

# The Primary Source

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TUFTS UNIVERSITY

APRIL 1987

## AIDS: HUMAN NATURE CALLED INTO QUESTION

William Martin A'87

The nation is up in arms over the AIDS virus. Physicians' prognosis is portentous; hundreds of thousands of men and women are expected to die. Already great numbers have been swallowed up by this peremptory man-eater. Its sanction of death is irreversible to those whose bodies have been infected. And such is supposed to be adequate deterrent to an otherwise promiscuous population. One wonders.

A few observers, very few, are fearful that even AIDS will not alter the way people conduct themselves sexually. Part of this stems from the fact that leaders of this republic, (The Surgeon General, politicians, men of the cloth, etc.), who are addressing issues like AIDS, accept somewhat fatalistic conclusions about the nature of man.

Regardless of their own moral proclivities they see man as a scientific and mechanical creature driven to seek pleasure and to avoid pain. Man, the beast, is highly unlikely to alter his passionate drive to fulfil biological needs. Aside from food and shelter, high on the list of physical demands is sex. And, in the modern world, this sought after sensual satiation is of the short term "live for the moment... what if I die tomorrow" type.

With respect to social problems like AIDS, empirically speaking, one can see why leaders may take this view of man. AIDS and venereal diseases do not spread because of chastity. The great occurrence of sexually transmitted diseases tells many that traditional norms of sexuality are viewed as out-



dated and obsolete. But does this mean that such a condition is unalterable?

Unfortunately, it seems that the problem solvers think so. Concerning AIDS, the Surgeon General has advised the use of condoms as an indisputable means to eradication. In addition, politicians and religious leaders are calling for increased educational projects designed to make children more aware of birth control

devices. They are also calling for public spending on medical and scientific experimentation. On the one hand there is a great faith in man and his potential to solve even the most pernicious of threats to the social fabric, while on the other hand there is little attention paid to the fundamental causes of those threats, i.e. to man's nature.

Maybe this view is not all that

unrealistic. Perhaps one needs accept the fact that man is a scientific creature of impulse. After all the job of the scientific and medical communities is not to interfere with the private life of man. Very few scientists and physicians concern themselves with the ethics of human behavior. They treat the results of man's nature, the ends, and then try to prescribe

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## Supreme Court and Affirmative Action

John Tuerck A'89

In December 1979, Paul Johnson, Diane Joyce and ten other employees of the Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County, California applied for the position of road dispatcher in the Roads Division of the Agency. Johnson and Joyce were among nine qualified applicants eventually interviewed for the post.

Those applicants who scored 70 or above on the interview were deemed fit for the position. Of the applicants

who scored 70 or above, Johnson scored 75 and Joyce scored 73. Including Johnson, three applicants had scored higher than Joyce.

After a second interview, Joyce received the post in spite of her third-place standing in the first interviews. Believing that the Agency had been discriminatory in its selection of Joyce, Johnson filed suit in a California District Court. The District Court found that the Agency had hired Joyce on the basis of her sex and that Johnson was better qualified for the

job.

On March 25, 1987, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Santa Clara County Transportation Agency to hire Joyce instead of Johnson. In effect, the ruling proclaims that "the same standards that the Court has laid down to access the legality of racial affirmative action plans should be used in accessing sex-based affirmative action plans." (*New York Times*, March 26, 1987)

Women's rights and civil rights groups were ecstatic over the Court's decision. They lauded the Court's sanctioning of the dubious policy of favoring women over men in employment decisions. They hope that the ruling will encourage the development of a workplace where the percentage of female employees reflects the percentage of women in the labor market.

Opponents of affirmative action and the Court's ruling argued that a job applicant's merit, not sex or race, should be the primary criterion in the selection of an employee. They also contended that the Transportation Agency's decision to hire a woman because of her sex constitutes a form of reverse discrimination.

There are several flaws in the

Supreme Court's decision.

First, the Court has implicitly approved of the Transportation Agency's policy of achieving "the long-term goal of a work force that mirrored in its major job classifications the percentage of women in the area labor market." (*Ibid.*)

As Justice Antonin Scalia wrote in his sharp dissent of the Court's decision,

Quite obviously, the [Transportation Agency's] plan . . . imposed racial and sexual tailoring that would, in defiance of normal expectations and laws of probability, give each protected racial and sexual group a governmentally protected "proper" proportion of each job category.

In complete disregard of the unfettered choices of the marketplace, the plan seeks to impose strict quotas on all occupations based on racial and sexual percentages in the labor market.

Second, the Court's verdict is condoning the preferential treatment of women and minorities as a remedy for past acts of discrimination. Justice William Brennan concludes that the Transportation Agency's plan "had been adopted . . . because 'mere prohibition of discriminatory practices is not enough to remedy the effects of

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## THE PRIMARY SOURCE

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## FROM THE EDITOR

### MAYER'S WORLD PEACE

### CURRICULUM

President Jean Mayer is currently in the process of setting up what he calls a world peace curriculum to educate students and the public on arms issues. There is, he said, a "need for informed public opinion in order for any arms control agreements to be acceptable."

Dr. Mayer's goals are of course meritable. Who can argue against peace? However, I call his proposed program utter nonsense and a waste of scarce resources.

On CNN's "Crossfire," Mayer stated that he "is counting on the fact that there are two characteristics we share with the Russians: first, we don't want to be incinerated and secondly, we probably don't want to spend a billion dollars a day—if we can avoid it." Furthermore, a "common vocabulary" is needed for arms control discussions and that "it's important for Soviet university presidents, as well as for others, to feel that being a university president brings about responsibilities, other than the responsibility they have to the functionaries in the Kremlin."

Thus far, the only thing that is perfectly clear is that Mayer's "peace" curriculum is not. Few details are available on the specifics of these new peace courses and how they will be taught. In this context, my criticisms perhaps are unfair, but opposition to the "world peace curriculum" is on principle.

Mayer defines peace as nuclear disarmament. As far as I'm concerned, the best way to preserve peace is through continuing and upgrading the rearmament program initiated by the late Carter and Reagan administrations. Because I am not the only individual who feels this way, there can be no one answer in Mayer's curriculum to achieve world peace.

Yet, he intends to appropriate the word "peace" and define it to mean nuclear disarmament. By doing that, he undermines the very purpose of the program which is, he purports, "educational." In that sense, Mayer's highly touted

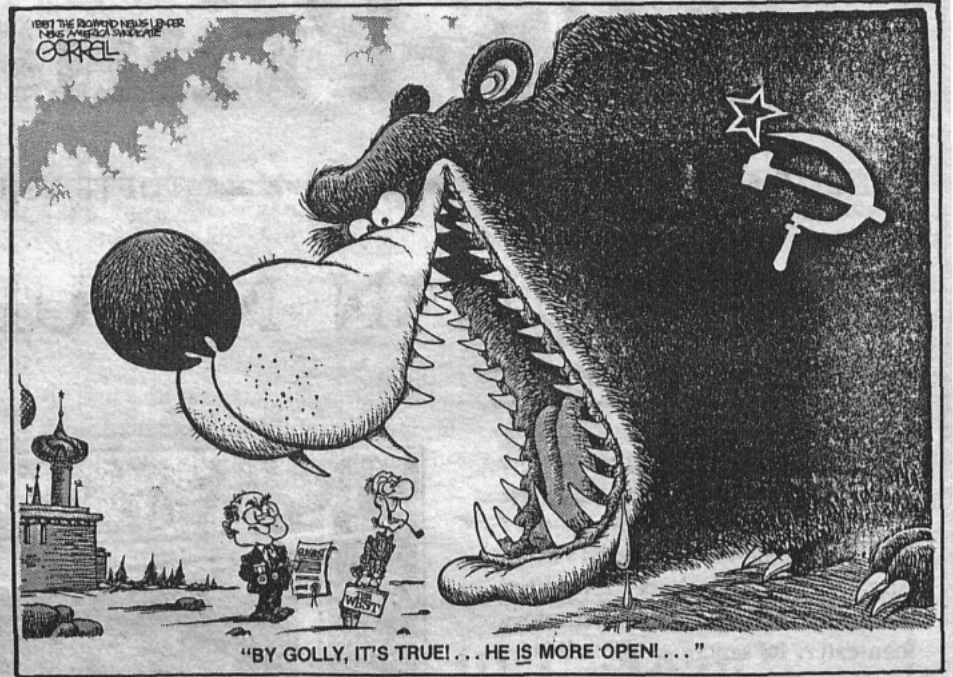
idea merely becomes another vehicle for left-wing politics in the classroom—as if American universities don't have enough of that already. By suggesting that there is one curriculum to explain the arms race, Mayer is attempting to make his arms race indoctrination institutional.

The best way to teach peace is to teach military history—a field that does not even exist at Tufts. As one critic of Mayer's program, Dr. Herbert London, Dean of the Gallatin Division of New York University, put it: "Peace was taught because students read Thucydides, Herodotus, Gibbon, and Shakespeare."

By teaching history in general, students will appreciate the perspective that man's existence is quite simply one war after another. The best method to mitigate war and its effects is to understand the nature of war, why it occurs, and—drawing on historical lessons—means of preventing its outbreak. Grandiose fantasies of world wide disarmament have historically done more harm than good. Any course that purports to teach peace ought to make Winston Churchill's memoirs required readings. Nowhere is there a clearer example of how the fantasy of peace held by Western nations encouraged and fueled the desire for war by Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Undoubtedly, however, Mayer will plunge ahead with his program. Given this reality, he ought to ask himself a key question and make sure he has a satisfactory answer. Will this peace curriculum include a history of the expansionism of Imperial Russian and the Soviet Union? After all, that has always been the greatest obstacle to peace, at least in the latter half of the Twentieth Century, not some perceived lack of a "common vocabulary." Somehow I doubt such topics will be taken up in the Moscow University program. But for credibility's sake, will Mayer have such a course in his?

In fact, the issue of Soviet expansionism is central to the problem of East-West relations today, as the people of Poland, Afghanistan, and



Cambodia will tell you. To educate someone about the arms race requires at the least a basic knowledge of the history of communism.

However, there is another potential problem in Mayer's program if he is not careful to avoid it. Such a curriculum, taught jointly by American and Soviet and other professors runs the risk of establishing some sort of moral equivalency between the superpowers. It seems inevitable since any Soviet professors involved in this sort of project will inevitably be Communist Party members and thus toe the Party line. Should that occur, Mayer's program by definition would be a crock.

Given the unreality of Soviet expansionism being central to

Mayer's curriculum, the president should devote the resources intended for this program to boosting the History and Political Science departments. Mayer could endow a chair in Military History, he could set up a course in political geography, or simply devote the monies saved to financial aid—all of these suggestion would go much further in educating people about the fundamentals of international relations than any pseudo-peace curriculum.

The character of international politics still has not changed since Thucydides. Power is still the ultimate determinant in achieving political objectives. If Mayer's pie in the sky program expects to alter that fact, don't hold your breath waiting for it to happen.

## EULOGY ON THE DOG

*The following piece was put in the Congressional Record by George Graham Vest about a century ago. But nothing has changed so as to not run it today.*

Gentlemen of the Jury: The best friend a man has in this world may turn against him and become his enemy. A son or daughter he has reared with loving care may prove ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those who we trust with our happiness and our good name, may become traitors.

The money that a man has he may lose. It flies away from him, perhaps when he needs it most. A man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill-considered action. The people who are prone to fall on their knees to do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads. The one absolute, devoted friend that man can have in this selfish world, the one who will never abandon him, the one that never prove ungrateful or treacherous, is his dog.

Gentlemen of the Jury, a man's dog stands by him in prosperity

and in poverty, in health and in sickness. He will sleep on the cold ground where the wintry winds blow and the snow drives fiercely, if only he can be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer. He will lick the wounds and sores that result from encounters with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince.

When all other friends desert he remains. When riches take wing and reputation falls to pieces he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens. If fortune drives the master forth an outcast in the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of accompanying him guard against danger, to fight against his enemies, and when the last scene of all comes, and death takes the master in its embrace and his body is laid away in the cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by his graveside will the noble dog be found, his head bent on his paws, his eyes sad but open in alert watchfulness, faithful and true even to death.



# Letters to the Editor

## Article on Prof. Elias' Scholarship Criticized

To the Editor:

Your front page article (March, 1987) on the scholarship of Professor Robert Elias is inaccurate, distorted and simplistic. It is, in short, a depressingly good example of fourth-rate sensationalist journalism.

Professor Elias has written a controversial book that both warrants and inevitably provokes spirited discussion. Your decision to review it in the context of his bid to obtain tenure at Tufts is thus entirely appropriate.

What is most surprising, however, is that your correspondent perversely seizes upon the one issue on which, by any reasonable academic standards, the book must surely be conceded to be immune from criticism by

accusing Elias of offering "no proof" to substantiate the various arguments he puts forward.

In fact, his book must rank as one of the most carefully documented and extensively footnoted pieces of scholarship published in recent years. For 245 pages of text Elias provides 126 pages of footnotes in which he meticulously (some might almost say compulsively) documents the source of every position he outlines.

The remainder of your correspondent's critique is based largely on a patently dishonest sleight of hand by which he attributes to Elias himself the views of the most radical of the relevant literature. It is as though an author of a conservative disposition

could be labelled a Marxist merely for citing the views of Marx on any given issue. In fact Elias is particularly careful to make consistent use of phrases such as "It has been argued that..." or "some commentators believe that..." etc.

The review is further distorted by your correspondents' careful selection of only one or two of the many issues raised in the book and his willful neglect of the great majority of other matters dealt with by Elias. Thus, for example, the latter's analysis of the consequences of institutionalized racism, sexism, and cultural prejudice is entirely ignored. In the same spirit, not a single word of explanation is provided by the reviewer to inform his

readers as to the central focus of the book—the concept of victimology.

In brief, while I welcome the opportunity which your journal presents for the expression of a particular range of viewpoints within the Tufts community, I regret that you so thoroughly undermine your own credibility by engaging in cheap character assassination at the expense of all accepted standards of journalistic integrity.

Philip Alston  
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Law  
Fletcher School of Law and  
Diplomacy

## Human Nature

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"medicines" sufficient to better his condition.

Thus, in the treatment of AIDS, one sees little attention paid to the life styles of the afflicted as the cause, and much more concern with medical panaceas necessary to confront the effect. In the meantime their solution for the spread of the disease is the use of the almighty and infallible condom.

In this fashion there is not a threat to man's nature. Man can conduct himself as he always has. As Paul Maslin, a poll taker, has said, "The implicit message is clear, it is a continuation of more sex." Scientific man can go on being scientific, (read-animalistic) so long as he uses a rubber. According to this school of thought the human being will not surrender any reason because he uses his brain to take preventive measures in his pursuit of passion.

At the same time, man trusts that the same science, which gave pregnancy The Pill, and V.D. the penicillin shot, will find a medicine to cure AIDS.

For the present there is no question that the scientific and medical communities must attempt to find a cure for AIDS. A killer in any community must be arrested. But an overriding preoccupation with scientific solutions leaves the fundamental problems of man's nature unexamined. That could be disastrous to a nation which prides itself on freedom.

One of the most cherished liberties in this country is that of self-criticism, and the notion that man is never impervious to change. From experience he learns and adapts. But he is most successful when he confronts the issue head on, with the hope of determining a long lasting means to better his condition. Hopefully he can derive notions of right and wrong. He becomes ethically responsible. With this in mind he should approach the AIDS epidemic.

While many may deny it, AIDS is a moral problem. It will inevitably cause man to confront his nature, in which there lies the potential to kill. And it is the control over life and death which makes the epidemic of

ethical import. If man chooses to be promiscuous he has decided to follow his baser inclinations. Aside from normally moral problems, the linkage with the death factor, makes such behavior truly unethical.

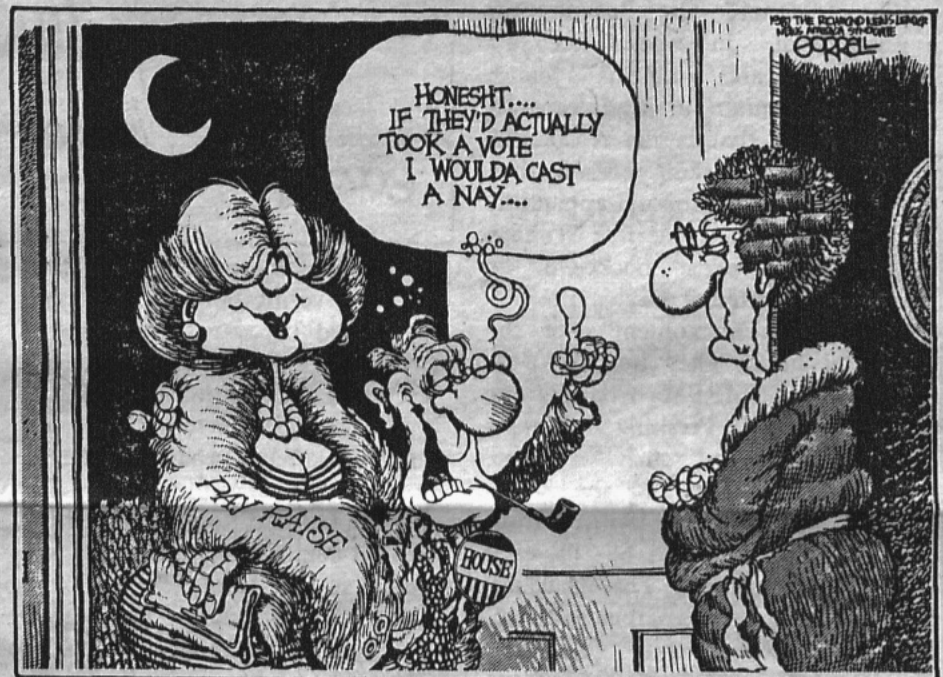
Man possesses the ability to threaten himself and others by contracting, carrying and transmitting a plague. And man, as a rational being, knows that an active sex life with different persons, opens one up to the possibility of coming into contact with, and infact becoming, a killer.

In addition he is aware that the condom is not as effective as the scientific community would have him think. Because there is the possibility that the condom will not give full protection against AIDS, man must still consider the morality associated with minatory behavior, regardless of whether the use of birth control at a particular time is effective. The risk demands that man make an ethical decision, in context of the impact his actions could have on society.

For it is the common good which is most threatened by the ignominious habits of man. If the leaders and problem solvers of this nation do not address man's nature, his morality, then they are not serving the nation well. They should not fail to see that thus far their prescriptions for diseases like AIDS are encouraging the very behavior which led to the spread in the first place. And it is not unrealistic to say that promiscuity in this context is immoral and evil. But their approach to this is not unlike recent attempts to decrease the illegitimacy rate.

Leaders felt that higher spending on birth control for the poor would decrease the incidence of births out of wedlock. They were quite wrong. One needs only look to the fact that 25 percent of births in NYC are illegitimate. The numbers are increasing rather than decreasing. So much for the rubber.

Time and time again it seems that the less willing people are to face the cruel reality of human nature and its connection to social problems, the more ominous their existence becomes.



One would like to believe that all hope is not lost. Perhaps AIDS will be the starting point in changing the way that man views himself. Namely man must look to the human in him as opposed to the animal.

One could conclude that prescribed solutions to problems like AIDS do not say very much for leaders' faith in their fellow men. Condoms and science are means which fully anticipate a continuation of the same sexual practices creating the problems. These cures treat man the animal as opposed to the human. Those characteristics which normally identify baser creatures, i.e. lust and unrestrained promiscuity, are now more definitive of man. This is the same man who is so materially rich, scientifically advanced and intellectually developed. There is a loss of hope in the Classical Liberal notion that man possesses the potential to develop and grow without limitation.

AIDS should not only make man aware of his own potential to bring on self-destruction. It should also move him to realize that he need not be the animal, regardless of problem solvers' views. The cultivation of the human, will require that he consider the possibilities of developing those traits which can best control the animal and its passions.

Most people would not say that sex is the most distinguishing characteristic of the human being. There is so much more—knowledge,

morality, spirituality etc. A bit more attention paid to these and man might truly progress. He might feel better about himself, knowing that his happiness is not a direct function of that which also makes a rabbit happy.

For sexual promiscuity, the animalistic side of man, has many times over proven threatening to life. Poverty and disease, its end products, are taxing questions to modern politicians, sociologists, and others. The preservation of man is a perennial problem.

The control lies within the hands of the human beings. It is up to the leaders of this republic to encourage the human in man as opposed to the animal. Just as they must discourage murder, rape and pillage, which are realizations of the barbaric side of man, so too must they discourage behavior which leads to the animalism which has caused the spread of AIDS.

The potential in man is great so long as he is required to be human, and to face the harsh realities of less than magnanimous activity. Only then will true progress come to a society. Otherwise what may pass for development may only be regression into a state where the lives of all are "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

# On the Right

## LOOKING THIS GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Gorbachev sleepeth not when the West is having a little problem with seasickness. He has grabbed the headlines on two fronts. First he proposed an isolated treaty aimed at reducing sharply the number of intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) in Europe, and next he proposes a get-together with the sometime mad dogs in China. The explanation for this being, in the estimation of "an Eastern European source," that "The Chinese are now emphasizing ideology more, and the Soviets feel this creates more common ground." Another way of saying this is that the uglier life is in China, the more the Soviet Union has in common with it.

The instinctive reaction to the proposal is that the timing can hardly be a coincidence. The Reagan Administration is in desperate need of a little ballast and, until this is found, cannot maintain a steady course. Presumably that is the reason the Soviet Union is taking this initiative. But why is this proposal apparently agreeable to the same five Western European powers so shocked by the proposals floated at Reykjavik?

Pause for a moment over the skeletal terms. They are: The U.S. withdraws its IRBMs from Europe (316 cruise and Pershing II missiles already deployed, each with one nuclear warhead), and the Soviet Union withdraws its IRBM's from Europe and Asia (441 SS-20s, each with three warheads). That would appear to be a very generous exchange, would it not?

Now Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Sanity in Disarmament Conferences, is quoted as calling Gorbachev's offer "a constructive step that should open the way to concluding the remaining issues leading ultimately to a treaty." One needs to know Mr. Perle to understand the caution impregnated in this statement. A "step" is all that he calls it, and he uses the conditional "should." The easiest way to collapse any synthetic optimism based on Mr. Perle's initial statement is to remind ourselves that



the Soviet offer is meaningless without effective verification, and that Mr. Perle said not very long ago that "verification isn't difficult, it isn't even very difficult, it is impossible."

The next question to ask is, Assuming the proffered exchange were consummated, what would be the result? General Bernard Rogers, the retiring NATO commander in Europe, was quoted in *Die Welt* before the Soviet announcement. Asked to comment on the hypothetical arrangements, which of course were discussed at Reykjavik, he said: "If we agree to an isolated medium-range zero option without balanced and verifiable restrictions in the two other areas, then we would be in a worse position than in 1979." By "the other two areas" the general refers to short-range and conventional forces.

The objective of any movement toward disarmament is, after all, the safety of Europe. The French stand out, in responding to the Soviets' latest by making the critical point that

a reduction in nuclear arms must be accompanied by cuts in conventional weapons. Every now and again we need to remind ourselves that the atom bomb has been the friend, not the enemy, of Western European independence.

There is an element of fetishism in disarmament talk. Those afflicted with the superstition that fewer weapons means more safety avoid the most rudimentary thinking. For instance, if the Soviet Union were to decide to violate this treaty, as it has violated most treaties we have engaged in (ABM, SALT II, the Helsinki Final Act, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention), how long would it take the Soviet Union to redeploy its IRBMs? Answer: As long as it takes a train to travel from Siberia to East Germany--call it one week. How long would it take us to redeploy? We would have an ocean to cross, and the governments of five countries to negotiate with.

A second point: What security would,

say, a Parisian be entitled to feel if he knew that there no longer existed any IRBMs in Europe? An ICBM has the range to go from the heart of Russia to Detroit. But there is no technological obstacle to instructing a missile capable of flying several thousand miles to fly only 2,516 miles, dropping in on Paris. What reassurances are we expecting on the strategic front?

And of course, the point already raised, involving conventional forces. Does Mr. Perle count their reduction by the Soviet Union as one of the necessary "steps" to the conclusion of a satisfactory treaty? And will our verification rights permit little Richard Perles armed with sensitive instruments to hire Hertz cars in Moscow, pack up for a two-week bivouac, and snoop away to their hearts' content?

Mr. Reagan has much to worry about. Add to that the impulsiveness of those who would disarm at any price.



### Reverse Discrimination

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past practices."

The way to remedy past acts of discrimination is not to subject new victims to similar acts of discrimination. Past acts of discrimination are unfortunate and regrettable, but nothing can erase them. Holding employers responsible for the actions of their predecessors will not solve past or present problems.

Women and minorities hired through affirmative action programs are potential sources of resentment from co-workers. Charles Murray, a political scientist, writes,

For the last couple of years, there has been an enormous drainage of good will toward racial equality, not just among the rednecks, but among the gentry, in which I would include white intellectuals as well as other intellectuals. (*New York Times*, March 29, 1987)

Third and most important, the Supreme Court's decision is a disdain of merit as the primary criterion for employment decisions. By hiring according to race or sex instead of merit,

employers risk sacrificing quality for the sake of a questionable brand of social engineering.

Sex-based affirmative action plans may have an unintended backlash. Linda Chavez, the former staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, says,

In my view, the women's movement was aimed at allowing women to compete on an equal footing with regard to their sex, and I think what this decision does is return us to the 19th Century concept that says women are the weaker sex and need special protections in order to be able to compete. (*Ibid.*)

The latest Supreme Court ruling, which broadens affirmative action plans, is a bitter disappointment to those who seek a marketplace where everyone, regardless of sex or race, is hired or promoted on the basis of merit. As the *Wall Street Journal* correctly observed, the decision says, in effect, that discrimination is okay as long as it is practiced against white males.

# The Month in Review

## Honor Thy Country

The *Primary Source* wishes to commend without reservation Tufts Tri-Service Organization for giving the American flag the respect and treatment that it deserves. It was long, long overdue.

## A Stupid Question

On March 24, ABC's *World News Tonight* reported that the Pentagon had released its annual statement warning of the danger inherent in the Soviet military buildup. The news program then asked of the document: "Will it stand in the way of improvement of superpower relations?" Our question: Who Cares?!? If the defense establishment warns of a threat to world peace, ought we not at least listen? ABC's question sounds remarkably like those people who criticized Winston Churchill in the 1930's for advocating a military buildup to counter Naziism. They, too, were afraid of "harming" relations with Germany and "offending" Hitler.

## For the Record

A survey of 130 nations by the Population Crisis Committee found that the United States rates fifth in the world for comfort of life. According to the *Globe*, "The Committee used official statistics to develop an index from the sum of 10 factors rated on a scale of zero to 10 for their impact on human suffering." Only Switzerland (who was first), West Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands beat the U.S.—even then not by much. Just thought we'd mention it.

## "Sister School"

The TCU Senate approved a resolution making Tufts a "sister school" of the University of El Salvador. Now this doesn't really mean much, but we suppose the effort is symbolic. Apparently, however, the Senate now sees fit to tell the Duarte Government how to run its country. Perhaps they can offer some advice on how to give the people of Afghanistan "the right to have access to higher education." A resolution calling for the removal of Soviet troops ought to do the trick.

## Charitable Comment

The following was overheard shortly after last month's issue came out with the article on Prof. Elias' scholarship on the first page: "I hope Eric J. Labs dies a slow, painful death!" These words were apparently spoken by a great American liberal JAP who obviously loves people. These words were offered in a brilliantly conceived and logical response to the article on Elias written by this paper's erstwhile and humble editor.



## April Fool All Year

A note on the April Fool addition: one might notice that this April issue is seemingly little different than any other. In fact, that's true. After a period of long contemplation and consideration, the editors decided to not have an April Fool's edition in the spirit of the *Daily* and the *Observer*. Our reasoning was thus: It has long been apparent that our monthly editions have been a source of hilarity for a substantial portion of the Tufts campus as well as, we hear, the Kremlin. Therefore, in this spirit, this issue will continue as others have in the past. Now, for our four faithful and serious readers who might desire some jocularity in their lives, *The Primary Source* kindly refers you to the next issue of the *Meridian*. Enjoy.

## Good Guys, Bad Guys

During the anti-racism activity of a month ago, the Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA handed out a leaflet on campus that advised President Mayer, as part of an anti-racism campaign to "cut off the institutional funds that allow a handful of Reaganites and ultra racists and anti-communists to put out a fancy twice weekly newspaper." That has to be us! Normally, we wouldn't concern ourselves with the looney left, but this was too good not to mention. Apparently they read us. By the way, the insult notwithstanding, we are proud to be Reaganites and anti-communists even if these Marxists can't count.

## Iangate

Tufts Off Center Board Film Series presents  
**IANGATE**  
 A Tale of Treachery and Deceit  
 Starring:  
 Jean Mayer (as the French Inquisition)  
 Bruce Reitman (as the Hunchback Torturer)  
 Bobbie Knable (as Chief of the Secret Police)  
 and  
 Richard Nixon (as Ian Kremer)

## Divine Terrorism

Well, nobody should say that they didn't think he wouldn't make it. Thanks to gambler and dog-racer Jack Collins and his cool \$1.3 million check, T.V. Evangelist Oral Roberts reached his \$8 million goal by the end of March—with the help of a death threat from none other than God. True, the money was to go the education of the medical students. On the other hand, they used to have words for this sort of thing: swindle, extortion, con-game. Now that he has his money, perhaps Oral will shut his mouth—for once.

## President Dukakis?

By now the entire Free World has heard that Michael Dukakis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of Massachusetts, is running for President of the United States. Imagine. There are people who want to give him—ugh!—four years to help ruin the Republic. By the reaction of this state, you'd of thought it was the Second Coming.

## There Will Always Be an England

You're not going to believe this, but a recent gossip note running through the press said that Princess Diana, dressed in a black tuxedo and tie, met singer (that was their adjective, not ours) Boy George who was dressed in black tights and a skirt. Perhaps you didn't read that right. *She* was in a tuxedo and *he* was in tights and a skirt.



# Individual Rights are not Granted by State

James Robbins

A recent survey of U.S. public schools revealed that a full forty percent of southern schools allow some type of classroom prayer—this a full twenty-five years after the Supreme Court declared public school prayer unconstitutional. In the case of *Engel v. Votale* (1962), the Court found that school prayer, even when voluntary and “dominationally neutral,” violates the “establishment” clause of the First Amendment: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion....”

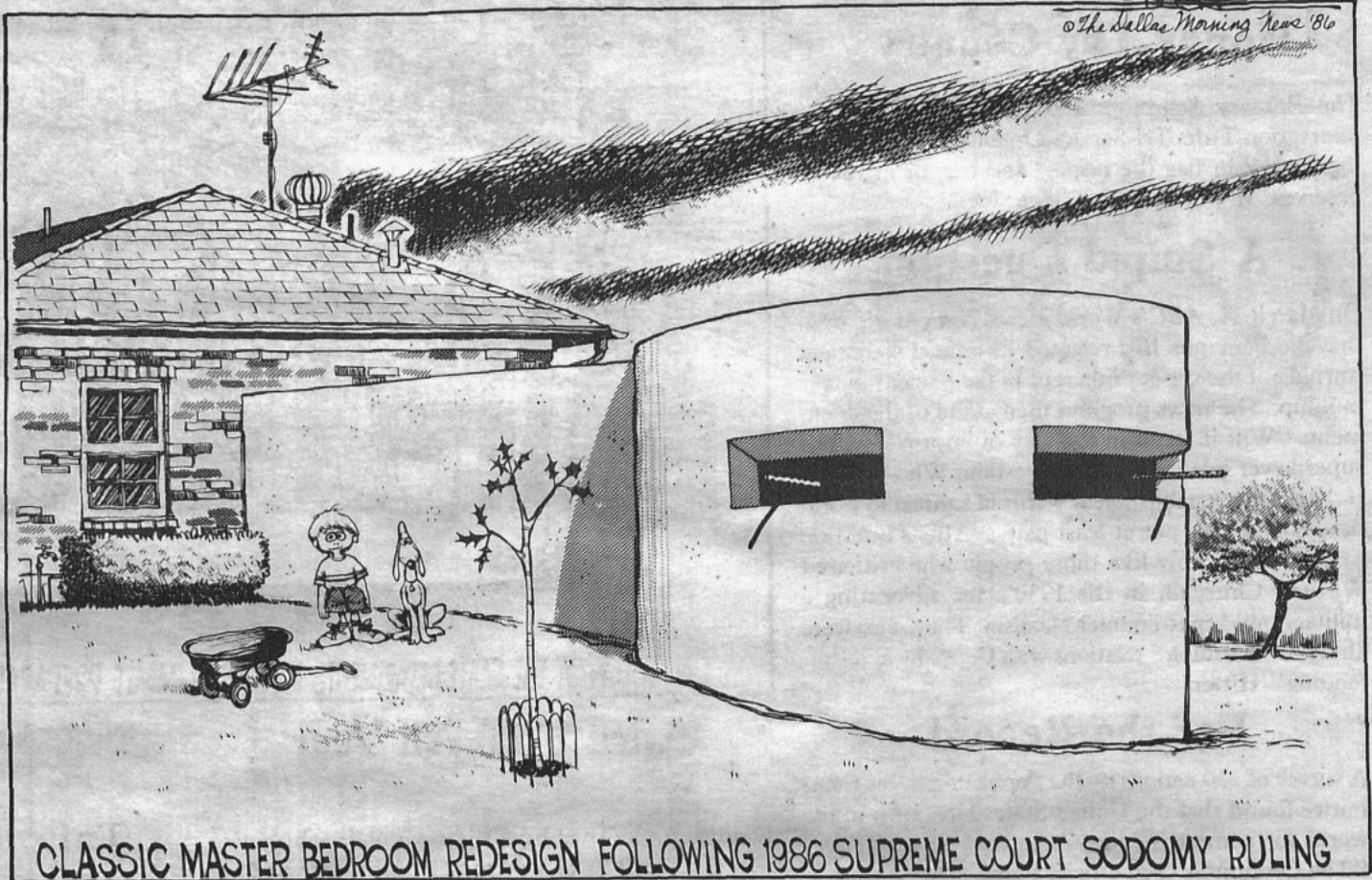
Southern schools are practicing civil disobedience on a massive scale, and the courts are powerless to act until someone files a suit. The fact that no one will do so raises interesting questions concerning the rights of American citizens and the ability of the court to define them. Note that I am questioning the ability of the Supreme Court to define rights, not its legitimacy in attempting to do so. Obviously some institutions must exist in civil government to act as arbiters when conflicts arise. Courts are necessary—but the courts and the judges who populate them are not omnipotent. The justices are men and women of proven ability, talented legal scholars; occasionally they are dead wrong.

Wait a minute, you think. Wrong according to whom? If the covenant defines the Supreme Court as *the* final authority to determine the rights of citizens, then it cannot err. Such has been the tradition in the United States; the Constitution defines citizens’ rights, and the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution.

The unfortunate aspect of this argument is that it negates the theory of rights upon which our political system was founded. Current legal theory suggests that we have rights because they are in the Constitution. This is exactly backwards—rights are in the Constitution because we have them.

It is necessary for the governance of society to allow political institutions some measure of power, but it is unconscionable that any political institution be allowed to interpret the sovereign rights of the citizenry. Once one accepts such a system, one must live in fear of one’s rights being suppressed, yet done so with the name of “rights” and with the legitimacy of the truth-finding institution to back up the crime.

The most extreme example of this was supplied by Nazi Germany. The Weimar Constitution, which under Hitler was never officially discarded, provided that the rights of all citizens,



CLASSIC MASTER BEDROOM REDESIGN FOLLOWING 1986 SUPREME COURT SODOMY RULING

such as free speech, assembly, press, worship, etc. would be protected, and none of them could be violated except with “due process of law.” During the Hitler regime, the Nazi dominated Reichstag, through “due process,” systematically removed the protection of the law from German Jews, eventually revoking their citizenship, then allowed them to be killed. These victims of the Holocaust were stateless, thus had no rights. In essence, under German law at the time, their extermination was legal.

If one rejects the notion that one’s rights exist *because* of the institutions of the State, one can see the Nazi crimes in their true perspective. Each victim of Hitler (or Stalin or Mao or any other mass murderer) possessed an inalienable right to life based not on the existence of the State but upon the existence of the individual.

Thankfully the United States has never suffered such outrageous violations of human rights, and one hopes it never will. Yet it has had its share of tragedies. Was slavery a crime? Yes, but the Court endorsed it. Does one have a right to the product of one’s labors? Of course, but in *Wickard v. Filburn* (1942) the Court ruled that Congress may regulate the amount of food a farmer grows on his own land and for his own consumption.

There are many cases in which the court has ruled against fundamental rights. The fact that this takes place leaves the citizen with two questions:

how does one know when the Court is in error; and what can one do about it?

The average citizen is well equipped to know his rights; all one needs to do is recognize their characteristics. Rights are universal (that is, apply equally to everyone), inalienable (cannot be governed or taken away), self-contained (require no involuntary action on the part of one citizen for the benefit of another), and complimentary (never conflicting). When one expresses an idea through speech or press, agrees to contract, makes a purchase, plants a crop, worships in a manner of choice, or bears arms, one is exercising rights.

Certain things have been defined as rights by the Court which clearly are not: the right to free public education—because it is not “free,” someone must pay for it, and this violates one’s right to property since one often gets no direct return; to free public housing by the same reasoning; or any other “right” which requires coerced social support.

Has the Court erred on the question of school prayer? Does the southern example demonstrate the will of citizens who know they have been wronged to resist government intrusion? It’s a mixed bag. Congress has

mandated public education. It forces citizens to pay taxes to support schools even when these citizens have no children. The fact that such schools exist is a violation of someone’s rights. But as organs of the State, they should not play ideology to a captive audience. The State mandates attendance, and even “voluntary” prayer places pressure on children to conform. In such a situation, channels should exist through which citizens can register their complaints and find redress.

In the case of the southern schools, these channels do exist—but no one is using them. Parents aren’t bringing suit against the schools. They are satisfied with the situation. No one is being victimized, no one’s liberty is being violated.

Complaints against even voluntary school prayer are valid—but where there are no complaints, it is not the business of the State to intervene. It is a credit to our system that courts cannot take independent action to impose their proscriptions. In a free society citizens must be allowed to participate in consensual group activity which is not harmful to others. This may involve prayer in school or Marx in the classroom—and where no one objects, there is no crime.



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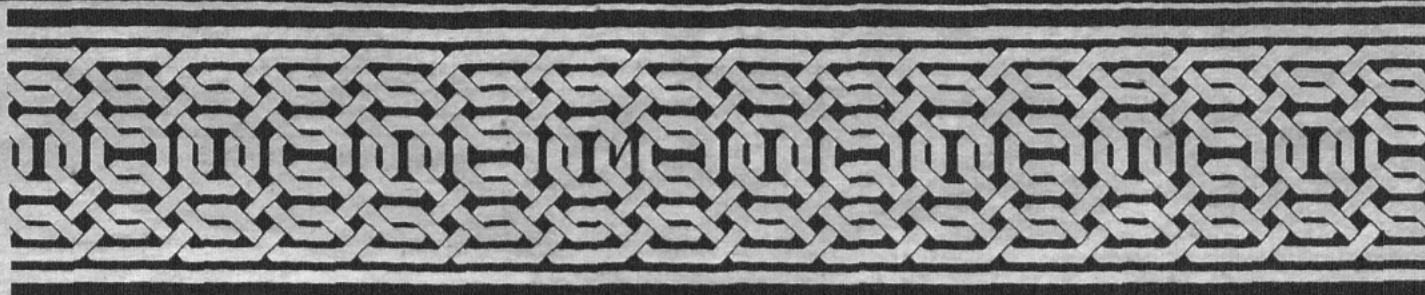
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# Love That Phil!

Edwin Feulner

Golly gee, boys and girls, life is beautiful and everybody loves everybody else. Life is so beautiful and everyone is so lovable that it makes no difference what you do—you're still beautiful in your own way. If you don't believe it, you must not be a Phil Donahue fan and you must have missed his recent shows from the Soviet Union.

The gushy talk-show host taped five shows in Moscow recently. It wasn't completely smooth sailing, to be sure. Compared to his motor-mouthed American studio audiences, Phil's Moscow ones were strangely uncommunicative on several issues.

For example, when the blue-jeaned, very "with-it" Phil asked 400 Soviet teenagers if they were having any problems in school, "not a single hand went up," according to the Associated Press account. Nor could Phil get them to open up about some other favorite topics of his—sex and drugs and their relationships with their parents.

Phil told them Americans had a "stereotype" of Soviet students as "sheep." Finally, breaking a long and painful silence, especially for television, a student explained: "What can we do if everything is all right here? American students have many more problems than we have—criminality, drugs.

Another student piped up to say, regarding Afghanistan, that he considered it his "internationalist duty"

to serve the Soviet cause there. And so on.

But though his audiences may not have been the liveliest, Phil himself didn't miss a trick in elucidating the complexities of East-West relations. The trouble, he explained, is caused by a "small percentage of people in both countries . . . who remain hardline and militaristic."

Indeed, as the *New York Times'* John Corry reported, Phil doesn't see any moral difference between American and Soviet societies. He told his Soviet audiences there was a "a moral and political symmetry between East and West" that "only a few madmen disturb." Phil allowed that "some Americans" believe that the Soviets expand their empire "by military might," but hastened to add that "the vast majority of people in the United States admire you."

In a tone Corry describes as indicating "that he didn't believe it himself," Phil cited another of those damnable stereotypes we Americans are fool enough to believe: that "Russians are discouraged from believing in God." Why, no, the audience assured him, it was simply that Soviet science had proved that there is no God.

At the show's conclusion, a young woman suggested that everyone sing. "Like magic," Corry reported, "a guitar materialized in the audience." Phil and a few young people sang "We Shall Overcome." Most of the



audience "either talked to one another or looked off into space."

How, indeed, does one begin to overcome such illimitable idiocy, to de-bamboozle a complete blockhead?

Unfortunately Phil doesn't understand how total and savage totalitarian oppression is. He seems not to know that nobody disapproved by the Kremlin could have made it into his Moscow studio audiences.

By its very nature, totalitarianism seeks total control through terror and indoctrination. When indoctrination is fully successful, as it has not yet been, you get a nation of robots—the sort of people in Phil's studio audiences. Short of that, totalitarian states need a vast and brutal prison system, as the Soviets maintain, to deal with dissidents who dare express themselves honestly.

Just one suggestion: If Phil thinks

only naive Americans believe that the Soviets expand their empire by military might, he should do his next show from an Afghan refugee camp along the Pakistani border, and fill his audience with dismembered Afghani children, and Afghan women who have been raped and bayoneted.

He wouldn't need to regale us with his geopolitical inanities. In fact, he'd do us a favor if, as the cameras showed us the latest victims of Soviet savagery, he had the dignity to just shut up.

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

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# STALIN'S TORCHBEARERS

Edwin Feulner

The 20th Century's totalitarian mass murderers have understood that if you're going to sin, sin big. The more persistent and more monstrous your sin, the sooner the West will get over its indignation and resume yawning.

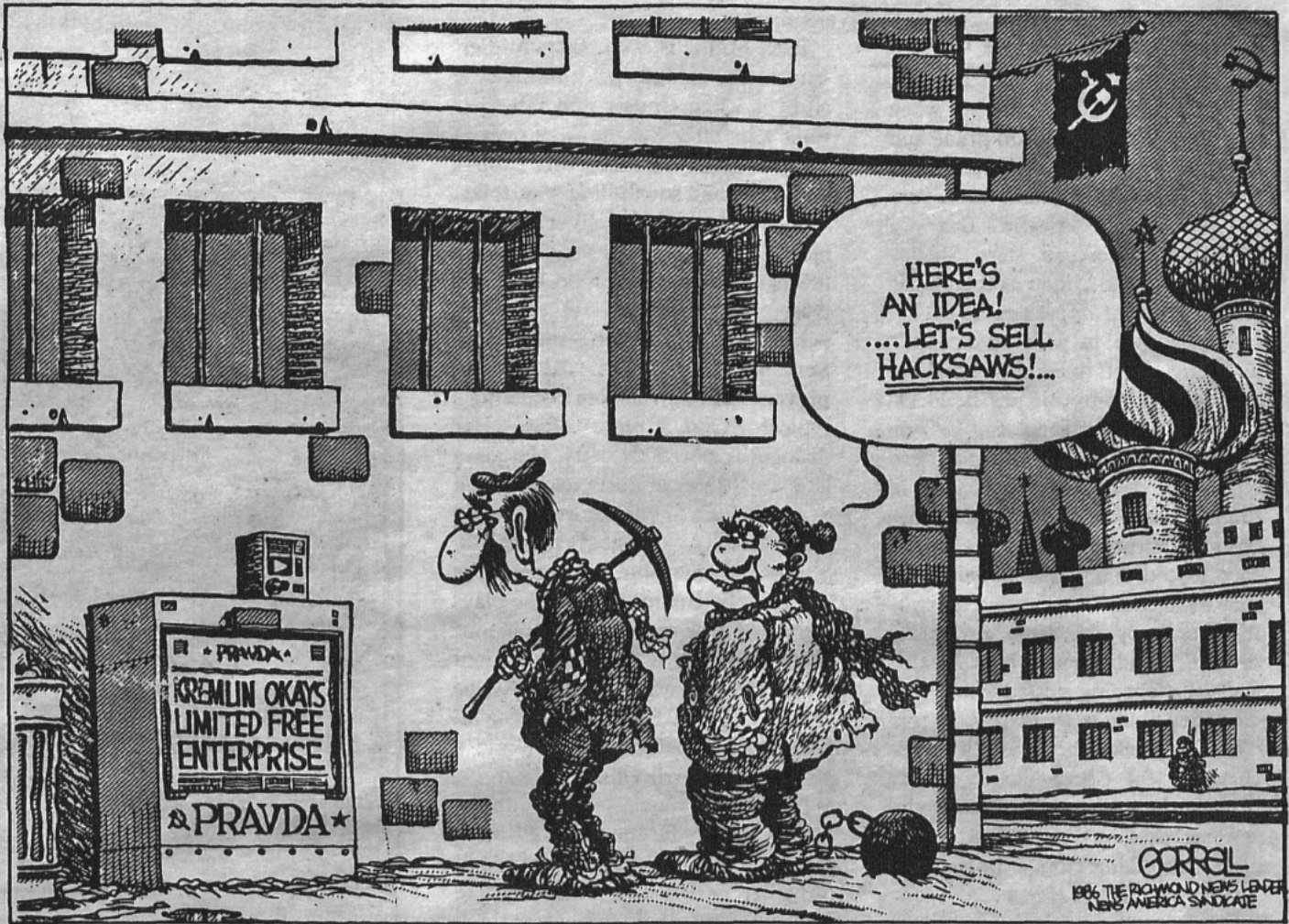
This principle has been at work for nearly seven years in Afghanistan. When they invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, the Soviets doubtless miscalculated the determination of the heroic Afghan resistance. What they correctly calculated was the minimal price the West would make them pay even if they resorted, which of course they hastened to do, to the ultimate totalitarian tactic: genocide.

To be precise, in Afghanistan their tactic is "migratory genocide." It is impossible to kill all Afghans (even with the latest in chemical-biological weaponry), the next best thing is to drive as many as possible out of their homeland. Estimates are that the Soviets have killed more than a million Afghans, and driven more than 5 million into Pakistan and Iran.

History shows that, for the Soviets, this may be merely warming up. But already the Afghans they've murdered or driven out total more than a third of the nation's pre-invasion population. Countless thousands of others are wounded, starving and homeless thanks to the Soviets' scorched-earth tactics.

Recent reports on human rights violations in Afghanistan—by Amnesty International, the respected British publication *Janes Defence Weekly*, and the United Nations—are depressingly similar to such reports from previous years. Despite Soviet efforts to seal off Afghanistan from foreign observers, there is massive testimony from a wide array of sources not only of the scale of Soviet slaughter, but of its viciousness.

An example, by no means untypical, from a recent *New York Times* story on the U.N. report: "... witnesses [reported] four instances in which chemical weapons, presumably gas, were used, and as many cases in which phosphorus and



napalm bombs were employed. . . . In Garabad, in Konduz Province . . . witnesses said, soldiers executed 30 people in mid-August in retaliation [for supporting the freedom-fighters], kicking children to death and disemboweling a woman and cutting off her breasts." The Soviets prefer carrying out such acts in front of the victims' relatives, the better for terrorizing and demoralizing what remains of the populace.

Now for your pop quiz: Against what country did Congress recently pass economic sanctions? (Clue: It's the very country liberals castigate as the foulest blot on the planet.) Answer: South Africa.

Second question: With what country has the United States, over the last couple of decades, gradually expanded its economic, cultural, and scientific relations? Answer: the Soviet Union.

Third question: Why? The answer here would take us too far into the social psychology than animates the liberal mind, always fanatically resistant to evidence and reason.

In a sane world, the Soviet Union would be a pariah state condemned as the moral equivalent of Hitler's Germany. But spinelessness and stupidity continue driving the Free World toward accommodating and appeasing Moscow.

The U.N., though it has repeatedly condemned the presence of "foreign troops" in Afghanistan, has never so much as mentioned the rather significant fact that the troops are Soviet.

The U.N. has even refused to translate into four of the five official U.N. languages that part of the recent report on Afghanistan that listed Soviet atrocities. The U.N. said it was trying to "economize," an activity in

which it had never before shown any interest.

The author of the report, Felix Ermacora of Austria, objected. Rosanne Klass, director of the Afghan Information Center at Freedom House, told the *Washington Times*, "I think surely [the U.N.] could have found ways to economize in matters that are no a question of life and death for millions of people.

But don't you understand, Rosanne? If we rile the Soviets will so much as shrill rhetoric, let alone take any action against them of the sort we've taken against the global menace of South Africa, they might not sign any more of those treaties that have done so much over the years to prove how deeply, deeply committed they are to world peace and human rights.

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

## Notable and Quotable

"I always pass on good advice. It is the only thing to do with it. It is never any use to oneself."

—Oscar Wilde

*Life can't be all bad when for ten dollars you can buy all the Beethoven sonatas and listen to them for ten years.*

—William F. Buckley, Jr.

"The evil of capitalism is its unequal distribution of wealth. The virtue of socialism is its equal distribution of poverty."

—Sir Winston Churchill

*The efficiency of our criminal jury system is only marred by the difficulty to finding twelve men every day who don't know anything and can't read.*

—Mark Twain

"An honest politician is one who, when he is bought, will stay bought."

—Simon Cameron

*The difference between a moral man and a man of honor is that the latter regrets a discreditable act, even when it has worked and he has not been caught.*

—Henry Louis Mencken

"You as Americans should never forget how powerful your example is in the world. All people who yearn to live free look to America for inspiration and political support...."

—Jonas Savimbi

*Liberal are people who think that society, rather than the criminal, is responsible for the crime. They think that up until that society breaks into their car and steals their tape deck.*

—Comedy Center

### THE SHIP OF THE WORLD

God fashioned the ship of the world carefully.  
With the infinite skill of an all-master  
Made He the hull and sails,  
Held He the rudder  
Ready for adjustment.  
Erect stood He, scanning His work proudly.  
Then—at fateful time—a wrong called,  
And God turned, heeding.  
Lo, the ship, at this opportunity, slipped slyly,  
Making cunning noiseless travel down the ways.  
So that forever rudderless, it went upon the seas  
Going ridiculous voyages,  
Making quaint progress,  
Turning as with serious purpose  
Before stupid winds.  
And there were many in the sky  
Who laughed at this thing.

—Stephen Crane

# GOOD VIEWING WITH OUTRAGEOUS

Cara Appelbaum J'88

Question: What do you get when you take a tall, slim, prim prude and team her up with a short, busty, brazen hussy? Answer: A very, very funny movie. Leslie Dixon's *Outrageous Fortune* stars Shelley Long and Bette Midler as this classic comedy pair of opposites.

This movie is an "outrageous" amalgam of deft one-liners, Cowboys and Indians camp, James Bond espionage and the adventure of Indiana Jones. Long and Midler play two struggling actresses who meet in drama class. They despise each other on sight (surprise, surprise). They are soon forced to unite when they learn they have been had (in every sense of the word) by the same guy. This discovery leads them to New Mexico and their ensuing mis/adventures.

Shelley Long is wonderful. In this movie she takes her Diane Charles character (of *Cheers* fame) several steps further. She proves herself to be extremely talented and versatile. She plays everything from a 14 year old boy to a hard-nosed Bronx cop. These two performances are especially

memorable.

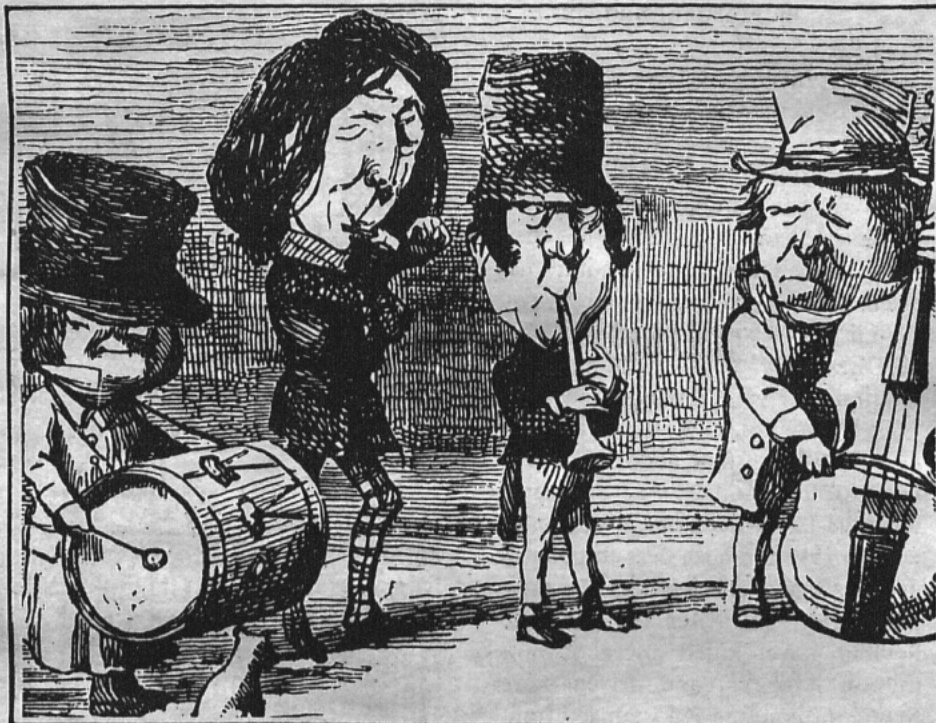
Bette Midler is, well, Bette Midler-super! She is loud, wild, funny-cute and you will definitely remember her walk long after the movie is over.

In between scrambling over cliffs in high heels and squabbling (yes, folks, the two women actually engage in hand-to-hand combat) the characters manage to establish a rapport. Long's prissy wasp character serves as the perfect foil for Midler's rowdy jape. Screenplay writer Leslie Dixon prevents this movie from becoming a typical "Odd Couple" film. Her dialogue is incredibly witty. Her jokes and situations are fresh, exciting and very numerous. The actors definitely take advantage of Dixon's cleverness.

Another enjoyable performance is put forth by George Carlin who plays the very drunk and very loveable tour guide. He is really funny and without a trace of his usual obscenity. As the unfaithful lover, Peter Coyote is an attractive, believable good guy and a stupendously evil villain.

I think this movie serves as an excellent remedy for the "end of Spring Break-Back to School blues." Whether or not you're tan, go see *Outrageous Fortune* for a great time.

## FORTUNE



## Poet's Place

### Florida—Full Moonrise

Some prote-seminole

Who happened to be standing at the water's flow

To spear a night fish

Long ago

First saw the full moon rise

Where the tropic land

Extended green palms and poison flowers

To the sand's smooth edge.

His shadow stalks me as I watch

The black horizon and the blood red moon

Slowly define its orb in the dark air.

O Artemis, Diana, Cynthia,

I have ancient names for you,

But he far back in time

Must have dropped down in wonder

Or in fear to see you climb the ladder of the sky.

Meanwhile the rippled waves offer him gold.

With bent fingers he reaches down into the tide -

Better than fish, better than eating -

To find a dream that only falls away.

Now down the centuries, full moon rising

Offers the dream to me. It is the promise that we seek

Not the fulfillment, the never failing orb of light.

—Regina Merzlake

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"Delicious...Johnson's verdicts on historical figures are shrewd and unsparring. He calls Gandhi a 'sorcerer's apprentice' whose rhetoric of nonviolence was 'nonsense,' given the turmoil he ignited...About American affairs Johnson is extremely keen. He speaks contemptuously of 'the Watergate witch-hunt,' brought about by people in the media...he is not fooled by the favorable publicity the 'activist' (read: leftist) judiciary has received at home...But he ends on a note of hope, seeing 'palmprints of freedom' amid the destruction." — Joseph Sobran, *National Review*



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#### How do you score on men and events?

Fill in the blanks with the people Paul Johnson is referring to:

"The \_\_\_\_\_ Invasion [of Washington], one visiting statesman observed, was 'like watching the Borgia brothers take over a respectable north Italian town.'" (Page 614)

"In the atomic field Soviet agents included Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Morton Sobell, David Greenglass, Harry Gold, \_\_\_\_\_ (alias Alexander Stevens), to whom Whittaker Chambers acted as courier, and Jacob Golos, as well as Klaus Fuchs, who had been cleared by British security." (Page 458)

"Yet \_\_\_\_\_ was not a statist. He said he was against any attempt 'to smuggle fascism into America through the back door.' On many issues he was a liberal...He did not make anti-Semitic jokes, like Woodrow Wilson and his wife or Franklin Roosevelt. To a very wide spectrum of educated American opinion, he was the leading American public man..." (Page 243)

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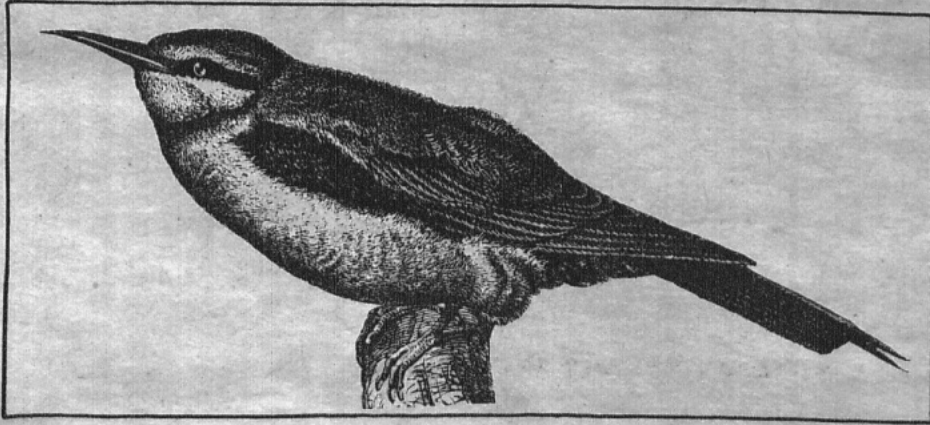
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# BOOK REVIEW

## THE SOVIET ART OF CONQUEST

James Burke A'87

*Caught in the Crossfire*, by Jan Goodwin, (E.P. Dutton, New York), 1987. \$17.95.

On Christmas Eve in 1979, Soviet troops began their invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion began as a Soviet move to first eliminate the country's radical Marxist leadership which had essentially lost control of the country amid sometimes bloody faction infighting and then to install a puppet regime under Babrak Karmal and assist in quelling a growing rebellion. However, the Soviets clearly failed to anticipate the degree of Afghan resistance to the central rule of Kabul, to the presence of yet another foreign army, and most of all to a force which sought to impose "Godless" communism on Afghanistan.

While much has been written in the West about why the Soviets entered Afghanistan (geostrategic interests, resources, the Brezhnev Doctrine), there has been a virtual wall of silence surrounding the war itself, and particularly, Soviet conduct in Afghanistan. It has been a war without laws, a war of genocide. Soviet efforts to destroy all "class enemies" in Afghanistan and build communism out of the ashes has resulted to date in one to two million Afghan fatalities and created the world's largest refugee population. Five million refugees are located in Pakistan and Iran, 50 percent of the world's total refugee population. Indeed, it was the scale of human suffering, and the paucity of Western media coverage of this tragedy that moved Jan Goodwin to attempt to first-hand account of her experiences covering the war.

*Caught in the Crossfire* is the result of several trips the author made to Afghanistan. Her first effort to enter Afghanistan with the *Mujahideen* in 1984 met with failure. The central part of her book, however, deals with her experiences during the summer of 1985 when she spent three months traveling in and out of Afghanistan from Pakistan, eventually seeing most of the Eastern half of the country. She made her journey with the assistance of one of the seven major guerilla groups, the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) and its leader Pir Sayed Mahmed Gailani.

Through first-person narration, the author recounts her own experiences trying to get into Afghanistan past corrupt Pakistani police, Pakistani intelligence officers (who, as the author describes, have apparently been authorized to prohibit Western journalists from entering Afghanistan as result of requests by the U.S. State Department, which doesn't want to "jeopardize" ongoing negotiations with the Soviets on troop withdrawals), and finally past roving roadblocks, or more appropriately



pathblocks, set up by Pakistani intelligence.

Inside Afghanistan the author witnesses the almost total devastation of villages, land, and culture of the Afghan people by both the Afghan secret police KHAD of which its former head is now the puppet ruler of Afghanistan, President Najibullah and the Soviet Army. Recounting her own experiences and relating the experiences of her acquaintances among the *Mujahideen* and various villagers she meets on along the way, the author offers a gripping but nonetheless saddening narrative of life in war-torn Afghanistan and of what it is like to fight with the Afghan freedom-fighters.

Jan Goodwin recounts her experiences during an official visit to Kabul. She describes her experiences in and impressions of a city and a society in transformation, as the Soviets move to create a permanently Socialist Afghanistan. She tells, for example, of meeting with a 13 year-old boy, who, after being taken to the Soviet Union and trained to shoot a pistol, was then sent into the field in Afghanistan to kill *Mujahideen*. Her descriptions of life in Kabul, from isolated and guarded communities where East Bloc soldiers and officials live, to the changing role of women in Afghan society, offer a fascinating contrast to the war-torn countryside beyond the 10km-wide *cordon sanitaire* set up by the Soviet army around Kabul.

In addition to recounting her experiences inside Afghanistan, Jan Goodwin also gives the reader a first-hand look at the plight of Afghan refugees. Her descriptions of people dying in Pakistan refugee camps from disease and starvation are a testimony

to what she calls "migratory genocide." The author attributes much of their suffering to indifference on the part of many in the West. As she notes, the massive relief efforts undertaken by the United States in response to the tragedies in Cambodia and South Vietnam were, in large part, the result of a sense of guilt at having betrayed these countries.

But there seems to be much less of such feelings and much less support when it comes to Afghan refugees. The predicament of Afghan refugees is tragic when one considers that their plight is no less horrific than that of refugees in Africa, where much of world attention has been focused in recent years. And the Afghan refugee population far outnumbers that in Africa.

As an epilogue, Goodwin describes her effort to deliver several letters taken off dead Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan to their relatives in the Soviet Union. The author did manage to enter the Soviet Union and deliver one letter. Her trip to the Soviet Union, though largely abortive, was included in the book because of her insightful experiences there. Most fascinating were the degree of indoctrination she encountered in the "just" nature of "Soviet internationalist support" for the people of Afghanistan (one family even thought that Afghanistan was a Soviet republic being subverted by imperialists) and the desire evident on the part of many Soviet citizens, though not necessarily the Soviet leadership, to get out of Afghanistan.

I believe Jan Goodwin included this epilogue in order to underscore the sheer brutality exhibited by the Soviet army in its conduct of the war and, in particular, the brutality of Soviet

army officers. Ninety percent of the Soviet officers are Party members with a vested interest in seeing the war continue: they receive nearly triple standard wage, are given promotions faster, and are generally left to do as they wish in an environment where Western goods are plentiful in the Bazaars of Kabul).

In the course of Goodwin's stay with NIFA, she interviewed two Soviet army conscripts who defected early in the war but still remain secreted somewhere in Afghanistan. Their descriptions of the conduct of Soviet officers toward not only the Afghan population but to their own men are horrifying. From drunken bouts of random violence, to the mass execution of 1500 members of a single village, to the use of Afghanistan as a testing ground for the latest Soviet chemical and bio-chemical weapons, the brutality of the Soviet officer corps and the Soviet army in general is recounted in detail in *Caught in the Crossfire*.

One can only commend Jan Goodwin for writing *Caught in the Crossfire*, for finally bringing the war, in all its brutal detail, to the Western public. I hope, as she does, that greater public outcry and concern for the Afghan people will eventually translate into greater support for relief programs to help the Afghan refugees and the Afghan freedom fighters.

Jan Goodwin's *Caught in the Crossfire* is a must-read for anyone interested in understanding the war in Afghanistan and Soviet foreign policy in general. It is, most of all, a testament to the Soviet art of conquest.

# IF IRAN WON THE WAR

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In a recent article for the *Wall Street Journal*, Professor Michael Reisman of Yale Law School argued that an Iranian victory in the Iran-Iraq war would not be the disaster that most political pundits and analysts have lead the American people to believe. Prof. Reisman writes persuasively, though not necessarily convincingly. His article, however, deserves attention and analysis, considering that it is a view seldom heard in any corner of the media.

Reisman starts off his article by reminding Americans that their natural dislike of the Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran should not eclipse sound geopolitical judgement with respect to the Middle East. Iraq is not a country ruled by saints and certainly has posed far more of a threat to Israel in the past than Iran. Thus, Reisman asserts that "although an Iranian victory would present many problems, it would also offer opportunities."

Specifically, Reisman states that there would be several results of an Iranian victory that could work to U.S. advantage.

First, should Iran beat Iraq and a reorganization of the Iraqi government (favorable to Iran) followed, Soviet interests in the Middle East would be set back considerably, and that would be good for the United States. "Besides having to cope with the diplomatic embarrassment, the demonstration of the inferiority of its weaponry and its inability to protect a friend, the Soviet Union would have to reckon with a larger, ideologically antagonistic force that was militant, expansionist, and flushed with victory."

Indeed, it has already been reported that Iran beams broadcasts into the southern, Islamic republics of the U.S.S.R., exhorting the population to rise up and overthrow their "godless communist masters." Iran has in effect equated the Soviet Union with America, the "Great Satan." Now while this rhetoric may offend Americans, such propaganda in the restless southern region of the U.S.S.R. is at least problematic for Moscow.

Second, Reisman states that instead of moving on after a victory over Iraq to destabilize Saudi Arabia and other moderate Persian Gulf states, Iran could very well turn its attention to Afghanistan instead and the help the *Mujahedeen* even more than it is currently doing. He argues that Tehran would look at the Soviet-supported Bagdad government and the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul in a similar light and thus turn their attention there.



Soviet concern on this score is real. When his article was published in mid-February, Reisman predicted one likely Soviet response to the problem: "As the situation in Iraq deteriorates, the Soviet Union can be expected to renew its efforts to accelerate a cosmetic if not real withdrawal from Afghanistan." Given recent Soviet "proposals" to withdraw from Afghanistan, Reisman's prediction seems to be more of prophecy come true.

On another point, Syria, while nominally an ally of Iran, would not be pleased with an Iranian victory and a fundamentalist Iraq. "It (Syria), too, is a Soviet-supported secularizing regime with its own fundamentalist pressures." Consequently, should Iraq become a fundamentalist Iranian satellite, it is possible that Syrian President Assad might be more forthcoming in negotiations with Israel and Jordan in an attempt to secure his borders.

Moreover, if the ayatollah's rhetoric to "sweep on to Jerusalem" proves to be more than simply words, Reisman asserts that "changes in Jordanian and Syrian policies in reaction to an Iranian victory could well block such initiatives and actually redound to Israel's benefit." That is certainly true. To "sweep on to Jerusalem" requires moving through Jordan or Syria or both, something which neither nation would enjoy and, of course, resist.

Reisman's analysis in the totality is certainly persuasive; however, it is not without its demerits.

Reisman says that Iran probably would not move to destabilize Persian Gulf states, but that is by no means a certainty. Iraq, at least, has never posed a political or religious threat to those countries. Also, Israel has always held its own against Iraqi threat as the 1982 bombing of a Bagdad nuclear reactor proved.

That, too, raises an interesting point. While intelligence information on Iraq's nuclear program is slim, an Iranian victory could result in the nuclear technology falling into the ayatollah's hands. I don't mean to propose that the ayatollah is a madman; I don't think he is. However, no sane thinking person would want Iran to have a nuclear bomb. Combining Iraq's nuclear program with Iran's (which had begun under the Shah) would be a potentially volatile mix indeed.

In addition, it seem obvious that Western nations would not want one nation—Iran or Iraq—to be too powerful in the Middle East. Ideally, the war's end would leave an independent Iraqi government to maintain a balance of power. That does not mean that Iraq has to be the strongest state in the Gulf area, it simply asserts that hegemony by either country does not serve American or Western interests.

Nevertheless, in fairness to Reisman, he was dealing with the

worst-case scenario and not advocating an Iranian victory. He is critical of the alarmist tendency of the United States when it considers the Middle East in general and the Iran-Iraq war in particular. Professor Reisman's most important point is a critical one. He argues that it would be foolish for the U.S. to stand idly by and not seek some sort of rapport with Iran. (He did not mention that this meant arms sales.)

He does, however, assert forcefully that America must consider Iran intelligently:

It is especially hard now for Americans to think rationally about Iran. The ayatollah's government has given the U.S. many reasons to dislike and distrust it. But the ayatollah is not Iran. Iran is a nation of more than 40 million people, with a formidable infrastructure, in an important place and with important resources. It is too important strategically for the U.S. to glower on the sidelines until the country's rulers are more to our liking or to get impatient and throw in our lot with Iran's enemies in the hope of changing its government—a move that probably would succeed in bailing out the Soviets and letting them move to the winner's side.

I do not fully agree with Professor Reisman's analysis, but his points are well-taken and are a valuable contribution to the policy debate in this country over the Iran-Iraq war. Should any reader be seriously interested in taking a look at Prof. Reisman's entire article, it was published on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* on February 19, 1987.

