

The Primary Source

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T.V. IGNORES SLAUGHTER IN ASIA

George Danas, A'83

From 1979 to 1982, one-third to one-half of the Kampuchean population has been eradicated, as thousands of Vietnamese have been and continue to settle in Kampuchea in an attempt to destroy an entire culture as well as the people who have practiced it since ancient times.

It is difficult for Americans to grasp the scope of the genocide in Kampuchea committed first by the communist Khmer Rouge forces and later by communist Vietnamese troops. The above numbers, translated to our own nation, could represent the loss of some 75 to 115 million people.

Yet, why does television continue to be blind towards atrocities which certainly merit top flight media coverage? The slaughter of millions, and the over 100,000 refugees condemned to live in the many "camps" hastily put together to accommodate them, would appear to be prime news coverage. A visit to this stricken area would be more than adequate proof of the need for world-wide recognition toward the heinous acts being committed.

Here, we can see all the ingredients that have sent hundreds of television crews and thousands of reporters in search of stories on the international scene: the brutal

OH, MS. FONDA, IF YOU COULD SEE YOUR BOYS NOW.

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repression of human rights, invasion of national sovereignty, maiming and slaughtering of the innocent, and outright genocide. Yet there is very little network recognition of the holocaust in Southeast Asia.

Television and other media play a decisive role in determining whether we are blind to the human dimension and strategic threat of

Soviet expansionism. American television has shown far too little interest in documenting such atrocities as the plight of the millions in Kampuchea.

This is a tragedy in itself, a silent encouragement to the Soviets and their surrogates to continue their policies of destruction. "When the Soviets or any of the Communists

commit atrocities it seems normal, but when any of the Free World does anything, the television and print media immediately take off on it that very day," said a Southeast Asian leader.

Charles Z. Wick, a syndicated columnist for the Associated Press, stated, "A foreign minister questions why world attention is not being drawn to the enormous Soviet arms buildup in Kampuchea. As he put it: 'The media gave prime-time coverage to the two plane loads of U.S. arms hurriedly dispatched to defend Thailand from the Vietnamese. But little attention has been directed to the ongoing boatloads of Soviet arms spilling into Vietnam since 1979.'"

Later, Wyck explained, a head of state observed that the Western and

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Daly Defeats the Feminist Cause

Hannah Hotchkiss, J'87

The feminist movement today is one that deserves recognition—women's rights are still often sadly overlooked. Mary Daly, a radical feminist who spoke at Tufts on November 1, 1983, said nothing that would strengthen the feminist cause. Her aggressive backlashing only estranges her further from the "patriarchal" society that she so vehemently criticizes. She simplistically blames the negative reactions to her insulting remarks on the male influence and the female inability to counter this influence. I question her ability to provide a logical, factual argument in her favor.

Mary Daly believes that ours is a male-dominated society and therein lies its faults. She claims that nuclear weaponry (that males were so proud to have created), chemical warfare, pollution and so on are the sad results of this male influence. She professes that it is time for women to take a stronger role in society for which I would applaud her if she provided any realistic solutions or based her argument on anything but sarcasm.

Mary Daly attacked, for example, the Catholic Church as a male dominated institution. She described her movement as

"spinning" and religious symbols such as Christ crucified on a cross as "stagnant" (she imitated him thus with her arms flung outwards and her head drooping lazily). She went on to describe a number of male saints as chauvanistic and ludicrous.

To illustrate her belief that it is the women's turn to dominate, Mary

Daly does not answer men's questions after lectures. She explained this in saying that she used to argue with men, William F. Buckley for example (after saying his name she made a face expressing disgust), but she no longer tries to reason with them because she is

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MAJOR WITHOUT A DEPARTMENT: THE I.R. PROGRAM

Daniel Marcus, A'85

The International Relations Program versus an International Relations Department, on the surface, seems little more than a question of semantics. But for Professor John Gibson, founder and director of the Program, an I.R. Department means greater influence and resources for the I.R. major.

The creation of the Department sounds like a simple and reasonable development. However, Professor James Elliott, the recently resigned chairman of the Political Science Department, believes that the influence of the I.R. Department would be at the cost of his department. And Professor Frank Colcord, Dean of Arts and Sciences,

is concerned about the distribution of limited resources. Hence, within the University, a conflict over the future of International Relations major has begun.

The International Relations Program primarily facilitates the I.R. major, integrating requirements and courses from the departments of Political Science, History, Economics, Anthropology and Romance Languages. Since Professor Gibson and Bobby Cooley, coordinator of the Program, are the only full-time participants in the Program, they must serve as advisors for most I.R. Majors.

This creates the first problem, because, as Gibson predicts, there will be 325 I.R. majors by May of 1984, imposing an unmanageable responsibility on two people. Unfortunately, the Program does not have the funds to hire more staff. It often seeks money from

other departments for teaching assistants. This problem is complicated by the fact that the Program, unlike a department, does not have a tenure system, and prospective professors often will not join the I.R. Program because it lacks this type of security.

According to Gibson, the solution to these problems is apparent. "The magnitude of the Program will necessitate at some point a department. The I.R. majors come to the I.R. office for advice, recommendations, and internships, but the I.R. office has little to do with the decisions of curriculum, courses or instruction. Therefore, it must be centralized in a department...."

Last year Gibson proposed that if an I.R. Department were created, appointments would be created for those with tenure, and subtenure positions would be available for

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The Primary Source

A conservative student journal of opinion at Tufts University.

Daniel Marcus Editor
 Brian Kelley Associate Editor
 Daniel Calingaert Managing Editor
 Henry Delfiner, PhD. Faculty Advisor

Staff Writers: George Danas, Michael Finch, James Hosker, Hannah Hotchkiss, John Galantic, Monique Gaudette, Melanie Sturm.

Mail correspondence to *The Primary Source*, via U.S. mail at P.O. Box 14, Tufts University Station, Medford, MA 02153, or via campus mail at 204 Hayes House.

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From the Editor

The Lesson of Grenada

Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, admitted he was wrong. In haste he accused President Reagan of initiating "gunboat diplomacy" in Grenada. He now acknowledges that the U.S. intervention in Grenada was an astounding success.

O'Neill's attitude indicates that Reagan's opposition has a warped view of our military's role in foreign policy: it should only have a decorative presence.

In Grenada, the United States had the unique opportunity to create immediate, concrete change. As the leaders of the Caribbean nations told the President, no diplomatic conference or idle threats will free Grenada from Soviet and

Cuban control, creating a secure region. And the people of Grenada now tell us that they welcomed our military action to free their nation. For once a nation returned from communist rule to democracy.

Most leaders of free nations ultimately look to the United States as the guardian of freedom and democracy. It is a role which we do not readily accept. But hopefully our congressional leaders will learn the lesson in Grenada: our military can be a constructive tool to create positive change, not with rash or awkward actions, but with strong resolve and regional support.

Now it is time to take this lesson and apply it to Lebanon.

Pigeonhole Politics

As a registered Republican, I obviously cannot help select the 1984 Democratic presidential nominee. But I'm going to register my complaint anyway.

I do not understand how Democrats can watch the political maneuverings of their candidates without wincing. Democratic Party voters are being taken for granted; once a special interest group or voter block has been identified with a candidate, it is assumed that the voters will follow right along during the primary.

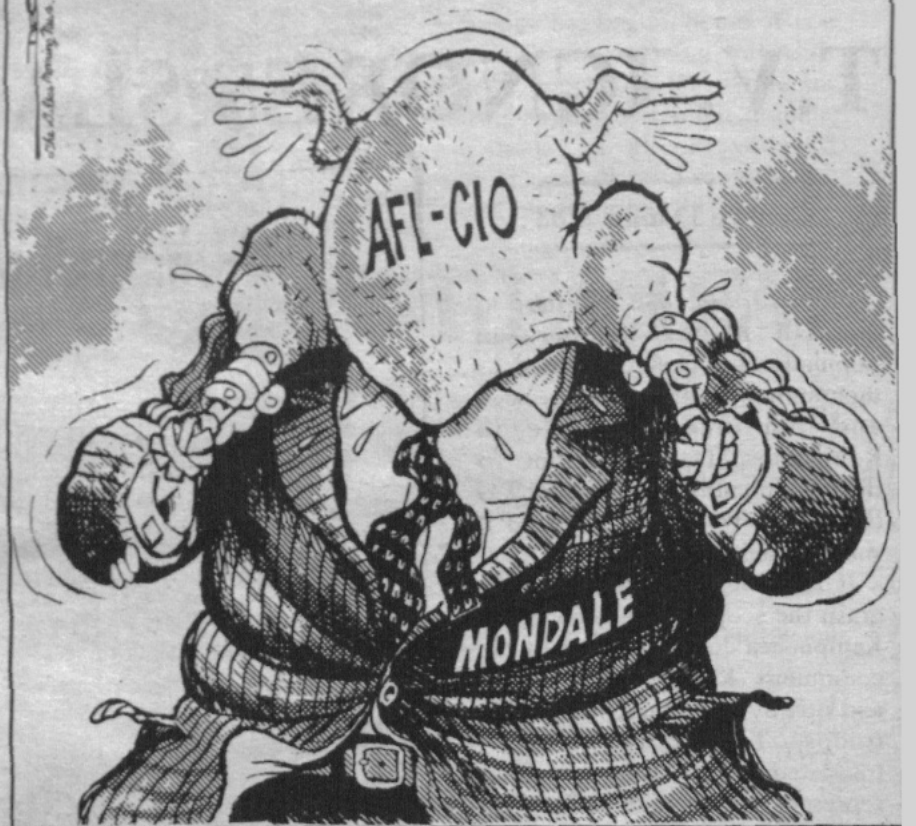
Because Walter Mondale has almost universal endorsement from labor unions, the press and even the Mondale camp assume that Mondale has the support of Democratic voters who are labor union members. Jesse Jackson has also decided to throw his hat in the ring. And now the other candidates are concerned that they have lost all Black voter support. And

southerners like Ernest Hollings may not have a chance as a presidential candidate, but the Party says he may make one heck of vice-presidential candidate to gain the southern vote.

Maybe I'm just unrealistic about the political process in the Democratic Party. But I think pigeonholing voters is insulting to everyone who participates in the democratic (little "d") process. I hope Democratic Party voters will end typecasting voters with their votes in the primary.

Of course, it is easy for me to make these recommendations because as it looks right now, Republicans will have only one choice in their primary. But as many conservatives feel, the only thing worse than having candidates pigeonhole voters is having the President you wholeheartedly supported ignore you altogether.

THE RIGHT STUFFING



Letters

Quick and to the points—

1. Mr. Finch's article pp. 1 and 8: fun. What does "10-S-N-E-1" mean? I feel dumb!

2. P. 2's "Spelling Bee(e)": "Judgement" is the accepted British spelling of judgment.

3. Mr. Kelley's film review pp. 7 and 8: superlative.

—Jeanne Dillon, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Chairman of the Committee on Student Life

Quick and to the answers—

1. "10-S-N-E-1" means "Tennis Anyone."

2. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, whose plaque misspells "judgment," is not located in Britain.

3. Thank you.

—Ed.

EXTRAS

"Judgement" Cont.

In last month's "Extras," we criticized Fletcher for displaying a plaque that spells "judgment" incorrectly.

Strangely enough, we received many complaints from our readers who said, "judgement," as the plaque spells the word, is permissible because it is the British spelling.

We don't want to colour your perception of our publication, so the next time you're sitting in the tube reading this journal, perhaps you will come to the realisation that we would never want to programme you into any one way of spelling words. Your wise judgement is fine with us.

Holding It Dear

UPI on Oct. 19 in Jakarta, Indonesia reported, "The authorities closed Jayabaya University, one of the major private universities in this city, until Dec. 18 today because about 500 of the school's 12,000 students went on a rampage Tuesday because an expected cut in tuition had not taken effect."

The actions of our Indonesian peers should inspire all Tufts students. Not that we think rampages can improve the university's financial solvency, we merely believe that Tufts students should hold the price of their university dear.

Speaking of which, when was the last time Tufts cut tuition?

Enlightened Debate

On Nov. 20, ABC will present the television movie entitled *The Day After* about a small town in Kansas following a nuclear holocaust. The movie seeks to make no statement other than that nuclear war is bad. We are delighted that someone has realized a way in which to communicate such novelty and insight to the populace at large.

The Day After should help make the American people aware of the dangers of nuclear war. The movie shall create the necessary hysteria for people to form enlightened views on the issues of arms control and disarmament. We can think of no better way for the public to discuss such issues. We do, however, suggest that ABC screen a sequel entitled *The Cartesian Solution* on the disinvention of nuclear weapons.

RICHES OF CONGRESSIONAL PENSIONS

David Keating

The National Taxpayers Union (NTU) has released a study of congressional pensions revealing that 36 congressman are potential "pension millionaires." An additional 33 congressmen could receive pension benefits in excess of \$750,000 during retirement. "Members of Congress moan about being paid too little while they quietly accumulate hundreds of thousands, of not millions, of dollars in pension benefits. I doubt many taxpayers think Congress deserves a pension plan this lavish," remarked NTU chairman Jim Davidson.

At the top of the congressional pension list is Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) with potential benefits of \$1,581,944, followed by Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), a potential recipient of \$1,533,659. As a result of their voluntary retirement, Senators Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and John Tower (R-Texas) could receive pensions totalling \$1,242,318 and \$1,028,905 respectively.

The study highlights the extreme differences between federal government retirement benefits and a typical generous private sector pension plan. For many lawmakers the total projected congressional benefits are two or three times more generous than in a corporate pension plan. For example, Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and vocal opponent of federal pension reform, has potential private sector pension income amounting to \$351,354 compared to congressional pension benefits totalling \$1,017,353.

The Civil Service Retirement System (CSRS), of which the congressional pension system is a part, has accumulated an unfunded liability of over \$500 billion. The money that will pay for this liability comes from the taxpayer; over 85% of funds for the CSRS comes out of the General Revenue. The members themselves pay 8% of their salary into the pension system. In the long run, many congressmen will find themselves receiving annual benefits in excess of their current yearly salaries. "Being the biggest beneficiaries of the Civil Service Retirement System it's small wonder the Congress continues to stall on much-needed federal pension reforms," Davidson said.

The NTU computerized study calculated the pension each congressman would receive if he involuntarily retired when his current term expired as a result of a lost re-election bid. The computation of the federal pension benefits each congressman would receive were based on public records on length of federal service, age at time of retirement, life expectancy, and cost of living adjustments (COLA) conservatively estimated at 5% per year. Eligibility for congressional pension benefits occurs after 5 years of service. Therefore, all senators, but only those representatives with a minimum of 3 terms in Congress are listed in the study.

Congressional benefits are



According to NTU, Senator Kennedy is entitled to \$1,581,944 in congressional pension benefits.

calculated by multiplying the years of federal service. For example, if Senator Donald Riegle (D-Mich.) lost his reelection bid in 1988 with 21 years of congressional service and 24 years of actuarially projected retirement he would receive a total of \$1,263,922 in pension benefits. During his first year of retirement at age 51 Senator Riegle would receive \$28,401. Due to the COLAs, at age 65 his pension benefits would climb to \$56,233. In his last year of actuarially projected retirement his pension would be \$87,236.

For many members, congressional retirement income may actually be higher than calculated owing to the likelihood of double-dipping. Many, if not most, congressmen will also qualify for Social Security Benefits and/or

military pensions, thereby boosting retirement income.

The corporate plan is based on a typical Fortune 500 company pension program calculation. The corporate plan, which ranks as one of the most generous private sector pension plans, includes Social Security benefits with estimated COLAs of 5% per year. The assumptions for work history and salary are identical for both plans with the exception that congressional member service only is used for the corporate plan.

The congressional pension benefits are, in most cases, larger than private plans for several reasons: 1) the pension base is higher; 2) retirement age with full benefits is much lower than under private pension plans and Social

Security; 3) congressional benefit reduction of 2% per year for early retirement opposed to corporate benefit reduction for early retirement of 4% per year with no Social Security payments until age 62; and most importantly, 5) yearly COLAs for complete inflation protection in federal pensions, but not in corporate pensions (less than 10% of corporate pensions offer formal COLAs -- and even those adjustments are limited to 2-5% annually), although Social Security benefits are adjusted.

The study cautions that, "...the figures included in these analyses are estimates of potential income, not actual income. Because we are making estimates about events that will occur sometime in the future, it is impossible to say with certainty that a given member will receive a specific pension amount. However, because the emphasis is on comparing potential benefits from government and private sector pension, and because the same assumptions are applied to each program, reliable comparisons can be made." It should also be noted that the congressional pension program is optional. However, because this knowledge is not a matter of public record, NTU assumed that every member opted for pension coverage at the beginning of his service.

David Keating is Executive Vice-President of the National Taxpayers Union, a non-partisan, non-profit organization founded in 1969 representing over 120,000 members interested in reducing government spending and taxes.

On The Right

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

New York, Oct. 17—Listen to this, you will get a kick out of it.

A month ago the editors of *National Review* met at their regular editorial conference (for the September 30 issue). On the agenda was the upcoming ABC extravaganza featuring the horrors of nuclear war. One editor made the suggestion that the film (it is called *The Day After*) be hailed as a wonderfully creative psychological boost for increased defense expenditures to guard against nuclear war. In other words, pat ABC on the back as though, in anticipation of the return of bubonic plague, it had planned a film theatrically showing what could happen if the plague hit an unprepared America.

Ha, ha. Many of our readers were unamused. The point being, of course, that on this subject, whatever the mind tells you, the emotions tend to prevail. Any American unincoluted by the See-Through virus will respond spastically to certain things. If you show him a picture of a school with all white children, he will come out for busing. If you show him a city slum, he will come out for some new federal program. If you show him post-nuclear rubble, he will come out against the MX missile. It is really that simple.

ABC LOVES PEACE

The producers of the ABC film have said defensively that no effort whatever was made "to politicize the film." That statement, made by Mr. Anthony Thomopoulos, president of the ABC Broadcast Group, will be bracketed with Andropov's insistence that the Soviet Union had shot down a spy plane, as the two outstanding flat-out lies of the fall season. One reporter called me and asked whether the writer who denounced the film had actually seen it. No. "Well how do you know it's anti-nuclear?" He might as well have asked how would one know, without first seeing it, that a film on the life of Martin Luther King produced by Jesse Jackson was in favor of civil rights.

It later got out that some people had seen the film, and guess what. To quote Sally Bedell Smith in the *New York Times* (Oct. 6): "Although the film never makes clear which side initiated hostilities (the film is about a few survivors in post-nuclearized America), two references are made to Soviet concern over the deployment of Pershing missiles. One, a fragment of a radio broadcast, quotes a Soviet official as saying that it was "the coordinated movement of Pershing II launchers that provided the original Soviet action." That's ABC's idea of not politicizing a film.

And, of course, the peaceniks will run with it. Demonstrations are

being arranged to frame the ABC event. All the people who believe that the way to get on with the Soviet Union is to give in to the Soviet Union will declare a national holiday. Something called the Center for Defense Information is planning a 60-second commercial narrated by Paul Newman offering viewers a "nuclear-war prevention kit." I plan to send in for one of those kits, and if Mr. Newman doesn't send me an MX missile, I'm going to report him to the Postal Service people for fraud. Oh dear. Will it ever end?

To boil it down. 1) The ABC people are getting into politics in a very big way. 2) Of all the strategic decisions made since the formation of NATO in 1949, the most important is the decision to deploy theater weapons of the Pershing-and cruise-missile type in Europe in December, as planned, as called for by our allies. 3) It is clearly the intention of the Soviet Union to attempt to abort that deployment. To that end, it has marshaled a) its agents and b) its dupes to ventilate the biggest nonsequitur in military history, namely that development by the United States of its defensive arsenal makes nuclear war likelier, rather than unlikelier. The \$7-million cost of this massive deception is, of course, being paid for by American business. Or is it possible that, this time, American business will say no?

Why Does T.V. Ignore the Slaughter in S.E. Asia?

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U.S. media seem to be crusading against American involvement in her world security interests. "After Watergate and Vietnam, you have a media monster out of control."

In his opinion the American media has succeeded in diminishing U.S. prestige and influence. Curious journalistic blind spots complicate this situation. In fact, the last time the media covered Southeast Asia intensively was with the fleeing of the "boat people" following the Communist victory in Vietnam. Today, hundreds of thousands of boat people languish in refugee camps, while in the West, as one head of state observed, we have "lost sight of them."

Wyck notes bitterly that despite all the oppressive regimes Indochina had known, there were no boat people until the Communists took over. "Why," Wyck says, "did television stop covering this story? Why does television fail to tell us about the carnage in Southeast Asia even as it is going on today? And of most importance to our future as a society, does television reporting—or lack of it—on major international stories such as the invasion of Kampuchea affect the way Americans view the world?"

The Communists have proven throughout this century that they are masters at manipulating the media. Flooding the world with

cynical protestations of innocence and attacks on the free world while denying access to their own media, the Soviets make their global aggression invisible. Wyck continues his attack by sighting the fact that the Soviets have "hoodwinked the world ... A significant part of their public-relations strategy and superiority rests with the double standard the media applies when covering world events. Communist-supported

guerillas stage photo opportunities for the media in El Salvador. But there are no photo opportunities to cover genocide in Kampuchea. Television news depends on pictures, and it is difficult for American journalists to get pictures in closet Communist societies like Kampuchea."

The Kampuchean people are suffering a devastation that ranks with the worst horrors of the past century, and our journalists remain

indifferent. First it was Communist Kampuchians against Kampuchians. Then it was Communist Vietnamese against Kampuchians. But the Soviet Union has always been supplying the bullets. How can our nation remain blind to the reality of the Soviet Threat? The tragedy for the Kampuchians is certainly devastating, but if we fail to see what places like Kampuchea and Afghanistan are threatened by, the tragedy will be ours.

An Obscene Call from Ma Bell

Edwin Feulner

Don't look now, but soon someone wanting to "reach out and touch someone" may put his hand in your pocket. That is, if Congress is foolish enough to fall for "phone stamps" or a number of other proposals aimed at subsidizing the cost of telephone service.

Because of a convoluted court decision handed down in the Justice Department's antitrust case against the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), the national telephone monopoly affectionately known as "Ma Bell" is being broken up into seven regional telephone companies. This divestiture comes in the wake of federal efforts to stimulate increased competition in the nation's telecommunications industry.

One benefit of the deregulation offensive is already bearing fruit. The tremendous growth of companies offering long distance telephone service has sharply cut the cost of making long distance phone calls. After divestiture, AT&T itself will be able to offer cut-rate long distance service.

But because local telephone service will still remain a monopoly, there are no incentives there to offer variety and cost-saving options. As

a result, there has been a lot of talk in Washington that the cost of local phone service may skyrocket after the Ma Bell split.

This is where the pinheads-on-the-Potomac take their cue. Since skyrocketing phone rates may jeopardize access to telephone service for the poor and the elderly, they cry, Washington should jump into the picture by raising taxes and handing out subsidies.

One proposal currently being considered in the House of Representatives involves increasing the federal excise taxes on telephone service, and using the new revenues to subsidize local telephone companies to keep rates down. Another proposal would create a federal "phone stamps" program to subsidize the phone service of the poor and the elderly.

I think Washington should hang up and try again. Instead of attempting to perpetuate the elaborate subsidy schemes for which AT&T was criticized, they might consider instead a truly revolutionary idea: real competition on local telephone service, just like in the long-distance market!

That way, those who use their telephones only infrequently could sign up for more limited services and pay less. Everyone would be able to pick the phone services that meet their needs and fit their

budgets. And no one would be able to start a black market with "phone stamps" where everything from vodka to Cadillacs would be obtainable from the "truly greedy."

Of course, there's likely to be some opposition to such a "radical" concept from the telecommunications industry—which, understandably, has endorsed the "phone stamps" idea. Why would they want competition, which would involve creativity on their part and perhaps shaving their now-guaranteed profit margins, as the airlines have been forced to do. Certainly it is a worse alternative for them. Currently they expect to buffalo the Congress into voting massive taxpayer subsidies for their less-profitable operations. Competition would force them to *earn* their revenues by cleverly designing marketing strategies which would attract consumers.

If the American people don't want to end up paying higher federal taxes for telephone service, they had better pick up the phone and call their representatives in Washington. It may be long distance, but it's the next best thing to being there.

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

DALY

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"bored" with their arguments.

After this lecture, Mary Daly was asked how women could go about resolving this problem between the sexes. Ms. Daly seems to have resigned herself to the feeling that to confront this problem on the same level that it is presented would be futile. She merely resorts to sarcasm and flippancy. She was then asked, since she seemed to favor a break from the male population, how she would resolve the problem of procreation. This does not concern her at all in view of the world's overpopulation and the fact that it is inconceivable that very many people will adhere to her beliefs.

Mary Daly is labeled a "radical feminist" and yet defeats the purpose of the feminist cause. If she feels that she should have the same rights as men and be able to compete with them on an equal level, she would have more success if she first accepted them on equal terms with herself. Instead of openly addressing the problem, she resigns herself to its futility, separates herself from it and yet continues to criticize from afar—justifying the opposition according to her biased, not realistic or logical, standards.



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In short, **The American Spectator** is where the action is! And you're invited to get in on it and savor it!

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3NDH

Restoring the Balance with NATO Euromissiles

Daniel Calingaert, A'86

Unless the agreement with the Soviets is reached at the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) negotiations by the end of this year, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is scheduled to begin deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles. Since no breakthrough in the Geneva talks is expected, the deployment of NATO Euromissiles will most likely take place.

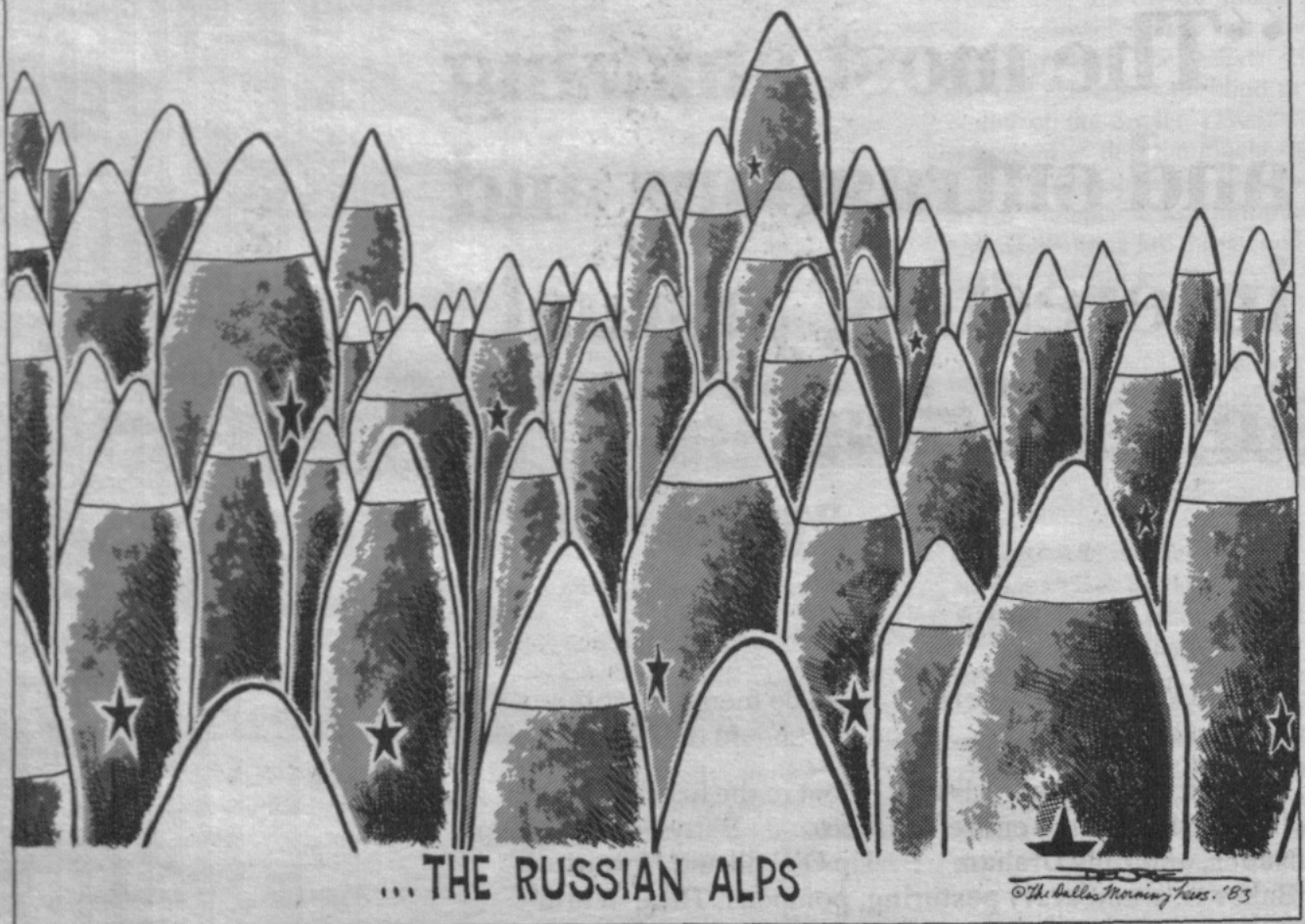
On both sides of the Atlantic, many people fear that such an event might increase the probability of a nuclear war. But in reality, the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles remains the only way in which to reach an agreement at the INF talks and eliminate the threat of Soviet nuclear missiles to Western Europe.

In 1977 the Soviet Union began deploying the SS-20 missile. This mobile missile carries three warheads and is capable of destroying hardened military targets. The Soviets now have some 250 SS-20s aimed at Western Europe, a number sufficient to eliminate most NATO troop concentrations and command centers.

The Soviet deployment was an aggressive action. The SS-20s were directed at Western Europe, although NATO possessed no comparable missile systems. The Soviet deployment embodied no deterrent value, because there was nothing to deter. The deployment of SS-20s served the sole purpose of threatening Western Europe.

In 1977, the Soviets shunned American urgings at the SALT II negotiations to include SS-0 missiles. In December 1979, the NATO defense ministers decided to deploy 108 Pershing II and 464 Ground Launched Cruise Missiles while pursuing negotiations with

REAGAN'S AT IT AGAIN! OUT TO ELIMINATE ANOTHER AWESOME NATURAL RESOURCE!



the Soviet Union. Such action would demonstrate NATO's resolve to the Soviets and create the opportunity to eliminate or reduce greatly the number of Euromissiles on both sides.

The Soviets responded in February, 1982 by proposing a reduction in European missiles and aircraft to a ceiling of 300. This would, however, prohibit the deployment of either Pershing II or cruise missiles. In December 1982, the Soviets agreed to limit the number of SS-20s to 162, equal to that of French and British missiles. This proposal, however, would have allowed the Soviets merely to move their SS-20s east of the Urals, from where they could be brought back into the range of Western

Europe. In May 1983, the Soviets agreed to count warheads instead of missiles, though they still insisted on including British and French missiles. In August 1983, the Soviets proposed to destroy all SS-20 missiles in excess of 162, in return for cancelling the deployment of NATO missiles. Just recently, the Soviets reduced that proposed ceiling of SS-20 missiles to 140.

It is no coincidence that the Soviets refused to place their SS-20s on the bargaining table until NATO decided to deploy their missiles. The Soviets had nothing to lose by failing to negotiate on the Euromissiles until NATO scheduled the deployment of missiles which could threaten the Soviet Union. As the deadline for

the NATO deployments approached, the Soviets began to yield because the planned deployment of NATO missiles would soon become a reality.

However, the Soviets have yet to offer a proposal acceptable to the United States. Until the NATO missiles are deployed, the Soviets have no incentive to reach an agreement in Geneva. Even today, the Soviets possess 250 SS-20s aimed at Western Europe with no comparable NATO systems to counterbalance them. Only when the United States has deployed its intermediate-range missiles will the Soviet Union offer a proposal acceptable to the United States.

Critics of the Pershing II missile

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A MAJOR WITHOUT A DEPARTMENT

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incoming professors.

Professor Elliott, who recently resigned from his post as chairman of the Political Science Department, unequivocally opposes an International Relations Department. He appreciates Gibson's contributions, but believes he and his colleagues in the Political Science department (of which Gibson is a member) have "a responsibility to a separate department." He contends that the creation of the I.R. Department would strip the Political Science Department of its comparative politics and international relations courses. "The Political Science Department is the best [department] on the Hill," he said. "It will not be destroyed by anyone involved."

Elliott states that the Admissions Office is to blame for the growth of the I.R. Program beyond its capacities. The Admissions Office publishes a brochure touting the I.R. Program and as a result many

prospective students, especially those with an outlook to law school or Fletcher, come to Tufts interested in the I.R. major. He resents that "Admissions doesn't spend one cent advertising political science." Because Admissions advertises I.R., "it gets a lot of Freshmen going into I.R.," he said. "Then Professor Gibson has to cope with the numbers."

As of the next school year, Professor Gibson will no longer direct the Program. Professor Pierre Laurent of the History Department, who teaches a course required for all I.R. majors, is the leading candidate to be the next director.

Laurent believes an I.R. Department would be an organizational answer and administrative vehicle for increased funds. He blames the problems of the I.R. Program on the lack of support from the Administration. "Recognition and money are crucial because we've reached the point where we've done with the resources we've got. It's time for more." Laurent wants "full-time

support staff to construct release time and increase the adequacy of the staff."

Professor Tony Smith, a member of the Political Science Department and I.R. advisory board, agrees with his department chairman that an I.R. Department should not exist, but also agrees with Laurent that the Administration is to blame for the problems. "Why is it that Ballou [Hall where the Administration is located] has to be presented with a crisis before it reacts?" He believes the Administration should allocate funds for two additional faculty members within the existing departments expressly to address the needs of I.R. majors. Smith is satisfied that if the Administration implements his proposal to alleviate the short-term needs and provides guidelines for future spending, the creation of an I.R. Department "from which to wring more money from Ballou" will not be a consideration.

And what does the Administration think of this controversy? Professor Frank Colcord, Dean of

Arts and Sciences, is "very skeptical" that an I.R. Department will ever be formed. However, he recognizes that the administration should and will "strengthen teaching staff," provide "additional support staff" and take steps so that advisory tasks may be done in other departments.

Among these opposing viewpoints, one consensus exists: there is little chance, without an outcry from the community, of an International Relations Department. We students should demand that resources be made available for the I.R. major to thrive. And an I.R. Department is the best vehicle for the I.R. major because, after all, the departments wield the academic power and influence at Tufts.

As Professor Gibson indicated about the future of I.R., "We should serve the students. [And] we're not serving then with the present structure." We should heed the Professor's advice and let the university know an International Relations Department will best serve our needs.

PPPs OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Michael Finch, A'84

Flip on the news and you'll see people voting for President. No, they haven't moved the election up a year. It is still scheduled for November 6, 1984, yet thousands of people are already selecting their choices. These individuals are participating in statewide Presidential Preference Primaries—PPPs.

The media, while acknowledging that these events are non-binding straw polls, give them fantastic coverage, claiming they test party support and organizational skill. Unfortunately, the media spend time reporting the unimportant results while ignoring *real* news—the exciting and unique happenings during these events.

Before describing the activities, you, like readers of any political science study, deserve to know my biases. I shall be candid. My experiences have been limited to the Republican side of these events, yet as an entity PPPs cross party lines. The only differences are minor. Democratic PPPs are louder, more liberal, and more prone to pop church keys (beer tabs).

When the PPPs begin, the first stop after registration (which always takes place on Thursday night) is one of the hospitality suites. Each county or regional club sponsors a party where delegates informally gather at an open bar to discuss the upcoming weekend's activities. Most notable are the numerous predictions and secrets that permeate these parties. Since none of the candidates are present (they arrive Friday night) and most of the bigwigs arrive the following day, success is determined by a more significant factor—the most elaborate hors d'oeuvres and extensive liquor selection.

Friday morning is open exclusively for late registration. Sometimes the fee is higher, probably because the party realizes that the late registrants have saved money on last night's lodging.

Friday afternoon contains committee meetings and interest group sessions. The committee meetings are basically meaningless since all the rules of the balloting have been worked out ahead of time. Sometimes, however, vastly important decisions such as the order in which the candidates will speak are decided at these committee meetings.

1984 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION THEME SONG



The interest groups that attend are present to sign up new members. The sessions they sponsor include lectures and films designed to draw support from the delegates. Obviously the special interest groups tend to reflect the ideological bent of the party hosting the PPP. At G.O.P. PPPs that I have attended, the special topics have included "High-tech Weaponry," "The Flawed Logic of the Nuclear Freeze," "Gold: The Hard Money Alternative," and "The Horrors of Yellow Rain." The Democrat's topics are reflective of their beliefs. Their sessions probably include "X the MX," "Colonialism in the Third World," "Reaganomics: for the Rich?," and "The Horrors of Acid Rain."

The interest group sessions end around 4:00 p.m., leaving plenty of time for the delegates to get showered and shaved for the opening banquet. Sometimes the banquet includes the candidates, but more often it avoids factional disputes by inviting a leading party member who can stay above the fray of the battle. The historical practice of both parties is to invite a former President to give the keynote address. Recently, however, Presidents Nixon and Carter have stifled this practice for their parties. The last PPP I attended was key noted by Mrs. John Warner, the then wife of the senior senator from Virginia. Like former Presidents, Mrs. Warner has recently avoided PPPs; in fact she has divorced herself completely from politics.

After the banquet the most exciting part of the convention begins—the candidates' suites open. Each candidate hosts a get-together with the delegates. The events are held simultaneously in

different parts of the hotel. Each candidate's staff works hard to make his spectacle the best and biggest. Usually the suites are large and plastered with posters and huge blown-up photographs of the candidate. An orchestra is hired to play music. In this area the Democrats have the edge. "Happy Days are Here Again," their party

song, is much more festive than Lawrence Welk music. Republicans have no party song.

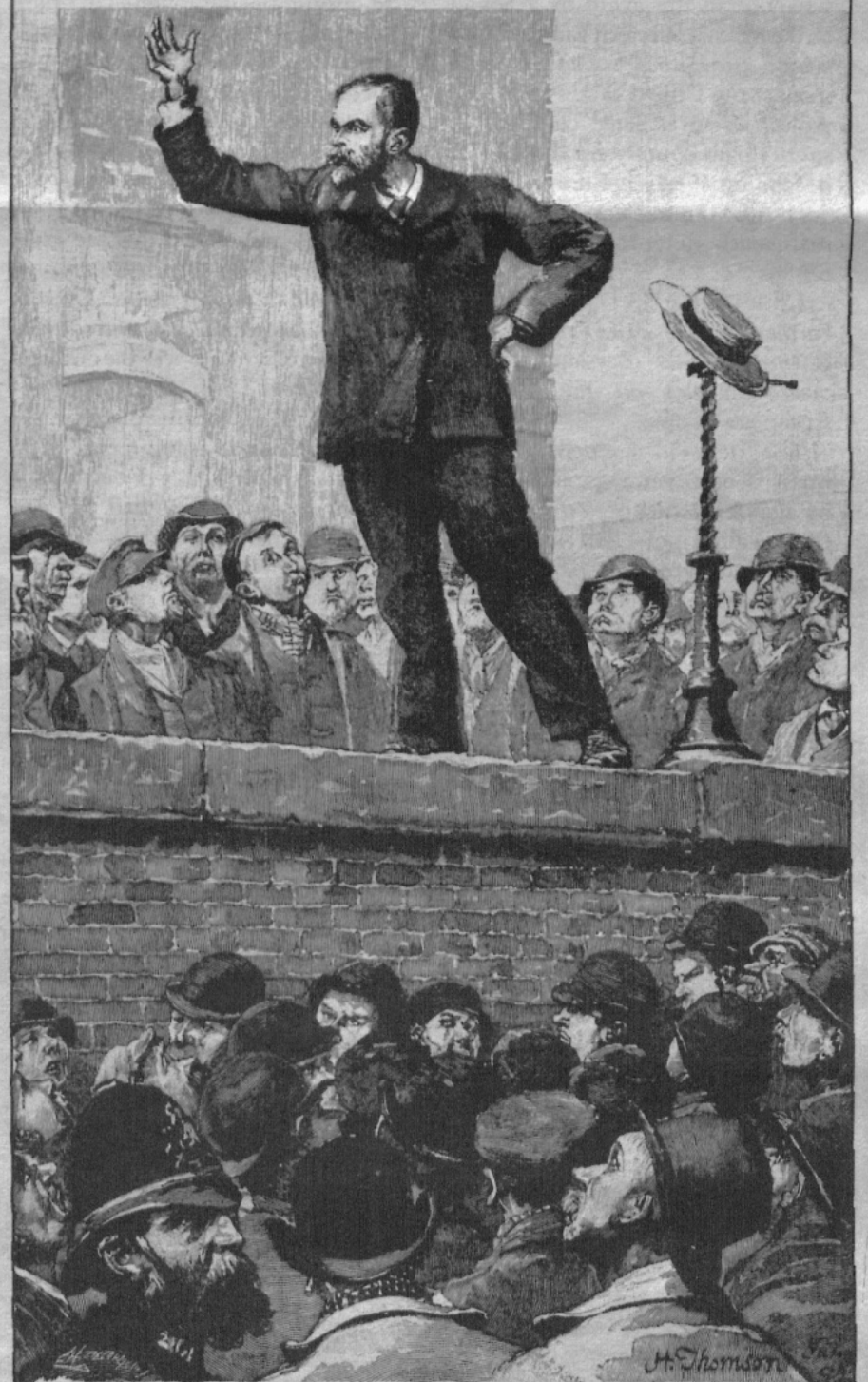
The most important part of the event, other than the open bar, is the candidates' address. From a raised platform the candidate speaks to the delegates. After blaming the opposition party for the problems facing nation, he or she descends into the crowd to press the flesh and have photographs taken with "friends and supporters."

Saturday morning marks that last push for the undecideds, a fairly small group at these events. Weekend booths have been set up where literature, bumper stickers, and buttons are distributed. In 1980 the booths were a good indication of the financial backing of the candidates. Larry Pressler's booth was selling "Pressler for President" buttons, while John Connally's people were passing out pens, pencils, tee-shirts, tennis visors, beach towels, and golf balls, all with the Connally red and black logo.

Immediately preceding the balloting on Saturday are the

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With THE PRIMARY SOURCE, you don't have to have a scene to make a difference.



MEETING

The Primary Source invites you to its informational meeting on Monday, November 21, 1983, 7:00 p.m., Eaton 122 (in the basement).

We would like to introduce you to our publication and the important events which we sponsor. We look forward to seeing you there.

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The Institute for Human Studies is sponsoring the 1984-5 Claude Lambe Fellowship Program. Undergraduate fellowships up to \$7,500 and graduate fellowships up to \$9,000 will be awarded based on the applicant's academic performance, interest in classical liberal ideas, and potential for an intellectual career.

For more information, please contact Walter E. Grinder, Vice President for Academic Programs, Claude R. Lambe Fellowship Program, Institute for Humane Studies, P.O. Box 1149, Menlo Park, CA 94025. Applications due January 15, 1984.

A public service message from The Primary Source.

IT'S TIME FOR THE EUROMISSILES

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urge that it could serve as a first strike weapon; its short flight time and accuracy might make the Soviets adopt a launch-on-warning strategy, increasing the likelihood of an all-out nuclear war.

Such fears are completely unwarranted because of the number of Pershing IIs proposed. NATO will deploy 108 Pershing II missiles which, because two warheads must be aimed at each target, could destroy 54 Soviet missile silos. This would leave the Soviets with over 1,000 missile silos, more than enough to destroy all of West Germany and the United States. Since the Soviets have had numerous computer failures, they would not take the risk to save an insignificant number of missile silos.

Opponents of the NATO deployment also contend that the United States is planning to fight a nuclear war on European soil.

They fail to mention, however, that 250 SS-20s are aimed at Western Europe, and that NATO countries have been targets ever since the SS-20s were first deployed. If NATO fails to create its own deterrent to the Soviet missiles, the United States would be obliged to retaliate with its own weapons in the event of a Soviet strike against Western Europe. This would provoke a Soviet response against the United States itself. No American president could ever sacrifice his country for the sake of defending Western Europe. Thus, only NATO's nuclear missiles can sufficiently deter the Soviet use of SS-20s.

Critics of the NATO deployment further argue that the United States is imposing the Pershing II and cruise missiles on the Western European people.

The decision to deploy these missiles, however, was made jointly by all NATO members, primarily at the urgings of the Europeans themselves, and was subsequently reaffirmed in a series of elections this year. The British election on June 9 was the most decisive one. The Labour Party, which adamantly opposed the stationing of cruise missiles in Britain, suffered its most severe defeat since 1918. The Italian elections of June 26,



though more indicative of political folly, also reasserted the Western European desire for the NATO deployments. The only major party to oppose the deployment of cruise missiles in Italy, the Communist Party, lost votes. The West German elections of March 6 also reaffirmed the decision to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles. Some people argue that Helmut Kohl won the election primarily on account of economic issues and that the great majority of West Germans oppose the NATO deployments. Even if such contentions are correct, the winning candidate was the one who supported the stationing of Pershing II and cruise missiles in his country. And surely the West Germans would have put economic issues aside if they had felt the NATO deployments would threaten their lives.

Should the United States accept the latest Soviet proposal? The inclusion of the independent French and British nuclear forces in an INF agreement, however, would leave an imbalance in Euromissiles. The French and British weapons serve only their national defense. If

the Soviets retained 140 SS-20s and NATO failed to deploy its missiles, the Soviet Union could attack most of Western Europe with impunity. Neither the French nor the British would feel obligated to retaliate if the Soviets launched a first strike against West Germany, Italy, Belgium or the Netherlands. Furthermore, the British and the French cannot expect any American support if they decided to launch a first strike. Any British or French first use of nuclear weapons would lead to retaliation by the Soviets, with absolutely no prospect for an American response.

The Soviets argue that British and French nuclear forces are aimed at them and so should be included in the INF negotiations. However, Soviet ICBMs are capable of hitting targets in Western Europe. There is no more reason to include Soviet ICBMs in an INF agreement than there is to include the independent forces of Great Britain and France.

It has also been argued that the United States should postpone the NATO deployments for six months. However, the Western European governments which are scheduled for deployments in December all oppose such action. They realize that a six-month delay could be lengthened to a full year or perhaps two years and deployments would eventually be postponed indefinitely.

NATO made a firm commitment to begin deploying its missiles by the end of this year, assuming that no agreement is reached in Geneva, and the Soviets must witness our determination in standing by our commitments.

The negotiators in Geneva have had ample time to reach an agreement. Their failure to do so results from the inability of the Soviets to offer a proposal acceptable to the United States. Nonetheless, the Soviets will still have the opportunity to negotiate seriously. The deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles will be completed in five years, which leaves ample time for the United States and the Soviet Union to reach

an agreement.

A delay in the NATO deployments will prevent us from reaching an agreement with the Soviets in Geneva. The Soviets in the past have yielded concessions only when NATO demonstrated its resolve. They should not be expected to act differently in the future. The Soviet Union refused to place its SS-20s on the bargaining table until NATO decided to deploy comparable systems. The Soviets offered more concessions as the date for the NATO deployments approached, but they have yet to offer a proposal acceptable to the United States. And they should not be expected to do so until we begin to deploy. Only then will the Soviets negotiate seriously and attempt to reach an agreement in Geneva. Only by deploying the Pershing II and cruise missiles can we expect to redress the imbalance of Euromissiles and alleviate the Soviet threat to our NATO allies.

Political Pomp: Choosing a Presidential Candidate

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candidates' speeches. They persuade no one because all the delegates have already made up their minds. They do, however, attract the attention of the media. After the speeches, the voting takes place. Rather than by secret ballots, the partisans usually vote by delegation, although block voting is discouraged.

The next phase of the PPP is familiar to all who watch the news. The votes are counted and the results announced. The winner claims that the result is most significant. The second place finisher usually claims a moral victory. The stragglers claim that they didn't expect to win such a

meaningless contest. Sometimes they, especially those with low budgets, accuse the top finishers of buying votes from the delegates with wine and song.

A final banquet is held with the winner in attendance and the losers conveniently absent—they had previously scheduled appearances. No hospitality suites will be open tonight, their purpose having been served.

On Sunday, as everyone pays their bill and heads for home, the realization sets in: with almost a year until the election, any candidate who survives the dozens of PPPs in the months ahead will certainly be able to handle the Presidency.

Let Us Hear From You!

The Primary Source would like to clarify its "Letters to the Editor" policy. We will print any letters sent to us concerning topics printed in previous issues. We reserve the right to edit letters for clarity and space limitations but will not alter the intent of any letter. If space prohibits us from printing all the letters we receive, we will attempt to publish letters addressing a wide range of topics. Letters can be sent directly to *The Primary Source* via U.S. mail at

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or via campus mail. Letters must be signed and include the author's address and telephone number.