration to that effect. Public denouncement and private negotiation is the best way to solve present problems without encouraging future ones.

The European allies must realize that at times public pronouncement are meant to be directed at certain groups not to be accepted as statements of fact. It is not reasonable to assume that American credibility was really damaged by the Iran initiative, at least not among the high officials and diplomatic corps?

The same cannot be said of the Congressional hearings, which likely caused grave doubt among our European allies as to our ability to carry on a complex foreign policy.

The Reagan policy of trying to deal directly with Iran is also very well thought out. Instead of trying to deal with numerous, small groups, the Reagan Administration tried to go to the source of the terrorism, Iran. Once one agrees that terrorism will not just go away, and that Iran supports terrorism, it is obvious that dealing with Iran over the question is inevitable.

As for selling arms, well, besides the Carter precedent (he tried to work out an arms deal for the embassy hostages), it seems reasonable to offer arms to a country engaged in a war. The arms deal was something that Iran was likely to agree to, and since a dialogue had to be opened, an arms deal seems a logical place to begin.

Those who oppose the policy would then say that his whole action was worthless. That the Iranians were willing to accept American arms, but

would never alter their behavior. They would argue that even if the policy is reasonable abstractly, the intense hatred of America in Iran made the policy unworkable in the real world.

I would disagree, because to agree is to suggest that Iran and the United States are and will be implacable enemies until the end of time. There is no reason to assume that this is so.

Those who argue that Iran is implacable and has moderates should logically have argued against any talks with the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War.

Yet, the Soviet Union, once seen as resolute an opponent as any, has despite numerous setbacks become much more willing to engage in "friendly" dealings. If the Cold War could become detente, then the Iran-U.S. relationship also contains the seeds of improvement.

The world is a rapidly changing

place. Friends today can be enemies tomorrow and friends again the day after. The idea that we cannot deal with Iran because they hate us is a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Bad fortune in the Iran-Iraq war, pressure from the Soviet Union to the north, and any one of those could change the way Iran deals with the U.S. To scrap beforehand the very possibility of rapprochement is the only thing which will guarantee Iranian hatred.

For the sake of the future the U.S. must make all efforts to gain the friendship from a local power like Iran. The Reagan initiative was designed specifically with that goal in mind.

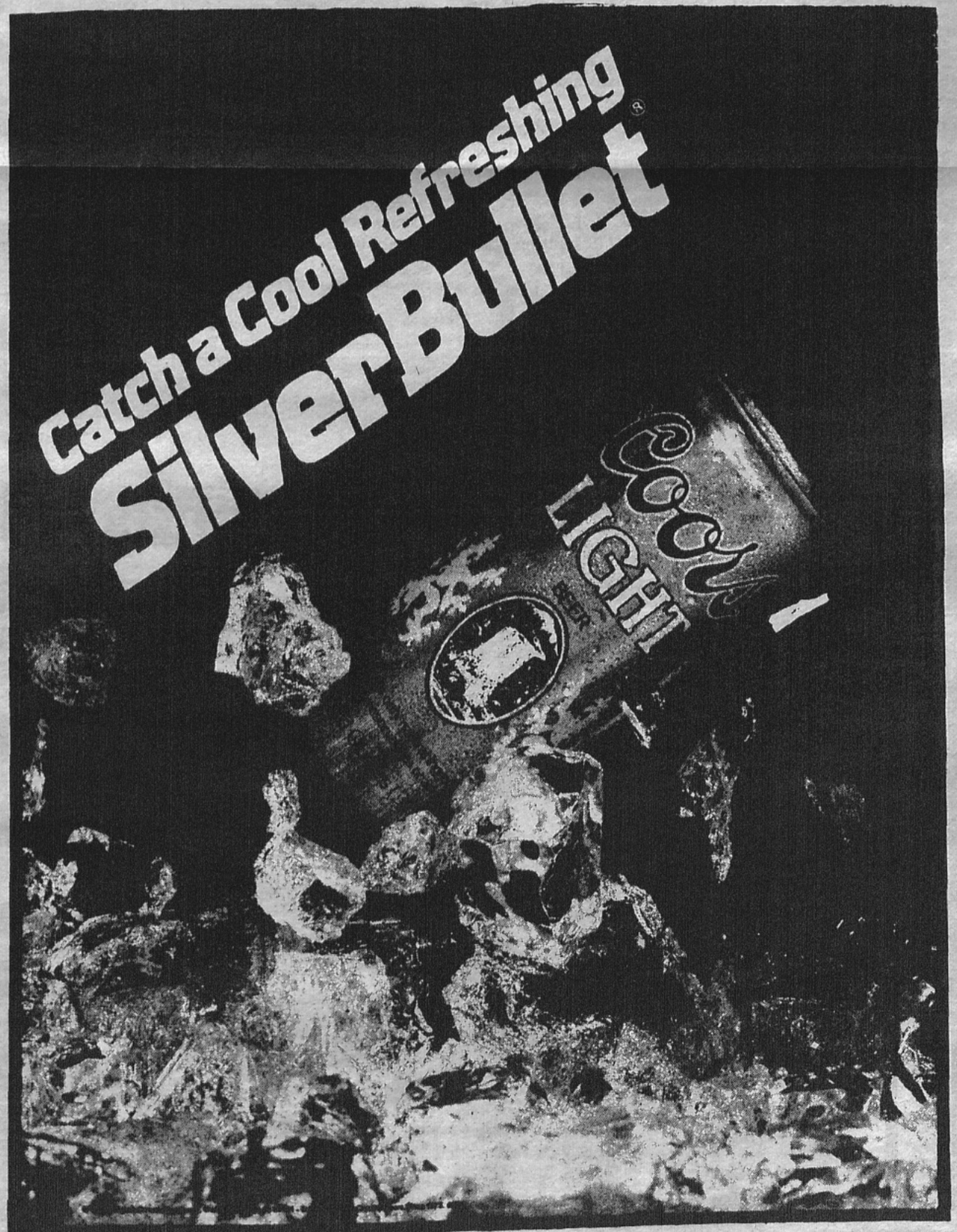
Because the Iran initiative was a reasonable way to deal with the problem of Iranian-sponsored terrorism, and because it is an imperative that the possibility for good relations with Iran not be destroyed I cannot but

give unequivocal endorsement to that policy.

Unfortunately, domestic politics destroyed any potential for the policy to succeed, and instead of being a subject of reasonable discussion it has become the subject of witch-hunts to find those who had originally backed it.

Here one of the more ingenious, complex, and subtle policies in dealing with terrorism was put to rest. The opportunity to create friendship with Iran was destroyed. In the future, opponents of the policy may well point to continued Iran hatred as vindication.

Yet, will not the scrapping of the Iranian initiative be recognized as the source of that hatred? How many more opportunities will be lost to petty partisan politics before the system is correction and the President returned his rightful power to make foreign policy?



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The Primary Source
VOLUME 6, NUMBER 4 TUFTS UNIVERSITY APRIL 1988

THE FAILINGS OF TUFTS EDUCATION
Eric J. Labs A'88

Recently Stanford University approved new basic course requirements for freshmen. The thrust of the revision is simple: the required reading list of books and subjects for freshmen must now include works by blacks, Hispanics, Asians and women; no more exclusive white, male, Western history and culture. Student supporters of the move chanted, "hey, hey, ho, ho Western culture's go to go."

It seems to me that Stanford has made a half-mistake, which is still infinitely preferable to the total mistake Tufts has long since made. To incorporate the works of women, minorities, and non-Western cultures, Stanford will de-emphasize Western Civilization (which is interpreted by some to be white and male). Specifically, the number of "Great Books" required will be lowered from fifteen to six to make room, I assume, for works that were written by individuals who were not white, male, and European. That is a mistake. A student should certainly know a good deal more than Western Civilization.

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To Our Liberal Friends: We'll Be Out There With You and We'll Be Watching.

