

The Primary Source

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TUFTS UNIVERSITY

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What The Soviet Press Is Saying About The U.S.

Jonathan Tarr, A'88

"President Reagan believes that he as a strong mandate to continue his aggressive campaign against the Soviet Union and his massive build up of nuclear weapons." So said a Union of Concerned Scientists letter to its members described in a recent William F. Buckley column in the *Washington Post*. Buckley pointed out that two leading members, when confronted with the letter did not specify exactly how Reagan was waging an "aggressive campaign," but did say that Reagan has said things about the Soviet Union that were "provocative."

The members most likely were referring to such Reagan statements as the "evil empire," which brought him much criticism from the Soviet Union and Congress. The statement was criticized as provoking tension with the Soviet Union. But any sample of statements about the United States in the Soviet press, makes the "evil empire" statement sound gentle.

A September 9, 1985 *Time* magazine article dealing with the public relations war between the United States and the Soviet Union, described several references to the United States in the Soviet press:

"While grieving... over the death of Samantha Smith, the American girl who visited the U.S.S.R. on a peace mission at the invitation of Yuri Andropov in 1983, the Soviet media hinted that her plane crashed as a result of foul play." *Time* also mentioned Soviet allegations that the



Pentagon was poisoning the Amazon River, and also printed a forged letter from a U.S. Army general to Chile's President Augusto Pinochet, welcoming Chilean troops to fight in El Salvador.

Andrew Nagorski, former Moscow bureau chief for *Newsweek*, described, in a recent *The New Republic* article several other examples of the United States image in the Soviet press. He described a Radio Moscow broadcast on November 2, 1984:

"The Moscow Radio commentator searched desperately for suitable abusive language: 'I am trying to find the most appropriate terms to expose the foul, human-hating nature of the present-day cannibals, and I can't find them, because the most accusatory words seem too feeble and mild for this... Gangsters, pirates, vultures, people-eating, barbarians—these are all appropriate, but to be honest they are too weak if you remember and imagine how many

hellish torments, sufferings, grief, and human sacrifices there are behind every step of the American instigators of war.'"

Abusive anti-U.S. rhetoric has been existent in the Soviet press long before Reagan's "evil empire" statement. And Gorbachev's claim that "we have never accused the U.S. of being an 'evil empire'" can be easily discounted by Soviet statements. Nagorski points out, "On June 12,

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Educational Policy Committee Recommendations: Too Many Curriculum Requirements

Eric J. Labs, A'88

For the past several years the Faculty of the Liberal Arts and Jackson Colleges have been engaged in a major curriculum review. This year specific proposals have been formally submitted to the Faculty by the Educational Policy Committee (EPC). These recommendations have dominated the agenda at Faculty meetings thus far and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

The following several paragraphs outline and explain the major proposals significant to the students. Recommendations dealing with administration and implementation are not considered. The EPC Report was lengthy and specific so the proposals have been condensed for clearer reading. However, verbatim language from the EPC Report has been used repeatedly for the pur-

poses of accuracy.

As of this writing, only one major area has heretofore been debated and voted on by the Faculty. While affirming the already existing distribution requirement of two courses in each area of the arts, humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences, the individual components of the requirement have been toughened to ensure adequate exposure to each field.

In the future, a student, to satisfy distribution requirements, may take either one listed course in one department and one other course from that same department or two listed courses in different departments that meet the particular requirement. Prepared by the individual departments subject to Faculty approval, listed courses are those which satisfy the intent and disciplines of the distribution area.

Also likely to be approved by the Faculty regarding the distribution requirements are the elimination of the pass/fail option and "double-counting" which will prohibit using one course for two requirements and limiting the number of courses taken

in one department for distribution to two. (Ed. note: The elimination of the pass/fail option for distribution was unanimously approved by the Faculty at their last meeting.)

The second, more comprehensive thrust of the EPC Report focuses on the foundation requirements. Here the EPC recommends an extensive expansion and reorganization of the requirements.

Firstly, the freshman writing department is to be upgraded and expanded. The specifics are as follows:

1. Students who receive a score of 500 or lower on the verbal SAT would be required to take English 08 before 01 and 02.
2. Departments will design certain courses in which writing will be integrated so as to work in conjunction with the writing department.
3. Departments will design at least one course to serve as an English 02 equivalent.
4. Students would be required to take at least two courses above the basic writing requirement in which writing is a substantial component.

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The Primary Source

The conservative journal of opinion at Tufts University

Barry Weber Editor-in-Chief

Matt Bronfman Business Manager

Eric J. Labs Copy Editor

Waldemar Opalka Assistant Editor

Jonathan E. Tarr News Editor

Henry Delfiner, Ph.D. Faculty Advisor

Contributors: Cara Applebaum, Jim Burke, Daniel Calingaert, Pamela Ferdinand, Scott Frank, Jeff Hamond, James Hosker, Hannah Hotchkiss, J.J. Kwashnak, Andrew Matus, Craig Reimer, Renee Rheinbolt, Wells Sampson, Tim Sloane, Andrew Stern, Scott Vincens, Diane Zitner.

Founders: Brian Kelley, Daniel Marcus.

Mail correspondence to *The Primary Source*, via U.S. mail to P.O. Box 14, Tufts University Station, Medford, MA 02153, or via CAMPUS MAIL.

The Primary Source is a recognized student organization at Tufts University, registered in the Student Activities Office.

From the Editor

Accuracy in Academia Controversy

The conservative movement on college campuses began to rise with the first election of Ronald Reagan. Currently, there are more than fifty alternative conservative publications at universities throughout the country. These papers are at the forefront of a new revolution, but they are not the only new conservative phenomenon.

Just this year a group arose called Save the Oppressed People which is determined to get universities to divest from companies which do business in the Soviet Union. It is just beginning to get national attention.

A second and more notorious group has also just begun operation.

Accuracy in Academia (AIA) just published its first newsletter (November 1985), and it even received complaints from all over the country months before this.

What does AIA want to do? Apparently they are interested in ensuring that teachers do not present their biases as facts and that professors teach proper (meaning what is defined in the course bulletin) material in their classes. They do not complain about teachers expressing their opinions as opinions when required or about courses being taught about Karl Marx.

I do not believe that AIA wants to halt the flow of information, but there

TRUSTEES' RIGHT DECISION

The Trustees of Tufts College must be congratulated for their November ninth decision not to divest from companies which do business in South Africa. Instead they will investigate other means with which to bring pressure on the South African government. Currently Tufts follows a policy of selective divestment from corporations which do not adhere to the Sullivan Principles.

It is encouraging to note that college students have so much energy to devote to causes that they feel strongly in, although *The Primary Source* feels that there are more important and beneficial wars to be fought than asking the trustees to divest. The following is a sample of the interest that Tufts' students took in this matter.

First, the Tufts student senate sponsored a rally on the South Africa and divestment issue. Its president followed this up by giving the Trustees a lengthy speech on why they should divest.

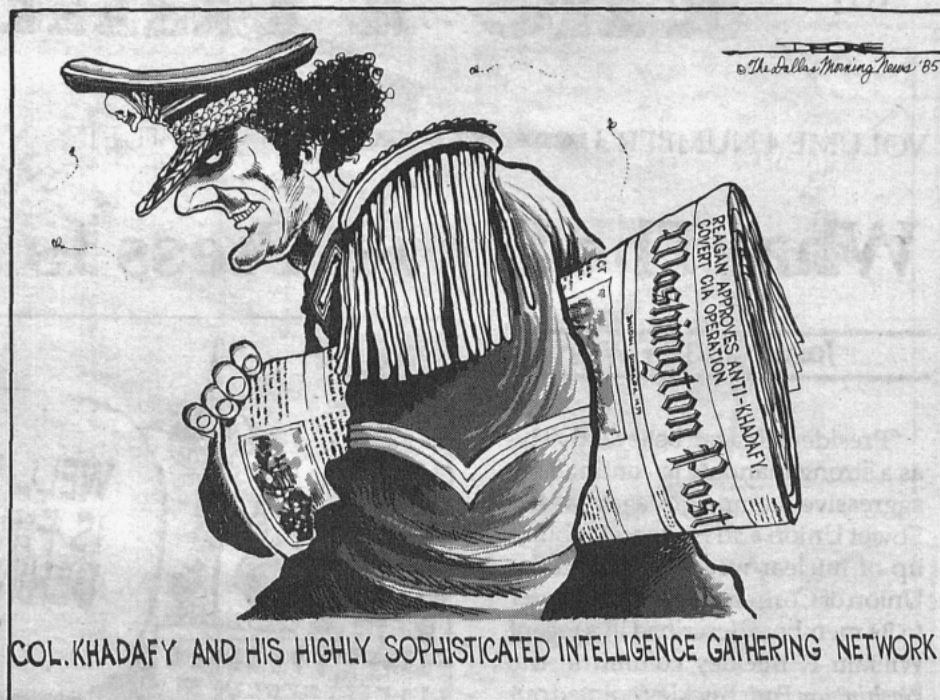
Also, the November Ninth committee, a group of undergraduate and

graduate students, drafted a letter to the trustees on the moral and economic reasons for divestment. That group also planted crosses next to the chapel for each black that has been killed since the violence began in South Africa in July.

The symbol is touching, but is not a complete story because one does not know if the death was a result of black versus black, Indian versus black or white versus black violence. Blacks supporting Botha's attempts of reform have been murdered and tortured, but they do not get as much media attention. The common observer of the crosses will unjustly place all of the blame on the Botha government, but this is not fair.

Another group, the Ad Hoc Committee Against Racism, built a shanty town before the Trustees' meeting in order to make their point about apartheid and divestiture.

With the Trustees decision against divestiture, no one knows what other student activism will be attempted at Tufts. *The Primary Source* hopes attention will turn to another issue,



COL. KHADAFY AND HIS HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED INTELLIGENCE GATHERING NETWORK.

is still much controversy over this group. Why? First, people are scared that a national witch hunt will take place in which all teachers affiliated with the left will be harassed. People believe that a school's power to deal with its professors is being usurped. However, if AIA conducts itself properly these problems will not occur.

The AIA should serve as the organization where one can turn to after exhausting all possible routes at one's university. If someone disagrees with a teacher's facts or style of teaching in the course, they can talk to the teacher, other professors, administrators, campus media and friends. If no action is taken then the AIA will be the next logical step to publicize the transgression and perhaps get more people to look into the possible problem.

The AIA is just beginning to get organized. No one is sure of the effects that it will have or the exact techniques that it will use. I believe it will be successful if it serves as a final outlet for student problems. Hopefully AIA will modify its objectives to serve just this goal.

Neither *The Primary Source* nor myself are affiliated with Accuracy in

Academia. I do not agree with all of their proposed plans and actions but I do believe that there is a niche in this country that they or another similar group can fill.

Finally, the following was taken from AIA's first report in which they earned one positive point with me:

But when students at Arizona State University complain that a professor who is teaching a course described as "Political Ideologies" is actually spending much of his time serving up anti-nuclear polemics, the university administration does nothing. When AIA calls attention to the situation, The New York Times writes an editorial: "What constructive purpose can be served by such meddling? Surely Arizona State, like other colleges and universities has its own procedures to insure that professors are performing satisfactorily." A year has passed since Mathew Scully first exposed in the student paper the wide divergence between what Prof. Reader teaches in his POS 101 course and what the course is supposed to cover. Nothing was done about it.

but if it remains focused on South Africa the disappointed divestment supporters must not turn to force to achieve their goal. The past two months of campaigning for divest-

iture (everything after the senate's shameful rally) have at least given us a rational example on "how to" protest.

Students' Rights Denied

There they go again. Inconsiderate, irrational Tufts students violated other students' rights.

Several students decided for others' good that students should not interview with the CIA at Tufts because the CIA is an "immoral" institution that they oppose. Several students missed their interviews and were not able to make them up. Add this to the list of "Liberal radicals deny other students rights at Tufts." I lament that this list gets longer every year.

Apparently, three students blocked the door of Bolles House so that the recruiters could not get inside. The police would not remove the protesters from the doorway. Cal-Berkely police would have moved the protesters, and if they met with any resistance they would have been

arrested. Tufts needs a more defined policy, of which walking away is not an option.

This is the second year in a row where force has been used by protesters to make their point. It is amazing that Tufts lets a few people dictate to the majority. There were other protesters outside of the building protesting legitimately, but these three, realizing that their ideas themselves were not good enough, had to use force to get them across. This is the mark of a defeated cause.

Force should only be used when your rights are violated by another forceful action. Those who blocked the entrance did not have this right. Why do we let such a small collective make Tufts a shameful place, a place where the administration cannot protect freedom of speech?

Letters

To the Editor:

I read with interest the article by Eric Labs on American policy toward the Philippines. The article was essentially correct. One is not accustomed to reading such views in the pages of *The Primary Source*. Perhaps hope does spring eternal...

Bobby Cooley
Chair, I.R. Department

Dear Sir:

I've had the good fortune to read a number of copies of *The Primary Source* within the past year. It's truly heartening to find such logical and sane thinking in a college publication. If I did not know before reading it that it was the work of young college

students I would have attributed many of the articles to such astute thinkers as Mr. William Buckley — one of your contributors.

In this present age of liberal media yours is a publication that gives one hope in the future of the United States. Apparently there are true "conservatives" among us even in the young - i.e., those who wish to conserve what has made our country the great nation that it once was — one whose very coins attest to the source of its eminence: "In God We Trust."

Keep up the good work!

Sincerely yours,
Sister Joan Schermerhorn

Recently, Eric Labs, Copy Editor of *The Primary Source*, wrote Tufts president Jean Mayer a letter asking him if

a banner could be hung from Curtis Hall which protested the Soviet Union. President Mayer had approved of students hanging a banner protesting apartheid from that same building. The following is his excellent response.

Dear Mr. Labs:

I think that it is perfectly legitimate for you to have a banner protesting the Soviet Union's behavior; you should arrange the timing and placement of the banner with the TCU Senate.

I was answering to the South African discussion taking place at the TCU Senate while I was there and not necessarily looking at the evils in the world. Clearly, the Soviet Union gets no vote from me.

Sincerely yours,
Jean Mayer

To the Editor:

By the very nature of our existence, the Tufts Young Democrats and *The Primary Source* will often have ideological differences. However, we would like to commend Editor-in-Chief Barry Weber and *The Primary Source* for the recent decision not to participate in the conservative watchdog group, Accuracy in Academia.

By refusing to become involved with AIA, *The Primary Source* has shown that it will not resort to questionable tactics while working to promote the spread of its ideas.

The Tufts Young Democrats, as an entity, congratulates and supports *The Primary Source* on its decision not to participate in AIA and the implications of this decision.

The Tufts Young Democrats
Laura Winston, President
Tim Brog, former President

Campus Corner

New Curriculum Proposals

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Secondly, the language department and culture option would be substantially reorganized:

1. Students would be prohibited from fulfilling the first part of the language requirement with the pass/fail option.
2. All introductory and intermediate language courses through the third level (e.g., Italian 03) would be conducted on a five hour per week basis.
3. The content and intent of the Culture option would be affirmed and strengthened.
4. The second language option for fulfilling the second part of the language requirement should be reduced from four semesters to three.

Thirdly, the EPC recommended additions to the foundation requirements. One is a "Quantitative Reasoning Requirement." It includes two specific components:

1. Students who score lower than 500 on the math SAT will be required to take Math 04 in the first semester of the freshman year.
2. All students will be required to take a quantitative reasoning course which covers such areas as pure mathematics, symbolic logic, calculus, statistics, and probability theory.

Fourthly, the EPC has called for a "Computer Competency Requirement" as an addition to the foundation requirements. It refers to a mandatory course for all students in which significant out-of-class work must be done on a computer.

There are, however, several qualifications to this particular proposal. An exam would be designed for students to take to be exempted from the requirement. Also, the EPC recognized that the introduction of the requirement would be gradual due to a lack of facilities and will be experimental, deserving of close monitoring.

Lastly, EPC recommends a fifth addition to the foundation requirements: "Cultural History Requirement." Intended to explore the

history and dynamics of change in world cultures, western and non-western, the requirement would be a two-semester course, designed to utilize at least three of the four distribution areas. Also, the courses would be team taught to ensure the best possible expertise for the diverse disciplines.

The motivation for this lengthy, complex, and, in the end, expensive process is a legitimate concern for improving the liberal arts education at Tufts. The EPC feels that the "spirit" of the requirements is not being met, by such mechanisms as the pass/fail option, and thus needs improvement.

Whatever the merits of the individual proposals, the extensive revision is not without numerous and valid criticisms. For instance, should all the proposed requirements be approved as intended, students will be required to take twenty-one courses. This does not include another ten to twelve courses for a student's major — and only two of these can count towards any one requirement unless one's major is in a language.

The result leaves only three or four courses from the original thirty-four credits for the students to engage in personal choice (assuming all courses taken are one-credit apiece). Obviously double-majors will be seriously impaired if not completely eliminated. The Ex-College will most certainly lose students with the increased requirements and fewer opportunities to try the many unique ideas that program offers.

The Tufts Daily has reported several criticisms of the EPC recommendations by Tufts faculty members. Classics Professor Jack Zarker pointed out a hitherto unmentioned problem: how will Tufts look to prospective students with so many requirements. He cited Brown University as an excellent, reverse example. Its immense success must be attributed, to a certain degree, to the total lack of requirements in its curriculum. Students are encouraged in certain directions but just encouraged.

Also, many faculty members, including Zarker, are unconvinced of separating the Natural Sciences from Math or "Quantitative Reasoning."

The argument being that while the courses and techniques are different, the disciplines are essentially the same. The Math and Natural Sciences Departments dispute that connection.

By reporting and listing the curriculum proposals, *The Primary Source* hopes students will read them and judge for themselves and not apathetically accept Senate votes or

reports from *The Tufts Daily* and *The Tufts Observer*. Students must offer their opinions, criticisms, and experiences. While the proposals would not take effect until the Class of 1990 or later, we must add our voices now and convey our particular viewpoint. One cannot stress enough the fundamental importance of the EPC recommendations and the seriousness which they deserve.

American Defends Nicaragua In The World Court

Professor Abram Chayes, professor at Harvard Law School and chief counsel of the government of Nicaragua in their case against the United States in the World Court, said he was "very concerned with the suspension of civil liberties in Nicaragua," when he spoke to Professor Eichenbergs P.S. 31 class on October 21.

The statement came in response to a question dealing with a recent *New York Times* editorial, titled "Nicaragua Bares the Nightstick," which asked "why the new Nicaragua abandoned even the pretense that it tolerates pluralism." Chayes statement exemplified his lack of strong support for the Sandanista government.

Chayes was surprisingly non-political in regards to the case. He said he accepted the case after meeting with the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister and gaining the feeling that the Nicaraguan government was serious and could be dealt with. Chayes emphasized that he does not "vouch for the government of Nicaragua."

The World Court case, which challenges the United States' support of the contras as an illegal use of force in accordance with the United Nations Charter and general laws, is unique in that the United States is presenting no defense. Thus Chayes had to respond to what he felt the United States would have said if they remained in the case.

The withdrawal of the American counsel resulted from a disagreement over the court's jurisdiction. The Reagan administration feels that

the Nicaraguan dispute is political and not legal, and thus the court has no jurisdiction. The administration presents the recent United States - Canada case and the United States - Iran case as examples of the courts jurisdiction.

The United States and Canada agreed to have the court settle a dispute over Atlantic fishing areas, and the United States brought Iran to the court in response to Iran's taking Americans hostage, and thus violating diplomatic immunity. Thus the United States feels that the court should deal only with mutually raised cases, or treaty violations.

Chayes also defended the court against Reagan administration and Congressional charges that the court was biased. He pointed out that out of the 15 judges sitting on this case, 6 are from Japan and Western states, 6 are from Developing states, and 3 are from Communist states. The recently retired Soviet judge has not yet been replaced, and thus no Soviet is judging the case.

The impact of the court's decision, due before the end of the year, will be important in the future said Chayes. He feels that a pro-Nicaraguan decision, which will very likely be the case, is "a serious thing for us" which we "cannot be pleased or happy with."

Chayes sees the case as having two important results. First, he feels that future American politicians will have to deal with the court's decision, and the United States' decision to disre-

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On The Right

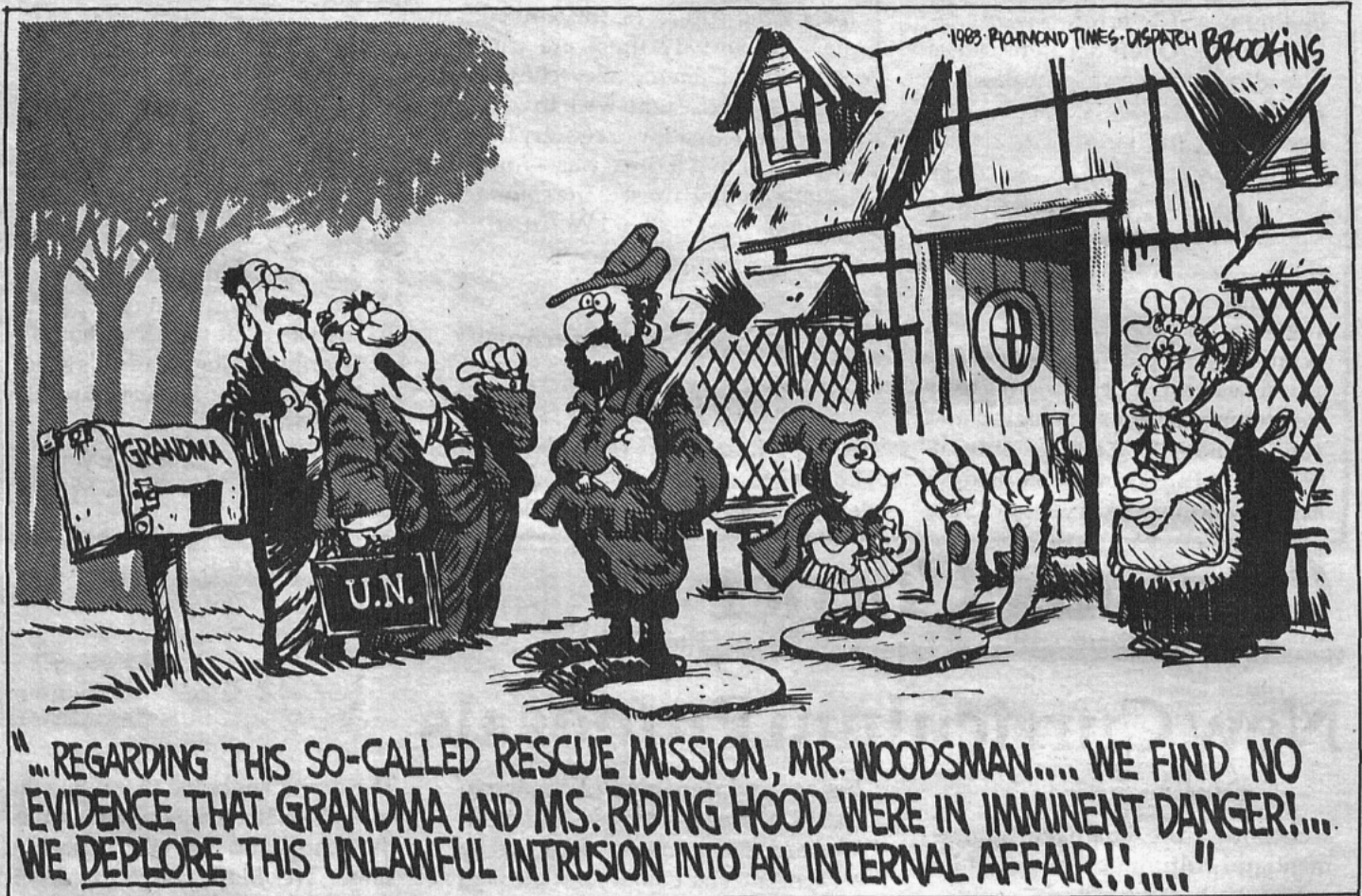
HAPPY ANNIVERSARY UNITED NATIONS

—Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

This is UN week here in New York, an event most of the country will be spared, even unto the reporting of what the princes of the three worlds tell us. There is a certain amount of color to it all, no denying that. This morning the dictator of Nicaragua went jogging in Central Park, followed by Secret Service guards carrying hidden machine guns. The day before, Mr. Mobutu hired two private railroad cars to take him and his staff to Washington. En route they were served caviar and champagne, among other things, and perhaps pondered the plight of the poor nations. The frugality of Mr. Mobutu is in contrast with his appearance at the UN in 1973, when he a) denounced America and the West in general, and b) traveled here aboard the *S.S. France*, where he had eighty first-class staterooms for his entourage, including his private photographer and his wife's hairdresser. So in 12 years, Mobutu is reduced to fifty attendants and the *S.S. France* to none: The government in Paris said, in effect, that it couldn't afford to keep up the *France* as long as Mobutu traveled on it only once a year.

There is a lot of that kind of sniping against the Third Worlders, whose economic profligacy at home is quite simply a scandal: Mengistu of Ethiopia spending \$50 million on a new building in Addis Ababa while American middle-class citizens send dollars to relief agencies for Ethiopia and musicians sing rock round the clock to raise money. There is that part of the UN that strains charity, but it is probably fair to say that most New Yorkers have got used to it, and not many speeches these days are devoted to it.

They talk about other things. Charles Lichenstein, the bright political scientist who served on the staff of Jeane the Great when she was our ambassador to the UN, electrified the world when, provoked, he reminded



"...REGARDING THIS SO-CALLED RESCUE MISSION, MR. WOODSMAN.... WE FIND NO EVIDENCE THAT GRANDMA AND MS. RIDING HOOD WERE IN IMMINENT DANGER!... WE DEPLORE THIS UNLAWFUL INTRUSION INTO AN INTERNAL AFFAIR!...."

a UN official that the UN was always free to pack up and head out to sea, with a whole lot of Americans waving it goodbye as it sailed off into the sunset. Never mind that sailing into the sunset from Manhattan would end the UN up in Hoboken, nobody ever said Chuck Lichenstein was a cartographer. It was the thought that counted, and that thought had great and deep echo chambers in the American spirit, because the UN has outraged every ideal enunciated at its founding.

That is what worries the thoughtful residents of New York. I mean, the idea of a celebration. Celebrate is what you do when you run the four-minute mile, or when you win a world war, or when Christ is risen. The problem with this week in New York City is that everyone is here to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, but there is nothing to celebrate, unless you take

the position that anything forty years old is worth celebrating, in which case AIDS has about 37 years to go before we celebrate it.

The United Nations is the greatest distillery of anti-Americanism outside the Kremlin. It is the greatest distillery of anti-Semitism even including the Kremlin. It is, to quote myself, the greatest assault on moral realism of any institution in the world today. The reason for this is that within the United Nations the assumption is that statesmen are concerting to advance liberty and comity. That underlying assumption is traduced by the behavior of the men who, in the United Nations, spread falsehoods, encourage hostilities, and deplore and restrict the growth of freedom, while excusing and indirectly encourage the increase in terrorism.

Can it really be all that bad? No. Nothing is all that bad. There are fine

men and women associated with the enterprise, who labor mightily to surface a clean thought every now and then. And, every now and then, the delegates are exposed to intelligent and resourceful research, even to a good speech. There is no doubting that there is a felt hunger in the world for peace and just a little liberty for oppressed peoples. And an adventurous spelunker willing to delve into the depths of UN oratory will every now and then bump into a little stagemite expressing the deeply hidden ideals of the United Nations.

But there is precious little to celebrate. If ever it were relevant that the background of the President of the United States is that of an actor, it will be relevant on the day he arrives in New York to celebrate the UN's fortieth anniversary.

Is Violence Necessary in South Africa?

James Burke, A'87

Will a violent revolution in South Africa eliminate political repression or only change its scope? Professor Packard, in his October 16th statement to the panel discussion on political violence and minority rule, suggested that violence will continue to increase unabated in South Africa.

Many pro-divestment elements believe that only violence will reverse the plight of South Africa's blacks. But one must question if it is necessary to sacrifice the lives of thousands of innocent people in order to help them... a sacrifice which will only result in a black regime that is even more liberal in its violence. What will happen to the millions of Indians, Coloreds, and Whites with a militant black regime in power?

These questions must be asked by supporters of revolution and divestment. The ensuing chaos would

destroy any chance of useful reform and would cause tragic results for all of South Africa.

As Professor Packard made clear, a violent ascension power by a black movement, the ANC most likely, would only foster even greater repression. Organizations that use violence to gain power invariably continue the use of violence to suppress political opposition.

In South Africa such violence may also be used for vengeful acts against Whites, "moderate" Indians, and Coloreds. Uganda is the foremost example: tens of thousands of blacks have been murdered in a ruthless campaign to suppress popular opposition.

The front-line states of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Zambia all have politically repressive regimes. With no modern precedent in southern Africa to prove otherwise, in the words of Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC, a "blood-

bath" is likely to occur in South Africa after a violent takeover.

The argument that a black regime, no matter how repressive, is still black, contradicts political reality. The future black regime will obtain its military support from the Eastern bloc.

The strength of the South African Army will necessitate massive foreign intervention if the ANC hopes to prevail. Intervention by Cuban troops, perhaps. Soviet interest in the region will grow as the revolution grows. The opportunity to enhance its prestige in the third world will draw the Communists to South Africa. The ANC will then be heavily in debt to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Havana and Moscow will demand allegiance from the new regime in payment for their support.

Indeed, Oliver Tambo has already said he will support his "friends." Foreign powers will then come to dictate South African policy. A black

regime's ability to govern will be usurped by Communist powers.

Angola is a clear case in point. The MPLA gained power with the help of Cuban troops. And now, ten years later, there still remain in Angola 20,000 to 30,000 Cuban, East European, and Soviet troops and advisors.

In 1984, Eduardo Dos Santos, leader of the MPLA, appeared to make overtures to the U.S. that offered a solution to the Namibian problem and alleviation of the threat to his regime by UNITA. Eduardo Dos Santos was cemented to an unworkable solution that only helped Havana and Moscow. It rendered U.S. mediation efforts useless.

The Soviets wanted to appear as the power that was interested in settling the dispute when nothing could have been further from the truth. Castro stated often that he would not

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Reagan's Legacy: The Justice Department

Scott Frank, A'88

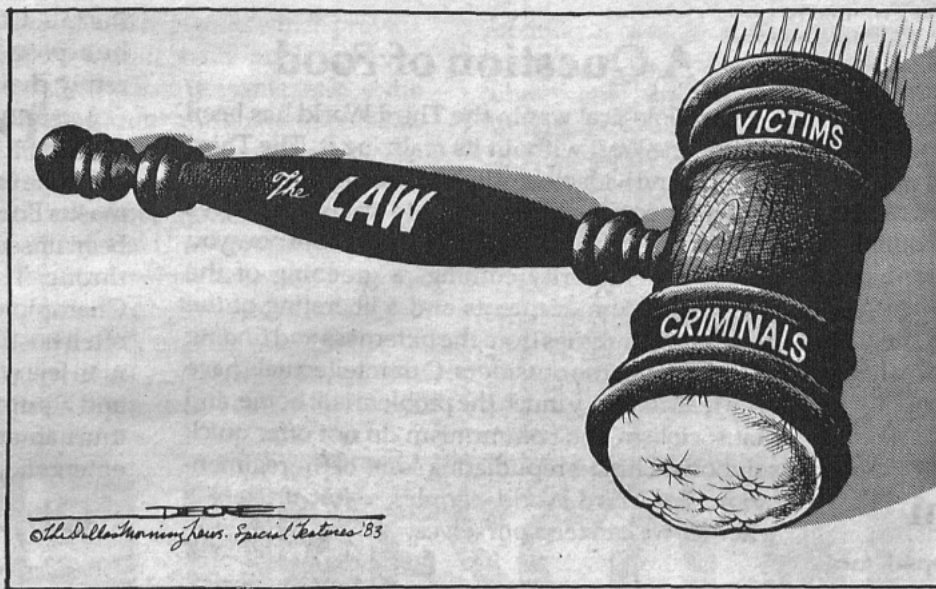
Relying on a growing network of conservative judges, tough new laws, and executive orders, President Reagan and his top aides are organizing sweeping changes in the American justice system.

Leading this reform drive is Edwin Meese, a long-time Reagan confidant who was installed as Attorney General this year. During Reagan's first term, Meese shaped many of the administration's legal policies. Now, as the highest law enforcement official in the United States, he wants judges to strictly interpret the law and avoid more activist stands, such as telling a country how to run a school system or prison.

Perhaps the most potent weapon in this reform movement is the crop of new judges named by the President. A rapid court expansion that coincides with his two terms has enabled Reagan to nominate more than 200 to the bench. By the time he leaves office, Reagan will have named more than half of the 761-member United States judiciary.

This conservative legal revolution will fall short unless the President can replace at least one Supreme Court Justice. On a court with five members over 75 years old, the chances for vacancies remain strong. In Reagan's case, even two new appointments could dramatically alter the makeup of the Court and insure a strong conservative influence for years to come.

There has been a turn in direction of the law in three major areas: criminal justice, civil rights and business regulation. Sentences for law-breakers are getting longer, programs to boost minority jobs are being challenged, and business is facing fewer government regulations.



Nowhere is the Reagan impact on justice more evident than in law enforcement. More people are in federal prisons today, serving longer terms than ever before.

Stephen Trott, head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, says "The mood is different now. The public wants criminals clobbered, and that is what we are doing."

Meese's aim is to make basic changes in the justice system that will tip the balance away from suspects and toward victims and the state. Such is the case in his view on the Miranda ruling. Meese states "... Miranda only helps guilty defendants. Most innocent people are glad to talk to the police. They want to establish their innocence so that they're no longer a suspect."

Under the Reagan administration the Court has been hostile to death-row appeals. In the last two years alone, 40 prisoners have been executed, compared with only eight in the previous seven years combined.

John Volz, a United States attorney in New Orleans remarks that "this administration is dedicated to give law enforcement the tools to do a

better job." This statement is in reference to the new anticrime bill which denies bail to dangerous suspects and makes it harder to escape conviction by pleading insanity; to the ruling that any evidence seized by police in "good faith" is permissible in court; and to the law that allows the government to confiscate offenders properly and share proceeds with local agencies.

White House budget shapers have made crime fighting a priority. Since Reagan took office, the national crime rate had fallen with violent crimes down 9.5 percent in 1984 from 1981.

Besides tightening up on crime, the administration has been at odds with groups that want to use the courts to attack what they see as political and economic inequities.

"It's morally wrong to assign a value to people based on their skin color or sex," contends William Bradford Reynolds, chief Justice Department civil-rights enforcer, "You don't cure discrimination by discriminating against an innocent individual."

The Supreme Court has held that job quotas that discriminate against any person on the basis of race or

gender are wrong. The courts also ruled against busing which has been an ineffective and often counterproductive tool for achieving integration.

Says Reynolds, "We've been tarred by civil-rights leaders because we oppose quotas and busing, which in large measure have hurt minorities more than they've helped. We say the Constitution is colorblind."

The Reagan campaign to get the government off business's back is becoming entrenched in American law. Antitrust rules have been eased, regulations that hampered industry have been cast aside, and federal rule-making agencies have come under much stricter control than ever before. When Reagan's regulators interpret the law, they frequently side with business.

With an eye toward promoting economic growth and strengthening United States firms against foreign competition, the administration has given its blessings to corporate mergers. "We have to view merger proposals in the context of an international marketplace," says Meese.

Taken as a whole, the changes put in place by the Reagan forces amount to a clear shift in the way the government enforces laws that affect business. Alexander Trowbridge, president of the National Association of Manufacturers says, "Government isn't as ominous a threat to economic expansion, growth, and acquisition. It has been mostly positive."

By reshaping the judiciary and pursuing his vision of a crime-free, colorblind, free-enterprising society, Ronald Reagan has laid the groundwork for changes in the law that may well affect the lives of Americans long after he has left the White House. Many in the Reagan camp believe this could be his most enduring legacy.

THE NEW NEW RIGHT

Pamela Ferdinand, J'87

Pamela Ferdinand did research on black conservatives this summer in Washington, D.C. This article is the first in a two part series.

Despite an over-whelming black voter turnout for former presidential candidate Walter Mondale (90 percent in 1984), blacks are beginning to stray from their traditional liberal roots. Only recently, however, has a black Republican network taken a lead in political, social and economic research and policy-making. This network consists of conservative and moderates bound by a fundamental devotion to self-help and limited government a la Ronald Reagan.

Although minimal, black crossover from the Democratic camp distinguished several 1984 races, including that of John Warner (R-Va.), who received twenty-five percent of the black vote from both parties.

The decade has been marked by the Reagan appointment of Clarence Pendleton as Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission and by the election of a black senator, Edward Brooke. In Los Angeles alone, over 22,500 black republicans were registered.

"In 1984, blacks did not feel a natural tie to the Democratic Party, and they did not want to pay taxes," said Larry Dillard of the Republican National Committee in Washington, D.C. In fact, an Associated Press poll showed 52 percent against busing, 62 percent against racial quotas, more than 70 percent against abortion, and most blacks favoring a strong national defense, indicating a basic tie to Republican values.

It is this basic bond around which the black Right is revolving. Among moderates and conservatives, there is a general consensus that the majority of blacks have essentially conservative values. "Blacks don't like abortion, they go to church on Sunday, they want safe streets, better schools, good housing and education. I think those are bedrock conservative values," said Pendleton.

"When you look at issues like abortion, busing, crime national defense, voluntary prayer in school and tuition tax credits, you'll find that the blacks are conservative," agrees Jay Parker, chairman of the Lincoln Institute for research and development in Washington, D.C.

The seemingly cement bond between blacks and the liberal establishment is developing cracks

for multiple reasons. According to Robert Woodson, President of the American Enterprise Institute for public policy research, the black-liberal relationship has historically been on tender hooks. Although the media has presented the alliance as no fault, there has always been an "uneasiness about things liberals have done to the blacks."

"Who can stand up and say urban plight is gone and HUD has been a success? Employment among targeted groups is higher when there is no program at all. Black people used to be safer in their neighborhoods than they are today. . . There is a real question as to what liberals can point to as success," said Walter Williams, an educator and economist.

Moreover, conservatism is in step with the new breed of black voters, who are increasingly comprising an entrepreneurial middle class and who seek a thriving business climate out of the government's clutches. This new class, along with a stable blue-collar sector, constitute more than 60 percent of America's 24 million blacks, according to *New York* magazine.

In his article "A New American Dilemma", Harvard Professor Glen Loury wrote, "A new middle class

of well-educated and well-placed blacks has emerged, whose members can be found in technical, managerial, and professional positions. Differences in earnings between young, well-educated black and white workers have diminished dramatically; and something approximating parity in economic status has been achieved for young, intact black families.

The Reagan Administration has effectively spurred this new class on with incentive policies as well as with its support of minority business initiatives and of black colleges. A *U.S. News and World Report* poll revealed most blacks were hopeful about their economic prospects. According to Woodson, in general, the administration has been "effective, in turning away from the debate of which program to the issue of reducing programs. . . more and more people are scrambling as they are being forced to think entrepreneurially."

Appointments such as Pendleton's have not only increased black influence but have shed light on a previously obscured black point of view that no longer blames white racism for society's evils. Nathan

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The Month in Review

Soviet Star Wars

"The Soviet Union has achieved a technical breakthrough in high-energy physics application that may soon provide it with a directed-energy beam weapon capable of neutralizing the entire United States ballistic missile force and checkmating this country's strategic doctrine." — The opening paragraph in a May 2, 1977 *Aviation Week and Space Technology* editorial titled "Beam Weapon Threat." Within that issue was an 8 page article titled, "Soviets Push For a Beam Weapon." Now what year did *Star Wars* hit the theaters?

On Soviet Defection

"Of course, [Yurchenko] was not kidnapped, tortured and drugged by the C.I.A. I dismiss entirely these outrageous Soviet fabrications designed to frighten other potential Soviet defectors. After I defected, I was a free man, even in the C.I.A.' safe house. Neither the C.I.A. nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation should be blamed for allowing Mr. Yurchenko to escape so easily from their custody. It would be contrary to the principles on which this nation is based to equate the 'safe houses' for defectors with a kind of K.G.B. Lubyanka prison in Moscow." — Arkady N. Shevchenko, former Soviet diplomat and Under Secretary General of the U.N., who defected in 1978.

Gorbachev on Soviet Jews

"If there is a country where political and other rights have been gained by Jews more than ours, I would be very happy to hear about it." — The teflon comrade, Mikhail Gorbachev during his trip to Paris.

Ortega's Prudent Decision

Daniel Ortega has been great at convincing much of the American left that he is concerned for the well-being of Nicaragua. In fact, he had even convinced Congress to halt contra aid this spring until he decided to make a friendly visit to Moscow. In October he was in New York to address the United Nations. He made great points with the press and general public until one serious gaffe. Mr. Ortega bought eyeglass frames for 3,500 dollars! But why be too critical, for we all know that Marxist-Leninist philosophies don't hold for its political leaders.

Afraid Of The National Debt

The National Taxpayers Union estimates that the interest on the national debt will be 194 billion dollars by the end of fiscal 1986. How much is that figure in real terms? They put it into perspective as:

- 25% of all federal revenues
- the third largest and fast growing item in the budget
- about four times the interest paid in 1978

Discussion does not have to go too far to realize what an important issue this is.

A Safe Feeling

In light of all the SDI debate and the summit meeting, one must ask if people feel safer not being able to defend themselves?

leave Angola; the conflict is an issue of prestige for him. The MPLA's foreign policy was run in Havana and Moscow, not in Luanda. Eduardo Dos Santos had difficulty cultivating ties with the U.S. because of Communist pressure, not because of our disinterest.

Black self-determination in Angola

is still only a dream for the future, over a decade after the overthrow of the white minority government.

An attempt to moderate the transition into power by South Africa's non-whites *must* be made. We cannot acquiesce to the rising tide of senseless violence perpetrated by violent radical youths.

"Active engagement," actively pursued, can succeed. By increasing the

A Question of Food

The ideological war in the Third World has been won by the West without its realizing it. The Third World found it ideologically fascinating to think that by turning communist they would wean themselves away from those who dominated them. But now you find a new maturity coming, a greening of the independence movements and a liberating of the developing countries from the bitterness and finding fault ever with the outsiders. Our intellectuals have been realizing how much the problem is at home, and that socialism and communism do not offer quick solutions. China is repudiating some of the regimentation. For Third World peoples, what matters is whether we can feed ourselves.

—Mahbub-ul-Hag

Pakistani Minister of Finance and Planning

Tufts Senate's Confusion

The only thing consistent about the senate is their consistent inconsistencies. We all remember their pleas for Tufts divestment from corporations which do business in South Africa. We also remember their sponsoring of students applying for Visa and MasterCard credit cards. In case they did not know, CitiBank sponsors those cards. Furthermore, Tufts recently divested from CitiCorp, the parent company of CitiBank, because of loans it made to the South African government. The Senate should do more research into issues that it supports.

Is This Humiliation?

At a recent forum on SDI, professor Daniel Dennet started one example by asking us to imagine a person who would like to work on project X, but could only get funding for that project through SDI grants. He continued by saying that this "scientist" should protest the situation so that he could work on project X without being associated with the SDI. However, if that person wished to work in conjunction with SDI, Dennet would pay for an advertisement in the *Globe* saying that SDI **would** work. He called this ad a form of humiliation, implying that everyone knows that SDI cannot work. We'll never be able to break an atom either!

Good Fiscal Policy

Government spends what government receives plus as much as it can get away with.

—Milton Friedman's Political Rule Number 1

Totalitarian African Nations

Can you name the African countries which are run by unelected regimes aside from South Africa which only lets a portion of its population participate in the voting process? Angola, Benin, Burkina, Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Sao-Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierre Leone, Somalia, Namibia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zaire, and Zambia.

News From The Civil Rights Commission

Clarence Pendleton, Jr. has suggested abolishing the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1989, when he expects its work to be done. Mr. Pendleton is currently chairman of the Commission.

One For The People

For the first time since 1975 when American Grandmaster Bobby Fischer defaulted, Anatoly Karpov has been unseated from the World Chess Championship throne. The challenger, Garry Kasparov, beat the Champion after two years of long, gruelling, and often hostile play. Kasparov is a Russian-born Armenian Jew who humiliated Karpov, the Soviet favorite and a pure white Russian, in this last round of the tournament. We hear the Soviet Politburo is still in emergency session.

Objectivist Observations

Besides, the majority of those who are loosely identified by the term "liberals" are afraid to let themselves discover that what they advocate is statism. They do not want to accept the full meaning of their goal; they want to keep the advantages and efforts of capitalism, while destroying the cause, and they want to establish statism without its necessary effects. They do not want to know or to admit that they are the champions of dictatorship and slavery. So they evade the issue, for fear of discovering that their goal is evil.

The Declaration of Independence laid down the principle that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." This provided the only valid justification of a government and defined its only proper purpose: to protect man's rights by protecting him from physical violence.

—Ayn Rand, from *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal*.

Soviet Education

The Russian word for education means "to mould." The purpose of the Soviet education system is to mould the mind, not broaden it. Militaristic indoctrination begins at a very young age. The *Kosmomol*, Communist Youth, bears many similarities to our scouting movement; but, in addition to teaching survival in the wild, tying knots and first aid, it includes mandatory instruction in how to strip and clean a Kalashnikov rifle.

—Douglas Eden, writer for the European edition of the Wall Street Journal syndicated by the USBIC.

Chrysler Strike Aftermath

The United Auto Workers Union was at it again recently. UAW president Owen Bieber is happy that he got great wage concessions from Chrysler for their UAW employees. Chrysler workers had been making less than their GM and Ford counterparts, but that will change over the next few years. Chrysler is now productive and can afford to expand and pay all of its workers higher wages that were won, right? The answer is no and the result will be more jobs for foreign countries where the labor is cheaper. When will American unions learn economics?

Should We Let Her Back?

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Margaret Randall, an avowed communist who renounced her citizenship in America in 1967, has been denied permanent residency in the United States by the U.S. government. Their reason is the McCarran-Walter Act which says that the government can deny residence or admission to this country to Communists or their supporters. Her supporters are pressing this as an issue of free speech, but the question strictly pertains to immigration laws.

Is Violence Necessary in South Africa?

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economic welfare of the townships, we can reduce the calls for a violent revolution. The roots of the current unrest can be traced to the fact that the townships are in poor economic condition.

Moderate opposition leaders like Bishop Tutu will come to the fore. With private U.S. pressure on South Africa, peaceful bargaining and eventually settlements will be possi-

ble. The Afrikaaner government, already realizing the need to reform, will feel more secure dealing with leaders who do not want to kill them.

We should foster democracy, not totalitarianism. A gradual transition into power, not a violent one, will lead to a brighter future for the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

Time To Change The United Nations

Barry Weber, E'87

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. With the current talk of spies, disinformation and arms control, the function of the U.N. should be reexamined. Is the United Nations serving its original purpose? Was the U.N.'s origination even a wise one?

The United Nations is not an organization in its infancy. It is well established in its trends and manners. Now is the time to change those manners. The United States has two options. One, we can completely withdraw from that body, thus causing its downfall due to lack of location, money and other support. Or, we can mold the U.N. into what we want it to be by eliminating the following supposed responsibilities.

One of the goals of the United Nations is to prevent war but it has easily failed in this category. War is occurring all over the globe. Roughly 140 conflicts have been fought since the U.N.'s inception. Global discussion is not needed to stop two or three warring countries. Instead, the embittered factions need to discuss it amongst themselves with other nations of their choosing. Also, many conflicts involve U.S. and U.S.S.R. supported countries. Since each country has veto power in the Security Council, no end can readily be obtained through the United Nations. Thus, the prevention of war should not be among the United Nations' responsibilities.

The United Nations also participates in altruistic activities throughout the world, providing aid to countries in the form of food, health supplies, and social aid. This should not be the U.N.'s responsibility either. There are many private organizations

throughout the world which provide aid as well as many public governments which do the same. At least the private groups and governments can choose the destination of their beneficence, but through the U.N. we lose control of our money.

Third, the United Nations is supposed to serve as a debating forum for nations throughout the world. This is a needed purpose, but the U.N. of today does not accomplish it. Too much time and hatred is spent

Lebanon it was immediately condemned. In fact not one resolution condemning Russia's presence in Afghanistan has been approved. Conversely, the United States was condemned in sixteen separate resolutions in 1984, once for its strategic ties with Israel.

Thus, the U.N. has not served its basic functions well from the standpoint of the United States. We and our allies are constantly harassed, our money is often spent for causes

mation flowing to other countries and the United States. The U.N. is a perfect conduit for that information to begin and flow because every country and interest group is situated nearby. (Professor Schultz of the Fletcher school is the coauthor of an excellent book on disinformation which you can look up in the library.)

Alas, what does the United Nations have to offer the United States? In its current form it offers nothing, except as a drain for our tax money. It does not improve national security, give the world a good perspective of the United States, or prevent the spread of communism.

The United Nations needs to be shrunk. Its activities and responsibilities need to be limited. It can serve as a forum for countries to talk about world problems and to listen to a country's complaints. However, it should not make any attempt to formally criticize any nation's actions because it cannot do so fairly.

Also, the location of the United Nations needs to be moved. The options are a neutral country (Geneva might be an excellent city), Russia, or a less central location in the United States (to diminish spying).

The United Nations does engage in many more activities than can be listed in this space. Independently, some of them may be determined beneficial, fiscally and ideologically, to the United States. If necessary, those programs could be included in the new United Nations, but they should not detract from the central argument. The United Nations has failed in its main purpose. The United States does not need to continue spending two-and-a-half billion dollars a year to support the United Nations.



writing resolutions condemning the United States and its allies. Because of the voting process, countries can sell their votes for favors from other nations. Unfortunately, most of the countries in the U.N. do not find much reason to sell their vote to the United States even though we probably provide, directly or indirectly, much of their foreign aid!

The best examples of harassed nations are El Salvador and Israel. We do not find resolutions condemning the Soviet Union, which is waging a war in Afghanistan; and yet when Israel sought to drive the PLO out of

which we don't support, and communist aggression still exists. But this is not all that has gone wrong.

The United Nations is a spy haven for the Soviet Union. The FBI estimates that 80 percent of Soviet personnel are espionage agents. Much important national security material is lost through that channel. The United States should at least have the U.N. moved from U.S. shores to a neutral country, Moscow, or perhaps Alaska where less damage can be done than in New York.

Also, the United Nations xerox machines are a source of disinforma-

WHAT THE SOVIET PRESS SAYS

continued from page 1

1970, for example, Brezhnev declared that no one should be under the illusion that the Kremlin's policy of peaceful coexistence meant 'non-resistance to evil, the kind of evil that the imperialist aggressors bring to the people'.

Also Reagan statements about working for the ending of the Socialist system, which the Soviets described as an "unparalleled attempt to destabilize the world by undermining Socialism," are comparable to similar Soviet statements. Nagorski points out, "On April 22, 1970, Brezhnev said: 'Imperialism will not collapse by itself automatically. No, it is still strong. Active and determined action by all the revolutionary forces is needed to overthrow it'."

In increased instances Reagan and his administration have been likened to Hitler and the Third Reich, and recently Reagan has been described as a greater evil. According to Nagorski:

"Komsomolskaya Pravda declared that the Reagan administration is composed of liars and crooks 'worse than Hitler and Eichmann.' Politbureau member Boris Ponomarev wrote in the December 1983 issue of *Problemy Mira i Sotsializma* that the

current administration constitutes 'the main danger for humanity': where Hitler's 'anticommunism and anti-Sovietism' led to a conventional war, Reagan's threaten a nuclear war 'pushing the whole world toward destruction'."

Also, Soviet publications over the last few years have reported that the United States intends to build ten huge concentration camps for political prisoners. Said Nagorski, "an *Izvestia* cartoon showed Uncle Sam receiving advice from Heinrich Himmler on how to carry out this project."

The Soviet press has always presented life in the United States as some type of capitalistic horror. Racism, crime, drug addiction, and poverty are all common subjects of stories on American life, while little mention is made of similar problems in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press presents the United States as a police state which tramples dissidents, disregards human rights, and imprisons hundreds of thousands of political prisoners in prisons where the guards "use clubs and whips at the slightest provocation." According to the Soviets American lives are completely monitored by the agents of state security.

By presenting the United States in such a negative light, the Soviet

government tries to reconcile Soviet citizens to situations in the Soviet Union. Indeed Nagorski clearly explains the portrayal of the United States in the Soviet press:

"Clearly one goal of such rhetoric is to rebut, however feebly, Western criticism of Soviet society. Without acknowledging that there is basis for the accusations, the Soviets immediately assert that the same situations exist in the United States. . . . The campaign to portray the United States as the supreme warmonger is

part of that same campaign to diminish domestic discontent. Moscow has always needed to invoke an external threat to justify the harsh measures taken by the regime."

Thus harsh statements are made by both the United States and the Soviet Union about the other, but there is one distinct difference between these statements. Soviet statements are used to justify their harsh system, Reagan statements are used to describe it.

American Defends Nicaragua In The World Court

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gard it. Second he feels that the decision will question how we look at force, "whether it should be constrained by law or used by those who have it for their own interests." Chayes feels that a changing of how people think about force is "the greatest hope of the case."

What surprised me most about Abram Chayes was how little he seemed to know about the situation in Nicaragua. I am no expert, but I expect him to be; I expected Chayes to

be a strong pro-Sandinista voice, which was not the case. When faced with the question of civil rights suspension, I expected Chayes to discount the story with a description of the Nicaragua he saw, but he only said "Managua doesn't look like Moscow." He continued that he deplores the suspension, but that it is too early to tell their ramifications. A seemingly weak answer from a man who was willing to represent this Sandanista government against his own country.

Soviet Fallacies About SDI

Craig Reimer, A'89

The Russians proclaim that if we went ahead with SDI research they would greatly increase their nuclear arsenal. Similarly, they imply that if we go ahead with SDI they will match us step-by-step in efforts to develop a program of their own.

These two arguments are easily refuted and the real fears of the Soviets show something quite different than a reluctance to fuel the arms race. While our forces leveled off in the late sixties and early seventies as we sought an arms limitation treaty under the auspices of MAD, the Soviets were initiating strategic programs that sought a first strike capability and superiority in the balance of power.

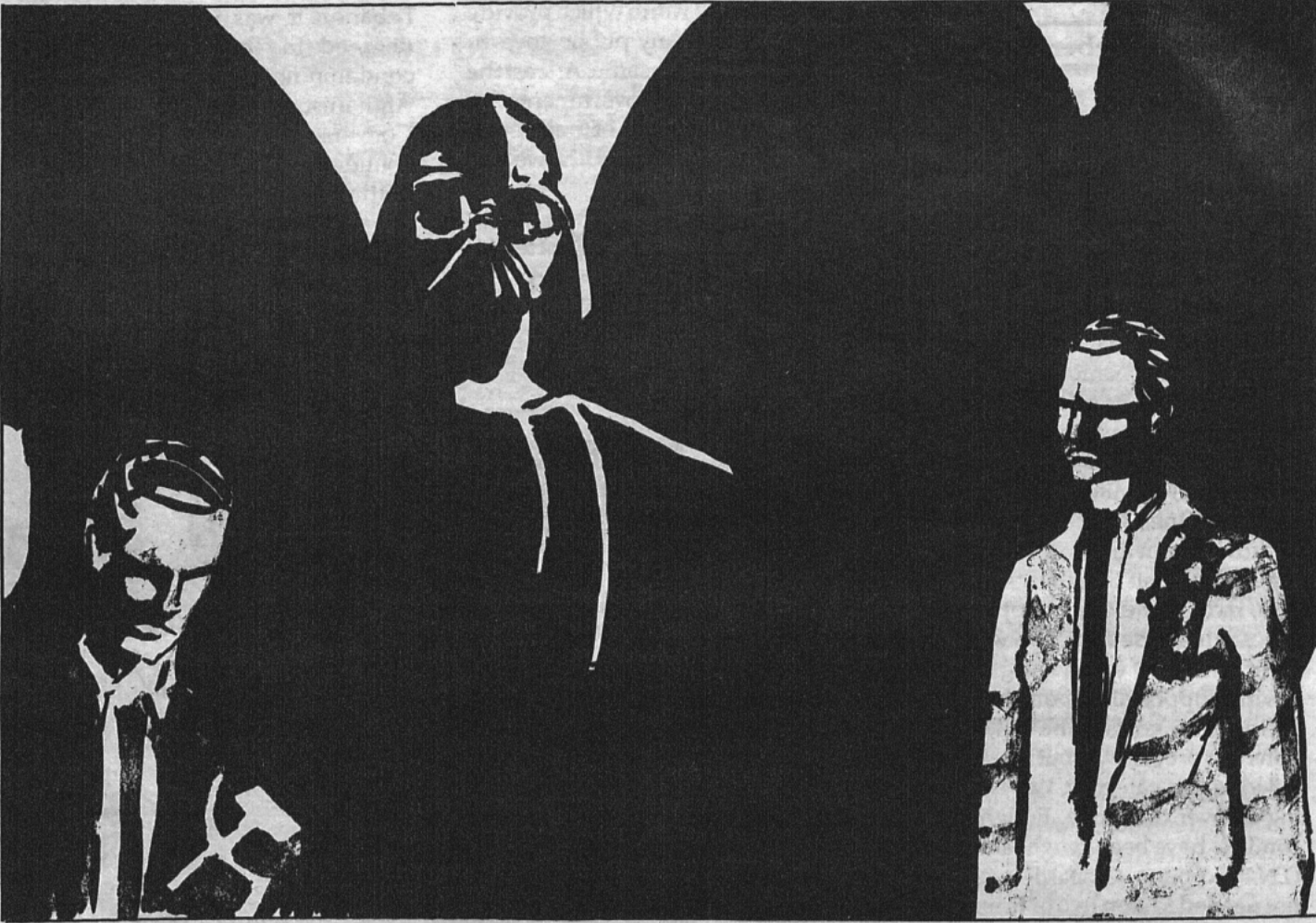
They deployed four new generations of nuclear ballistic missile submarines (SSBN), culminating in the Typhoon-class which displaces almost twice as much as our Trident submarine; two more airframes for their intercontinental bombers, through use of the Backfire and Blackjack supersonic bombers; and, most importantly, adding almost four hundred ICBMs to their 1969 level—which was at parity with the U.S. This includes the SS-18 super-missile which carries ten highly accurate (estimated at 300 yards) first-strike capable warheads.

The argument that going ahead with SDI necessitates an increase in their nuclear arsenal is not valid. The Soviets do not want to see any program developed to counter their unilateral arms race towards achieving first-strike capability. President Reagan would like to seek a solution to the problem of effective deterrence, — not by continuing modernization of our forces and thereby adding to the nuclear stockpile — but by eliminating the relevance of nuclear weapons altogether.

It is also a falsehood that the Soviets are prepared to neutralize any advances or benefits we may gain through our SDI research and development by keeping pace with us. The economic costs alone are too high for their sluggish, deprived economy to endure. They know that given the social and welfare costs already being imposed on their society by spending two to three times as much on defense as the U.S., the enormous costs which SDI entail are too much for their economy.

Furthermore, and this is not so apparent, they do not want to divert any substantial effort or resource away from their massive conventional and nuclear buildup. For instance, the only category in which the U.S. has a lead is warheads. The Soviets are projected to gain parity with our 9,000 odd warheads by the end of the eighties. Having to transfer billions of dollars to SDI research may delay their plans for surpassing us in this final category — which does not please the Kremlin.

It also becomes obvious that in a race to develop a workable SDI sys-



tem, the much more advanced and sophisticated technology of the U.S. could outstrip Soviet advancements.

There is a challenge facing our leaders and especially ourselves as citizens of the United States of America: The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). In particular, the approaching burden falls upon us as college students. What is the task before us? Embodying the energy and future of our world, it is imperative that we are not swayed by the disinformation, propaganda, and rhetoric of the Soviet Union. Our resolve and determination to seek the surest, safest, and most lasting path towards peace and security must not be compromised.

The Strategic Defense Initiative is just that, an alternative proposition to the endless, spiralling arms race which has produced a world with 50,000 nuclear warheads yielding 16 billion tons of equivalent TNT! The Soviets would have us view matters differently.

They miss the essence of President Ronald Reagan's proposal to ease the intrinsic dangers and instability of adhering to a policy of mutual assured destruction (MAD) for deterrence. Basically, SDI is a proposition for making all levels of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) obsolete.

Forget controversial "ceilings," unsure "adherence," and perceived "imbalances" when it comes to arms control or reduction. We are talking about present and projected technology that would make all of this, possibly, an academic matter for future historians to ponder how we walked the tight rope for thirty-five years without blowing-up the world.

Yet, this is not the image being projected by the Soviets; their position deserves closer attention for the security of the world surely depends

upon them at least half as much for the foreseeable future.

The Russians essentially reiterate, rephrase, and rehash three arguments against the SDI effort. Looking closely, though, reveals motives far different from their proclamations about upholding the 1972 (ABM) treaty, serious arms reductions, and deterrence.

In fact, an analysis of their rhetoric and actions shows a fervent, if not desperate, attempt on their part to weaken America's resolve to halt Soviet territorial expansion and exploitation of their nuclear superiority.

By looking at the remaining argument the Soviets have increasingly used, the benefits of SDI are clear. The Russians have used propaganda and spilled forth a lot of rhetoric to portray SDI as a stumbling block to serious negotiations. A brief history of arms negotiations reveals why we must not back down with our SDI proposal.

The SALT I treaty signified two agreements. First, there would be a cap of total number of strategic launchers at 2,500. Second, the research and deployment of an ABM system was essentially banned except for one site around the capitol of each superpower.

In the first stipulation the Soviets have since exceeded the maximum while the U.S. has stayed well under it. As for the ABM treaty, it has been manipulated by the Soviets thoroughly. Knowing that if both sides set themselves to creating an ABM system the U.S. would succeed first, the Soviets negotiated a well defined treaty essentially banning them.

With time on their side and a pretty good assurance of U.S. compliance, they surreptitiously worked towards slowly developing and basing an ABM system. They now have

12,000 surface-to-air missiles 32 ABM launchers, and 2,650 interceptor aircraft. Atop of this, they have Phased-array and Early Warning radars across the U.S.S.R. that could eventually handle a massive ABM network.

The Soviets also are working on anti-satellite weapons at an accelerated pace compared to the U.S. They are believed by Western Intelligence sources to have a huge complex in Southwest Russia for testing particle beam lasers and other high energy weapons.

Today, reality is awakening. The ABM treaty was a farce, a cover for Soviet designs that are becoming frightfully apparent.

It was hoped that some of the controversy of SALT I could be worked out in SALT II. But, since the Soviets were not particularly compelled to make hard concessions, nothing significant was decided. Ultimately, the latter treaty was not ratified by the U.S. Senate because of Soviet aggression and the imbalance that would be created.

We thus come to our present situation — strategic arms reduction talks (S.T.A.R.T.) and the Summit. Through such tactics as financing huge peace demonstrations calling for nuclear freezes and unilateral disarmament in the U.S. and Western Europe, walking out of the START talks, and threatening to escalate the arms race, the U.S.S.R. hoped to weaken our resolve and create division among our leaders, citizens and allies. For the most part we did not waver. The result: the Soviets have offered a fifty percent reduction in nuclear warheads and they are back negotiating in Geneva.

SDI scares the Soviets. It can bring them to the bargaining table with their hands in their pockets.



The Primary Source wishes all students

"Good Skill" on their final exams

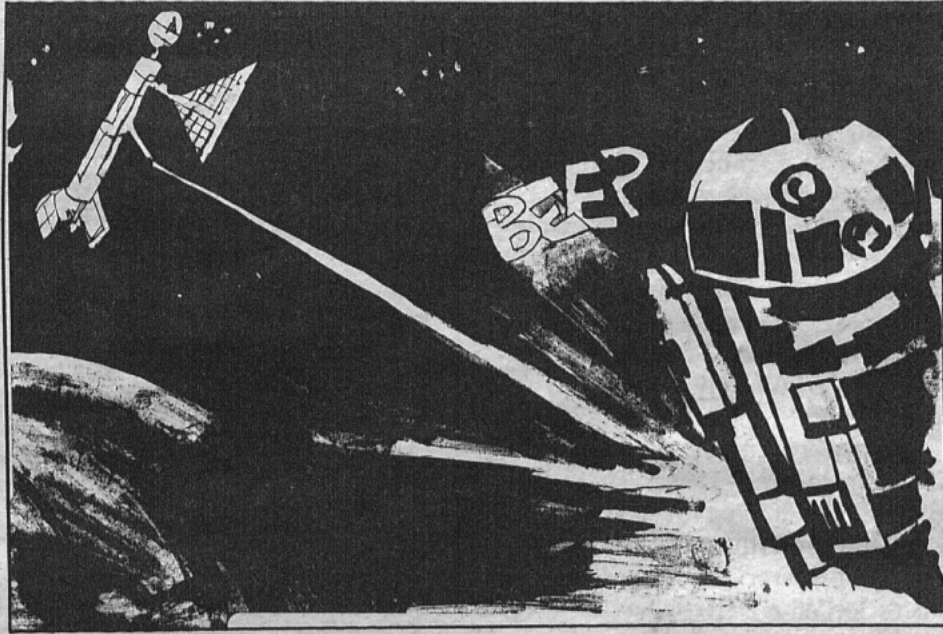


WITH ALLIES LIKE THESE...

Waldemar Opalka, A'88

The Europeans sure know how to lose out on a good deal when they're given one. With an unemployment rate almost double the American rate, and a less than impressive growth rate, one would wonder why some countries wouldn't jump at the chance to join the 26-billion dollar American defense initiative called SDI. One might wonder why some Europeans are opposed to researching a defensive system, theoretically capable of destroying only bombs, and used to protect North America as well as Europe. Seems to me that no harm could come from this. In fact, all that President Reagan and his aides are trying to do now is keep the technology race in balance with the Russians, who themselves have developed a land based SDI system. It also has brought the Russians back to the negotiation tables in Geneva. So why have our allies, particularly the Europeans, acted so hastily to commit themselves to noncommitment?

When the President proposed SDI, he invited participation in the program from our NATO allies, Japan, Israel and Australia. Recently he said, "In many areas of this research, technical progress appears very promising. We are eager to be joined by our allies and look forward to collaboration with you." Of those nations already responding, France, Norway, Denmark, and the Nether-



lands, all said unequivocally, "NO." In Canada, the Mulroney government said that it would not get directly involved in research, but will not deny any private firms to accept research if it is offered. And although the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy are expected to join in research, they seem somewhat pessimistic in what the findings will produce. This pessimism comes from nations, which in producing the Tornado, thought they had created a state-of-the-art fighting machine. Perhaps if they thought of invading Malta, this plane would be adequate, but this was not their intention.

From the European viewpoint, whether or not SDI succeeds, the

anticipated spin offs from research are expected to be unparalleled in the private sector. Although the initial investment is in research and development and confined mostly to laboratories, it is hoped that the new technology will in the future reduce the structural unemployment in economically depressed areas.

One European uncertainty is whether firms not involved in SDI research will be able to benefit from its discoveries, and whether those firms that do research would get the same technology as American firms would receive. To that effect, independent European initiatives have been discussed, two of which are IDEA and Eureka.

The acronym IDEA stands for Initiative for the Defense of European Aerospace. It has the same purpose of the Strategic Defense Initiative, except that most hardware would be land based and the missiles the system would counter are the short and medium range missiles deployed in Eastern Europe and Western Russia.

Although the extent of IDEA's capabilities are unclear, many Europeans hope that their system would complement American SDI. European investment in IDEA would take up the technological slack that might be lost if European concerns did not have access to American developments. It would also move Europe toward accepting more responsibility for its own defense.

Eureka, the French version of an IDEA, has as its intention, to keep European technology in some form of parity with the United States. It also, currently, has a non-military nature to it.

The lack of European unity and resolve might be associated with the decline of Europe's influence throughout the world as well as its technological stagnation. Individual nations, such as Germany, see themselves being inhibited to grow with new developments, and yet are too small to undertake research projects on the scale that the United States or Japan might. SDI might be just the thing to return to Europe some of its lost grandeur in the form of new technology and a more secure place in the world.

THOMPSON AND MARKEY DEBATE ARMS CONTROL

The perfect opportunity for Tufts students to observe the basic differences between liberal Democratic and conservative Republican views on arms control occurred when a Massachusetts Congressman and a Fletcher professor, formerly associated with the Reagan administration, locked heads in a forum entitled, "Reagan and the Russians." On October 28, Congressman Ed Markey, Tufts' representative in the House of Representatives and a leader in the nuclear freeze movement, squared off against Professor Scott Thompson, a former special delegate to the United Nations on arms control.

Markey opened the forum by expressing his sincere fear of the arms race, of the nuclear arsenals in the United States and the Soviet Union that threaten this world with destruction. Thompson's opening remarks displayed a different concern, namely his distrust of the Soviet Union based on their aggression, treaty violations, and dominance in other countries. These two tones, one seeking an end to the arms race based on mutual trust and the other seeking peace through America's strength and technology, set the pace for the rest of the debate.

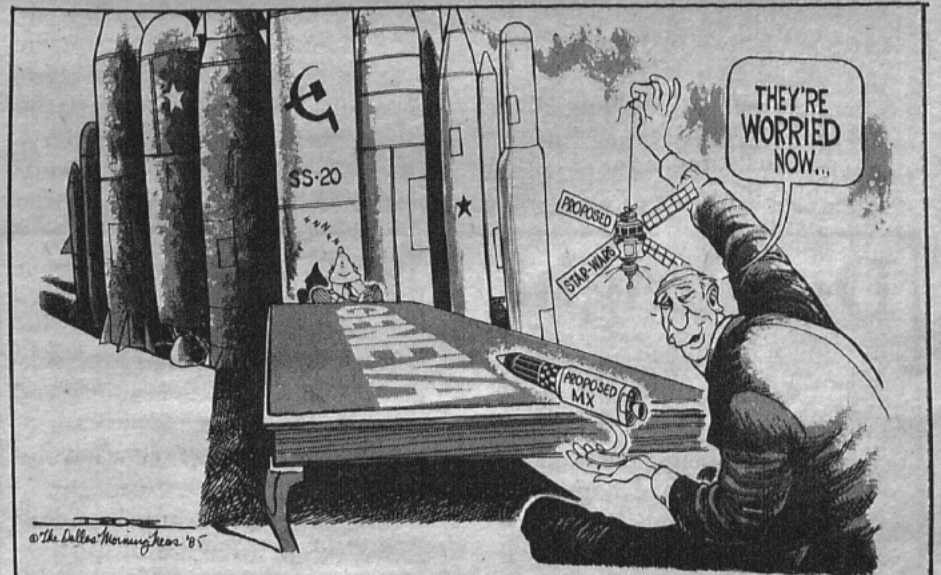
The first question asked each man about his expectations for the November summit meeting between Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Neither one expressed high hopes for achieving a major breakthrough. Thompson basically saw the summit as a first step to future meetings and Markey had doubts as to Reagan's willingness to make the summit succeed by giv-

ing up the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The next question brought out the important issues of externalities at the summit, whether or not they should be part of the discussion. Markey believes that we must concentrate solely on the arms race because the other issues cannot be solved until the threat of nuclear obliteration is removed. Thompson on the other hand, feels that Soviet aggression (Afghanistan, for example) should be discussed.

An annoying occurrence during the debate happened while the men were discussing treaty violations, at which time Markey asserted that the Soviets had probably broken treaty violations and so had we, despite the fact that he has access to many reports documenting the Soviet violations. Thompson mentioned reports which described the Soviet transgressions, but Markey still held the United States and the Soviets equally guilty on this count.

The value and importance of the SDI was a key issue throughout the evening. Congressman Markey hopes that Reagan will agree not to continue research on "Star Wars" because it is impractical and a destabilizing factor in the arms race. Thompson, however, assured the audience that SDI research will continue no matter what the summit outcome is because technology is always advancing. He also mentioned that the United States tried to include limiting space weapons in the 1972 ABM treaty, but the Soviets refused to include it directly in the wording. By citing past negotiations, Markey made it clear that he felt the Soviets would not work on their own "Star



Wars" if the United States abandoned its research. He recalled our decision to continue developing Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV), nuclear weapons that both the Soviets and us now have only because the United States pressed ahead with technological advancement. Thompson correctly called into question Mr. Markey's rationale after that naive statement.

In the end it became clear that both men were somehow for the security of America, but each had fundamental differences on how to deal with the Soviets. Thompson envisions peace through strength, which we do not have yet, while Markey feels that we can comfortably bargain with the

Soviets because the U.S. is currently stronger, or at least as strong as the U.S.S.R., militarily. Markey feels that our present strength is at a level that will convince the Russians to begin dismantling nuclear weapons.

Thompson clearly has the ideological edge over Congressman Markey because he shows too much faith in the Soviet Union. Markey ignores or fears the ulterior motives of the Soviet Union while Thompson places much consideration on not letting the Soviets threaten our freedom and individual rights. Hopefully the next months will show that Professor Thompson's approach is the correct one.



Have a Happy Winter Break

Arts and Leisure

Why Do I Do This To Myself?

Cara Applebaum, J'88

Exercise, fitness, cardiovascular rate, muscle-tone: if you ask me, these words are twice as vulgar as your standard everyday four letter obscenities. These terms compel us to move and to abuse our bodies, to twist them in agonizing contortions.

In keeping up with the fitness craze, I took up running. One beautiful afternoon at four o'clock, I set out in my newly purchased running shoes and attempted to "improve my health." Wow, this is not bad—rather invigorating, in fact. I run a little further. My pulse rate quickens and sweat dampens my temples. I persist and continue my run. My heart is now beating wildly and my bones are rattling. I am gasp-

ing for breath. I look at my watch—4:10. So much for running.

Okay, so maybe running is not my forte. How about aerobics? I make my way down to Curtis Hall and find a place on the crowded floor. The beginning is great—stretches to limber up tight muscles (and after yesterday's run, my muscles are pretty tight).

I get to work out all the kinks while listening to great tunes. There is definitely something to this aerobics stuff. But why is the music suddenly switching to a rock beat? Look at the instructor! What is she doing? Oh my God! She is running and jumping at a frenzied pace. Why am I doing it too? "This is the first of six aerobic songs," she cheerfully informs us. Great...

"You're looking fabulous," she yells

enthusiastically. I'm not so enthusiastic. The people next to me are energetically "doing the pony," while I can barely lift my feet off the floor. I have this major cramp in my calf. I am informed that it's called a "shin splint." Swell. I may be murdering my body but at least I'm improving my vocabulary.

At last the pace slows. I collapse, humiliated, a crumpled heap on the floor.

"Okay, now we start spot exercises!" I'm not sure what these are but I vaguely remember reading about them in history class. Aren't they the methods of torture used during the Crusades to punish the infidels? I do not stay to experience "spot exercises." I return to my room, take two extra strength excedrin and fall asleep, swearing off aerobics forever.

I woke up this morning with this incredible pain that encompasses my entire right leg from hip to ankle. I am unquestionably crippled. I cannot cross my legs much less jog in place. It is torture to put on my pants. People stare at me as I slowly walk (?) across campus, moaning with each step.

"Oh yes," they whisper knowingly, "one of the unfortunate souls who foolishly decided to exercise." I guess this is what they mean when they say that exercise makes you a different person. Two days ago I could walk, today I can't. I'd say that's a pretty sizable difference.

I think from now on I will engage in a more sensible way of exercise. I hear that changing the channel on the television is an excellent way to build your triceps! I only hope that it won't be too big a strain.

Film Review *Plenty*: Fine Acting, Confusing

Presentation

Cara Applebaum, J'88

I do not know why I did not like it. I figured that it had all the makings of a really good movie. My favorite actress, Meryl Streep, held the leading role and was surrounded by an all star cast, including Sir John Gielgud, Ian McKellen and Sting. What could be bad? Nevertheless, despite their excellent performances, the actors could not rescue Fred Schepisi's film, *Plenty*.

The setting revolves around post world war two England during the years of "plenty". Our heroine, Susan (played by Meryl Streep) has so romanticized her position in the French Resistance during the war, that it is impossible for her to adjust to the real world. She longs for the

stranger with whom she spent a single impassioned night. Fifteen years later, she still carries his memory and aviator pins wherever she travels. We then trace Susan's slow political and social ascent. But as she gains more prominence and wealth, she becomes more dissatisfied, and obsessed with her past life during the war; she is, at last driven to the brink of madness.

Though the movie implants us with the powerful image of the decadence of society, Schepisi has chosen a confusing and "talkie" vehicle for demonstrating his observations. The movie is pieced together in a series of flashbacks. It is often impossible to discern them as flashbacks unless you realize that Meryl Streep's hair style changes with every year. The movie is abstract; it is artistic

and it is dramatic, but it lacks continuity which makes it difficult to follow the plot.

Ian Baker, photography director, is to be praised for his breath-taking shots of the French countryside, the beauty of the sky at sunset and the terrors of war. Meryl Streep, as always, puts forth a convincing and brilliantly sensitive performance as the crazed Susan; she is truly stunning. Sting, as Susan's cockey lover, gives a surprisingly realistic portrayal (yes folks, believe it or not, he can act!)

The real treasure of the movie, however, is Tracy Ullman, who plays Susan's closest friend, Alice. Ullman

embodies energy, vivacity, and eccentricity. Her free spirited and lower class character serves as a wonderful glass figure for Susan. Her performance is both impressive and enjoyable.

Apparently my roommate failed to see any of *Plenty's* good points because half way through she was sound asleep. And I have to admit, I felt my head drop a few times myself. I do feel the movie was worth seeing for the actors' performances and the beautiful scenery, but *Plenty* is definitely lacking plenty.

At The Boston Ballet

Cara Applebaum, J'88

If you go to the Wang Center half an hour before curtain, you can buy the best seats they have left for \$6.50. Last month I did just that, and ended up with center orchestra seats for the Boston Ballet production of *Don Quixote*. I waited with anticipation as the orchestra began Ludwig Minkus' overture. The music was lovely, very Spanish and flowing. The curtain rose to reveal a charming and authentic set of a Spanish village; the dancers stood arrayed in brightly colored costumes. The effect was breath-taking.

The story revolves around Cervantes' epic story of the fanciful Don Quixote who spends his life chasing windmills and dreaming of his story-book heroine, Dulcinea. The ballet focuses on his encounters with Kitri and Basilio, two lovers who must escape from Kitri's father, in order to marry.

The peasants, in their gay costumes dance with energy and finesse. The male *corps de ballet*, in particular, displays great ability as they dance in perfect synchronicity with great vivacity. The principle dancers, unfortunately, lack their spiritedness. Laura Young, as Kitri, seems heavy on her feet and almost apathetic towards her dancing. William Pizzuto, as Basilio, is awkward and hesitant in his movements. He does not have the power that is characteristic of his role.

In the second act, Young and Pizzuto seem to relax and dance more comfortably with each other, but it is hard to believe that any real passion exists between them. Pizzuto can barely support Young during their *pas de deux*. Nor does either dancer achieve any elevation during the fast paced grand allegros, which are composed of barrel turns, quck jumps, and high leaps.

But act two brings Lori Nowack to center stage. Nowack plays "Amour", the product of Don Quixote's hallucinations. She embodies all the vitality, grace, and expertise that is lacking from the other dancers. She is unbelievably light on her feet and delicate, yet dances with a strength that is surprising for someone of such a frail stature.

This act also contains the delightful gypsy scene. Kitri and Basilia have run away to hide in a gypsy camp where they encounter its charismatic and intriguing inhabitants. The *corps de ballet's* mazurka is filled with quick and light steps, and executed with enthusiasm.

The grande finale results with Kitri's father at last consenting to the marriage and wedding celebration. Once again, the costumes are exquisite and the scenery beautiful. Unfortunately, the principles just do not have the fervor necessary for such a festive scene. But the visual effects are wonderful and the *corps de ballet* manages to salvage *Don Quixote*, rendering this Boston ballet well worth seeing.

Downright, Upright

by AA

No matter what your political affiliation, Democrat, Republican or Communist, almost everybody participates at some time in the alcoholic party. This common denominator between all of us Jumbos needs to be explored further. This article will show that with a little imagination alcohol can be a panacea for social, economic, political, and moral problems! This article will serve as a method to inform the student body about drinks pertinent to today's issues, both campus and worldwide.

Indulge and be enlightened!

The Brain

1 oz. Strawberry Schnapps
1/2 oz. Baileys Irish Cream

We know who this drink is for! One shot of this will definitely give you that extra edge you have been looking for to put you at the head of the class. Place the Schnapps in a shot glass and gently float the Baileys on top. Record all observations.

Warning: Too many brains can be hazardous to your grade pont average!

Symbol of Apartheid

1 oz. Kaluha
1/2 oz. Cream

This drink is prepared in a rocks glass. Pour the Kaluha over ice and then add the cream.

Variation 1: "The Violent Revolution"—same as above, except stir.

Variation 2: "Divestiture"—same as above, except no cream.

The Social Policy

4 oz. Gingerale
1/2 oz. Gerandine

In a highball glass pour the gingerale over ice and then add the gerandine. This is for 85% of the campus who can not drink, legally.

Remember—"This policy's for you."

Conservative Drink of the Month Extra Dry Martini

It is an oldy but still a goody. This is a drink for a pure conservative.

2 oz. Gin preferably English
Vermouth

Pour the gin over the ice in a rock glass. Then ceremoniously wave the vermouth around the glass. Then add two olives. Last minute advice is to never drink on an empty stomach, eat your olives first.

The Incompetency of American Correspondents In Moscow

Jonathan Tarr, A'88

The view most Americans have of the Soviet Union is that presented by U.S. news organizations in Moscow. It is assumed that a story emerging from Moscow is based on the same hard facts as a story emerging from Washington should be. It is assumed that American press members strive for truth in the Soviet world of falsehood. It is assumed that American journalists, as representatives of perhaps our most important right—freedom of the press, are worthy American ambassadors to the Soviet Union, and perhaps beacons of freedom in that dreary totalitarian world. These, however, are often false assumptions.

Andrew Nagorski, former Moscow bureau chief for *Newsweek*, in his new book *Reluctant Farewell*, quotes an unidentified American Press correspondent as saying that 90% of AP stories filed from Moscow were simple paraphrases of Soviet news articles or TASS statements.

David Satter, Moscow reporter for the *Financial Times* from 1976 to 1982, in a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, "Moscow Feeds Lap-Dog Foreign Press," pointed out that the same was applicable to other Western news organizations, and that the "small percentage of stories not taken from the Soviet press are largely based on Soviet official information and therefore show the imprint of the Soviet Union's deluded view of reality."

Satter paints a disturbing picture of the American journalism in the Soviet Union; correspondents traveling outside of Moscow are directed by the Soviet Foreign Ministry to the same factories and collective farms, and are given the same state supplied answers at each stop. The result is a series of "identical, meaningless stories which appear in the Western press at two- or three-year intervals."

The incompetency of many correspondents sent by American publications to Moscow is emphasized by the fact that during Satter's stint in Moscow, the percentage of these correspondents who couldn't speak Russian reached 90%. The result was a situation in which KGB supplied translators were relied upon by reporters.

Indeed Satter points out, "This meant that Andrei Sakharov, for example, was frequently interviewed for United Press International by the agency's Soviet translators, who were provided by the KGB. *Time* magazine sent its KGB-provided translators to interview Soviet citizens as an 'American correspondent.' It was common for non-Russian speaking correspondents to interview their KGB-provided maids to get the reaction of the Soviet 'man on the street.'"

Thus in 90% of the cases, an American link to the Russian people is severed because of incompetency. And isn't this the link which should be strengthened? Alexander Solzhenitsyn has stressed that the natural ally of the United States is the Russian people, but the American press fails to capitalize on this alliance.

And often brave Russians who reached out to American correspondents to help build this alliance are shunned. Nick Daniloff, *U.S. News and World Report* correspondent in Moscow expressed in a recent interview with the *Washington Journalism Review*, what Satter described as a common attitude among correspondents, "I don't consort with dissidents. The magazine considers them of little interest. In a political sense they don't have any influence—and they are perishing."

Of course they have no political influence, but in the Soviet Union who does? The stories that should be written are those dealing with the suppressed Russian people, those dealing with how one lives his life with no freedom, those exposing the harsh realities of Soviet Russia. But for some reason these issues are rarely raised.

Satter attacks this common attitude: "in the Soviet totalitarian context, a 'dissident' is anyone ready to meet with a foreign correspondent without lying to him. And far from 'perishing,' there are hundreds of such people in Moscow who are ready to take risks to help correspondents gather truthful information about the real state of Soviet society. Nonetheless, their bravery is of no use if it is not met with bravery



on the part of the correspondents who feel some responsibility to learn the truth about the nature of the country to which they are accredited. Unfortunately, this is almost never the case."

Why is this almost never the case? Being honest means risking harassment from the Soviet government, and risking one's position. And while it seems that many do sacrifice honesty for their jobs, the scope of the blame goes beyond the individual reporters to the news organizations they serve.

The culpability of news organizations is exemplified by the recent *Time* magazine interview of Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev. In exchange for the prestige of Gorbachev on their cover and an exclusive interview, *Time's* interview dealt with issues comfortable to the Soviet leadership. No questions dealing with human rights violations, Jewish emigration, or Afghanistan were raised. Thus in return for a competitive advantage, *Time* printed a rehashing of TASS statements, with the exception that these could be directly quoted from the Soviet brass.

This is not an isolated case; news organizations are compromising truth for "access" to high officials despite the fact that this access only

gives them a restatement of what has already been printed.

The Soviet government can lie and deceive its own people simply by manipulating the state controlled press to its will, but its communication with the world is dependent on the Western media. Satter points out:

"The Soviet authorities do not expect Western journalists to believe Soviet propaganda, but only to repeat it uncritically, without any effort to analyze what it means, so that over time the Soviet Union's ideological lying and officially sanctioned misuses of language, enhanced by the credibility of important American publications, begin to have the same numbing effect on Westerners as on Soviet citizens."

It is the duty of all American news organizations to operate with the truth and integrity on which freedom of the press is built. Especially in these times when American-Soviet relations are of such importance, Americans must be presented a realistic view of the Soviet Union. Our free press is our only source of this realistic view. That is if news organizations strive for truth and not profits. It is time for news organizations to serve those who depend on them for truth, and not the Soviet Union which aims to suppress this truth.

THE NEW NEW RIGHT

continued from page 5

Wright, Jr., Chairman of the National Assault on Illiteracy program, is among other who believe that racism "No longer has a 'damn thing' to do with the black predicament in America" and that Reagan is a man of "Principle and Pragmatism."

Inasmuch as these circumstances might suggest a revolution in the black community, the conservative crossover has been slow in coming and is facing several critical roadblocks. These barriers include: 1) lack of credibility and distrust of conservatism and 2) divisiveness within right-wing black leadership.

Historically, blacks have been approached by one party at a time; civil war blacks were courted by Republicans whereas the Great Depression marked the beginning of an almost 90 percent black identifica-

tion with the democrats. According to Jay Parker, the assumption that blacks were tied to a liberal agenda hindered change. "It's like when people belong to a particular church, . . . They'll stay in that church even though they don't agree with it," Parker said. Moreover, black voting behavior tended to place group solidarity over philosophical differences.

Liberals have successfully mobilized blacks around the civil rights issue. In the 1960's conservatives appeared soft on anti-civil rights practices while liberals marched side by side with blacks. "Conservatism has not had a very pleasant history with the black community because a lot grew up believing resistance to civil rights came from conservatives. Conservatism became synonymous with racism. It wasn't until a more informed area in my life that I realized it wasn't true," said Woodson.

To regain credibility among blacks, conservatives must develop specific policies along philosophical lines according to Woodson. Parker says emphasis must be placed on the issues to "Demonstrate to all black people that conservatives share the same interests on all these issues." On the other hand, Williams says conservatives must be "Honest with themselves."

Pendleton goes one step further, saying "Black conservatives are not going to be any freer than black liberals if one doesn't start taking out the idea of being black. Conservatism is not a black phenomenon nor do whites have a monopoly. . . ." Yet the distinction persists as Pendleton himself has been called Reagan's "lackey" for espousing views considered to be inimical to black tradition.

To a large extent, conservatism is

plagued by misconceptions that render it heartless, bigoted, and unhumanitarian when it comes to issues like civil rights, resulting in a basic distrust among blacks. However, it has come as a pleasant surprise to conservatives that there is minority opposition to preferential treatment. In fact, Pendleton has called black leaders "racist" for favoring preferential treatment.

Pendleton, who grew up on the 1940's segregated Washington, D.C., and did not receive any special assistance, asks, "What is special about us in this day and time? And don't talk to me about 200 years of slavery. . . That's over." Pendleton's belief in "Civil Rights for all Americans" was upheld by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall's decision that distinctions based on race or color "Have no moral or legal validity in our society."

Soviet Marxism in Nicaragua

Eric J. Labs, A'88

Nicaragua ruled by the Sandinistas is firmly and stoutly totalitarian and a full-fledged member of the Soviet orbit. The recent elimination of basic civil and human rights by the government permanently shut down freedom in this Central American country. One wonders how there could have been so much controversy over Sandinista intentions for the past five years.

In 1979, a genuine, populist revolution ousted Anastasio Somoza, admittedly a corrupt but typical Central American dictator. This rebellion encompassed all walks of life: students, peasants, businessmen, middle-class citizens, and the Roman Catholic Church. The difference between the revolution then and the Nicaraguan leadership today was the emergence of the Sandinistas as the dominant group, lead by Daniel and Humberto Ortega.

One should have expected the rise of these particular individuals — as only a few astute observers did. Genuine democrats are no match for ruthless and aggressive revolutionaries. Once in power, the Sandinistas' grip and unrelenting consolidation of power resembled the building years of Stalin's tenuous government in the U.S.S.R. in 1924-1926. However, the primary factor, the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Ortega brothers and their cohorts, was always there.

Educated in the Soviet Union, these two gentlemen thoroughly committed themselves to Marx and Lenin long before they ever achieved power. According to Shirley Christian, author of *Nicaragua, A Revolution in the Family*, in 1981 shortly after the revolution and before U.S. opposition, Humberto Ortega as Commander of the Sandinistas' military operations said:

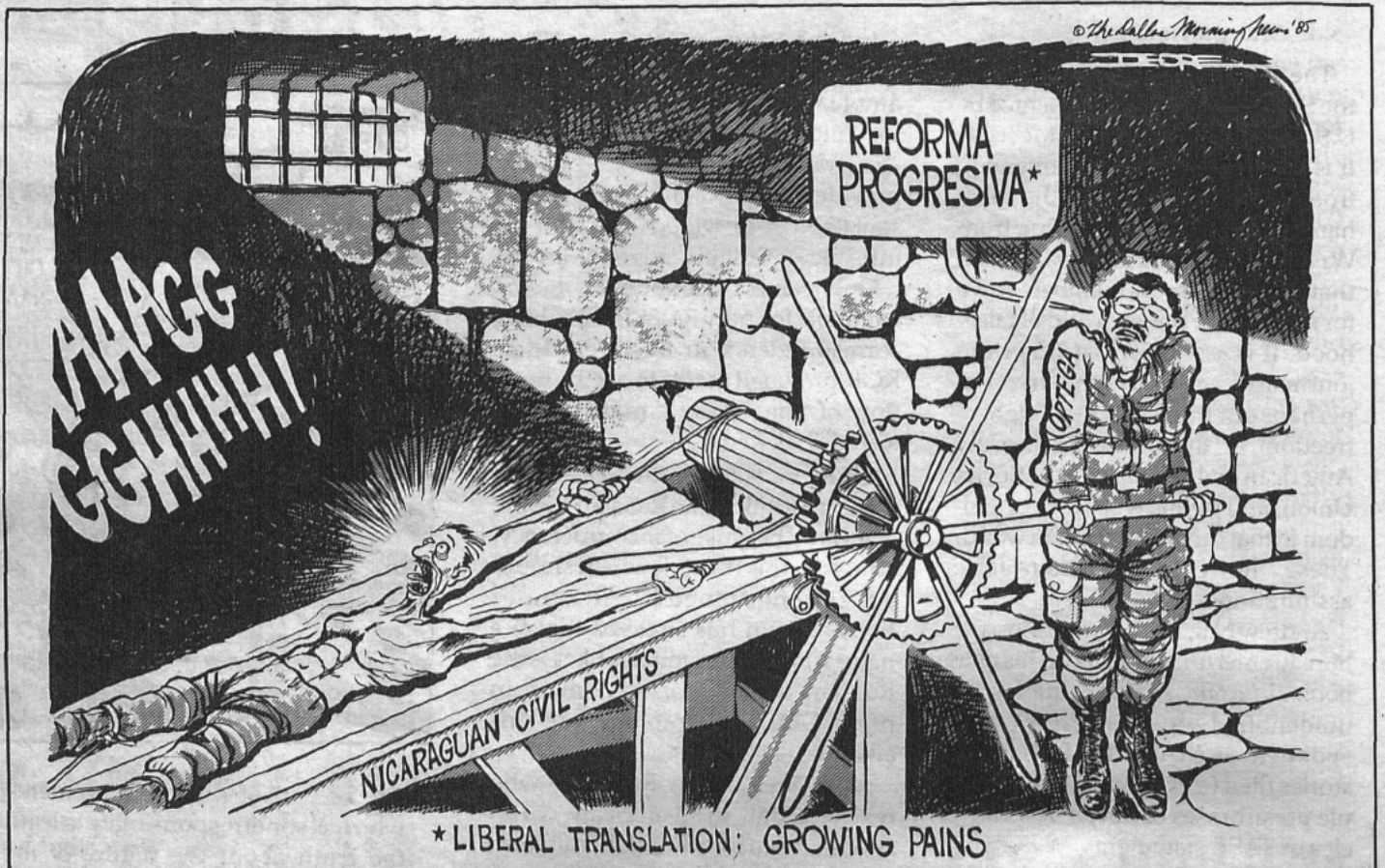
Our revolution has a profoundly anti-imperialist character, profoundly revolutionary, profoundly classist: We are anti-Yankee, we are against the Bourgeoisie, we are inspired by Sandinismo, which is the most beautiful tradition of this people, developed by Carlos Fonseca, we are guided by the scientific doctrine of the revolution, by Marxism-Leninism.

Instructing his military officers, he added:

Without Sandinismo we cannot be Marxist-Leninists, and Sandinismo without Marxism-Leninism cannot be revolutionary. For that reason they are indissolubly united and for that reason moral force is Sandinismo, our political force is Sandinismo, and our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism.

In addition, Ernesto Cardinal Martinez, a renegade priest and the Minister of Culture, proclaimed "the true Kingdom of God is a Communist society, and Marxism is the only solution for the world."

The question of Sandinista ideology stands as the most fundamental misinterpretation of the Nicaraguan tragedy. Perhaps if the above quotes were better known, mistakes made earlier by Nicaraguan democrats and U.S. officials could have been avoided. There would at least have



* LIBERAL TRANSLATION: GROWING PAINS

been no surprises about the results that followed.

For example, in July 1980, P.L.O. leader Yasir Arafat paid a visit to Nicaragua regarding "strategic and military ties" between his organization and the Sandinistas. They have received training from the P.L.O. as early as 1969. Arms, oil, and other material was shipped to Nicaragua from Libya, Iran, Vietnam, and Cuba — a roster of outlaw states.

Some details include a \$100 million loan from Libya in 1981, plane loads of weapons from Libya in 1983 (intercepted by Brazilian authorities), and oil supplies from Iran. According to the U.S. State Department, 8,000 Soviet, East German, Cuban, Libyan, and P.L.O. "advisors" assist Nicaragua's military and extensive security apparatus, linchpins of any totalitarian system.

Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer reports that nearly every major terrorist organization has been allowed to open offices in Managua: the P.L.O., the I.R.A., the Red Brigades, M-19 (from Columbia), and the Spanish Basque ETA — among others. Considering the Soviet Union has aided every group and every country on the above list, the shadow of global expansionism looms with an extraordinary presence.

Unfortunately, the Sandinistas do not keep to themselves. In addition to clamping their society in tyranny, the Nicaraguan government seeks to do the same in El Salvador by fomenting revolution and intimidating Honduras and Costa Rica; all three countries now consider Nicaragua an enemy state.

* Captured rebel documents in El Salvador detailed the aid given to them by Managua as well as information for training classes in Nicaragua, Vietnam, Bulgaria, East Germany, and the Soviet Union.

* 1,200 captured American M-16 and AK-R automatic rifles used by the insurgents in El Salvador were traced by serial numbers to weapons lost in Vietnam after the fall of Saigon in 1975. This 10,000 mile transfer could not have occurred without the assistance of

the U.S.S.R., Vietnam, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

* Hundreds of rounds of Bulgarian ammunition, Soviet hand grenades and mortar rounds were also captured there.

At this point, I part with those who argue that the Sandinistas "betrayed" the revolution. This assertion is false. They firmly and ruthlessly carried out the policies they intended. The Sandinistas never compromised their own twisted ideas of "revolution." Sadly, however, many people who grudgingly admit this reality try to excuse the Sandinistas through a barrage of arguments.

Much has been made in liberal circles of the U.S. support for Somoza's dictatorship. This distorts reality. While prior to his fall Somoza was pro-American, this does not necessarily equate to U.S. "propping-up" of his regime. In fact, military aid to Somoza was modest. He had his own devices to stay in power. Also, Nicaragua possessed the smallest investment of American corporations in Central America and still does. Near Somoza's end when substantial aid would have perpetuated his regime, the U.S. refused his requests thus speeding the end of his despotic rule.

Another excuse revolves around some vague notion that our belated opposition to the Sandinistas "drove" them into the Soviet camp. Addressing this point, Dr. Henry Kissinger asked Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto why his country needed an army of 300,000 men (including militias and reserves). He replied with the standard government line of the "threat of U.S. imperialism," etc. However, he in turn got a reply. A member of Congress, during the hearings of the President's Commission on Central America, rejoined with a most eloquent statement:

Mr. Foreign Secretary, I met you a few years ago in Washington just before we voted to send money to your country — more money than in all the twenty years of your former dictatorship. I believed you when you said you were bringing democracy.

We arranged loans and financial aid to your government through the IMF and world bank. And we voted \$117 million ourselves. We believed everything you told us. You looked me in the eye as one Catholic to another. With the basic respect I had for you and your social concerns and you being a priest, I believed you when you promised freedom. But there is no freedom for the working man in Nicaragua. There is no political freedom. I tell you, Father, speaking as a Roman Catholic, you lied to us. You lied to us then and you are lying to us now.

In addition, an editorial in *The New Republic* was more succinct: "Difficult as it is for many Americans to imagine, some revolutionaries are ruthless and aggressive out of true conviction. They do not require the inspiration of American hostility." (July 1, 1985)

Then there is the supposedly "democratically elected government in Nicaragua." True, the Sandinistas held elections last year — only five years late. In addition, all but one anti-Marxist parties were decertified before the vote. The press is totally censored and could not seriously report opposition rallies and statements which are now prohibited. Remember, all Communist countries hold some sort of "elections;" only the Sandinistas were a little more subtle about it.

The last defense of the Sandinistas by its liberal apologists discusses the improvements of Nicaraguan health care and literacy. However, they fail to mention the severe food shortages and famine which did not occur before the revolution.

Besides, the liberal establishment rejects the above line of defense in their opposition to South Africa. While I do not mean to divert the point, South Africa too has better health care, education, and economic well-being for blacks than the rest of southern Africa. And yet, it is South Africa that is protested not the dictatorships that surround it. If freedom is irreplaceable and inviolable in South Africa, Nicaraguans deserve the same considerations.