

The Primary Source

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TUFTS UNIVERSITY

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LIBERAL CENSORSHIP PERVADES ACADEMIA

John Tuerck A'89

Last September, several Tufts students had scheduled interviews with representatives from the Central Intelligence Agency. When the representatives from the CIA found the building in which they planned to conduct the interviews, they were confronted by a group of veiled, chanting students. The students presented the representatives with "moral" grievances and refused to allow them to enter the building.

Eventually, the CIA representatives abandoned their efforts to interview the students and left the campus. The students gleefully declared a "moral victory," stating, in effect, that no organization as morally reprehensible as the CIA had the right to freely conduct its affairs at Tufts.

This was not an isolated incident. Speakers or groups who are condemned by radical students and faculty of the liberal left are routinely shouted down or prohibited from speaking on college campuses throughout the nation.

Several incidents deserve mention:

*At the University of Minnesota, Eldridge Cleaver, a conservative who was once a leader of the Black Panthers, was prevented from speaking by a large group of screaming students.

*Alexander Haig, a favorite target of liberal censors, was speaking at the University of Colorado

at Boulder in 1984 when he was interrupted by students representing the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). One student threw a container of blood at Mr. Haig.

*In 1985, preacher Jed Smock, who supported President P.W. Botha's reforms in South Africa, was physically assaulted by students at the University of California at San Diego. Liberal students at the University of Michigan recently tackled Mr. Smock and broke his leg after he spoke at the school.

*At the University of California at Berkeley in 1985, liberal students interrupted the showing of the film "Silent Scream" and tried to confiscate the tape.

*This year, Jim Burns, a pro-divestment advocate at the University of California at Davis, made several bomb threats in an effort to dissuade UC President David Gardner from speaking.

*At nearby Wellesley College, J. Michael Waller and Jorge Rosales, advocates of American aid to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, were confronted by students brandishing containers of pig's blood and eggs.

One could continue almost indefinitely. The most disturbing aspect of these incidents is that little, if any, action was taken to stop the disruptive students. The ad-



ministrations of these schools often refused to comment on the incidents or dismissed them as healthy expressions of discontent.

It is important to differentiate between peaceful protest and intrusive disruption. The right to peacefully gather and voice an opinion is indisputable. It is equally indisputable, however, that no group or individual has the right to become violent or to forcibly

disrupt a speaker or group. To do so constitutes a violation of the right of free speech, something most liberals purport to hold dear.

Nevertheless, some students insist that the views of some right-wing speakers and groups preclude their right to speak. In an editorial entitled "Freedom of Speech, Not Selectively" (*New York Times*, October 15, 1986), C. Vann Wood-

continued on page 12

'Witness for Peace' Totalitarianism

William Martin A'87

In a recent session of Congress, Senator Robert Dole brought to our attention the constant preoccupation of the press and certain politicians with the record of Contra activities and those Americans aiding them. He noted the absence

of critical assessment of those U.S. citizens indirectly aiding the Sandinistas. The Senator was most certainly referring to groups like "Witness for Peace."

A few weeks ago, I attended a lecture given by a member of this organization (sponsored by the Peace and Social Justice Program, of course). The speaker professed

Ignores Sandinista

objectivity when speaking of the atrocities committed by both parties in Nicaragua. On further inspection I came to the realization that the group, as represented by this individual, is far from unbiased.

Let me note that it was very difficult to debate with this person and her partner because they refused to accept press reports by American and West European news agencies. Furthermore, she insisted that any reports of Sandinista abuses were exaggerated if not wholly untrue.

In fact, she worked on an investigation which determined that the Contras were far more abusive than the Sandinista Army. Those few abuses attributed to the latter group were described as occurrences resulting from something along the lines of "...a drunken soldier who could have proceeded to rape or shoot another person." There was no mention of the reasons for the present state of affairs in Nicaragua.

Firstly, the spokesperson began the discussion by emphasizing her

view, as a "good Christian," on the present situation in the nation. Her main concern was with human rights abuses connected with the war. Thus she elaborated on border situations which would be the regions where the Contras are most active, and where they would be held most accountable for human rights abuses.

With such a limitation, this begs the question of where the Sandinistas would be most likely to violate human rights? I would answer, "In the areas controlled by the Sandinistas, i.e. most of the nation." However, this point did not seem relevant to her since the focus of the lecture was on "rebel" abuses.

I began by questioning the motives of this group "Witness for Peace," and its minimization of the Sandinistas' human rights record. Thus I cited the declared intentions of the current rulers of Nicaragua, namely those of Mr. Daniel Ortega, who has expressed a desire to export the glorious Marxist-Leninist revolution to the rest of

continued on page 9

INDEX

Book Reviews.....	Page 6
Harvest of Sorrow by Oakes Spalding	
Red Storm Rising by Eric F. Labs	
D.C. Trip by Jonathan Tarr.....	Page 11
From the Editor.....	Page 2
Letters to the Editor.....	Page 3
Liberal Censors by John Tuerck.....	Page 1
Month in review.....	Page 4
Notable and Quotable.....	Page 10
On the Right.....	Page 5
Pacific Strategy by Edwin Feulner.....	Page 8
Sandinista Tyranny by William Martin.....	Page 1
SDI and the Summit by Diane Zitner.....	Page 10
Soviet SDI by Jonathan Tarr.....	Page 12

THE PRIMARY SOURCE

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From The Editor

QUESTIONABLE ASSOCIATE

The Peace and Social Justice Studies program is in full swing this semester, running the usual plethora of "lectures" and films and other activities to coincide with its "coursework." Some particularly egregious examples of late were the lectures given by "historian" Howard Zinn and a representative of from the Witness for Peace organization, among other like left-wing fanatics.

This we all have come to expect. These lectures are in reality little more than indoctrination sessions for the naively uninformed (who are undoubtedly expecting balance and receive in reality something else entirely) or the ideologically committed seeking reinforcement and additional ammunition.

The Peace and Social Justice lecture series is quite simply another aspect of the Program's intent to incite leftist activism and spread the gospel according to their particular narrow viewpoint. At the same time, it is another part of a program/course grouping that masquerades as unobtrusive and

objective.

This too we have come to expect. However, every single one of these so-called lectures have been co-sponsored by a variety of other organizations. The Sociology Department or the Latin America Collective or various Deans would be expected to support such activities. In fact, they do.

But in addition to that list one has to add the History and Political Science Departments. So far this year they have co-sponsored every Peace and Social Justice lecture without exception. They ought to know better.

History and Political Science are respectable departments and respectable disciplines. Yet, the PSJ program is neither. I shall use the Zinn lecture as the case example, although almost any PSJ activity would serve equally well.

Co-sponsoring Marxist Historian Howard Zinn's lecture was an abomination and an insult to all political science and history students who take their majors seriously. His fantastic theories of



history and poor historical method should have made the History Department pause, at least for a moment.

For instance, his silliest statement by far was, in effect, that the history of U.S. relations vis-a-vis Central America since the Monroe Doctrine has been governed by imperialism on America's part. I am even willing to grant that this may be partially true, but clearly such a sweeping generalization is obviously false. Even elementary history will tell you that.

It is one thing to air differing perspectives within a disciplinary field, but its something else entirely to condone outright political bias while purporting to be educational and thus balanced. No explanations or supporting evidence was given by Zinn to support his assertions.

Moreover, after he spoke, two women got up in front of the room, sat on tall stools provided for them,

and began to chat in seemingly innocent voices about their part in the evening's program. It can be summed up as "We ar fighting U.S. policy in Central America and this how we do it. You should too." That is like giving someone a gentle nudge—with a sledgehammer.

Is this really what History and Political Science want to be legitimizing? They ought to disassociate themselves with such lectures and activities since they obviously abandon any attempt at presenting their material with even the remotest amount social science methodology.

No one is saying everything the Peace and Social Justice Program offers is similarly biased; only the overwhelming majority of it is. But in Howard Zinn's particular case, the lecture was entitled, "U.S. Intervention in Central America: A People's Response." That ought to have been a sure tip-off.

SOVIET DISINFORMATION

The following is excerpted from a September 29 Heritage Foundation report on U.S.-Soviet people-to-people exchanges. We feel it deserves honorable mention, in full.

Soviet officialdom is interested not in understanding Americans and being understood by them, but only in winning the public relations battle. Thus the Communist Party daily Pravda, commenting on a TV link between audiences in Leningrad and Seattle, Washington, compared the Soviet audience to a "national team," defending "the flag," and emphasized "the readiness and ability of every Soviet patriot to give a fight to those unfriendly to socialism."

The young Soviet generation is being brought up in the spirit of militarism and intolerance. The "Lessons of Peace," conducted annually in Soviet schools, take children to "museums of military glory" and monuments to the Soviet Armed Forces' victories.

The Soviets seek to influence U.S. public opinion by engaging various American professional and social groups involved in exchange and cooperation programs with fake Soviet "counterparts." The Soviets are trying in their contacts with these American control groups to isolate the issues of arms control from political realities and to coax Americans to ignore the critical differences between the Soviet and U.S. political systems and foreign policies.



Letters to the Editor

To the editor:

While understanding and basically agreeing with what I perceived to be the intent of a short piece in the October issue concerning South Africa and the Soviet Union ("For Your Information")--that is, what seemed to me to point out that South Africa does not have a monopoly on civil and human rights abuses--I would argue that a number of the facts presented were either inaccurate or misleading.

First, it claimed that South Africa's independent judiciary recently overruled elements of Botha's emergency decree. While a lower court did in fact overrule certain elements concerning arrest without charge by security forces over the past summer, more recently this fall the supreme court reversed that decision in favor of the president, claiming that such detentions were constitutional and necessary for the maintenance of public order.

The article claims that while the Soviet Union allows no opposition parties, South Africa does. Well, this is true, if you ignore the fact that only *white* opposition parties (ie: the Progressive Party in Parliament) are allowed. Black political parties and multiracial parties (such as Alan Paton's Liberal Party, which was permanently disbanded in 1968) are unlawful. I find little

difference between such a system as the Soviet Union's that allows no opposition parties and one that allows opposition only under certain conditions (ie: racial composition) and disallows any representation in government for a majority of the population.

Similarly, to assert that there is an independent press in South Africa ignores the fact that the press is heavily censored and prohibited from printing statements deemed subversive by the government, is prohibited from publishing statements or interviews by certain individuals, and whose offices are routinely closed and equipment and property confiscated. I would hardly call this situation conducive to an "independent" press.

And finally, the statement that "there are more black-owned cars in South Africa than there are in the Soviet Union." I see. So now ownership of an automobile is the new criteria of a just society. Hmmm...

It is ironic that on the same page that *The Primary Source* criticizes two House Democrats for their lack of knowledge on the issues of South Africa, the *Source* adequately demonstrates its ignorance of such issues, or worse yet, presents half-truths that are simply misleading and are not representative of the real situation.

--Michael E. Grossi A'87

To the editor:

I write to respond to the *Commentary* magazine reprint in your last issue. It is difficult to construct a rebuttal to such utter disinformation--since disinformation is consciously designed to be difficult to rebut--but I shall attempt it. To consider properly what was reprinted in *The Primary Source*, however, it is necessary to look at the entire article from which the remarks are drawn.

For starters, the article asserts that the motto "no enemies on the left" has become a "veritable shibboleth for the majority of the American professoriate." What is this supposed to mean? By what criteria can such a claim be evaluated? No evidence is presented to back up this bald assertion, nor is any evidence given for the even more remarkable claim that "American radicalism" (whatever that is supposed to be) has somehow penetrated and subverted the university.

The survey which the *Commentary* article cites to prove its claim that "What has changed in the last two decades is the extent to which leftist radicalism has managed to institutionalize itself in the academic world" indicates a considerably different situation.

Note that contrary to the conclusions of the article, the Carnegie figures really show the academic "hegemony" (or rather prevalence) of the middle, liberal, and moderately conservative position. Even in sociology, arguably the most "penetrated" discipline,

only 37 percent of those surveyed labeled themselves "left"--high, but not a "majority of the professoriate."

Moreover, the entire concept of social or intellectual subversion is deliberately difficult to disprove (since a successful conspiracy by definition is not detectable, we can never be totally sure that there is not some monstrous conspiracy operating undetected in our midst.) There is no evidence that American academia has been penetrated or subverted by "radicalism."

The article simply puts forth the assertion, over and over again, as if mere repetition could make it true. Without showing substantial and convincing evidence, to say that the American university system is threatened by "radical zealots" is groundless at best, paranoid at worst.

The article is particularly vehement in its attack on Black Studies and Women's Studies, accusing them in nearly hysterical tones of a myriad of sins, in particular that of "politicizing" the university.

First, by calling for the exclusion of Black and/or Women's studies, the *Commentary* authors themselves are seeking to politicize the university by excluding areas of study they disagree with on political grounds.

Second, implicit in the authors' argument is that what they call "objectivity" or "neutrality" means, in effect, ever questioning the status quo. Theirs is a one-sided, biased form of objectivity.

Real objectivity does not mean that all ideas are equally correct,



only that all may be entertained. It doesn't mean giving intellectual preference to ideas or social systems just because they constitute the status quo. Objectivity requires questioning everything, in particular that which is held to be traditional wisdom. It is this questioning which the article holds to be subversive.

Now to the matter of peace studies generally and the Tufts Peace and Social Justice Program in particular. The *Commentary* article betrays its essential negativism by doing nothing but criticize, complain, and denounce peace studies. It would obviously have been more constructive to have opened a dialogue on the matter of what peace studies should actually comprise to be intellectually and social significant, but such a dialogue is ruled out by the author's political agenda.

The *Commentary* authors see in the Tufts Peace and Social Justice program a plot to turn "Tufts into a new, radical bastion of orthodoxy....," the program being "hell bent on intellectual hegemony...." The authors particularly hate the companion projects of Peace and Social Justice, labeling them "missionary training and proselytism." This is an ideologically loaded characterization if there ever was one.

Ajunct programs such as the film and lecture series, the internship program, and the alternative careers fair are services to the community. They widen the scope of ideas and positions and alternatives to which the community is exposed. The article charges that these programs will turn the campus into a "swirl of films, conferences, lectures, and teach-ins." What else should a university be if not a place of intense questioning, intense ferment?

I would further like to point out that according to my discussions with members of the Peace and Social Justice advisory board, *The Primary Source* made no attempt to research the validity of *Commentary's* claims, nor did it solicit the opinions or objections of the Peace and Social Justice program directors. This is hardly balanced reporting or good journalism.

--Robert Donnelly G'87

Eric J. Labs responds:

I do not wish to take up the task of defending the *Commentary* article as a whole or its authors in this context. Individuals may read the article, consider the current state of academia, consider Mr. Donnelly's criticisms, and consider the credence *The Primary Source* gives it before making their conclusions.

However, as the individual who made the editorial decision to run the excerpt in our October issue, I feel a few comments are in order. Although this is not the time and place to debate fully the merits and objectives of Tufts' Peace and Justice studies (see the "Questionable Associations" editorial on page two for our opinion), the blatant anti-American, left-wing bias of the program can hardly be called educational, something the Tufts program purports to be. (For a current example, see the article on the "Witness for Peace" lecture on page one.)

Questioning is one thing. But the Tufts PSJ program has too many political givens built into its framework to serve as a credible vehicle for widening "the breadth of the university." The program's fanatical opposition to U.S. policy in Central America, for example, has precluded it from examining the issue objectively. Attend any one of its lectures or films on the subject for proof.

The real issue, as Oakes Spalding stated in the *Observer* last week, is that a university should not be subsidizing an ideologically oriented program, particularly when it is being passed off as an objective program "studying world problems." Could, for instance, a student join the program but take his or her internship with the Heritage Foundation? I think not, and that is just plain wrong.

I would also like to add that one can easily find a pro-Peace and Social Justice studies article in, say, the *Observer*. *The Primary Source* serves to publish opinions and analyses hitherto unfound in the regular Tufts media. In other words, with respect to the legitimacy of the PSJ program, we presented the other side of the coin.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

WMFO's Leftist Slant

WMFO has been running a program of "news" features on Central and South America. Unfortunately, WMFO sees fit only to present the extreme leftist view. The features include talks with John Stockwell, the late Marxist Salvador Allende, and MIT's Marxist looney, Prof. Noam Chomsky. All of the programs have an anti-U.S. slant. No attempt is made at balance by providing additional features that at least explain if not support American foreign policy. If WMFO wants to air radical doctrine to Tufts students, it ought to say so and not use the pretense of objective "news."

Yale's Daring Move

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Yale University has revoked its punishment of junior Wayne Dick. He had made fun of a gay and lesbian event by putting up satirical bestiality posters. Inappropriate, perhaps, even crude, but clearly within the bounds of open debate and free speech. The problem is that it took Yale an awful long time to discover that. Dick had received support from such diverse organizations as *National Review*, *Village Voice*, and the American Civil Liberties Union. Now, what about the Dartmouth Dozen?

When 911 is Busy

A Miami shop-owner has been charged with manslaughter for setting up a booby trap that electrocuted a professional burglar. However, that same shop-owner had been robbed *eleven* times before by that same burglar and justice, obviously, was never served. The Dade County state attorney has arraigned this guy so fast that one might think he had killed a human being. The prosecutor's office justifies the charge because the crime involved a "disregard for human life" and "using deadly force in defense of property." (Fortunately, the Grand Jury had the common sense to drop the charges.) Now if the law refused to defend the people, to whom do they turn for protection of their livelihoods and, by extension, their very lives? Answer: themselves. Give that shop-owner a medal.

Me Tooism?

The *Primary Source* noted with some amusement the lead article in the October 24 issue of the *Observer*. The article reported opinions and reactions of the Peace and Justice Studies Program on the *Commentary* magazine article which criticized it. Naturally, the *Observer* bent over backwards to be favorable to the Program and its directors. Accompanying the article was an editorial condemning the *Commentary* article (without really refuting its arguments). That all this occurred, including a followup article last week, only two weeks after *The Primary Source* ran the first article on the topic is, ah, typical.

Rallying to the Cause

Now here is a good one for you. The October 30 issue of the *Daily* reported that certain TPAC organizers considered their rally on October 29 to be "disappointing," with only 50 people showing up at its height. Now the October 31 issue of the *Observer* reported that those same TPAC organizers considered the rally a "success" because they were "visible." Somehow this dichotomy needs no commentary or sarcastic remark. We would like, however, to remind all of this point: fifty people out of four thousand. Just wanted to drive it home.



Night Flight to Moscow

A few weeks ago, cancer researcher Arnold Lockshin defected to the U.S.S.R. with his family, claiming political persecution. Generally, we are estatic. The U.S. ought to cut a deal with the Soviets: all of our political prisoners for all of theirs. The problem is that the Politburo could never go for it. Not only would it shatter their economy (the prison industry would be devastated with no one to keep under lock and key) but the mass exodus of Soviet intelligentsia would prove a wee bit embarrassing for Soviet leaders. Now respectable and honorable Americans want nothing to do with Lockshin. Good riddance. One appropriate comment though was offered by his 80-year old father: "He must be mentally disturbed, that's all."

SDI, the Summit, and Polls

The votes are in and the American people won. Reagan said "no" at the Summit to a foul-stenching deal indeed. Apparently they know it, too. Polls done by various groupings of the major media all, without exception, reveal that sixty-eight to seventy-eight percent of the public support Reagan's stance. Moreover, similar percentages give unconditional support for SDI, even at the expense of a would-be "historic" arms deal. Until liberals, particularly academics, regain the common sense the people have, they will be continually on the losing side of issues and presidential elections.

R.I.P.

South Africa--The Associated Press reported that Masabata Loate was chased down and slashed to death with knives and axes by a group of young black thugs. She certainly was no informer. In 1976, she was a leader in the Soweto student uprisings and still a vehement anti-apartheid opponent. Horrified by black violence against other blacks in South Africa, apparently she was killed for preaching nonviolence. But Tufts won't holding a memorial service for her as was done for a black murderer executed by the government last year. Why?

The "Withdrawal"

Intelligence reports have revealed that the Soviets have added 15,000 troops to its Afghanistan Occupation forces while claiming great concessions for pulling out 8,000. Unfortunately, there is no concrete proof; there rarely is. No doubt this is one of those areas where liberals want us to "trust" the Russians. One way or another, there are still 110,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan committing some of the most horrendous atrocities of the modern era.

SDI: Note Two

Even now as you read this, silently, invisibly, informed opinion is swinging in favor of the Strategic Defense Initiative. The *New York Times*, long opposed to SDI, ran an editorial criticizing congressional efforts at prohibiting nuclear testing: "Nuclear tests arte necessary for development of the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, one of Star Wars' most promising components." Add onto this the upsurge in support the U.S. is getting from its European and Japanese allies. Clearly, SDI has become unstoppable. The only question that remains is how fast will we move forward?

Economics

The following comment was offered in the October 24 issue of the *National Review*: "In the long run, the Keynesians are all dead."

Plea for Radicalism

Let's face it, Tufts is *boring* this year. Boring, boring, boring. Absolutely nothing controversial has gone on, aside from a few silly posters put up around campus by the Latin America Collective, acclaiming the Marxist utopia in Nicaragua. (Even this is hardly worth mentioning, but what the heck, we have to fill up this page somehow.) If the TCU Senate is going to fund our various radical activist groups, then they ought to make sure they protest something, *anything*! Does anyone out there have any idea how boring it can be for a conservative college newspaper without any radicals or liberals bushwhack editorially? (Of course, TPAC did protest the National Security Agency this week, but that's not so impressive.) It's really unkind of them to stay quiet like that. God, even Tip O'Neil is retiring!

ON THE RIGHT

What Next in South Africa?

—WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

There were a couple of nice touches in the final few days leading to the over ride of Mr. Reagan's veto. On Wednesday, the foreign minister of South Africa, no less, telephoned key senators and told them that South Africa might react against sanctions in any number of ways, including an interdiction of all commercial traffic into neighboring black states, notably Zimbabwe.

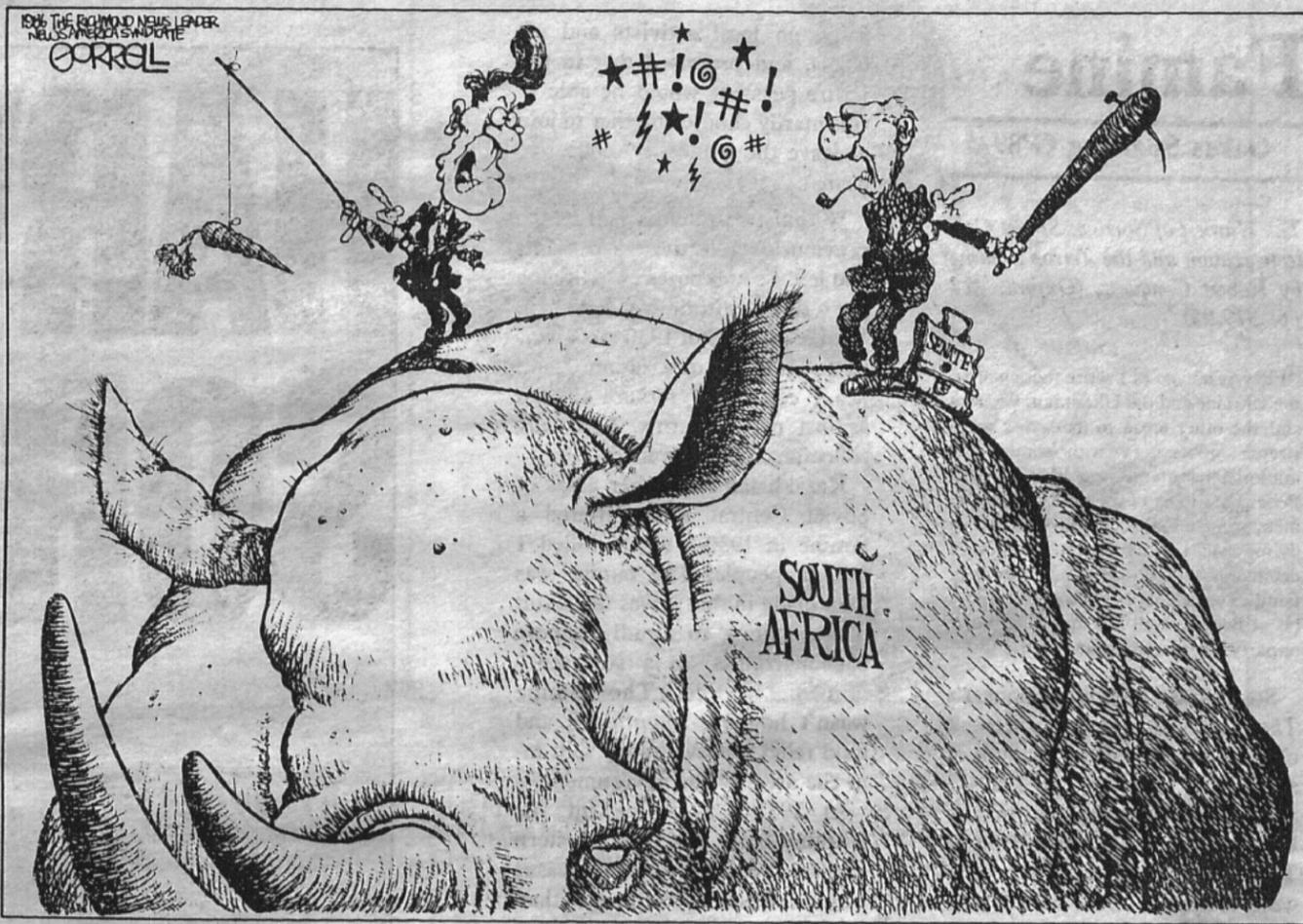
Senator Richard Lugar, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the principal Republican enthusiast for sanctions, reacted explosively, denouncing South Africa for its attempt to meddle in American business.

Howzzatagain? Yes: it was meddling for South Africa to attempt to persuade the United States not to intervene in South African business.

There are paradoxes everywhere you look. Paul Johnson, the British historian, reminded Bishop Trevor Huddleston of Great Britain, the leading spokesman in favor of sanctions, of what happened in respect of the arms industry. Fifteen years or so back, Mr. Johnson recalled, the United States passed a law prohibiting the sale of military equipment to South Africa, with the result that South Africa cranked up its own military factories.

The American response, 15 years later, has been to prohibit any country to which we give assistance from purchasing military equipment from South Africa. Perhaps the only way we could ever generate enthusiasm for sanctions against the Soviet Union would be to pass a law prohibiting trade with any country that does business with South Africa.

And then, of course, there is everyone's favorite, of which the Rhodesian sanctions were the dress rehearsal. The brave free world, after imposing sanctions against Rhodesia, found itself buying chrome from the Soviet Union, at two or three times the price - chrome mined, in substantial ef-



fect, by Gulag miners: Thus had we got our moral house in order.

What is South Africa going to do? One dares to hope that the government will not really think it appropriate retaliation against the United States to choke off traffic to the neighboring black states.

There are reasons to be angry with Robert Mugabe, but unless Zimbabwe becomes an armed camp for anti-South African terrorists, to close off the railroad to commerce would be to inflict a relatively innocent country.

Nothing would please the South African government more than to deny the United States access to critical metals. But there is no critical shortage in sight that can't be satisfied by a little discreet trading with the Soviet Union, to which Senator Lugar is not likely to object. So then, how is South Africa likely to react?

We have almost guaranteed that the anti-apartheid movement within South Africa will now slow down. We have got to keep reminding ourselves that we live in an age in which kamikaze devotion to the state is quite common. The Afrikaners who have been inclined, under pressure of domestic commercial considerations, to encourage the liberalization of racial laws will now be scorned as collusive agents of the West.

If, in our time, we saw brave men by the tens of thousands fight and die for the cause of Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and for Stalin and Hitler, then we shouldn't be surprised if brave men by the tens of thousands find themselves fighting to the death for the awful cause of apartheid.

It was always the point of Ronald Reagan, and a few others, that the anti-apartheid cause is set back, rather than advanced, by aggressive sanctions against the government of South Africa.

So then, what will Pretoria do? It would seem likely that the government will move on several fronts. The likeliest would seem to

be the forced repatriation of blacks who have emigrated to South Africa from the neighboring states -- Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe.

Second, we should anticipate South Africa's acquisition of the ultimate weapon. It is not easy to imagine exactly where South Africa would drop an atomic bomb, but the mere existence of a nuclear artillery has a way of dulling the tone of foreign moralists. (If Hitler had got the bomb in 1944, we'd have introduced much earlier the doctrine that there is simply no alternative to co-existence with Hitler.)

And, finally, we can anticipate a great increase in violence by blacks, as unemployment increases and the sense of helplessness becomes more acute.

If the objective of U.S. policy toward South Africa is to increase the likelihood of civil war, then we have just now acted with great statesmanship.



BOOK REVIEWS

Harvest of Sorrow: Stalin's Man-made

Famine

Oakes Spalding G'89

The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine by Robert Conquest, (Oxford, 412 pp. \$19.95)

"Fifty years ago as I write these words, the Ukraine and the Ukrainian, Cossack and the other areas to its east--a great stretch of territory with some forty million inhabitants--was like one vast Belsen. A quarter of the rural population, men, women and children, lay dead or dying, the rest in various stages of debilitation with no strength to bury their families or neighbors. At the same time, (as at Belsen), well-fed squads of police or party officials supervised the victims."

So begins Robert Conquest's *The Harvest of Sorrow*, an account of the Soviet collectivization of agriculture campaign of 1929-33 and the related famine in the Ukraine and other areas in 1932-3. This is the first major scholarly work to appear in the West which covers in detail the famine of 1932-3 in which the author argues an estimated 7 million people were intentionally starved to death by the Soviet government.

Indeed, as Conquest said recently, his aim was to "register previously not recognized facts on Western consciousness in a form weighty enough to be irrefutable."

The basic facts are these: In 1929 the Soviet Union embarked on a crash campaign to collectivize agriculture. Lenin had already modified Marx's theory of class divisions to invent a "rural proletariat"--the majority of the peasantry--supposedly locked in a struggle with the "kulaks," or richer peasantry. The "dekulakization" program or "liquidation of the kulaks"--to use Stalin's phrase--began, and over the next three years almost 6.5 million people were executed or deported to die later in the Gulag.

What made one a kulak was never really defined in clear economic terms. In practice it meant the more successful peasants, the leaders of the community, those who spoke out against or resisted the campaign, and the families of the same.

While "dekulakization" tended to eliminate the most efficient producers, it also eliminated those who would have proved to be the most resistant to subjugation and thus it was in one sense "rational." Like the Jew in Nazi propaganda, the Kulak was portrayed as a sort of subhuman impediment to progress. Thousands of activists from the cities swarmed into the villages to round up the "class enemy."

When in March 1930 it became clear that crash collectivization was having a disastrous economic effect, (and also in many areas fostering armed resistance), Stalin published his famous article "Dizzy with Success," in which he blamed the "excesses" of the cam-

paign on local activists and officials, and promised that in the future peasants would be able to voluntarily choose whether to join or leave the kolkhozes (collective farms).

Within two months half of the previously collectivized peasants had left the kolkhozes even though the terms of withdrawal were bad. Yet the last half of 1930 saw a new wave of "dekulakization" and heavy economic pressure applied against private farms. Gradually collectivization prevailed.

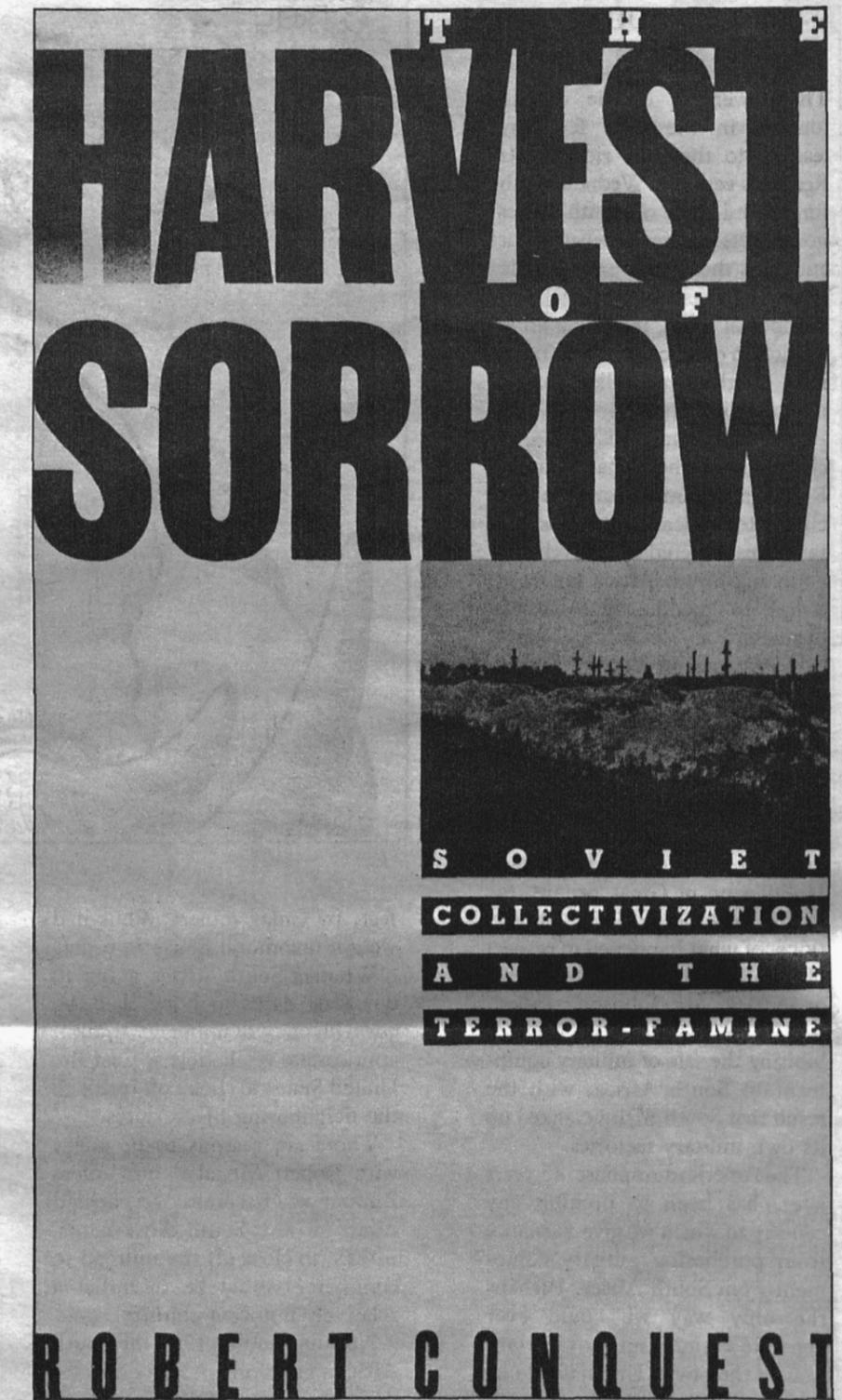
Kazakhstan and other areas of Soviet Central Asia suffered a famine in 1930-2 which killed 1 million people. The famine was man made in that it was the result of attempting to rapidly impose collectivization on a still seminomadic people. The famine wasn't however intentional, and food relief was eventually sent into the area by the government.

In 1932-3 a famine hit the Ukraine and parts of western Russia and the North Caucasus which killed more people than "dekulakization." But the facts of the famine almost defy comprehension: Grain quotas imposed by the government in Moscow in 1932 were set impossibly high and were maintained at high levels through 1933. Thus while people were dying from hunger, grain was being shipped out of the area.

Most of the Ukraine-Russian border was sealed off, preventing flight out and food relief in. Yet in Russia immediately on the other side of the border, food was relatively plentiful. Even inside the Ukraine large grain stocks were kept (and guarded) but never used. A quarter of the rural population of the Ukraine starved to death.

Conquest argues convincingly that the creation of famine conditions was deliberately ordered by Stalin to crush into submission the Ukraine and other areas which has been particularly hostile to collectivization. This is consistent with the fact that during and immediately following this period an attempt was made to stamp out Ukrainian culture and nationalism--which both Lenin and Stalin had viewed as a challenge to Soviet power--once and for all. The Ukrainian Communist party was purged and thousands of Ukrainian intelligentsia disappeared. There are records of such incidents as when the Kobzars--the wandering blind bards of the Ukraine--were invited to a congress, at which after they assembled all of them were arrested and most were shot.

Alec Nove, both in his well known *Stalinism and After* (1971) and in a recent review of Conquest's book asserts that Stalin did not intentionally cause the famine but rather imposed and maintained high quotas because of a belief that the Ukrainians and others were withholding some of their grain. This is in fact what Stalin told those officials who--



presumably at the risk of their lives--mentioned the famine to Stalin or suggested that the quotas be lowered. As with Hitler and the Final Solution, no documents or written orders have been discovered directly proving responsibility.

However, the evidence which Conquest cites clearly suggests that Stalin not only knew what was happening but wanted it to happen. That the Soviet government completely denied the famine existed (as officially it still does) and that Stalin created misleading impressions among his subordinates as to the famine's causes, seems to have been but another example of Stalin's skill at manipulating the facts.

The Harvest of Sorrow includes first hand testimonies by foreign witnesses, former activists, and peasants who lived through the horrors described, many of them suffering from the "survivor's guilt" most often associated with the survivors of Nazi concentration camps.

When the famine conditions in the villages are described--the emaciated men, women and

children, too weak to walk and finally unable to ingest food if it was offered; the complete absence of cats and dogs; the attempts at melting down old wooden pots to get at the fatty residue, or of making a stew out of grass or weeds--one is reminded of the descriptions of Dachau or the Lodz ghetto.

This similarity with the events of Nazism extends to the attitude and conduct of the "idealistic" Communist Party activists who went from house to house with crowbars, searching for "hoarded" food perhaps hidden behind an oven or in a hole in the floor. "This is no time for squeemishness or rotten sentimentality," exhorted an organizer.

The Soviet author Vasily Grossman, whose novel *Forever Flowing* includes a chapter based on the collectivization and the famine, has one character explain, "In order to massacre them it was necessary to proclaim that kulaks are not human beings. Just as the German's proclaimed that the Jews are not human beings. Thus did Lenin and Stalin proclaim, kulaks

World War III in *Red Storm Rising!*

Eric J. Labs A'88

Red Storm Rising by Tom Clancey, (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 654 pp., \$19.95.)

The Soviets need oil, badly. The Politburo is desperate enough to go to war with the West to get it. It's called operation Red Storm.

Such is the war scenario author Tom Clancey presents for the start of World War III in his new novel *Red Storm Rising*. It is an excellent work of political and military fiction. The weapons, strategies, and tactics are real but the time and events are not. Bearing this in mind, the novel is easily some of the most enjoyable reading to come our way for some time.

In his book, some radical Arab fundamentalists blow up a new crucial Soviet refinery, thus crippling the nation's economy. The Politburo recognizes it must have oil and decides to take it. But fearing a tactical nuclear response by NATO to a Soviet invasion of the Persian Gulf, the Soviets devise Red Storm, a brilliantly conceived plan combining political machinations and a conventional war against West Germany to bring about the dismembering of the Atlantic Alliance. With the plan in place, the war begins.

Many book reviewers and amateur strategists have criticized the plausibility of this scenario. However, this does not appear to be a relevant issue. It is at least as plausible as any other war scenario that various strategists and academics study. I remember one story about the start of the third world war put out by some peace group; it had Germany invading the Soviet Union. Moreover, who is to say what would go on inside

the walls of the Kremlin in a national life-threatening crisis?

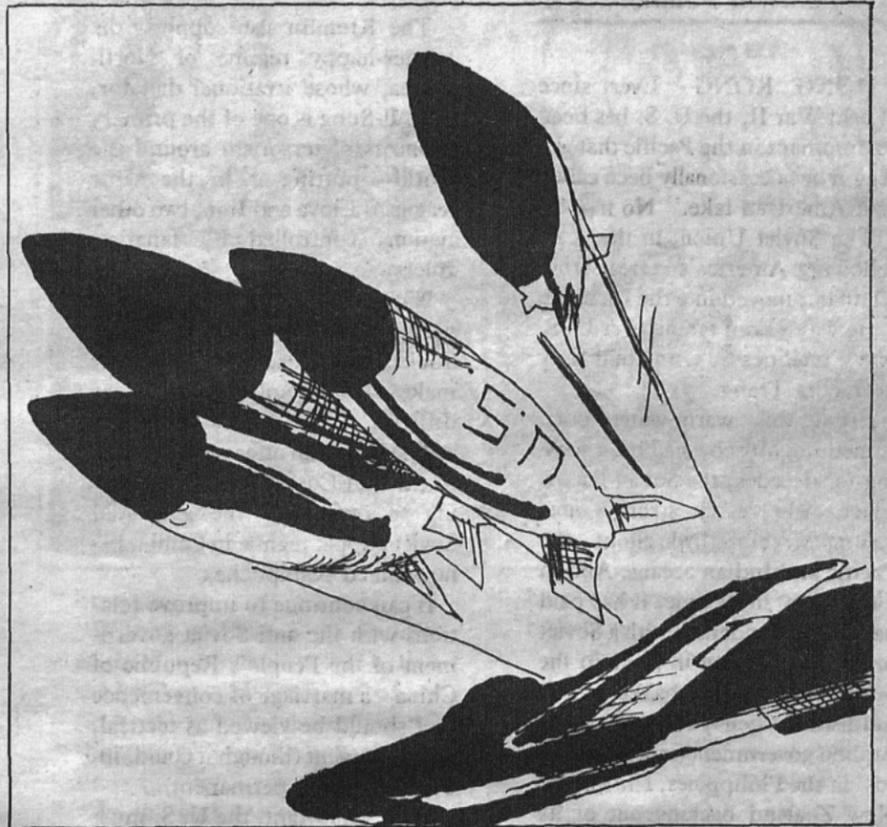
Even so, the war scenario Tom Clancey devised is tightly argued. The Soviet political objective on the surface is to punish Germany for a trumped up provocation. In reality, the Soviets are trying to divide NATO and thus nearly the entire alliance fights. The Soviets do not employ nuclear weapons because of their political objectives, (thermonuclear explosions have the effect of depoliticizing everything). Alliance forces are equally determined to hold the line without tactical nuclear strikes.

One can argue that this is a reasonably plausible course of events. Armchair generals and amateur strategists can talk about the early use of nuclear weapons by NATO armies but no one knows how men would react in a real war situation. Anyone would hesitate taking that final, irreversible step.

Beyond this part of his storyline, Clancey's knowledge of military tactics, weapons, and the maneuverability of armies is impressive. But this also brings up the major problem of the novel: nearly all U.S. weapons systems worked perfectly. This clearly is unrealistic. In simulated tests, there have been considerable difficulties with such systems as the M-1 tank or the Aegis missile control system, among others. A real battle would obviously prove much more trying.

Clancey's war includes several theaters of operation--Iceland, the Atlantic convoys, and carrier battle groups. He meshes several stories at once without leaving the reader confused about what's going on where.

However, Tom Clancey was never in the military and never



worked for the government. The fame given to him by the acclaimed *Hunt for Red October*, his first novel, has led him to lecture to the CIA, lunch at the White House, and have access to the highest corridors of power in the Pentagon. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman reacted to Clancey's first novel by saying, "Who the hell cleared this?" The author's knowledge, however, has been acquired by reading many nonclassified military journals and books. It's his hobby.

Red Storm Rising is not another mindless spy novel about the Soviet-American conflict. You know the type: the one man American (or Russian) spy against the world who is passionately in love with some voluptuous woman.

Often he has to make the "gut-wrenching" choice between her and preventing World War III. (Clancey obviously avoids this problem.) The funny thing about these novels is that they make the choice seem hard but everything always ends up smelling so sweetly that you think you've just mowed through a rose garden.

There is one slightly frustrating aspect about Clancey's novel. In the end, the war comes to a close somewhat realistically with all the accompanying upheavals. However, you wish the author had gone farther in discussing the political ramifications of the war. On the other hand, he has left that to your imagination, a sure sign of a good book and a good writer.

Examining Stalin's Holocaust

continued from page 6

are not human beings." One actual former activist writes, "We believed so strongly in communism that we were prepared to accept any crime..."

Another part of the book that might make one uncomfortable is the chapter dealing with the reaction of the West at the time. Little of what was happening was reported widely in the Western press.

This was no doubt partly the result of Stalin's success at suppressing information and his talent for manufacturing propaganda. At various times foreign reporters were prevented or discouraged from visiting the most hard hit areas, and in a few instances "potemkin villages" were created for visiting foreign dignitaries. But the blame for the lack of reportage

also clearly falls on many westerners who, for various reasons, either closed their eyes to, or else simply lied about what was going on.

The *New York Times* correspondent Walter Duranty--who in 1932 was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for "dispassionate, interpretive reporting of the news from Russia"--sent out dispatches claiming that rumors of a deadly famine were greatly exaggerated while privately admitting that up to 10 million people may have died. (Presumably he lied so that the Soviet government would not expel him from the country.)

And of course there were the tales brought back by "fellow travellers" such as George Bernard Shaw and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, brimming with enthusiasm about "Soviet Communism: A

New Civilization."

What relevance do the events described in *The Harvest of Sorrow* have today? "The main lesson seems to be that the Communist ideology provided the motivation for an unprecedented massacre of men, women, and children," writes Conquest.

The latter half of the 20th century has seen several communist "social experiments," in China and Cambodia for example, in which millions have died, many of them by starvation. The most recent collectivization campaign, in Ethiopia, has cost tens of thousands of lives, (although it is at this point unclear as to exactly what role Marxist ideology played in that case.)

What about the Soviet Union which, at least if we ignore Afghanistan, seems not to have

engaged in the kind of mass terror campaigns that existed under Lenin and Stalin? Conquest writes:

The question whether the present leaders of the USSR would be willing to kill tens of millions of foreigners, or suffer a loss of millions of their own subjects, in a war is sometimes canvassed nowadays. The fact that the older leaders were direct accomplices in the actual killing of millions of Ukrainians and others, in order to establish the political and social order prescribed by their doctrine, and that the young leaders still justify the procedure, may perhaps be regarded as not without some relevance."

So far *The Harvest of Sorrow* has been reviewed widely and three times in the space of three weeks articles on or relating to it have appeared in *The New York Times*. Let us hope that it continues to receive the attention that its subject deserves.

GLOBAL POLITICS IN THE PACIFIC

Edwin Feulner

HONG KONG-- Ever since World War II, the U. S. has been so dominant in the Pacific that the region has occasionally been called "an American lake." No more.

The Soviet Union, in the years following America's retreat from Vietnam, moved into the Pacific in a big way-- even taking over U. S. Navy facilities at Cam Ranh Bay near Nha Trang.

From this warm-water port, something Moscow had been seeking for decades, the Soviet Pacific Fleet-- 840 vessels strong-- now steams freely throughout the Pacific and Indian oceans. And in a relatively short time, it has paid handsome dividends, with a Soviet proxy government in place in the Seychelles, a Soviet-backed Communist insurgency challenging the Aquino government (as it had Marcos) in the Philippines, left-leaning New Zealand backing out of its ANZUS Treaty commitments, and a number of Pacific island-states cozying up to the Soviets diplomatically.

In addition to its Pacific Fleet-- which is larger than the entire U. S. Navy-- the Soviet Union has other military forces committed to the Pacific: an estimated 50 Red Army divisions; 1,700 tactical jet fighters; and some 85 long-range Backfire bombers, according to U. S. intelligence estimates.

The Kremlin also supports the trigger-happy regime of North Korea, whose irrational dictator, Kim Il-Sung is one of the primary sponsors of terrorism around the world-- putting it in the same league as Libya and Iran, two other nations controlled by fanatical rulers.

While the United States can do very little directly to push the Soviet empire back, it can at least make the Kremlin's job more difficult.

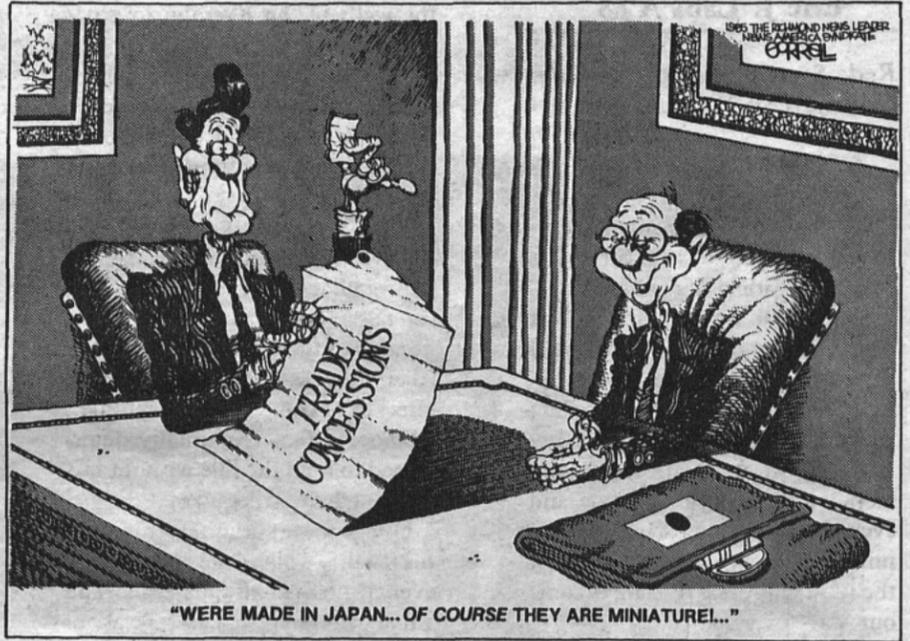
The U. S. can offer more support to the anti-Communist forces trying to overthrow the genocidal Soviet puppet regime in Cambodia, now called Kampuchea.

It can continue to improve relations with the anti-Soviet government of the People's Republic of China-- a marriage of convenience that should be viewed as tactical, not permanent (though it could, indeed, become permanent).

More important, the U. S. must take great care not to sow the seeds of political disruption in the Asian Pacific.

While Japan is rightly viewed as an economic and political giant, some other countries in what is known as the Pacific "rimland"-- most notably the Republic of China on Taiwan, South Korea, and the ASEAN nations-- are not as secure.

Their economies, for example, are heavily dependent on exports. So when Congress threatens to pass



protectionist trade legislation, it is viewed with great concern in their capitals.

Similarly, a number of the region's less-industrialized countries have been receiving U. S. economic development aid. The House and Senate Appropriations committees, however, slashed more than 15 percent from the President's \$15.4 billion foreign aid request earlier this year. With most of the aid already targeted for Israel and Egypt-- a priority I don't agree with-- this means cuts of 50 percent

or more for most Asian countries.

The point is: We don't have to make it easy for the Soviets. We need not, as Asian affairs expert Martin Lasater warns, destabilize friendly governments by conducting trade wars against them.

In the Pacific, as elsewhere, the United States doesn't have to be its own worst enemy.

(Feulner is president of The Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based public policy research institute.)

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Lecture Ignores Reality

continued from page 1

the Americas.

I felt it my duty to remind this woman of such tenets and of Nicaragua's military support of guerilla factions in other Latin American nations. Indeed, Evan Thomas, a *Time* reporter, sheds light on this issue when describing an interview between himself and Alvaro Baldizon, a former Sandinista official who fled to Honduras in 1985. Baldizon said, "The country maintains warehouses that are available to every Communist insurgency in the region except Peru's Maoist Sendero Luminoso."

For example, Colombian terrorists seized the Palace of Justice in Bosata in 1985 and were forced out only after a bloody confrontation with government troops. In the aftermath not only did Ortega and company praise the guerillas, but also apparently trained and armed them.

Likewise, I continued with reports of Nicaraguan assistance to left-wing terrorists in Honduras. While ready to continue, I was suddenly interrupted by the speaker's partner who screamed, "Do you know what the conditions are like for the people of Honduras? They are horrible!" I replied, "Since when is it the business of Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega to determine the politics of Honduras?"

If the ideals of Marx and Lenin are so popular then there should be no need of butchering people into accepting them. Similarly, concerning domestic politics in Nicaragua, if the Sandinistas were so popular there should have been no need of Cuban and Soviet arms which they received as early as 1979.

To the regret of many though, the revolution of 1979 was so typical of the modern world. As the Kissinger Report on Central America reminds us, "A popular school of thought holds that guerilla leaders are engines of reform. They characteristically reinforce this by inviting well meaning democratic leaders to participate in the popular front, taking care to retain in their own hands a monopoly of instruments

of force...No Marxist-Leninist 'popular front' has ever turned democratic after victory...they become totalitarian."

Following the consolidation of power, the Sandinistas have also progressively followed a plan of action not unlike that of Cuba or other Soviet satellites. Michael Ledeen, a fellow in International Affairs at Georgetown, tells us that (according to Baldizon as well), "The Sandinistas had carried out a systematic reign of terror and had concealed all evidence of their actions. They have assassinated political opponents (both in prison and at large), massacred groups held to be subversive, and beaten and tortured presumed enemies of the regime."

Edward Sheehan, a former Fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs, who is incidentally opposed to Contra aid, went to Nicaragua and found similar violations of human rights. After talking to clergy, former prisoners, civilians and government officials, he concludes, "I have found the Sandinistas an ugly, repressive, military regime, run at the top by incompetent commandantes who have alienated most of the people, ruined the economy, and are growing more despotic."

In addition to the above, the present rulers of Nicaragua have eliminated all civil rights. They have closed *La Prensa*, that newspaper so influential in elucidating the tyranny of Somoza, and (now) the tyrannical rule of the Marxist-Leninists.

The Roman Cardinal is no longer able to celebrate the Mass or to engage in processions in the open air. As Sheehan also relays, "Monsignor Bosco Vivas, auxiliary bishop of Managua, said: 'We have tried to protect our people from the violence of the government, from an ideology they do not believe in...The spies of the government will not rest until they turn the entire church into another arm of the government.'" Also, there has been repression against independent trade unions and opposition politicians still in Managua.

Again when such things were



brought to the attention of "Witness for Peace," she dismissed them as untrue. She told us that she had lost confidence in the U.S. press. It seems her accounts of the situation were more in tune with those of *Pravda*.

In the end it seems that those points disregarded or unknown to the speaker were of utmost importance to myself. In fact, Violetta Chamorro, publisher of *La Prensa* and former member of the Sandinista Junta put it this way, "With all my heart, I tell you it is worse here now than it was in the times of the Somoza dictatorship." She has since been exiled and labeled a traitor.

In a very different way the Contras aim is to democratize Nicaragua. For the Contras are fighting to right a great wrong. Their revolution was lost to the strength of the totalitarians. To this day they continue to try to rid Nicaragua of tyranny, which has lasted uninterrupted from Somoza's despotism to Ortega's. The Nicaraguan people who had hoped for the freedoms promised in 1979 have seen their dreams entirely overlooked.

So while some, like "Witness for Peace," focus upon the imperfect record of the Contras, others like Obando y Bravo, Arturo Cruz, and Violetta Chamorro remember those who courageously fought and still fight to free Nicaragua. They have

been witnesses to little peace and little change.

In conclusion, after debating this woman, and presenting the above reports, I was accused of supporting "fascist, right-wing opportunists, which was totally unChristian and disgraceful." I thought to myself that this woman and her group are no better than those "high minded Christians" who opposed early U.S. involvement in the Second World War on the grounds it was necessary to turn the other cheek.

Thus to this organization and the Left of America which supports its point of view, I borrow a message from David Horowitz, a former Berkeley radical, who writes:

You are self righteous and blind in your belief that you are a part of a movement to advance human progress and liberate mankind. You are in fact in league with the darkest and most reactionary forces of the modern world, whose legacies, as the record attests, are atrocities and oppressions on a scale unknown to the human past. It is not an accident that radicals in power have slaughtered so many of their own people. Hatred of self, and by extension one's country, is the root of the radical cause. As American radicals, the most egregious sin you commit is to betray the privileges and freedoms ordinary people all over the world would feel blessed to have themselves...You betray all this tangible good that you see around you for a socialist pie in the sky, that has meant horrible deaths and miserable lives for the hundreds of millions who have fallen under its sway.

"A CAMEL IS A HORSE DESIGNED BY A COMMITTEE"

— Anonymous

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Sound Defense Policy At the Summit

Diane Zitner J'88

President Reagan has given the American people yet another reason to be proud. His strength and his unwillingness to compromise America's security was once again displayed at the recent summit in Iceland. His refusal to give away the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) can only be commended.

We must realize that the main purpose (if not the only purpose) of the Federal Government is to protect the people of this country. It is upsetting indeed that some people not only do not understand this, but rather think President Reagan is some sort of a "war-monger."

General Secretary Gorbachev was very kind to offer to reduce his supply of Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles to zero, if Reagan would agree to "laboratory SDI work only" and no further deployment.

However, this idea was not far-sighted enough, nor was it realistic. Arms could never be reduced to zero, because the United States and the Soviet Union are not the only ones who have nuclear weapons. These weapons are becoming increasingly available to other countries.

Surely the U.S.S.R. wants the means to defend itself against other countries with nuclear weapons, China for example. The U.S. certainly must be able to defend itself against the potential future threat of smaller countries, armed with crude ballistic missiles, attempting nuclear blackmail.

SDI is a program to develop a defense system (although some Soviets see the presence of x-ray lasers as offensive) that President Reagan is willing to share with the Soviets. They can only benefit from our research. Wanting to build as efficient a system of defense as possible is a positive



development (after all, the Russians are doing so now). The United States is not the only country with which Gorbachev has to deal. Nor hardly is the U.S.S.R. the only country which may attack the U.S.

I do not follow the line of thinking of those who are opposed to the concept (much less the potential reality) of SDI. The system cannot hurt anyone if developed and deployed. It is strictly a defensive system. The argument that it will never work begs the issue of future developments and breakthroughs. That is why SDI is a *research* program.

I would be particularly worried about a national government that did not make the nation's defense its top priority. If not the defense

of its people and its ideology, then what?

We must always keep in mind that the Soviets are not our only concern, nor are we theirs. Certainly, we see ourselves as monumentally stronger than other countries in the world-- and that provides us with a sense of security. Being offensively stronger is a better situation than being at the mercy of some other country. By the same reasoning, we must be able to defend ourselves.

The Soviets (understandably) do not like to be rendered impotent. Reagan's proposal should make them feel more secure. The U.S. ideology, the proposal to share SDI with them, and the subsequent lack of nuclear arms when SDI is eventually deployed ought to be

convincing that we do not have any imperial designs on them. Perhaps when Americans and Soviets alike better understand the logic behind SDI and look at the whole picture, more progress will be made.

I question the logic of people who oppose the way Reagan handled himself at the summit with Gorbachev. He was not in the wrong by not surrendering the very tool that can help us maintain the future peace. I also have difficulty with people who insist that Reagan is not acting in our country's best interests. What other motives might he have? People who are worried about Reagan's reasons for holding on to SDI would be better off worrying why they are so ready to let go of it.

NOTABLE AND QUOTABLE

"Diplomacy is the art of saying, 'Nice doggie,' until you can find a rock."

—Will Rogers

Lest we forget at least an over-the-shoulder acknowledgement to the very first radical: from all our legends, mythology, and history (and who is to know where mythology leaves off and history begins—or which is which), the first radical known to man who rebelled against the establishment and did it so effectively that at least won his own kingdom—Lucifer.

—Saul Alinsky

"Don't be humble, you're not that great."

—Golda Meir

Conservative, n. A statesman who is enamoured of existing evils, as distinguished from the Liberal, who wishes to replace them with others.

—Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*

"[There is] nothing wrong with Southern California that a rise in the ocean level wouldn't cure."

—Ross MacDonald

Never before in history has a nation so freely shared the treasure of its hard work; never before has a nation provided others with so much security; never before has a nation so responsibly shouldered the burden of world leadership, or combined both the material and human aspirations of man to such a reality.

Yes, we have faltered. We've made mistakes. We have not been perfect. But even when weighs the good and the bad, there can be only one conclusion: The vision of our Founding Fathers has become a reality.

—General William Westmoreland on the United States of America

"I'd like to see somebody run up to the Jolly Green Giant and say, 'Ho, ho, ho yourself, you big queer.'"

—Johnny Carson

The difference between literature and journalism is that journalism is unreadable and literature is not read.

—Oscar Wilde

"They couldn't hit an elephant at this dist...."

—The last words of General Sedgwick during the Civil War

IN THE DESERT

In the desert
I saw a creature, naked, bestial,
Who, squatting upon the ground,
Held his heart in his hands,
And ate of it.
I said: "Is it good, friend?"
"It is bitter-bitter," he answered,
"But I like it
Because it is bitter,
And because it is my heart."

—Stephen Crane

Tales from the Dark Side

Jonathan Tarr A'88

We left under the cover of darkness. A dark rainy midnight seemed like the proper atmosphere for departing the light on the hill destined for Washington D.C: the capitol of freedom and lawlessness. After obediently buckling our seatbelts, preparing a courteous response for those drunk-driving roadblocks, and of course not drinking any alcohol (being only 20), we were off.

I was hesitant to leave my cozy, secure Massachusetts whose benevolent governor so thoughtfully tells me how to live my life and limits my rights for my own good. But Columbus Day weekend and a friend at Georgetown University with Billy Joel tickets inspired me to go.

Admittedly I was worried about how others would handle the forbidden freedoms of Washington D.C. The thought of unbuckled drivers bouncing around the interiors of their cars as they headed towards me, the multitudes of drunk drivers undeterred by the road blocks that are so effective in Massachusetts, and finally the horrid thoughts of 18--20 year olds drinking alcohol (hard to picture I

know), all scared me.

But more than being afraid of others, I was worried about how I would handle the freedoms. Sure I left Tufts buckled up and sober, but once beyond the watchful eye of Big Brother Dukakis would I become the corrupt and irresponsible individual we all naturally are without government to control us? The thought of me driving without my seatbelt, the thought of me driving drunk, the thought of me actually consuming alcohol was truly scary.

Soon after our departure my lawlessness started to show; I soon learned that while 55 saves lives and fuel, it doesn't save time. Eighty saves time.

After an all-night drive I was a bit tired, and when the call for a beer and a burger became a slur for five pitchers and a pizza I was captured by alcohol's horrible spell. Saturday night at a bar watching game four against the Angels, a bartender whose last night became an excuse for free rounds, and Calvin Schiraldi's errant pitch contributed to the acholic onslaught. Needless to say much of the weekend is a blur.

What I do remember about Columbus Day weekend is that I had



a great time. I ate and drank too much and didn't live the healthiest existence. My friends and I might have been laughing a bit too loud, but that never hurt no one--the concert was great by the way.

I discovered that I am quite capable of acting responsibly. I drove with my seat belt on because its the smart thing to do. I didn't drive drunk because that's a stupid thing to do. I even handled my alcohol as well as most 21 year olds I know.

I made my own discovery Columbus Day weekend: I am quite

capable of running my own life. I become angry when I realize that our all-knowing politicians limit the rights of the competent majority because of an incompetent minority. Instead of punishing those who do wrong, they punish us all.

It's funny; after seeing the poverty in our nations capital and smelling the stench of pollution on the Jersey Turnpike the thought hit me: Don't our politicians have more important things to do than run my life?

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SOVIET SPACE DEFENSE ADVANCES

Jonathan Tarr A'88

"The Soviet Union has achieved a technical breakthrough in high energy physics that may soon provide it with a directed-energy beam weapon capable of neutralizing the entire United States ballistic missile force and checkmating this country's strategic doctrine."

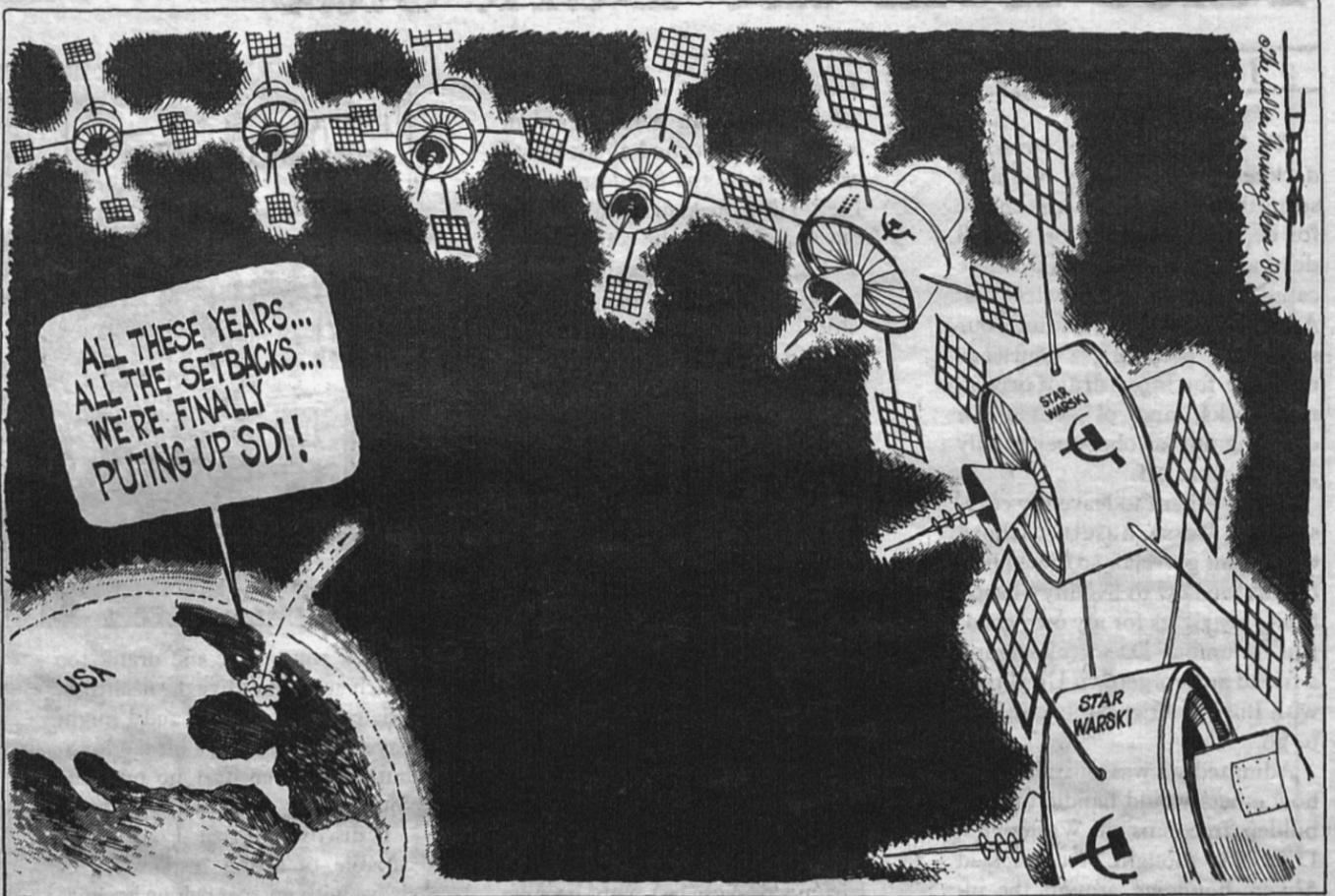
There seems to be a prevalent attitude in this country's media and academic community that only the United States is pursuing defensive technology, but the quotation above is from an *Aviation Week and Space Technology* editorial in the May 2, 1977 issue, long before Reagan's famed Strategic Defense Initiative speech.

The editorial preceded an eight page article titled "Soviets Push For a Beam Weapon." The article, written by the magazine's Military Editor Clarence A. Robinson, Jr., contained several pieces of evidence which "persuaded a number of U.S. analysts that directed-energy weapons are nearing prototype testing in the Soviet Union." Following is this evidence as printed in the article:

*Detection of large amounts of gaseous hydrogen with traces of tritium in the upper atmosphere. The USAF/TRW Block 647 defense support system early warning satellite with scanning radiation detectors and infrared sensors has been used to determine that on seven occasions since November, 1975, [and before May, 1977] tests that may be related to development of a charged-particle beam have been carried out in a facility at Semipalatinsk.

*Ground testing of a small hydrogen fluoride high-energy laser and detection of preparations to launch the device on board a spacecraft. Some U.S. officials believe the test of the antisatellite laser may be related to recent Soviet activities on a manned *Salyut* space station.

*Test of a new, far more powerful fusion-pulsed magneto-hydrodynamic generator to provide power for a charged-particle beam system at Azgir in Kazakhstan near the Caspian Sea. The experiment took place late last year in an underground chamber in an area of



natural salt dome formations in the desert near Azgir and was monitored by the TRW early warning satellite stationed over the Indian Ocean.

*New test site at Azgir under the direct control of the Soviet national air defense force (PVO strany), commanded by Marshall of the Soviet Army General P.F. Batitskiy. Since the PVO strany would be responsible for deploying a beam weapon to counter U.S. ICBM warheads, Marshall Batitskiy's role indicates a near-term weapons application for these experiments, U.S. officials believe.

*Point-by-point verification by a team of U.S. physicists and engineers working under USAF sponsorship that the Soviets had achieved a level of success in each of the seven areas of high-energy physics necessary to develop a beam weapon.

*Shifts in position by a number of experienced high-energy physicists, who earlier discounted the Soviet capability to develop the technology for a charged-particle beam device. There is now grudging admission that the USSR is involved in a program that could produce such a weapon.

*Recent revelations by Soviet physicist Leonid I. Rudakov during a tour last summer of U.S. fusion laboratories that the USSR can convert electron beam energy to compress fusionable material to release maximum fusion energy. Much of the data outlined by Rudakov during his visit to Lawrence Livermore Laboratory has since been labeled top secret by the Defense Dept. and the Energy Research and Development Administration, but it gave a clue to U.S. scientists that the USSR is far ahead of the U.S. in controlled fusion by inertial confinement (compression of small pellets of thermal nuclear fuel) and weapons based on that technology.

*Pattern of activity in the USSR, including deployment of large over-the-horizon radars in northern Russia to detect and track U.S. ICBM reentry vehicles, development and deployment of precision mechanical/phased-array antiballistic missile radars and massive efforts aimed at civil defense.

Remember, this article was written nearly ten years ago. Thus the notion that only the United States is pushing for a defensive system

is false. I believe that this fact should be entered into the S.D.I. debate.

The editorial concludes, "It could be a fatal error for this country to continue to put its major strategic reliance on a single type of weapon for which an effective counter is already looming on the technical horizon."

In my opinion many of the arguments against S.D.I. are valid. The technical demands and mind-boggling costs raise my skepticism. But I believe it is an issue that ought to be debated, and in this debate all facts should be raised. Undoubtedly the Soviets have made advances in their space defense system since the article was printed. Thus the "destabilizing" effect of the U.S. alone acquiring a space defense system is not quite valid.

The Strategic Defense Initiative is an American issue. It should be judged on its merits, costs, and attainability, not on false notions of its destabilizing effects from unilateral development. It is an issue that should be decided on by the U.S. Congress, not U.S. negotiators.

ABUSE OF FREE SPEECH

continued from page 1

ward, a history professor at Yale, writes:

The first concern of most people, once an issue of free speech has been raised, is the merits of the speech, not the rights of the speaker. Is the speaker "right"? If not, and if his words are considered false or offensive, they are likely to be considered an exception to the rule. Freedom of speech was not intended, it is claimed, to protect error or incivility. And if in addition the speech causes shock, anger or moral indignation, the chances of protection are even slimmer.

In essence, many student radicals place their subjective definitions of morality above freedom of expression. One wonders if these radicals simply lack the intellectual firepower necessary to achieve their goals. In-

stead of peacefully demonstrating or offering rational criticism of right-wing views, some liberals resort to the sort of violence and censorship they supposedly abhor.

In Edward B. Fiske's article entitled "Free Speech Debate: Yale and Other Universities Ponder Boundaries of Student Expression" (*New York Times*, October 4, 1986), John Silber, the President of Boston University, comments:

Mr. Schmidt [President of Yale University] should be aware that a university also ought to be more thoughtful and rational and analytical than the population as a whole. It is a commentary on his conception of a university that "dumb shows and noise"... are fair substitutes for a careful analysis of [a] situation...

There are several well-known

organizations that practice censorship of right-wing speakers and groups. CISPEP is perhaps the least extreme of these organizations. InCAR (International Committee Against Racism) and the Spartacus Youth League, a group that espouses allegiance to the Soviet Union, are two organizations that openly disregard free speech rights.

These organizations are joined by anonymous groups or spontaneous gatherings (like the one that prevented the CIA recruitment at Tufts) that work to disrupt speakers whose opinions are judged morally repugnant or unacceptable.

The real danger of these outbursts occurs when university ad-

ministrations fail to stop them. At Tufts, for example, the police arrived at the building where the CIA representatives were denied entrance, but, inexplicably, they failed to break up the demonstration.

This pattern of refusing to halt censorship is repeated all too frequently. Predictably, those who censor right-wing speakers and groups are encouraged by the reticence of college administrations.

There is a sort of blind hypocrisy in the motives of many liberal censors. If asked, most would certainly condone free inquiry, open minds, and uninhibited expression. However, it is evident that this openness is only permissible to a certain extent. When liberal censors attempt to impose their morality on the rest of us, they infringe on our freedom of inquiry and threaten to erase an entire set of often valid viewpoints.