

The Primary Source

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MILITARY BUREAUCRACY HINDERS OUR DEFENSE

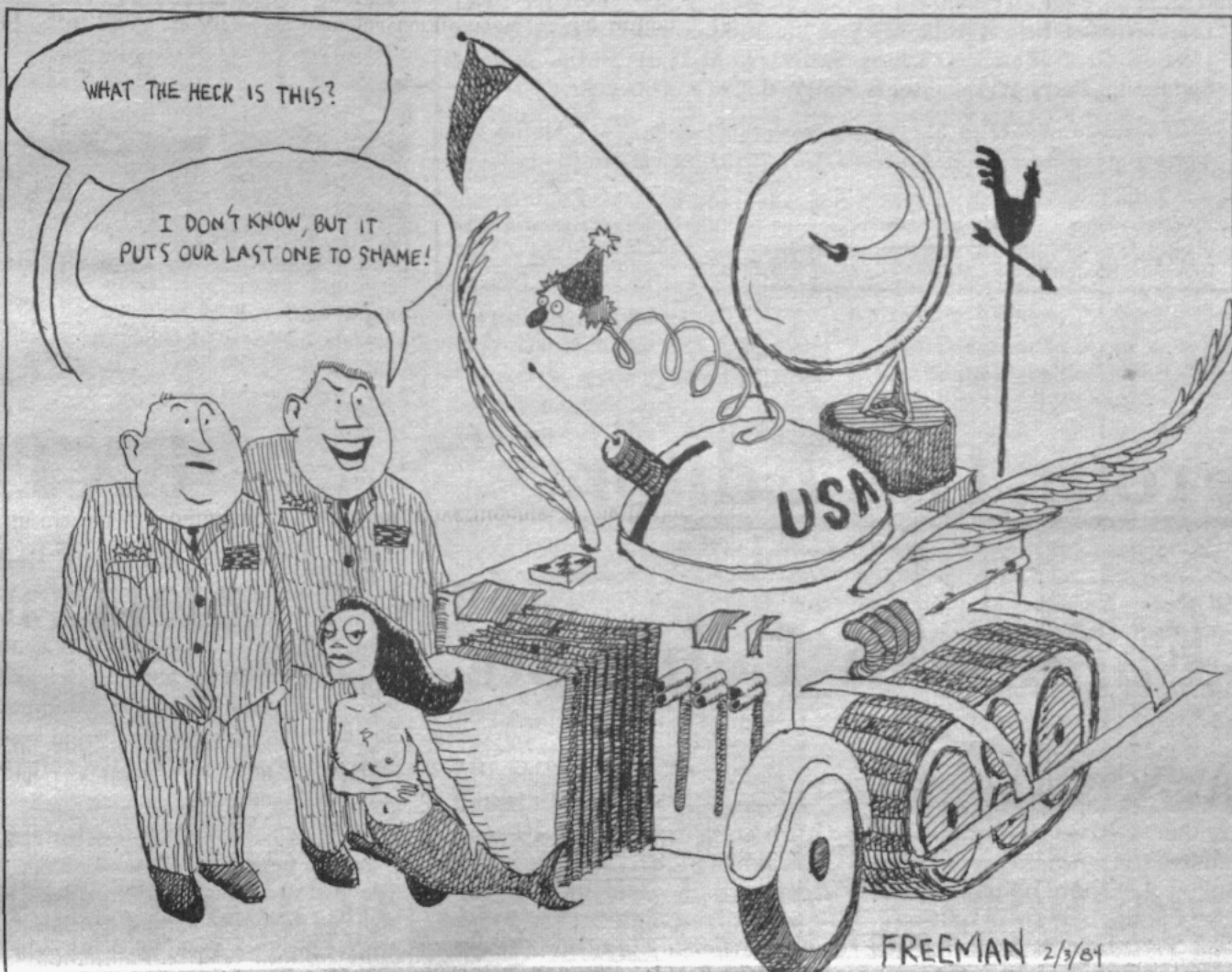
Stuart Weichsel, A'86

With the recent invasion of Grenada and the military involvement in Lebanon, more analysis is being made of the effectiveness of U.S. military efforts. The critics of the armed forces are pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of our forces with intent of improving them.

Looking over U.S. military history from World War II, performance has not always matched expectations. Topics such as the conflict in Vietnam, the rescue mission for the hostages in Iran, and the recent use of troops in Lebanon are sore subjects for the military. While not all U.S. military actions have been failures in the last 15 years, a pattern of an ineffective military has developed.

The long-term problems we have been experiencing with the military can be traced to its general method of operation. The problems have not been confined to special situations, but have been based on mismanagement. The armed forces have developed a deep-rooted bureaucracy. A recent statistic states that there are now twice as many officers per fighting man in the armed forces than there were at the end of World War II.

The fact that a bureaucracy has developed in the armed forces does not imply that bureaucracy is bad for all government agencies. It can be argued that bureaucracy in the Justice Department provides the continuity and tradition that gives the department the superb



reputation it has traditionally enjoyed. But, it is doubtful whether we want a well entrenched bureaucracy to dominate the U.S. armed forces.

The reasons for the development of the military bureaucracy cannot be very well defined, but many factors have contributed, mainly changes in the attitudes and

responsibilities of officers. In general, the system of organization of the individual armed forces has changed from the comparatively simple command and control structures of yesteryear. The chain of command system has been expanded and complicated, traversing more levels of command and more officers.

The decision making process in the Pentagon has slowly changed, from the individual decisions that an Admiral Rickover could make, to the committee decisions that are compromises between groups of officers. With more people involved in decision, its result is harder to change in a different

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A Troubled Community, but Here to Stay

Monique Gaudette, J'84

It has been about thirty years since the idea of European unity and integration found concrete manifestations in the Coal & Steel Community (ECSC), the Economic Community (EEC) and the Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The principle goal at that time was to set the nations of Europe, historically divided by conflict and war, on a common course toward integration.

The architects of what is today known as the European Community, Robert Schumann and Jean Monnet, believed that by starting in limited spheres such as agriculture, energy and trade, the process of integration would spill over to other functional areas. The eventual result? Somewhat of a United States of Europe — a solid union of the European nations based on full economic and political integration. In 1984, where does the European Community stand? How does it measure up to the expectations of its creators?

With a present membership of ten nations (the Ten) expanded from the original Six, the European

Community registers many achievements. The Common Market is alive and functioning, based in theory on the free internal movement of goods, capital, and people and on a common external tariff barrier, and has fostered a substantial increase in intra-Community trade since its inception in 1968. The Community is the world's largest trading unit if taken as a bloc accounting for approximately 24 percent of world trade, and is the most important trading partner taken as a bloc to most countries of the world, including the U.S.

A particularly successful area of integration has been agriculture, where more than 95 percent of agricultural production in member states is governed at the Community level under the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), introduced in 1962. The Community is the world's largest food producer and is now largely self-sufficient in this area.

Further evidence of the success of the EEC is its bureaucratic structure. The Community is governed by a permanent set of institutions whose decisions are

supreme in matters of Community law and binding on every European citizen in member states. Members of the European Parliament are granted legitimacy through popular general elections. The Council of Ministers brings together the top national leaders on a regular basis. The European Commission is a body completely independent of

national governments, acting in the interests of the entire Community.

Moreover, the Community has been in the vanguard of a movement to improve relations with developing nations. Through such forums as the Lome Convention, the EEC contributes to the stabilization of export earnings,

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Education at Tufts: Tackling High Tuition

Daniel Calingaert, A'86

For the benefit of those who have been living in trees, it needs mention that tuition will increase by 8% next year. The trustees of the university have passed a budget which would bring the total undergraduate tuition costs to \$13,836. As has been the case for the past few years, tuition is rising faster than inflation, despite its already high level.

At first glance, such a trend seems worrying. However, one finds that the usual measure of inflation gives

an inaccurate view of the tuition increases. The inflation rate presented in the press (now approximately 5%) is calculated by using the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which measures price changes for consumer goods. Universities, however, spend money on goods and services which are different from those purchased by consumers. Thus, using the Higher Education Price Index (HEPI), which calculates the inflation experienced by universities, gives one a more

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The Primary Source

A conservative student journal of opinion at Tufts University.

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From The Editor

Failure in Lebanon

The Lebanon fiasco adds yet another item to the long list of failures in American foreign policy. Let there be no mistake. The blame lies, in its entirety, with President Reagan and his administration. That the turmoil in Lebanon and the vocal opposition at home made the Administration's task extremely difficult is without question. However, expressing empathy for foreign policy failures does the country no good. The president must rise to the challenge, for that is his job.

To conclude that Reagan was either too soft or too hard in his dealings with Lebanon is very misleading. The fundamental failure was one of method, not of the approach taken by the Administration. Reagan neglected to define our interests and our policy in Lebanon. He demonstrated an almost Carteresque indecisiveness in his approach and he stood firm in his rhetoric while actually backing down. Most importantly, Reagan failed to put American muscle behind the policy which he advocated.

That most of the marines who left Lebanon had no idea why they were there is not surprising. Most government officials in Washington could not agree on the reason for our presence or on our policy in Lebanon. Defense Secretary Weinberger claimed that our naval fire was intended to protect American citizens while Navy Secretary Lehman stated that it was supposed to help the government of Lebanese President Gemayel. Had Reagan clearly defined our policy in Lebanon, such contradictory statements would not have been made.

Our policy in Lebanon was considered to be generally

successful, enjoying broad public support, until the bombing of the marine compound. Though Reagan publicly responded to the attack by reaffirming our commitment to Lebanon, his failure to retaliate, and the decision of the marines to snuggle up in their bunkers, directly contradicted his words. While stating that the United States would not be pushed around by terrorists, Reagan backed down and eventually withdrew the marines for that very reason.

Whether a more aggressive approach or a more conciliatory one would have proved more successful is open to debate. It is certain, however, that talking tough while pursuing an ambivalent policy makes it doomed to failure. The decision to keep the marines closed up in their bunkers and the haphazard use of naval and air attacks demonstrated our lack of resolve to the Syrians and to the Moslem factions which they backed.

Once again, the credibility of American foreign policy is severely lacking. Reagan's fiasco in Lebanon demonstrated that the United States often fails to achieve that which it sets out to achieve. Reagan should have realized that our involvement was bound to be costly, in financial terms, in American casualties and in his domestic support. If he was not ready to pay the price, Reagan should never have gone into Lebanon in the first place. Despite his claims, the numerous deaths of our soldiers occurred in vain. The marines could have made a difference, but only if they were allowed to carry out the mission which they were sent to Lebanon to perform.

EXTRAS

Backward Redeployment

On February 10, Caspar Weinberger stated that, "We are not leaving Lebanon. The marines are being redeployed two or three miles to the west." That is one way of describing a situation in which the United States retreated with its tail between its legs. Our Secretary of Defense seems to talk tough while running in the opposite direction. If the United States should pull its fleet off the coast of Lebanon, he will probably depict it as a strategic advance towards the western Mediterranean.

Turbulent Times

At the beginning of the semester, many of us were excited by the prospect of having *The New York Times* delivered to our doorstep at a reduced price. The ensuing irregularity in delivery has made us realize that we received precisely what we paid for. One must remember that our colleague who delivers the paper is also human. He must contend with long weekends, malfunctioning alarm clocks, intimidatingly high flights of stairs and evasive "Week in Review" sections from the Sunday *Times*.

A Bum Rap

We would like to speak in defense of the Reverend Jesse Jackson concerning his unfortunate slip-up last week. In case you're unfamiliar with the nature of his blunder, he referred to Jews as "hymies" and New York City as "hymie-town."

Well, we've heard his favorite dish is bagels with lox and furthermore he is currently waiting in anxious anticipation for an invitation to visit Israel, the homeland.

We just wanted to clarify that because Jesse was getting such a bum rap.

Letters

On Oxfam

The editorial, Oxfam America: Peddling Food for Thought (Dec. 1983), by Michael Finch contained several factual errors as well as some editorial remarks upon which I would like to comment. To begin with, Oxfam America was not founded in 1970 as a famine relief agency, rather it was Oxfam England that was founded as the Committee for Famine Relief in 1942. Oxfam America, alternatively, was established in 1970 with the same goals it professes today - namely those of promoting international development, self-reliance, and increased economic and social equity. The organization is also involved with a limited amount of disaster relief aid.

Michael Finch also mistakenly points out that, "the fact that Oxfam

America supports political movements, while claiming to be apolitical, infuriates most students." This statement contains two falsehoods. On the one hand, Oxfam America does not claim to be apolitical. To argue that Oxfam America should ignore all political considerations is akin to admitting that one is ignorant of the complexities involved in the issue of hunger, and that one is not truly concerned with the problems of those most in need. Political forces are a substantial cause of hunger in many countries. The *Baltimore Sun*, in an introduction to a series on hunger writes, "The reasons for hunger are many and complex but most often they are political" (Dec. 11, 1983).

On the other hand, the fact that this year's Oxfam Fast generated

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On The Right

— WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Will the Soviet Union boycott our Olympics? At this point it isn't absolutely obvious that it won't do so. There are the temptations. They are: 1) to punish the U.S. for having pulled out of the Moscow Olympics in 1980; 2) to guard against the temptation of Soviet athletes arrived in America to head for the nearest McDonald's, order a milk shake, smile from ear to ear, and defect. And then, 3) Soviet Olympic athletes may not be so hot this year.

It isn't until June 2 that the Soviet Olympic delegation needs to declare itself definitively on the Games. And the presumption of course is that the Soviet Union will indeed send its athletes to Los Angeles, and that they will do well. And why shouldn't they? No Strasbourg goose intended to yield foie gras suitable for royal tables was ever fed more copiously, or more carefully, than the Soviet athlete. If he does not win the gold medal, or score right up there, it is simply a failure of Russian biology. Perhaps the next cultural exchange program sponsored by the Soviet Union will call for stud arrangements between prize-

winning American athletes and hearty Soviet girls. Mr. Mondale will come out for it, in the spirit of international intercourse.

Soon after the Korean airliner incident (remember?) the *Los Angeles Times's* Robert Gillette published a story reporting on the official Soviet press's warnings to Soviet athletes about life in Los Angeles. Is it a "City of Angles or of Hell?" one Soviet paper asked rhetorically. The Soviets are warning not only about danger in the streets but about the extra danger resulting from the Reagan Administration's fomenting of "anti-Soviet hysteria." The police chief of Los Angeles, which has had a black mayor for a number of years, is described in the Soviet trade-union newspaper under the headline, "Daryl Gates Blusters." And the question is asked, "Will he provide security for Olympians in Los Angeles?" How could he be expected to do so, the Soviet periodical goes on, given that he is a rabid anti-Communist "mournfully known for his savage reprisals against blacks."

So the serious folk in Los Angeles are wondering whether the Soviet Union is preparing to yank its

athletes. Blither spirits, perhaps less concerned about what the absence of Soviet bionic men would do to the Games, are otherwise, and more healthily, engaged. Lewis Van Gelder, a journalist, published a column in *Los Angeles*, "The Magazine of Southern California," giving a "translation" (a spoof) of a Soviet article surveying the California scene, and warning Soviet athletes what they should expect in traveling to America. "Such a hazardous undertaking will not be — as the Americans say — 'a piece of Coke.'"

I like that. As also I like the references to the well-documented proclivities of America for bloody massacres. The "translation" illustrates: "Vast interior portions of the U.S.A., as is well documented, were taken outright from defenseless Indian tribes in a series of bloody massacres during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many gunslinging Western 'heroes' such as Alfred ('Wild Bill') Hitchcock and John Wayne are still revered by American school-children and glorified in Hollywood films for their exploits in shooting and 'scalping' entire villages."

The trouble with criticizing that kind of thing is that, really, one can never criticize as excessive any attempted parody of Soviet polemics. Is there such a thing? Well, you can ham it up. *Los Angeles* magazine goes on: "The 'gold' state, as its residents sardonically refer to this bastion of poverty and unemployment, has become a magnet for criminals, sexual deviants, and other assorted misfits from the Eastern territories. The capital city of California is San Diego, site of the infamous 'Alamo,' where Western outlaws Davey Crocker and Pat Boone were killed in a gun battle with Mexican authorities..." Whoa!

Too much? But feel the ferrous spinal column. These are words no Soviet athlete coming to America would read and dismiss. "The loved ones you are leaving behind," the article concludes, "eagerly await your swift return. We at the KGB stand inseparably with them in counting the hours until you are with us again." And the Arctic air blows over the whole enterprise in Los Angeles and the smog and the heat and the damp scurry off, chased away by the glacial airs of Gulag.

The British Peaceniks in the European Community

Anthony Harrigan

LONDON, England — If one reads Left newspapers such as the *Guardian* or radical political journals such as *The New Statesman*, one quickly discovers that these elements in Great Britain like to refer to their nation as an occupied country. The occupiers, in their view, are Americans.

In no way, however, is this the view of the average Briton. American visitors to these shores encounter nothing save politeness and friendliness. The elements in the British population which are hostile to America can't represent any larger percentage than those radical Americans who regard the U.S. rescue mission in Grenada as much worse than the Soviet war against Afghanistan. On both sides of the Atlantic, however, the Left is noisy and well-provided with media outlets, pulpits and university lecture platforms.

The major media in the United States and Britain, principally the television networks, devote an extraordinary amount of attention to those who protest the American presence, which is virtually invisible, and the cruise and Pershing missiles which have been deployed at the invitation of the British government.

Colin Welch, one of Britain's leading journalists, writing in *The Spectator*, noted the kooky actions of the Greenham Common Peace campers and said that "The point of view they seek to express was decisively rejected by the British people at the last election." In his



judgment, "They represent only a minority probably no bigger than that which might collaborate with a Russian occupation and which might include many of the same peaceniks."

While the anti-cruise, nuclear deterrence protesters aren't numerous, they are disturbing to many Britons who see them as a kind of nuclear age fifth column. Britons in their fifties and sixties well remember those who in the 1930s took an oath not to fight for king and country and who were quite prepared to reach an accommodation with Hitler. Certainly, there are strong leftist elements in Britain today, as in the United States, who are prepared to purchase "peace" by reaching whatever accommodation might be

acceptable to the Soviet leadership.

Many thoughtful Britons worry about the Left movement in their country, which is very Left indeed. The Labor Party has lost much of its moderate center, insofar as foreign defense policy is concerned. The truly militant unions, such as the coal miners, attack Poland's Solidarity movement and call for friendly ties with "unionists" in the Soviet Union and East Germany, that is with official bodies that masquerade as union. If the Conservatives should lose the next elections, the country could swing far to the left, despite the pro-American outlook of millions of Britons. Indeed many Britons fear that, under such circumstances, their country could become another East European satellite state.

British government functions without a written Constitution, without American-style checks and balances, and without America's strong judiciary. A ruthless, militant parliamentary party could damage freedom in this land where political freedom was first established. Mr. Welch, therefore worries about the Greenham Common women and other radical elements. He wrote last month: "Like the intellectuals of the 1930s these last have transferred their patriotism to Russia." The nuclear peacenik phenomenon, therefore, is as disturbing as was the appeasement of the Nazis 40 years ago.

Anthony Harrigan is President of the United States Business and Industrial Council.

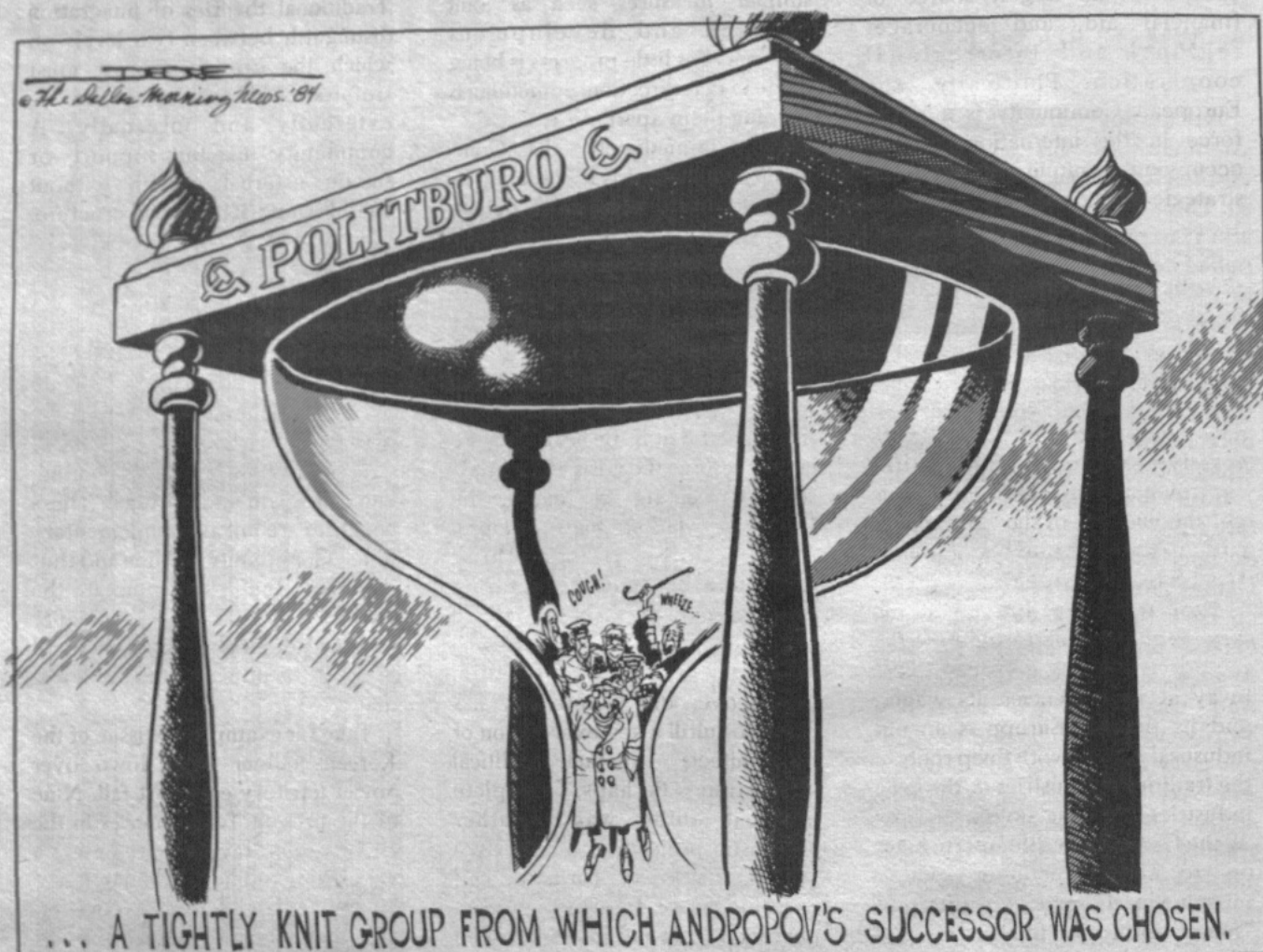
A SECOND LOOK AT CHERNENKO

Professor Robert Pfaltzgraff

With the death of Yuri Andropov and the selection of Konstantin Chernenko as his successor as Communist Party General Secretary, hopes have been raised in the West for a significant improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. In the U.S. Congress and the media, the theme has reverberated that the change in leadership in Moscow provides the United States with a rare opportunity to exert major influence now and in the months ahead to shape the long-term U.S.-Soviet relationship.

Although President Reagan has called for a "constructive" dialogue with the new Soviet leadership, the Administration is already being pressed, as the *Christian Science Monitor* proposed in an editorial on February 13, to give "evidence to the new Soviet leader of an American desire to move away from the appearance of confrontation and toward effective communication." In the same editorial, it was suggested that "Both in public statements and private contacts, the Reagan Administration ought to hew to a thoroughly consistent line over the next few months that it wishes to resume arms limitation negotiations, particularly on nuclear weapons."

Such promptings to the Reagan Administration to resume arms control negotiations seem strange indeed, since it was the Soviet Union, not the United States, that broke off the latest round of talks in Geneva in



... A TIGHTLY KNIT GROUP FROM WHICH ANDROPOV'S SUCCESSOR WAS CHOSEN.

November.

In the logic of such a recommendation, the Administration should presumably offer some concession as an enticement to Moscow to return to the negotiations. The implications of such a recommendation would be dangerous for the United States. It would reward the Soviet Union for having withdrawn from talks on arms control issues by offering one or more unilateral concessions as a means of resuming the negotiations,

clearly a one-sided approach holding little of substance for the United States.

To be sure, the demise of Andropov furnishes the opportunity — the inevitable necessity — to deal with another Soviet leader, in this case Chernenko, closely identified as he was with Brezhnev and several years older than Andropov. Having been temporarily pushed aside by Andropov at the time of Brezhnev's death in November 1982, Chernenko's star

was in the ascendant once again just a year later as Andropov's health deteriorated.

In the last several months Chernenko has played a central role in the leadership group that took foreign policy decisions with, or in the name of, Andropov. It was this Soviet leadership which, it should be recalled, drafted the verbal barrage against the United States after the Soviet Union shot down KAL 007. The same leader-

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Letters

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\$2900 in contributions (from approximately 800 students and faculty), shows that Oxfam America's work is not nearly so odious to many on this campus.

In addition, Oxfam America does not hide the fact that it endorses rallies. Finch's assertion that Oxfam America is deceitful and covers up its political activity is unfounded. A full statement on Oxfam America's opposition to the invasion of Grenada is available for the asking. Descriptions of all Oxfam supported work in developing countries is obtainable upon request for all those who take the time to fully understand the nature of their work.

Furthermore, Oxfam America volunteers are not "duped" as Finch would lead others to believe. Most workers have a clear understanding of Oxfam's philosophy and goals that has come from a long and close association with the organization. Two THAP (Tufts Hunger Action People) members, including myself, have volunteered for Oxfam for several years.

THAP members, and others who support Oxfam, do so because of their belief that Oxfam is working

against the root causes of poverty and hunger, unlike many other organizations.

In the future, we hope that writers will research their subject before making wild insinuations and printing untruths. The power of the media is potent and potentially harmful, it should not be abused.

— Allison Burger,
Tufts Hunger Action
People

Mr. Finch responds:

Miss Burger must be commended for acknowledging Oxfam's political motivations, a policy which has not always been practiced by other Oxfamites. It is my hope that the discussions regarding Oxfam and its practices continue. World hunger and the efforts to alleviate it are issues far too important to ignore.

On the Lebanese War

I wish to take exception with a few of Prof. Delfiner's opinions expressed in the *Primary Source* Vol. 2, number 5. I believe they do a disservice to many past and present

servicemen. He states that our forces were "defeated" in Vietnam by enemy tactics. American fighting men were never defeated by N.V.A. regulars or Viet Cong guerillas, an assessment shared by N.V.A. generals. It is also misleading to term Viet Cong casualties only "considerable" when they were decimated after the Tet '68 fighting and were not an effective force thereafter. While it is true that erosion of support at home and the lack of a coherent strategy led to our withdrawal, on the ground the war can only be considered to have been successful. In Lebanon, the Marines know how to fight the enemy and his tactics. What is called terrorism in peacetime (or when you're constrained to a Peace Mission) is commonplace fighting in wartime. Our men know how to fight, Long Report notwithstanding, if they're allowed to do so. The Marine Corps mission, as every boot soon learns, is to "seek out, close with, and destroy the enemy," and if we permit them to do that we need not worry about defeats from terrorism or any other tactics. So please lay the blame where it belongs, on policy makers and strategists; but don't say our combat troops are not equal to the task of successfully waging war, because they are.

— Seth Rosen '84

Professor Delfiner responds:

In reply to Seth Rosen's letter of February 2, I want to say that whatever the words I used in my article may have been, there was not the slightest intention to defame our soldiers past or present. I fully agree with the point about policy-makers and strategists being to blame for our defeats rather than the quality and caliber of our soldiers. I think that the spirit of my article, rather than perhaps a word here or there, have made that abundantly clear.

LET'S HEAR FROM YOU

Have a gripe to pick with us? Want to present the other side of an issue, tell us when we are wrong, or be just plain pedantic? If you have something to say, send us a letter.

The Primary Source
Box 14
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or via campus mail to:

206 Hayes House

We have been waiting to hear from you.

EVALUATING THE E.E.C.

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comprises the largest source of financial aid, and encourages regional and interregional cooperation. Politically, the European Community is a major force in the international arena, occupying a unique and extremely strategic position between East and West.

At first glance, it may thus seem that the European Community "has it all together." Yet beneath this façade of integration and unity, such achievements seem hollow and a more stark reality is exposed. The Community is riddled with divisive elements and bitter controversy. Crisis after crisis have put the viability of the Community into question in a number of minds. What has gone wrong?

Most seriously, "Europe of the Ten" seems unable to fight off the recession, allowing it instead to eat away at its currencies, its wages, and its people. Europe is an old industrial society with deep roots in the traditional industries — the very industries suffering severe decline. As the Community attempts to hang on to these declining sectors pursuing a strategy of supporting "sunset" industries, they are missing "the second industrial revolution" — the shift to new technology industries that offer a way out of the recession.

In a sense, Europe is condemning itself to a perpetually inferior position by its hesitation, while the United States and Japan forge ahead. Such a situation can be facilitated and growth encouraged if the Ten pooled resources and made a joint effort to develop the necessary "sunrise" industries. The irony is that they all recognize that it is only in working together that they have a fighting chance; it is agreed that progress toward economic and monetary unity can make a decisive

contribution toward achieving the common objectives of stability, growth and employment, as would simpler measures such as joint research and development ventures. Yet little progress is being made in that direction. Something is keeping them apart.

Most immediately, the Community faces a crisis in resolving its budget for this year, with debate centered on the agricultural program. The December meeting in Athens intended to resolve the impasse broke up in vain in less than a day. In mid-February, Community Foreign Ministers failed to patch up the dispute and recognized that if the heads of state cannot resolve the crisis at their next summit meeting in March, the Common Market may collapse. Again, there is something preventing the member states from accomplishing the tasks they all see as necessary.

Finally, from a broader perspective, the Community has failed to fulfill a key expectation of its architects — namely, political integration. Perhaps, complete political union was a rather unrealistic projection, but surely a greater degree of harmony and coordination of foreign policies is perfectly plausible. The Ten Member States have common interests and goals and could increase their bargaining power in world affairs to that of a major actor, rather than a bunch of little ones, if they acted as a concerted bloc. Instead, they remain for the most part separate, and that potential is unexploited.

What are the stumbling blocks that the Community has encountered, the obstacles to unity that prevent them not only from proceeding with the process of integration but also with the day-to-day conduct of affairs? What is it that may threaten the very existence of the Community?

E.E.C.

First, one must examine the way in which the European nations have attempted to achieve integration. Traditional theories of integration distinguish between two levels on which the growth process must simultaneously take place — externally and internally. A community cannot support or sustain external growth without consolidating its internal structure, just as a large house cannot be supported by a weak foundation.

While this problem was not wholly evident with the first expansion of the Community from Six to Nine to include Ireland, Britain and Denmark, it has become glaringly obvious with addition of Greece in 1980 and the pending entry of Spain and Portugal. These countries are not as complementary to the Community of Nine and thus increases the strains upon the internal order of the Community and the potential for disagreement in both economic and political matters.

Take for example, the issue of the Korean jetliner shot down over Soviet territory early last fall. Nine of the present Ten countries in the EEC were in favor of presenting a very strong public condemnation of Soviet actions; Greece, however, did not want to jeopardize its relations with the Soviet Union and thus forced the others to a compromise. The result was a weak statement that was hardly worthwhile and representative of the true sentiment throughout the greater part of Europe.

This example is not to suggest that the Community should deny expansion. Instead the internal structure should be strengthened, as well as adapted when necessary, so as to support the increased diversity of new members and to incorporate them into a more healthy whole. Expansion should add to the Community's power rather than weigh it down.

The most important obstacle, however, is a far more obvious one. The age-old conflict-producing sentiment of nationalism still runs extremely high in Europe and divides the Community on issues great and small. Just when the Ten should be driven together by their common problems and a common need to overcome such difficulties, they are instead retreating into their nationalist, isolationist holes and attempting to fight their battles alone. National interests take precedence over Community interest.

This exposes the fundamental failure of the European Community. The idea of European unity has not penetrated the hearts and minds of the people themselves. One considers himself to be French or German before a European. Moreover, there is a general attitude of indifference and apathy toward the Community; it is startling how few Europeans really know or care what goes on in Brussels, Strasbourg, or Luxembourg where the Community institutions are seated. In fact, the only place where the spirit of *Europe* is alive is in those places, among the European technocrats. This missing link — the support and loyalty of the populace — is indeed a most (even *the* most) vital component to the future of European integration and the Community.

The conclusion of all this? Not that the European Community is a failure — far from it. European countries have come a long way since the 1950s and they have done it mostly by working together. Few expected that the Community would become so complex and far-reaching in its scope. The major achievement of the EEC is that its existence has made war an impossibility among nations that have been fighting and destroying each other since the beginning of time. That in and of itself makes the Community quite a success in this writer's opinion.

Is the Community doomed to self-destruction? The answer is a confident "no." The past thirty years have created certain links among member states, no matter how insignificant, that are institutionalized and thus a permanent feature of their relations. No, the Community is not a failure and is not about to completely collapse.

Stagnation — the inability to move ahead with the process of integration, to resolve internal disputes, and to overcome their stumbling blocks to produce some concrete results — that is the real problem facing the Community. It is like an illness that gradually eats away at its victim until it reduces it to a state of paralysis. The Ten have the ability to shrug off this disease if, and only if, they come out of their holes and work together as the *Community* that their predecessors worked so hard to make. The Europeans must concentrate on that which binds them together, rather than on that which divides them, and they must start now.

Monique Gaudette has just returned from a semester in Brussels where she learned about the European Community.

PURGE POLITICS

**Watch for
The Primary Source
on Thursday, April 5**

**The Primary Source.
We're the alternative that counts.**

There is More to Defense than High Tech

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circumstance, since the officers involved have an interest in having their decision stand.

The attitudes of officers themselves have changed. Officers are more inclined to think of their career goals in the traditional measures of power, monetary and staff control. Instead of their previous pride in efficiency and effectiveness, military officers, like their civilian management counterparts, battle for the prestige of having high technology or cost weapons systems and of controlling the largest number of subordinates. In corporate management, this ambition for prestige has both positive and negative effects; in civilian government, it can hinder the achievement of their defined goal; but in military affairs, the attainment of prestige by officers can supplant their mission of defense completely.

This change of attitudes cannot be completely blamed on the officers themselves. Their actions should be seen as a reaction to incentives and disincentives with which they are faced. The lack of repercussions for failure, has resulted in the change of attitudes in the majority of military leaders of the armed forces today.

One complaint is that a large part of the defense department budget goes to defense procurements, especially of new weapons systems. From the M-1 to the MX, there have been major disputes. The method of designing and purchasing weapons is the problem. Weapons are not necessarily designed to solve a problem, they are just created. The development and production system does not have to answer to specific purposes, problems, or authorities.

A prime example of this is the Bradley infantry fighting vehicle. Critics have described it as the ultimate in poorly designed defense department developments. The name itself is a misnomer, for infantry in general does not fight in vehicles, otherwise it is not infantry. Having so many people in one vehicle is inviting a small massacre from one rocket. That is the traditional reason infantry is spread out as infantry. Furthermore, the vehicle is dangerous to its occupants, being made of

aluminum. When the vehicle is hit, molten aluminum metal has the tendency to spray across the interior, resulting in serious burns. Another design fault is that it is too big to be transported in most airlift aircraft. It must be partially disassembled before it can be loaded.

Another questionable development is the MX missile system. While many analysts consider it an effective nuclear system, the MX lacks a survivable basing mode necessary to enhance deterrence. The development of the system was purely the extension of previous goals of accuracy and MIRV capability. The system was not designed to provide the much-needed survivability of land-based missiles. It merely created expensive weapons which are vulnerable to a Soviet first strike.

Returning to generalities, a sticking point of the U.S. military ever since the atom bomb has been high technology. That technology, in a single burst, "ended" the second World War has been overemphasized ever since. The aura of that high tech development has been transferred to most all other high technology weapons, unrelated to their actual effectiveness. From

Maverick missiles to laser weapons, the U.S. military, in conjunction with its suppliers, has stocked the armed forces with expensive high technology weapons of questionable military value. Sadly, both groups have gained from this arrangement. The military planners and officers have gained power and prestige with higher budgets, while the military suppliers have reaped higher profits from the relatively high margin development and production of military weapons on the breaking edge of technology.

The mismanagement of the armed forces has not only had an effect on weapons procurement. It has also had an effect on such non-budget areas as military strategy and troop leadership.

Many of the strategies America follows today are based on decisions made by the military bureaucracy. The different branches of the military have developed strategies to satisfy their own interests, not to provide the best options to solve possible military crises. In general, the separate branches fight over responsibilities in defense policy, since with added responsibility comes the justification for more money and personnel. For example,

the army has developed ground support air power, a job that used to be handled by the Air Force.

Even the major military strategies are based on satisfying the different branches and groups in the armed forces. The policies of defending Europe and South Korea from a massive central attack has resulted in a decided pro-army policy. The Rapid Deployment Force has also been pro-army, stealing a job from the Marine Corps. The policy of depending on major battle groups centered on large aircraft carriers has been to the benefit of the Navy Admirals, though it has been claimed that such a group is very vulnerable to air or missile attack.

The separate interests of the military bureaucrats and career officers have changed the combat performance of American fighting men. With officers interested in fancy equipment instead of training, the human resources of the armed forces are underdeveloped. The morale and the quality of our soldiers has long been ignored. The ultimate result is that we may have the best equipped armed forces, but if our soldiers cannot use their weapons, we will remain unable to fight.



THE DEMISE OF THE E.R.A.

Michael Finch, A'84

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

On March 22, 1972, the Equal Rights Amendment, having been passed by a two-thirds margin in both houses of Congress, became eligible for passage in each state. The United States Constitution is amended when three-fourths of the states ratify the amendment. Within three months, the Equal Rights Amendment had been ratified by twenty-five states, thus requiring

only thirteen more to become a part of the Constitution. Yet, the seemingly unstoppable momentum of the ERA came to a halt and died. It was a slow death, taking over ten years, but in the end only thirty-five states ratified the ERA, including four which later rescinded their action. Recent attempts to revive the ERA have also proven to be unsuccessful.

The credit for destroying the prospects of the ERA cannot go to big business or to the multinationals. President Reagan cannot claim responsibility, although he is the only president in recent times to have voiced his opposition to the ERA. The credit, or blame, for the

failure of the ERA must go to its most vocal proponents — the radical feminists.

That the radical feminists failed in their attempts to obtain the ratification of the ERA is obvious. More elusive are the reasons why these females, with momentum and the public behind them, were unable to achieve a victory.

First, it should be noted that the failure of the ERA is quite astounding. The ERA had the support of Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter. It had passed both the Senate and House of Representatives by overwhelming margins. Both the Democratic Party, and the Republican Party until 1980,

supported the ERA. The nation as a whole, according to public opinion polls, favored ratification of the ERA. In fact, the only visible organized opposition to the ERA came from Phyllis Schlafly, a homemaker from Alton, Illinois who founded an organization named Eagle Forum. While acknowledging Mrs. Schlafly's determination, it should be noted that the Eagle Forum never achieved the prominence of N.O.W., the National Organization of Women, ERA's biggest advocate.

The key to the failure of the radical feminists lies in their

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Book Review

A U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP

Lenny Saltzman, A'87

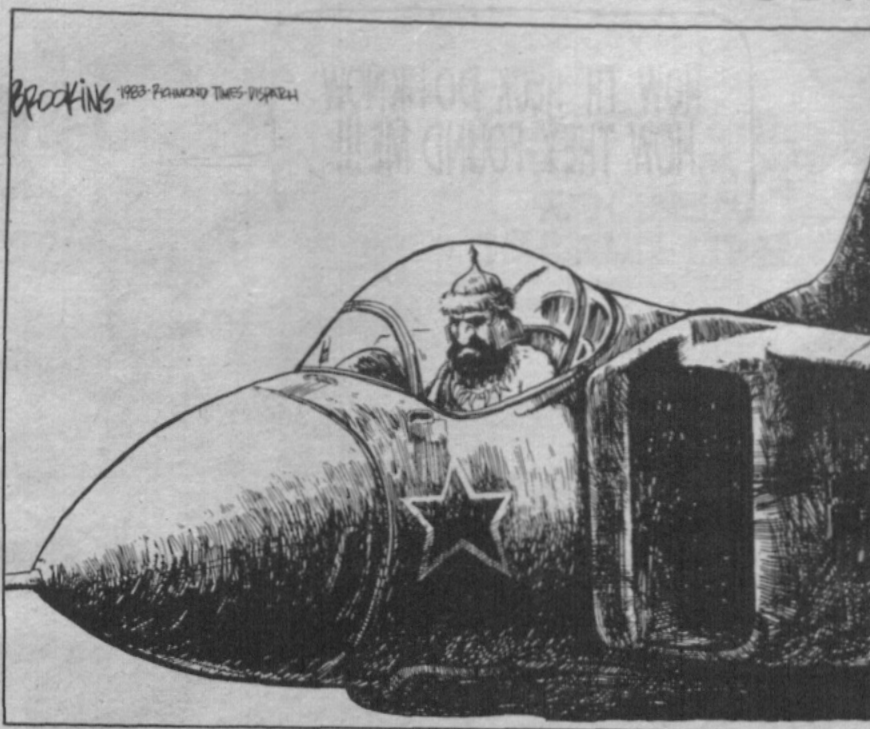
The Hill of Summer,
by Allen Drury
(Tinnacle Book Inc., NY, \$3.95)

Since the days of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union has made it clear that its ultimate intention is to defeat capitalism and let communism rule the world. Through the use of propaganda, aggression, and outright force, the Soviets hope to achieve the destruction of the United States and the rest of the free world. Although they have voiced their intentions time and again, a large portion of the American press and people still fail to show concern over the situation. In his book, *The Hill of Summer*, Allen Drury realistically presents the gravity of the current state of affairs between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Although the actual plot is fictitious, Drury describes events and situations that are very real. Having been a correspondent in Washington for U.P.I., *The New York Times* and *The Washington Star* for over twenty years, Drury has vast experience and knowledge of the subject matter.

The Hill of Summer is set in the late 1980s in a world full of turbulence. The Soviets have placed puppet regimes in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, and are on the verge of gaining control in Mexico. In Africa, the Soviets have taken Zimbabwe, Angola, and Ethiopia while almost all of Asia, with the exception of China, has surrendered to Soviet aggression.

It is at this point in history that two new leaders emerge. In the Soviet Union, Yuri Serapin, a young



and confident leader, becomes premier. Being the first Soviet leader to not have taken a part in WWII, he has no fear or hesitance in trying to further the goals of his country. Meanwhile, in the United States, Hamilton Delbacher becomes President through the death of his predecessor. Delbacher is the first president in the recent American history to have a genuine concern over the tactics of the Soviet Union. As a result of the succession of the two leaders, the basis for the novel is set. The Soviet Union under Serapin is ready to intensify its war against capitalism, and the United States under Delbacher is prepared to meet the Soviet challenge.

Serapin is a master at propaganda and deception. Upon Delbacher's rise to the presidency, he invites the new American president to a summit meeting at the United Nations. As a result, the American press applauds the Soviet leader as a

man searching for world peace. At the summit, however, Serapin reveals to Delbacher his real intentions, and proclaims that it will be only a short time before the Soviet Union will ultimately defeat the United States.

Realizing what the United States is faced with, Delbacher returns to Washington and asks Congress for a ten billion dollar increase in defense spending. This causes many in Congress and in the press to portray Delbacher as a warmonger, and an aggressor. In addition, Serapin decides to mobilize Soviet troops all over the world in response to the "American threat" posed to his country.

The novel intensifies throughout, but the basic theme remains the same. Serapin continues to use propaganda and lies to further the Russian "cause," while Delbacher fights to keep America and the free world out of the Soviets' grasp.

The Hill of Summer paints a

disturbing picture of the American reaction to the Soviet threat. For example, the American press is very critical of Delbacher's policies and at times even portrays him as a villain. This is analogous to the situation that President Reagan has to deal with today. People are afraid to face the reality of the Soviet threat and, as a result, when actions are taken to oppose the threat, the press is quick to voice its opposition. An American psychologist Bruno Bettelheim has stated, "Denial is the earliest, most primitive, most inappropriate and ineffective of all psychological defenses used by man... It is easier to deny reality, when facing it would require taking unpleasant, difficult or expensive actions."

The events in *The Hill of Summer* are fictitious, but nonetheless possible. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has spread its aggression to all corners of the world. The only way to stop the Soviets is to stand up to them, as the Reagan Administration has been doing. However, Ronald Reagan cannot do it alone. The American people and press must understand the true motives of the Soviet government. It is capable of shooting down a commercial airliner with over two hundred passengers. It is also capable of invading neutral countries such as Afghanistan. One cannot trust a government which does not even feel responsible for the hardships suffered by its own people.

TUFTS: IS IT WORTH THE PRICE?

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accurate reference by which to judge tuition increases.

In the past couple of years, the HEPI has risen faster than the CPI, so that tuition increases seem more reasonable when compared to the actual costs incurred by the university. One should be aware of the fact that undergraduate tuition at Tufts has increased more than the HEPI over past years. While running ahead of inflation, Tufts tuition costs remain in a parallel course with the university's expenses.

One disturbing trend which merits attention is the increasing percentage of undergraduate budget revenues coming from tuition. This has been coupled with a decreasing percentage of revenues provided by endowment income. The greater reliance on tuition for raising revenue will make it more susceptible to increases in inflation.

Compared to other universities, Tufts has a much lower percentage of its revenue provided by endowment income. Time is necessary for building up our

capital endowment and reversing the trend of past years. Thus, for the foreseeable future, one can expect tuition costs to remain highly responsive to increases in inflation.

Over the past couple of years, cuts in government aid have had a detrimental impact on the university's revenues. The effect was noticeable in the tuition increases. However, on the brighter side, increasingly successful fundraising efforts have helped to alleviate the rising cost of tuition.

If there is any room for optimism, it is in knowing that financial aid for undergraduates has kept abreast of increases in tuition. At least the less affluent members of the community enjoy the opportunity of remaining at Tufts.

Nevertheless, tuition increases should not be taken lightly. The university may be pleased with the number of undergraduate applicants, but the number of students transferring from Tufts to other schools is nothing to be proud of. Most of those planning to transfer enjoy the experience of studying at Tufts, but believe that

they could receive an education equal in quality, but lower in price, elsewhere. With the cost of college education so exorbitantly high, it necessarily will prove a decisive factor in deciding which university to attend.

If one wants to be optimistic, one can always say that Tufts tuition costs remain comparable to those of other universities. If one really needs something with which to be pleased, one can remember that there exist universities in this country that are more expensive than Tufts. However, incidental notions skew the fundamental issue.

If Tufts University wants to improve the quality of the student body, and retain its students, it must make tuition more affordable. Only then will the admissions office have more applicants to choose from than the pilgrims from Long Island. I retain my utmost confidence in the abilities of the financial administrations of Tufts. I would urge them, however, to continue more strongly to pursue their efforts in keeping down the costs of tuition.

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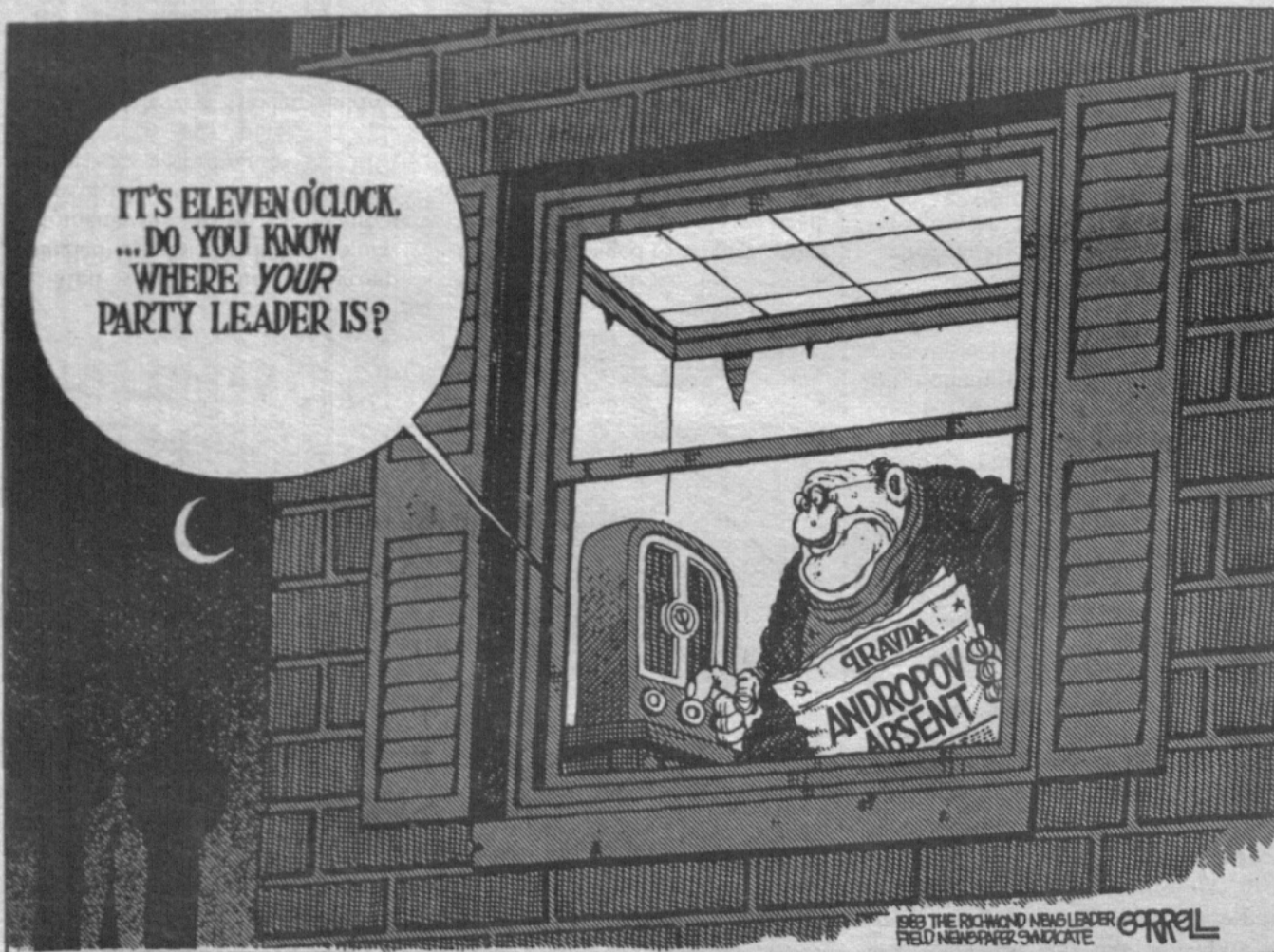
A SECOND LOOK AT CHERNENKO

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ship took the decision to suspend the Geneva arms control negotiations in START and INF in November 1983 with the beginning of the NATO-agreed deployment of Pershing II and the Ground-Launched Cruise Missile to counter the Soviet SS-20s, of which 378 launchers, each with three warheads, have *already* been deployed. Finally, the same Soviet leadership prepared the speech containing the harsh invective against the United States delivered by Foreign Minister Gromyko at the Stockholm disarmament conference on January 19.

Under such circumstances, it is by no means self-evident what new opportunities are open to the United States in its relationship with the Soviet Union. Under Andropov there were no clearly discernible changes in Soviet foreign policy, or in military programs or in arms control. Like Brezhnev, the approach followed by Andropov was to pursue the Soviet buildup of weapons systems, including the intercontinental and intermediate range forces, that themselves were the objects of arms control negotiations, in START and INF respectively. From Moscow's perspective, such talks had the principal purpose, first of retarding or halting altogether the deployment of countervailing forces by the United States or, at the very least, achieving an agreement that codified as large a Soviet advantage as possible.

When it became evident that Moscow could not prevent the initiation of the NATO INF deployment, arms control negotiations, for the moment at least, no longer served the interests of the Soviet Union, which then simply walked out. In so leaving, the Soviet Union indicated a willingness to return if and when the United States ceased the deployment of INF forces that was begun in accordance with the NATO "double track" decision of December 1979. The stated Soviet precondition for resumption of the



negotiations is indicative of the political purpose served by such talks from Moscow's vantage point.

Only the most untutored observer of Soviet affairs could conclude that the present leadership is "new." It includes a foreign minister who was in office as long ago as the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, as well as an "old guard" whose members, like Andropov himself, have shaped the statecraft of the Soviet Union for most of the years of ongoing conflict with the United States. If a "constructive" dialogue is necessary — and such a dialogue should always be welcomed — it can only be conducted in keeping with criteria that satisfy the interests of *both* sides.

Conceivable, the key to such diplomacy lies in whatever assessment is being made by the Soviet Union of the continuity in American leadership beyond 1984. It is no secret that the Soviet Union

would prefer an American President other than Ronald Reagan, whose policies Moscow opposes because they threaten to reverse a "correlation of forces" that in the decade of the 1970s appeared increasingly to favor the Soviet Union.

For this reason alone, the Soviet Union cannot be expected to take steps in its relationship with the United States whose effect would be to strengthen the Reagan Administration's electoral prospects in 1984.

If this assumption is valid, the willingness of the Soviet Union to return to an arms control dialogue on terms acceptable to the present U.S. Administration would be evidence of a conclusion drawn by the Soviet Union either that the Reagan Administration may remain in office for another four years, or that its successor could not easily alter the course already set in American defense policy. The

former is perhaps more plausible than the latter.

Having failed to halt necessary American defense programs either by means of the arms control negotiations of recent years or by the shock effect of withdrawing from them, the Soviet Union may now be prepared to return to such talks, this time in an effort to limit the level of U.S. deployments. Such calculations undoubtedly enter the minds of the generation of Soviet leaders that remain in power as Moscow contemplates the extent and nature of continuity in American presidential leadership.

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Radical Feminists Destroyed the ERA

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equating the broad based ERA with their narrow and extremist views. In their efforts to achieve ratification of the ERA, the radical feminists made the ERA their number one legislative priority, yet they failed to understand the most important aspect of passing legislation — coalition building.

While a majority of men favored the ERA, the radical feminists went around the nation explaining that women must unite against male domination. Their speeches and remarks had a sharp anti-male flavor and some routinely stated that men would never be able to understand the ERA because the ERA was a women's issue. Unfortunately for the ERA supporters, most state legislatures contain quite a few male members and even while the polls showed

that most of these men favored the ERA, few responded enthusiastically for its ratification. By redefining ERA as an amendment for a special interest, the radical feminists had difficulty convincing state legislators that it was an issue that required their immediate attention.

Men were not the only group singled out for insult and injury. Homemakers were quite often ridiculed by the radical feminists. Marriage, according to the ERA proponents, was merely a legal form of slavery. Having children and raising a family were described as burdens imposed upon women by men throughout the ages. Women who enjoyed such tasks were labeled incomplete and subordinate to women in the work force. Thus, rather than enlisting the support of the American homemaker, the radical feminist

became identified with forces hostile to the family. While some of ERA's backers espoused traditional family values, it was the anti-ERA forces that mobilized under the term pro-family movement.

The group of potential supporters with the greatest stake in the ERA movement is that of the working women. Yet, the radical feminist managed to offend a great portion of these people as well. Successful women in business and industry were considered tokens by the radical feminists, rather than models. Women who were promoted were suspected of pleasing their bosses in unprofessional ways. The attitude of the radical feminists was that women in the business world could not succeed in a society void of the ERA. Thus, successful women in the business world were considered adversaries rather than allies of the

ERA movement.

For the most part, those people offended by the radical feminists did not become violently hostile to the ERA. They became indifferent, and it is difficult to pass a constitutional amendment when most of the country considers it of low priority.

Constitutional amendments generally require national consensus. In the case of the ERA, the radical feminists denounced and offended potential members of that consensus. The radical feminists focused inward rather than outward and thus failed to achieve the coalition required for ratification. As a state legislator who was sympathetic to the ERA noted, "you can't convince me or any other representative that a small group of loud, obnoxious women who don't shave their legs speak for the citizens of this country."