

Exclusive interview with Tufts University Professor John Sununu,
New Hampshire Republican gubernatorial candidate. See page four.

The Primary Source

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2

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Western Trade To East: Restraint Means Leverage for Free World

—Monique Gaudette J'84

The heated conflict between the United States and her West European allies over the Soviet natural-gas pipeline exposes the dire need for a critical examination of how economic policies affect East-West relations. Fundamentally, policies range between two extremes: the Soviet Union and its communist bloc should be denied the benefits of trade with the West to "starve" them into submission or trade between East and West should be allowed to flourish freely under the assumption that "feeding" the East will coax it into cooperation. The challenge for Washington and the Reagan administration is to find a common ground between these two extremes.

Then the United States and Western Europe can meet and solidify their economic alliance against the Soviet Union.

Given the highly strained economic position facing the Soviet Union today—burgeoning military expenditures, food shortages, pressures from satellite nations—proponents of the hardline view argue that the East will die an internal economic death if we deny it those goods it cannot provide itself. The West must not trade with the East, for in doing so, we are merely subsidizing and supporting the continued existence of a failing economic unit, postponing the bankruptcy of communism.

However, this argument fails to examine the evidence of history. When

confronted with pressure and hardship, an oppressive dictatorship does not give in, but tends to strengthen its grip on the people. By squeezing the Soviet Union economically, we are not suffocating the communists, but "starving" the people—the Russians, the Poles the East Europeans. To "starve" the Soviet bloc of trade with the West would not force cooperation but increase competition and conflict.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are those who advocate free and generous trade between East and West and see economic interchange as a foundation of cooperation. They propose that economic power should be used as a "carrot" to coax the Soviet Union into cooperation and complacency.

Yet this policy, when extended to its fullest, is merely a facet of appeasement and leaves the West vulnerable to Soviet usurpation of such open-handedness. Economic detente, such as pursued in the early 1970s, revealed exactly such opportunism. Under the guise of cooperation, the Soviet Union launched a massive military buildup and took advantage of access to Western technology and credits. Subsidizing the growth of the Soviet Union economy has not promoted cooperation, but has instead fostered competition and conflict between the superpowers.

Where then is the compromise between the "carrot and the stick" that would maximize the political impact of Western economic might in its

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Athletics: Giving Credit Where It Is Due

—George A. Danas, A'83

Advertising is a necessary publicity tool for any business. Proctor and Gamble must think so, because it spends \$240 million annually on advertising. Obviously, businesses utilize advertising because they have something to sell.

Although Tufts University calls itself an educational institution, it is literally a business with a product to sell. Hence it must have some means to publicize itself.

Since advertisement is so vital to Proctor and Gamble's success, it should also have the same impact on education "businesses." For instance, Tufts University is recognized nationally as a superior institution of higher education. How does Tufts achieve such recognition? Through its advertising. Yet, unlike Proctor and Gamble, Tufts is lucky enough to receive free publicity from the press. One might think that the majority of this publicity results from the activities of the Fletcher or Dental Schools or the writings of *Barron's Guide to Colleges*. But in reality, the activities of the Athletics Department creates the free advertisement that Tufts University, unlike other businesses, is lucky enough to have.

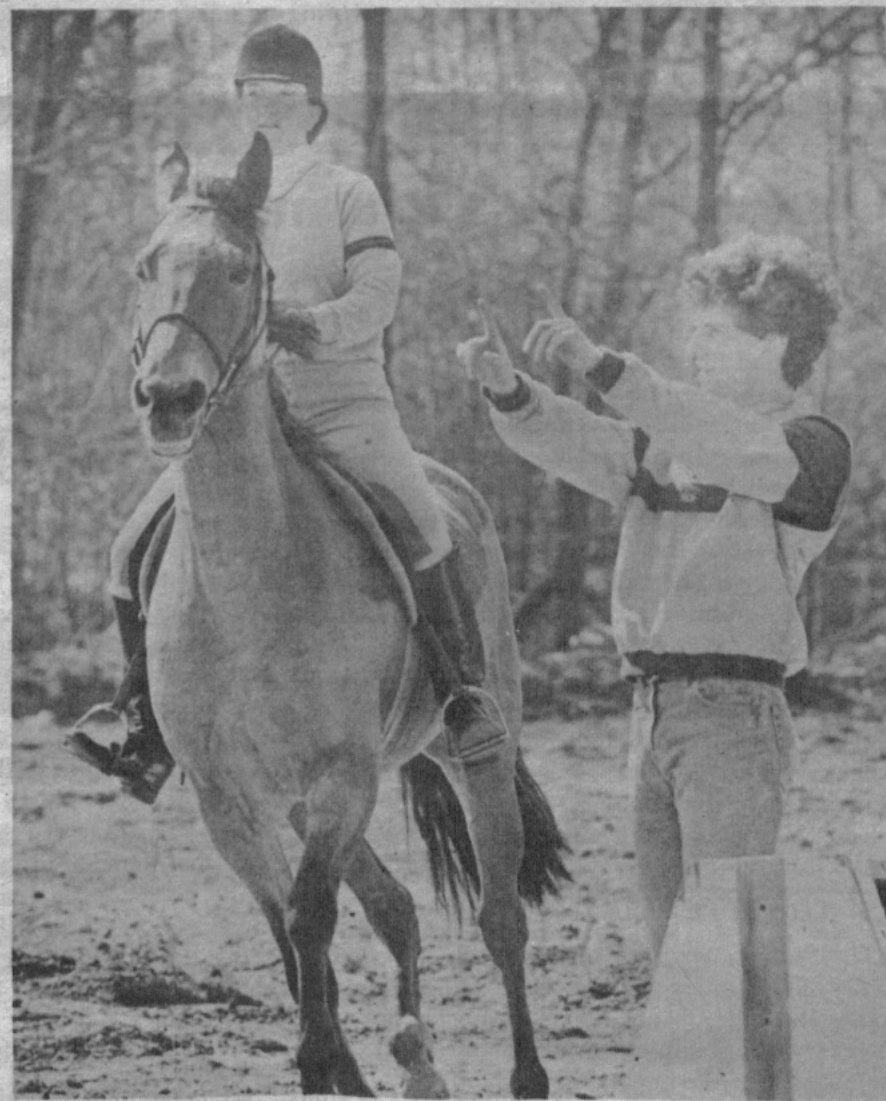
A few facts about our Athletics Department:

- In 1979, the Tufts Jumbos varsity football team completed a brilliant undefeated season 8-0. That season, our Jumbos were on the front page of the *Boston Globe* Sports Section no fewer than three times (major coverage included articles and photographs). Since then, our scores appear on the front page every Sunday of the football campaign, and are almost always followed by a column inside. (Keep in mind, this is the *Sunday Globe*) Also, television channels 4 and 5 did special reports on the Jumbos and our weekly film clips were shown on all three major Boston stations many times, upstaging competing powers such as Ohio State, Michigan, and U.S.C. nationally, and certainly B.U., B.C. and the rest locally.

- Last season, *Sports Illustrated* mentioned Tufts Football in one of its articles. This year, just 3 weeks ago, *Sports Illustrated* did a prominent feature on Tufts football.

- The Tufts varsity sailing team has not only been the best team at Tufts over the past five years, but also one of the three best sailing teams in the nation the past five years.

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Equestrian Team Coach Jeffrey Katz

IS REAGAN SEXIST?

—Ginny Walker, J'83

The one-year anniversary of Sandra Day O'Connor's appointment as Associate Justice to the United States Supreme Court provides the opportunity to acknowledge Reagan's most important action in support of women's rights.

One of the most common accusations against President Ronald Reagan by such organizations as the

National Organization of Women is that he is sexist. Many of these accusations stem from his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion. There is a degree of validity in these claims, yet the question remains: has Reagan received enough credit in the area of promoting women's equality in the United States? Although Ronald Reagan was the

president responsible for breaking a 191 year sex barrier in the most revered branch of our government, his landmark action has made no impact in the minds of his accusers. Naturally, this breakthrough refers to Reagan's nomination last year of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court. O'Connor, who replaced the retiring Justice Potter Stewart, broke the chain of 101 male Justices who have sat on the highest bench in the nation.

Yet despite this monumental step for women, the President we sharply

criticized for O'Connor's nomination. For example, in a *Newsweek* editorial which appeared on July 20, 1981, Reagan was berated for "excluding 95% percent of the law school graduates in the relevant age group (45-60)..." In an article published in *The Nation* on July 25-August 1, 1981, Reagan was criticized for his selection because,

for the highest court in the land he placed a person barely qualified for the post, almost

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Vote "No" on TuftsPIRG Referendum

In 1980, the Tufts University student body voted to increase the student activities fee \$6 per student to fund a local chapter of MassPIRG, Inc. Each year the student body votes, by referendum, whether to continue funding TuftsPIRG, our chapter of MassPIRG. While over 100 clubs on campus were allocated funds through the TCU Senate, TuftsPIRG received \$16,880 from the activities fee last year because it received a high percentage of "yes" votes in an uncontested referendum campaign the previous year.

Last semester the referendum was contested. The Committee for Fair Funding told the campus where MassPIRG spent the \$16,880 it

received from the student activities tax for TuftsPIRG. Over \$11,000 went to salaries of officials of MassPIRG, for such activities as political lobbying on Beacon Hill. MassPIRG, according to its own literature, performs only four services at Tufts: newspaper recycling, voter registration, a book fair, and a tenant information service. The first two were organized by other clubs prior to 1980; a used book fair can be organized at minimal cost; and both Medford and Somerville offer free tenant aid services. If TuftsPIRG applied to the Senate for funding, if it raised money through "cause dinners" or if it charged its members dues, it would have a healthy budget. We doubt, however, that the TCU Senate

would allocate \$16,880 to MassPIRG, which is ten to twenty times the amount of money most sports and art clubs receive at Tufts.

As of this summer, the MassPIRG "student tax" was declared illegal at public institutions in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Last year, according to the *Tufts Observer*, the students voted overwhelmingly against the MassPIRG funding scheme. Due to technicalities, the vote was annulled and the results officially withheld from the student body.

A revote will be held this month. MassPIRG claims that it will leave campus if it is funded in any other way than the direct student tax. Since it has been able to adapt to the new state law

and remain at certain public institutions, we question whether it could not make similar accommodations here at Tufts. MassPIRG, Inc., an organization that claims 115 members in TuftsPIRG, has been able to take a disproportionately large percentage of the student activities fee through its special funding mechanism. To insure that the TCU Senate has ultimate control over the student activities fee, and more funds be spent for legitimate student activities on campus, we most adamantly recommend that you vote "no" on the TuftsPIRG referendum this month.

Helsinki Group Dissolved

The Kremlin, in its unabashed dedication to the suppression of human rights, has succeeded in disbanding what may be the last Soviet human rights monitoring group.

The Helsinki group, officially called The Moscow group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR, had published reports about human rights violations, law abuses, and trials of political activists in the Soviet Union. Now this voice is gone.

"Document 195," which announced the end of the group, was given to reporters by Yelena D. Bonner, the wife of Andrei D. Sakharov, physicist and prominent member of the Helsinki Group. It stated that, under pressure from government arrests and deportations of its members, "the

group cannot fulfill the duties it assumed, and under the pressure from the authorities is obliged to terminate its work." The last statement the group sent to the West indicated that 16 members of the Helsinki group are now serving in labor camps or internal exile.

Although this important group no longer exists, we are confident those Soviets who recognize the injustices of their government will continue to voice dissent to religious, intellectual, and political suppression in their country.

As conscientious members of the free world, we must make sure their voices are heard, especially if the Kremlin so desperately does not want us to hear the truth.

Obituary: Mass. Business

With the unfortunate nomination of Michael S. Dukakis as the Democrat candidate for governor, we are confident that the improved business climate initiated by Governor Edward J. King will be ruined. In fact, a research report by Morgan Stanley, a leading Wall Street investment firm, recommended that investors unload their holdings in four Massachusetts electric utilities. The report described Dukakis as "an anti-business politician who, after promising relief (as Governor), sharply raised taxes through the imposition of surcharges." Morgan Stanley predicted "utilities will be affected at once," if Dukakis becomes governor again.

The Duke is back, all right, at the cost of business investment, tax

reductions, and economic stability. The only thing more disappointing than the prospect of Dukakis' election is that Governor King would ever support his resurrection.

EXTRAS

Daily Blunders

On Tuesday, September 14, 1982, the *Tufts Daily* printed this reminder:

Tufts students who are registered to vote in Somerville or Medford are encouraged to cast their ballots in the Democratic primaries today....

Voters will choose between Edward J. King or challenger Michael S. Dukakis, and between incumbent Senator Dennis McKenna and alderman Sal Albano.

Although the staff of *The Primary Source* was united in its support for Governor Ed King, we believe that the *Tufts Daily* was irresponsible when it forgot to mention that Republicans, too, hold their primary on Tuesday.

This apparently unconscious error illuminates how close-minded our "unbiased" student press is. We hope that in the general election the *Tufts Daily* will remember that the United States has a two-party system and, even in the state of Massachusetts, that includes Republicans.

No Human Rights to Exploit

The United Nations Human Rights Committee recently published its annual report on violations of political abduction, imprisonment and torture. Surprise. The major culprits were Latin American and African nations. For those of you who, like us, find it odd that such nations as the Soviet Union, Poland, Afghanistan, and China were notably left out of this list, don't fret, there weren't any human rights there to be abused.

Testing Ted's Past

In recent months the Senate Ethics Committee has received over 60,000 postcards from a Southern California group who demanded a new investigation of Senator Edward Kennedy's 1969 Chappaquiddick accident. The Committee, in its infinite wisdom, instead asked the Postal Service to see if the Californians might be committing mail fraud. Now, come on guys, if you can burden the American public with gripes about just about everyone, you can spend a little time investigating one of the most notorious events in Senator Kennedy's tarnished history. Once and for all, we'd like to know.

Letters

To the Editor:

The affirmative re-action award for September undoubtedly goes to the Tufts College Republican for producing *The Primary Source*, a newspaper which is decidedly vague, somewhat inaccurate and misrepresentative of the Tufts student body.

Ironically, *The Primary Source* begins by denouncing the "catch phrases of the left," while espousing their own generalizations. One example is the ridiculous and unsubstantiated metaphor, "The Soviet Union... is like a hotel burglar who skulks along the corridor at night, checking doorknobs, ready to enter any room he finds unlocked." Does this sound like a rational critique of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union? Or a dangerous simplification of a complex international situation.

Admittedly, *The Primary Source* has the right to express their own opinions. As an academic publication,

however, they are obligated to support their statements with facts. Their lack of documentation results in ambiguities such as this: "Today we embrace these concepts [peace and strength] that made our nation the world leader, the innovator in industry and the vanguard of democracy." Obviously, "peace" and "strength" are desirable objectives which are universally appealing. In this context, however, they are tired and empty clichés.

Most disturbingly, *The Primary Source* proclaims itself "an integral, representative journal." Yet how many Tufts students "feel the Reagan cuts [in education] should be applauded," or

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The Primary Source

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The editors encourage your correspondence. Due to limitations in space, we will attempt to print letters addressing a wide spectrum of topics raised in each issue.

This publication does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Tufts University administration.

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Let Us Hear From You!

The Primary Source would like to clarify its "Letters to the Editor" policy. We will print any letter sent to us concerning topics printed in previous issues. We reserve the right to edit letters for clarity and space limitations but will not alter the intent of any letter. If space prohibits us from printing all the letters we receive, we will attempt to publish letters addressing a wide range of topics. We ask that you, the reader, in voicing your opinions about material printed in *The Primary Source*, address your complaints, criticisms, or praises to us. Letters can be sent directly through U.S. mail to:

The Primary Source
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The TCU Senate, in realizing the pressing need of *The Primary Source* to put out this issue prior to receiving proper recognition, has allowed *The Primary Source* to publish under the name of the Senate for this and only this issue. The Senate disclaims responsibility for the content and editorials of this publication.

ON THE RIGHT

—Wm. F. Buckley Jr

Taxing Business

New York, Aug. 25—The *New York Daily News* has for generations been renowned for its saucy headlines. One can accordingly imagine the glee in the eye of the headline writer when he composed the headline to accompany the story of Mr. Reagan's trip to Billings, Montana to whip up sentiment for the Dole bill: "WE MUST HIKE TAXES: REAGAN."

Granted such comic inversions are common in politics ("We Must Have Peace—Brezhnev"; "We Must Balance Budget—Kennedy"). But Mr. Reagan is in a class apart from normal politicians. His ascendancy grew out of his adherence to principle, and as a man of theatrical background he must have anticipated the fun that will be made of his apparently paradoxical position, which writers more explicitly given to exploitation than the *News's* headline writers might put down as: "Reagan Explains How to Lower Taxes by Raising Them."

I have already written that I think Mr. Reagan is taking more punishment than he deserves for his tergiversation.

But the bill continues insufficiently analyzed, and today's lesson is on the unfortunate habit some people have of distinguishing "business," or "corporations," on the one hand, from "individuals," or "people," on the other. There are subtle differences, of course, but on the whole it is safe to say that all taxes hit everybody. Sure, if you have a tax levied only on a chinchilla coat or on a black-eyed pea, people don't get hurt who don't eat black-eyed peas in their chinchilla coats. But in general, the individual gets hit: whether you call it an income tax, an excise tax, or a corporate tax.

Now Mr. Reagan's principal counter-offensive lamentably tends to slur this distinction, by pointing out for instance that 80 per cent of the new taxes aimed at individuals have to do with compliance (and loopholes), and that 50 per cent of the whole are aimed at corporations. Now although it is true that taxes aimed at corporations are ultimately paid by individuals, it is also true that taxes aimed at individuals via corporations can kill off a lot of corporations. We are unlikely as individuals to face a shortage of tomato soup, but marginal corporations engaged in producing tomato soup can go out of business if their corporate overhead rises to the point where they cannot compete.

In the 1981 tax reduction bill, the Reagan Administration helped individuals directly and business directly. Under the Dole bill, two-

thirds of all the help given to corporations would be eliminated, leaving some firms, it turns out, actually worse off than when the original bill was passed.

Consider the proposal to withhold 10 per cent on dividends and interest:

There are sixty million taxpayers who report dividend or interest income. Now as things stand, 48 million taxpayers overestimate their income. One can imagine the flurry of paper activity: all taxpayers who deem themselves exempt write to all institutions (they average five per saver) filing forms—all corporations, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, individuals with less than \$600 of tax liability, couples with less than \$100 liability, elderly individuals with less than \$1,500 liability, elderly couples with less than \$2,500 liability. Meanwhile, overpayment comes in the form of prepayment. If \$100 of the June dividend of \$1,000 goes to the Treasury, reimbursed only the following April as overpayment, the government has deprived the saver of ten months' use of \$100. The chairman of the economic policy committee at Citibank goes so far as to predict that the added costs imposed on the public in carrying out the proposed law would end up roughly matching the additional revenues the government hopes to collect.

In a word, here is a tax both on individuals and on business with scant prospect of accomplishing anything at all.

Question (by survey Research Center, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, directed to business executives): "Thinking of the federal deficit, which of the following would you favor—raising taxes, reducing spending, doing both, or doing neither." Affirmative answers to raising taxes and doing nothing were statistically invisible. "Reducing spending" came out with twice as many votes as "doing both."

It is interesting that that poll of executives differs very little from the Gallup poll of the general public, which last spring registered its preference for reduced expenditures (44 per cent) over increased taxes (4 per cent). A lot of voters know that taxing—even taxing business—is really no different from autotaxation. "WE MUST HIKE TAXES: REAGAN"—indeed! Tell it to the Marines, on behalf of whom, by the way, we do need to spend more.

that it represents the majority viewpoint on campus. In fact, we state in Volume 1, Number 1 in the column "Why We're Here" that, "...conservatives are a political minority on campus." We hope that no one denies any legitimate group, no matter what percentage of the population it represents, the right to express its viewpoints.

As a point of interest, The Primary Source is no longer published under the auspices of the Tufts College Republicans but rather the TCU Senate for this issue. We hope to become a separate, recognized organization this month.

LETTERS

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that "restrictions in student loans are a step in the right direction."

Perhaps the most truthful statement in *The Primary Source* is their assertion, "This publication does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Tufts University administration." Could it also be that *The Primary Source* fails to represent the overwhelming majority of this school's students?

—Daren Salter, A'85

—Ellen Spiner, J'85

The Primary Source makes no claim

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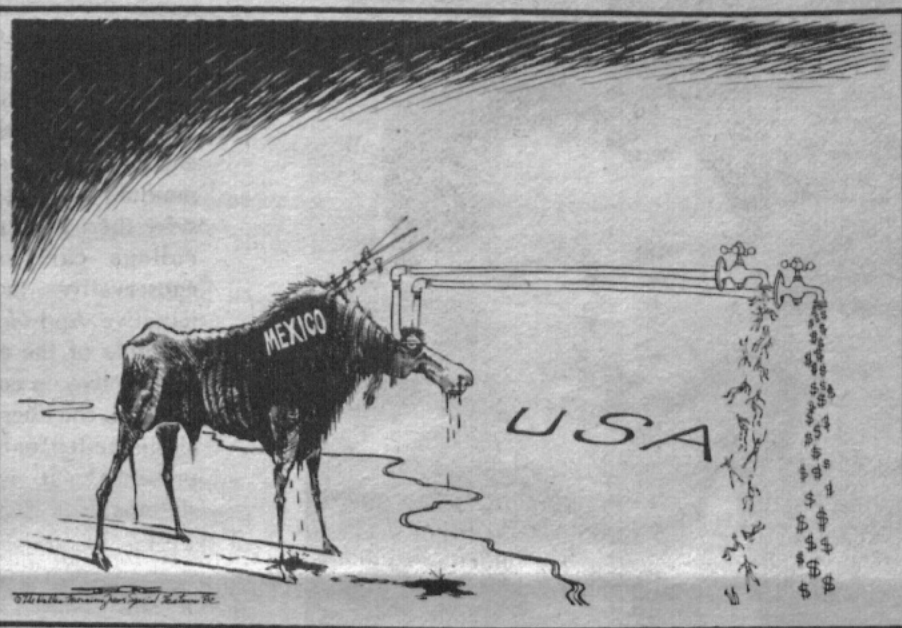
How Much Is He Worth?

New York, Aug. 30—It is never tactful to ask someone how much money he has, but it is also untactful to preside, as José López Portillo had done, over an economy that finds itself facing, by year's end, a \$75-billion debt. Twelve years ago, before the awful Echeverría came to power, that figure was \$3 billion. And, ironically, in between came the largest oil discoveries in recent history. Mexico has marched toward bankruptcy *pari passu* with the rediscovery of how infinitely wealthy the country is in natural resources, wealthier than Japan and West Germany combined.

The corruption in Mexico can no longer be dismissed as an indigenous quaintness. I once pointed out that while I was living in Mexico years ago, a retiring president took with him not only the furniture of Los Pinos (the

one step backward!" which to be sure was totally inconsistent with another campaign declaration, namely "My goal is the moral renewal of Mexico." Madrid even hinted at more of the same. "Business firms in Mexico during the last half of the twentieth century are no longer private property, but social property." Right. And they also no longer make money, for the most part; they lose money. Money taken from the people in taxes, paid to the politicians in graft, and borrowed from sucker banks and governments abroad.

Many Mexicans, this time around, listened to the opposition. The most eloquent of the other candidates was Pablo Emilio Madero, a prosperous engineer, and nephew of the first Mexican president after the fall of



Mexican White House), but also the light bulbs. This would appear excessive, would it not, but the point of the story is that when word got out, the Mexican people (whose sense of humor is a national characteristic) thought it absolutely charming. Why else would a man go into politics except, in the classical formulation, "to enhance his fortune by political rather than economic means." Speculation on the question, How much money is José López Portillo worth? tends, in the nature of things, to run high. But I have not seen an informed estimate that places the figure at less than \$1 billion.

The next question is: Is this any of our business? The breakdown of Mexico is front-page news. The sham of Mexican democracy is not our business, true. But we have made it our business to rescue Mexico, or at least to defer its collapse, by pre-paying \$1 billion on oil and gas purchases. Meanwhile it is whispered that some American banks have as much as 90 per cent of their capital out to Mexico in loans, and that the banking community is frozen in fear of a Mexican default. Some day it should be made plainer why it is the responsibility of the American people, acting through Congress, to bail out American banks that have made irresponsible loans, whether to Mexico, or to the Eastern bloc.

If indeed there is crisis, what are the prospects that the successor to López Portillo, Miguel de la Madrid, will ameliorate the crisis? The easy answer is that, in fact he has no alternative but to do so. But although he is a graduate of the Harvard Business School, during his political campaign Mr. Madrid selected as a campaign slogan, "Not

Porfirio Díaz. Madero based his campaign on reform, and he cited as the principal malefactors the highest members of the reigning political party, the PRI. It turns out, would you believe it, that only 27 of the 905 state-owned corporations are subject to audit. Madero asked that the Banco de Mexico release the names of big dollar-purchasers in recent months, causing one columnist to write, "They can't do that! They'd catch 95 per cent of the administration." Congressmen have solicitously excused themselves from paying any income tax. The situation is thoroughly rotten. "Touch a scalpel to any part of the body politic," Madero chose the gruesome metaphor, "and the pus spurts out."

We are back then to the question of U.S. responsibility. Surely, we should 1) set to motion legislation that would lift the guarantees of federal deposit insurance from banks that lend irresponsibly abroad, including to foreign governments; 2) face, before it is too late, the problem of our porous frontier—there is too much economic distress already, without the need to import more of it; 3) insist, in our negotiations with Mexico, that government-backed loans tie in directly to Mexican oil reserves; and 4) make it plainer than we have done that if Mexico continues in its sycophancy toward Castro and the Soviet Union (López Portillo's specialty) and in its activist aid to revolutionary movements in the Caribbean area, why then the next time the banks want help, they should go to Moscow to get it; failing there, why, Havana; failing there, Managua; failing there, Grenada.

Tufts Professor John Sununu: Taking His Ex

John H. Sununu has been associate professor of mechanical engineering at Tufts University since 1966. From 1968 to 1973, Sununu served as associate dean of the College of Engineering.

Running in a record eight-man Primary field, Sununu won the 1982 Republican New Hampshire gubernatorial nomination. He upset New Hampshire Senate President Robert Monier and former Executive Councilor Louis D'Allesandro in a tightly contested race. He will oppose Democrat Governor Hugh Gallen in the general election this November.

On September 25, 1982, The Primary Source editor Daniel Marcus and staff member Ian Ballon met with Professor Sununu at his headquarters in Manchester, New Hampshire. Here is the transcript of the interview:



ON TUFTS

The Primary Source:

It is unique that the Republican challenger to Governor Hugh Gallen comes from Tufts University. What is the impact of coming from a liberal institution for this race in a conservative state like New Hampshire?

Professor Sununu:

That is a very interesting perspective to raise. Some of my best friends are liberals. I think I have certainly been involved in both the private sector as well as university campus life and have participated in New Hampshire state politics. What I am is an amalgam of more than just my exposure to Tufts, although I think Tufts was a very important part of my experience and background. I think that the relationship I have with the liberal academic community at Tufts has only sharpened my appreciation that the conservative, effective process is the right way to go. I am strongly committed to that. I hope that after I succeed as governor I can demonstrate the validity of that commitment and convince some of my liberal colleagues at Tufts to become true believers of mine.

The Primary Source:

Continuing on the issue of your liberal colleagues at Tufts, what has their response been to your bid for governor?

Professor Sununu:

I think some of them have very mixed emotions. One of the aspects I enjoyed most at Tufts was a very good personal relationship with my

colleagues. This is one of the things that has attracted and kept me at Tufts. I think that some of them who are more liberal than I may be developing a schizophrenic syndrome in that they support me as a person but probably find we have nothing in common with regard to philosophies or politics. I am grateful for the encouragement and moral support I have received from people who really have no business supporting a Republican conservative. That's why I'm pleased to say we're maintaining a good relationship.

The Primary Source:

How would you characterize the political and intellectual environment at Tufts with regard to the fairness of the student press, the expression of conservative viewpoints, and the degree of political tolerance?

Professor Sununu:

Like most campuses in America today, the more active students for some reason seem to have liberal viewpoints. As a result, there is a more visible moderate-liberal perspective that dominates student newspapers, faculty meetings, discussions at lunch, or whatever. This is not unusual, although I do not know the cause and effect. I think in recent years, as the national pendulum swung back towards the conservative side, there has been a parallel emergence on college campuses of aggressive, active conservatives that have begun to take the initiative. And *The Primary Source* is this type of example of the emergence of a compensating perspective on college campuses. I think in the long run the liberal perspective at Tufts will be all the better for having competitive viewpoints presented. It will make them hone their statements.

"I think that the relationship I have with the liberal academic community at Tufts has only sharpened my appreciation that the conservative, effective process is the right way to go."

The Primary Source:

We'd like to ask your opinion on a few specific issues that face Tufts today. For instance, the referendum for the funding of TuftsPIRG.

Professor Sununu:

I have seen very little that MassPIRG has done that is really in the interest of the Tufts community. If it were a truly voluntary payment, it would be one thing. But if it is a required payment by students, it is not constructive. As far as I'm concerned, it's just a way of funneling everyone's financial resources to serve the interests of a limited number of people. It is as wrong to be forced to contribute to MassPIRG as it would be to force contributions to the Republican or Democrat parties.

The Primary Source:

Another issue is the return of ROTC to campus.

Professor Sununu:

I supported ROTC on campus. When ROTC was removed, the College of Engineering had a meeting in which it offered them departmental status. The Navy ROTC program kept Tufts alive during World War I and was a strong contributor to the fiscal and academic health of Tufts. I think it is a student alternative and educational opportunity that ought to be made available. I would recommend that the university do whatever is necessary to bring it back again.

The Primary Source:

The final Tufts' issue is the referendum last year that made Tufts a nuclear arms free zone. This meant there would be no transportation of nuclear arms on campus and a general consensus

that the campus would not recognize the use of nuclear energy in any capacity, such as in research.

Professor Sununu:

As in most simplistic approaches, it is counterproductive. I think there is a great contribution to be made in medicine by utilizing radioactive tracer materials. An absolute prohibition like the referendum would stop a lot of good research.

"I do not think increased revenues by taxes are necessary or appropriate."

The Primary Source:

President Jean Mayer has received both praise and criticism for his expansion of the graduate schools in recent years. There is great controversy over whether or not this emphasis has helped the undergraduate schools and the prestige of Tufts University in general. As a professor in the Engineering School, how do you think this trend has affected our university?

Professor Sununu:

I think what has happened at Tufts has actually been a transition from an emphasis that existed in the 1960s to a much more aggressive approach toward improving the breadth and quality of education. In the long run we will be all the better for it. It has been a very difficult transition period as all transition periods are.

ON THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CAMPAIGN

The Primary Source:

As the Republican candidate, you are truly appreciated by Senators Gordon J. Humphrey (R) and Warren B. Rudman (R). How do you attribute your general acceptability to both wings of the Party in New Hampshire?

Professor Sununu:

I have a good personal and political relationship with both Senators Humphrey and Rudman. Gordon Humphrey comes from the same conservative thinking of the Party as I. Senator Rudman and I were opponents in the Senate race when I lost by about 3,000 votes out of 10,000 votes. In that race I felt strongly about maintaining Party unity and ensuring that a Republican won the election, so I agreed to serve as chairman for Rudman's general election. We have maintained a good relationship ever since. I am pleased both Senators have agreed to be honorary co-chairmen of my campaign.

"... *The Primary Source* is this type of example of the emergence of a compensating perspective on college campuses. I think in the long run the liberal perspective at Tufts will be all the better for having competitive viewpoints presented on campus."

The Primary Source:

What do you feel will be the impact of having former Governor Meldrin Thomson on the ballot as an independent candidate?

Professor Sununu:

Governor Thomson has been constructive enough to urge his supporters to vote for me and try to have his name removed from the ballot. A decision will be made by the State Ballot Law Commission soon. Obviously, the net impact will depend on the outcome of its decision. Whether or not his name is removed, present Governor Hugh Gallen has mismanaged the

ertise to the New Hampshire Governor's Seat

state of New Hampshire so badly that we will be able to gain enough of a margin so that even the votes attracted to the non-candidacy of Governor Thomson will not make enough of a difference.

The Primary Source:

It is expected by conservative politicians in New Hampshire to take the "pledge" to veto substantial sales and income tax increases. Is this "pledge" a reasonable request for a candidate and governor?

Professor Sununu:

I have made the pledge to veto sales and income taxes. I have done this after considering the situation the state is in. We have a \$30 million deficit problem in a \$1.7 to \$1.8 billion bi-annual budget, which amounts to less than 2% of the budget. I think we can deal with a problem of that magnitude by focusing on the spending side, reconstructing the government, and bringing efficiency to the process. I do not think increased revenues by taxes are necessary or appropriate.

"Institutional budgets, like Tufts', are very much like state budgets; they all have nooks and crannies which have grown to great sizes, yet people have forgotten why they're there."

ON THE ISSUES

The Primary Source:

What are your strongest criticisms of the present Governor (Hugh Gallen)?

Professor Sununu:

He succeeded in turning a \$35 million surplus into a \$30 million deficit in one (two year) term. He rolled that deficit into his second term and has not effectively addressed it. He has failed to make any constructive management decisions to restructure the state of New Hampshire. And he has failed to provide the leadership the state needs to deal with the changing relationship the state must have with the federal government and with the communities. He has been a poor governor who has failed to overcome the partisan relationship with a Republican House and Senate in the state. In general he has failed to generate any constructive legislation to deal with the state's problems.

The Primary Source:

How would your skills as a Tufts engineering professor whose specialties are heat transfer and fluid mechanics be helpful to you as governor of New Hampshire?

Professor Sununu:

The biggest thing I bring to state government is experience in the private sector. I've been involved in serving as president to a company involved in serving as president to a company (JHS Engineering Company and Thermal Research, Inc.) and founding and serving as chief engineer in another firm (Astro Dynamics, Inc.). I've participated in business and industry in this country for 21 years. I think this experience and background is a major part of the process of bringing talent into state government. Both in industry and as associate dean (of the Engineering College) at Tufts, I have shown my capacity as an administrator. I've dealt with fiscal issues on an institutional basis. My chairmanship of the Committee on Budget and Priorities at Tufts certainly is part of my experience I bring to the process. Institutional budgets, like Tufts', are very much like state budgets; they all have nooks and crannies which have grown to great sizes, yet people have forgotten why they're there. I doubt there will be many specific problems with heat

transfer, but that's not the experience I think is the principle asset. The principle asset is that I have administrative and management experience in both the private and public sectors.

The Primary Source:

New Federalism is a national proposal that every state leader must address. Do you think New Federalism in general will benefit or harm your state?

Professor Sununu:

The cost to the states depends on whom you listen to. David Stockman says there will be no cost to the states and the National Governors Association says there will be. But in any case, they are talking about net cost of about 10% for the state as a revenue shortfall. I am convinced that we in New Hampshire have been burdened with having to deal with programs that are really not designed for our state but rather for more populated areas like New York City or Los Angeles. I look forward to New Federalism as an opportunity to redesign and restructure programs to meet our needs so they best help the people of New Hampshire. We like to do things here in an intercommunity nature. In the long run the state of New Hampshire will be better off with New Federalism than if those programs had continued to be designed by Washington.

The Primary Source:

What recommendations would you make to improve the nation's economy?

Professor Sununu:

I am concerned not just as a candidate but as someone who takes an active interest in the state's and nation's economy. I am very concerned about the high level of interest rates. For me, the Reagan Administration has not even begun to bring about a significant decrease in these rates. It has not been aggressive enough in focusing on the issue. I think that it has underestimated the impact of the deficit on interest rates. The Administration has not had enough restraint with the budget. The borrowing requirements of the federal government ultimately has impact on interest rates. I think Washington needs to address the 68% of the budget which is essentially placed beyond reach because it is under the entitlement umbrella.

"In the long run the state of New Hampshire will be better off with New Federalism than if those programs had continued to be designed by Washington."

The Primary Source:

You are an authority on energy alternatives. What do you recommend as the energy policies of New England and New Hampshire?

Professor Sununu:

In terms of energy, I have tried to propose the same policy as I have for the nation. I propose a full commitment to conservation to make the size of the problem as small as possible. There must also be an equivalently strong commitment to energy production. In the case of New England and New Hampshire, this means we are virtually at the end of the pipeline in almost all resources from natural gas to oil. I think New England must get off the oil kick. We must recognize that electricity will be produced in the future by either coal or nuclear power. In terms of New England's options, coal is by far the least desirable. We have to also understand that in the long run we need all the energy resources we can find.

The Primary Source:

Would you say part of your actions in support of nuclear power was suing the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant demonstrators?

Professor Sununu:

My actions there were to protect the rights of the taxpayers of the state of New Hampshire. They have, in effect, been funding at a cost of \$150,000 to \$250,000 what has become an annual event at Seabrook. This cost is associated with protecting life, limb, and property in what has developed into a very violent, aggressive set of demonstrations. As long as those demonstrations stayed within the bounds of the law, I had no problems with it. But once they began to transcend the law at cost to the taxpayers, I felt an obligation to recover for the taxpayers of New Hampshire the costs associated with the demonstrations.

"New Hampshire is a very nice place in which to live, to bring up a family, and to do business."

The Primary Source:

Finally, why is 1982 the year for Tufts University professor John Sununu to be governor of the state of New Hampshire?

Professor Sununu:

Because it is a very crucial year. New Hampshire is a very nice place in which to live, to bring up a family, and to do business. In the past 3 years, there has been very significant deterioration. We have aspects in New Hampshire that are very unique, not only for New England but for the whole nation. I am convinced that if Hugh Gallen continues as governor, that uniqueness will be lost. We need to demonstrate that state government can be constructive and effective, providing services the people need without having our hands constantly in the taxpayer's pocket. I am committed to these principles and can deliver these commitments. It is important in 1982 to have a conservative, Republican governor in New Hampshire. I honestly feel that there is only one person who can beat Hugh Gallen in 1982 and that is John Sununu. And the people of New Hampshire are beginning to feel that way, too.



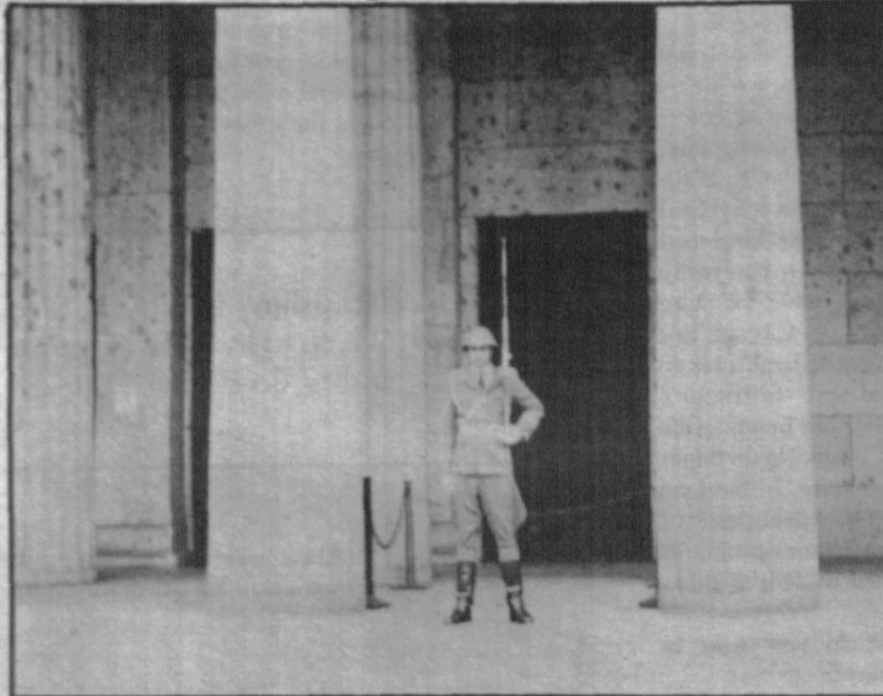
The Primary Source would like to thank Professor Sununu for this exclusive interview. We are confident he will be victorious in November and provide leadership as governor of New Hampshire for many years to come.

BERLIN WALL *continued from*

where it actually was. The women were afraid to even be seen talking with us. At the Centralskya Synagoga in Moscow, we were followed into the building by two men who were described by one of the synagogue officials as "with the government."

On Oranienburgerstrasse I could not sense fear on the faces of the religious Jews. The Jews of East Berlin had died or left decades before. All I could do was stare at the torched building and

came over to me. One of the men asked me if I could translate the Hebrew writing over the entranceway of the synagogue into German for them. I told him I could not, and a look of disappointment crossed his face. As he walked away with his wife and friends, I thought about the baby in the carriage. Although I could copy the Hebrew words down and have them translated when I returned to the West, those people would never know what



NON-MILITARIST GUARDING MEMORIAL AGAINST "MILITARISM AND FASCISM"

watch people go by.

One could not pass by the synagogue without being intrigued with it. Even an East German soldier who was walking down the street looked up solemnly at the building before returning his eyes to the pavement. Only an old lady, who must have been a young adult at the time the synagogue was torched, avoided eye contact with this memorial from the past. When she reached the building, she crossed the road, walked on the other side, and then crossed back when she had passed the building. Two young couples strolled by with a baby in a carriage. When they saw me staring intensely at the building, they

was written on the burned-out entranceway. I felt as if I had missed an opportunity to impart some knowledge on that man that he could tell his son when he grew up. I thought of how that baby would not be taught things about the war that his cousins a few blocks away in West Berlin would. I thought of how one day that baby would be in the East German army, and wondered if he'd end up dead because he was sent by his government to impose Communism on a Soviet-bloc or third-world nation that did not want to be a Soviet vassal state. I wondered who the real victims of "fascism and militarism" were.

TRADE *continued from page 1*

relations with the East? How is the combination of trade and denial to be balanced so as to yield an effective economic weapon?

The first step to develop sound and positive economic policy vis-a-vis the Eastern block is to realistically recognize the general nature of the superpower relationship. Given the nature and consequences of the bipolarization of power in the international arena, East-West

relations must inevitably and undeniably be characterized as competitive; each side seeks to protect and promote its own interests.

Secondly, given such a competitive environment, the West must strive to direct competition to the area where it has the strongest influence. Clearly that strength lies in our colossal economic capabilities. We may no longer outgun the Russians, but we do outproduce them. As Richard Nixon says, "economically our system works and theirs does not. They need us." (*New York Times* Op-Ed, August 19, 1982). The fact that the East depends a great deal on trade with the West indicates the position of advantage held by the West, a position that should be exploited to the fullest.

The rule for the West economic foreign policy, therefore, should be trade, but not aid, meaning not only no extension of credit, but also a ban on sales of weaponry, high-technology, and items that would advance Soviet military buildup. (A ban of this nature applies most definitely to the Soviet natural-gas pipeline). President Eisenhower once said, "We should sell the Russians anything they can't shoot back." Such an expansion of trade on a strictly nonsubsidized, businesslike basis serves the economics interests of both East and West and can be

Athletics *continued from page 1*

The Tufts Men's Swimming and Track teams have consistently been the best, or among the best, in New England for several seasons.

Ernie Roberts, a sports columnist for the *Boston Globe*, consistently mentions Tufts in his morning column.

Of course, this is not to mention the various accolades earned by many Tufts athletes. Again, not bad. All this and more from a program which is understaffed, underfunded, but certainly not underpublicized.

What does this publicity do for Tufts University? The single most important source of information for any university is mass media, for if people read, hear or see information, they can make conclusions and pass their thoughts along. The caliber of student applying to Tufts relates directly to how well the university receives press attention. Thanks to the tremendous success of our athletes, Tufts now attracts not only high quality students, but also high quality student athletes. Tufts continually emphasizes its diversity as an institution, and the success of the Athletics Department is a proud example of it.

One would agree, considering all this publicity produced, as a reimbursement for its tremendous output that the Athletics Department is entitled to a great deal more than it now receives. However, the administration continues to shun the needs of our athletes. Funding is insufficient in every sport at every level: facilities badly need renovation or replacement; competent coaches are lost to other schools offering larger salaries.

In a recent interview with Tufts Equestrian team coach Jeff Katz, a few of the University's other shortcomings were revealed. Katz, who himself battled fiercely to obtain scanty funds for his Equestrian Club, admitted to a "need for an attitude change" among the administration. "Sports are an important, existing factor in students' lives. School is more

than academics, and sports should be a release, not frustration because nothing can be done," Katz says. It seems beginning a new program is the worst of all. The Tufts policy, especially in regard to a new organization, basically amounts to: prove yourself first. then we talk about funding. How can any new organization compete with other sports when they have nothing? Katz adds, "The whole situation is very frustrating. There is so much bureaucracy, that if you had to start anything in sports, I couldn't tell you where to begin. Everybody wants to help but no one can because there is so much red tape. Another thing, President Mayer said himself that with dorms falling apart, and major reconstruction on campus, sports are a very low priority.

"It all boils down to attitude change. The money is around. Someone decides who gets it, right?"

The point here is, Tufts athletics as a whole are bogged down by an administration that has failed to recognize the tremendous contribution athletics make to the success of the school both athletically and academically. The best solution is for the Tufts administration to establish a well-endowed organization to sponsor sports. In view of the tremendous publicity the school has received because of the the athletics here, its attitude toward the Athletic Department is simply ridiculous.

LETTERS

continued from page 3

To the Editors:

Does the faculty at Tufts forget that control of the military still remains in the hands of civilian leadership? Also, do we not all believe that there is a definite need for a military force to provide defense for our nation's interests against all enemies, both foreign and domestic? If so, would it not be an intelligent decision to recruit some of that necessary personnel from those colleges and universities which produce well-rounded, open-minded students such as Tufts?

In refusing to allow students to enroll in ROTC courses here at Tufts, our faculty has done the whole community a great disservice.

— Edward M. Ellison, A'83

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The *Primary Source* would like the leaders of the Tufts intellectual community to express their conservative perspectives.

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1982
BRAKER 18
8:00 p.m.



EQUAL TIME

TWO VIEWPOINTS

ON THE SEPARATION OF

CHURCH — AND — STATE

— Scott A. Trudeau, T'85

— Brian Kelley, A'85

"Religion and politics just don't mix." How many times have we all heard this adage? Just how true is it? Not very. The first Amendment to the Constitution demands that there be 1) no establishment of religion, 2) no interference in internal affairs of a church, and 3) no discrimination between churches by the state. Yet, the state cannot achieve its purposes without violating these principles—at least in part, neither can the church. They are both institutions in a larger social system, which implies that they are interdependent with one another. A total separation of church and state is impossible to achieve.

First of all, the state decides which groups are religious. For example, Scientology is not declared a religion, but Transcendental Meditation (TM) is, even though it claims to be a science. The U.S. district court in Newark, New Jersey in 1976 ordered that the teaching of TM in public high schools be halted, to keep prayer out of schools, after a group of Christian clergymen and parents filed a suit. And yet, TM leaders claim that it is simply a technique for expanding awareness and not a religion. Conversely, The Unification Church, under Reverend Moon, and other such "cults" have been charged with kidnapping and merely calling itself a religion to attain tax exempt status for its multiplicity of businesses. Thus, although the state is officially neutral with regard to religious practice, it constantly clarifies what religion is, which ones can legally be practiced, and which will receive tax exempt status.

The idea of separation of church and state began when the United States began. It was brought about primarily because of the settlers' displeasure with the close ties of the King and the leaders of the Anglican Church in England. In the 1920s a group known as the American Protestant Alliance sought an amendment to the Constitution barring anyone with allegiance to the Pope citizenship.

Perhaps the most controversial issue regarding church and state is the question of morality. Religion frequently works through political means to produce social reform. "The churches seek to mold the state itself in their own image and to use the power and resources of the state in their efforts to shape society to their ideals." (*Religion in American Society—The Effective Presence* by John Wilson.) Moral crusades against illicit sex, drinking, gambling, and abortion have long plagued society. Now the question of nuclear arms freeze has come to the forefront. I feel that it is not only the church's right, but also its duty to keep its people informed and

"A total separation of church and state is impossible to achieve."

guide them to make their own appropriate moral choices. Each individual is responsible for the morality of his/her actions and in turn their affect on society as a whole. Morality cannot be legislated. The state should not even try to legislate issues such as euthanasia, abortion, or drinking (prohibition did not work). Individuals should make personal choices in good faith, with the end result ideally being a better society. It is necessary, however, for the state to address such an international issue as a nuclear arms freeze. If our government is supposedly representative of the popular view and our legislators realize their own moral responsibility to their fellow man, the correct decision should eventually be reached.

As you can see, the formal separation of church and state is not an actual separation. The church works within the rules of the state, and the state is affected by the church's stance on moral as well as political issues. Neither body exists in a vacuum and each is continuously working to create a legislative and moral consensus.

The first amendment to the Constitution guarantees a division between church and state: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..." This assures that the government will neither support nor infringe upon the activities of any one church in the United States. In effect, the first amendment declares that the church has its function to perform and the state has its function, and the two must not intersect.

The state's function is obvious. Its duties are clearly defined in the preamble to the Constitution: to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity..." The function of the church is more complex. It provides, through divine guidance, moral obligations which must be observed in order to attain internal peace and eternal life.

The fact that the church must take a stance is fine—as long as it does not interfere with the actions of the state. The church might insist that its members eat fish on Friday but it is not fair for the church to use its almighty weapon to blackmail its congregation into condemning purely political issues (i.e. the nuclear arms freeze). The church robs man of his right to free and individual choice when it extols, you will suffer eternal damnation if you support any form of nuclear arms buildup.

Clearly we reach a conflict between which issues are moral and should be under the jurisdiction of the church, and which issues are political and should be outside the church's domain. A good example is abortion. Although abortion has been drawn into the political spectrum, it still boils down to a moral question of right and wrong. The question is, "Do you feel that abortion is taking the life of a child?" On such an issue it is the duty of the church to issue a strong voice. The feeding of the world's poor is another

good example of where the church must rightly express its views. Indeed, it is a moral obligation of the wealthier nations on this earth to help the less fortunate countries survive.

However, the church has caused much harm when it has interfered with political issues. The recent condemnation of Israel is a purely one-sided view of a two-sided conflict and will cause rifts between Catholics and Jews long after the battle is over. Furthermore, it is somewhat hypocritical of a church which has in

"In effect, the first amendment declares that the church has a function to perform and the state has its function, and the two must not intersect."

itself caused extensive bloodshed to be condemning a regrettable occurrence in Lebanon: The Spanish Inquisition and the Crusades are historical cases in point. Another example of church interference is the Nuclear Arms Freeze. Church leaders have put an almighty block between individuals and free choice. They have forced their personal views, cloistered behind the will of God, on the entire populace. The state has no power to combat the will of God.

It is unreasonable to insist that the church concern itself with purely holy matters and leave what is outside the church to the politicians. Religion and society have developed to a point where the two are unalterably intertwined. I do not propose that the church keep all of its views inside church walls, but it is unfair for the church to propose political views in the name of God. If a person is limited to making up his mind on an important issue based upon what his President says and what his God says, it is obvious where his opinions will be swayed. I request only that the church use its almighty power to influence moral issues and leave what must be an individual political choice up to the people.

Is Reagan Sexist?

continued from page 1

entirely because of her sex and not on the basis of individual merit.

This article also stated that O'Connor was not up to Supreme Court quality.

Examining Justice O'Connor's qualifications reveals a woman, perhaps not with a great deal of experience as a justice, but with meritorious qualifications nonetheless. Graduating among the top 10 students at Stanford Law School class of 1952 where she served as the editor of the *Law Review*, O'Connor served as assistant attorney general of Arizona

until she was appointed to the Arizona State Senate in 1969, to which she was later elected twice. Serving as Senate majority leader in 1973, O'Connor led fights to remove sex-biased references from state laws and to eliminate job restrictions to make more positions available for women. In 1975, O'Connor won election as a Phoenix trial judge, and was appointed by Democrat Governor Babbitt to the Arizona Court of Appeals in 1979.

Another accusation which has been leveled at Reagan is that his appointment of O'Connor was merely

to serve in helping his public image by elevating a woman to a prominent position to refute his supposed reputation as a sexist. However, if President Reagan simply desired a woman as a figurehead in government, he certainly would not have chosen the Supreme Court as the institution in which to do this. Obviously, since Supreme Court Justices' terms of service are for life, Ms. O'Connor will be on the bench much longer than Reagan will be in office. Additionally, O'Connor is in an apolitical position that does not enable Reagan to have control over her decisions. If a "token female" was the goal, placing a woman on the powerful, life-long and

independent bench did not accomplish this.

In conclusion, let us not beguile ourselves. One cannot say that feminist slurs of President Reagan's policies towards women are totally unfounded. However, by being the first President to nominate a woman to the Supreme Court, Reagan has in a sense been a genuine pioneer in women's advancement, even if this was not his intent. By selecting Sandra Day O'Connor, the President is responsible for placing a woman in the highest office ever held by a female in the history of the United States. Let's give credit where credit is due.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE BERLIN WALL

— Ian Ballon, A'83

On August 13, 1961, the government of the DDR (East Germany) constructed a wall in Berlin effectively dividing the city. Twenty-one years later, in August 1982, I visited this city known as schizophrenic Berlin.

I have many impressions of this historic city. It is one of the great cultural centers of Europe, was once the capital of Nazi Germany, and is now caught in the midst of the East-West conflict. On the train bound for Berlin, these different images flashed through my mind as I tried to visualize what the reality of Berlin would be like.

I traveled to Berlin with two friends: Kay, a 26 year old Black medical student in Moscow who had escaped from Zimbabwe when it was under white minority rule, and Georgina, a school teacher from Ghana who had been living in West Berlin for the past six months. Kay's impressions of Berlin were based on his experiences in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He loved West Berlin, where he could buy the types of clothes he couldn't purchase in the Soviet bloc. He was also drawn to the social life in West Berlin in contrast to the sobriety of East Berlin. Georgina had never been to East Berlin and had no desire to go. She told me how she would be hounded with terrible heckling in West Berlin simply because she was Black. As much as she disliked living in West Berlin, she had an attitude that I was later to find in other West Berliners when referring to the Eastern section of Berlin. As the three of us sat looking at the East German countryside from our train compartment, a look of detached disdain crossed Georgina's face as she told me not to visit East Berlin. "It's a very sterile place, and the people are even colder than in West Berlin," she told me.

Based on my conversations with Kay and Georgina, I expected to find a cosmopolitan city (West Berlin) surrounded physically and spiritually by an oppressive communist country (East Germany). I thought the people would be hostile to minorities, and spiritually moribund from their defeat in the war and division by post-war circumstances.

When I left the train station in West Berlin, I first saw the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. Located on Kurfürstendamm, the main shopping street, the Church's war-damaged steeple is imposing to all tourists as they leave the train station. I stood on the street, immobilized by the powerful image of the bombed out church, juxtaposed next to the modern Europa Center. Instinctively, I walked toward the Church. This was not to be the only time when the contrasts of Berlin would perplex me.

In America today, we have a tendency to see things in absolute terms. If we don't understand something, we presume that there must be a clear answer that can be deduced, and we expect to ascertain what that answer is. Berlin is a city which contradicts itself. Its architecture is both very old and very new. Berlin was where a genocidal campaign was launched by Adolf Hitler that led to world war. West Berlin is also the largest city in a

successful Western democracy. East Berlin is considered by many to be the showpiece of Eastern Europe. Clearly stereotypes of Berlin can only capture one aspect of the city's character, while ignoring its polar opposite which is also an integral part of Berlin.

As I traveled through Germany, the opinions of other Americans—like my own—were tainted by a desire to reduce things to simple positive or negative impressions. One person explained to me that the West German Government maintains the Dachau Concentration Camp because they are required to by the terms of the peace treaty they signed with the Allies. While this is true, it is also noteworthy that all schoolchildren in West Germany are required to visit a concentration camp to be made aware of the horrors of Nazi Germany. One woman I met in Austria was horrified by reports of a small organized Nazi group in Munich, comprised entirely of adolescents and young adults. To her, this was prescient of things to come. Yet one must question whether this parallels the abundance of anti-Semitic graffiti found everywhere in Paris from the bathrooms of the Louvre to metro stops in the Latin Quarter of Paris.

The tendency to try to fit impressions into neat bundles of "good" and "bad" must be fought when dealing with any aspect of Berlin. But when dealing with the legacy of the War, a sensitive issue on both sides of the Wall, my impressions were more easily categorized in East Berlin than in West Berlin.

Anyone who has been to West Germany has at least one story of a German telling them how much he worries that American perceptions of Germany are tainted by the legacy of the Nazis. Although West Germany—a country with an ancient history colored by post-war economic successes—is by no means obsessed with guilt over the War, it is not difficult to find both physical symbols and personal sentiments of genuine atonement. As one might expect, there are also those who prefer to forget what happened. A bus driver in West Berlin, for example, insisted that the Reichstag Building (a museum dealing with Nazi Germany constructed on the site of the old Reichstag which the Nazis burned down and then used as a pretense for seizing power) was in East Berlin, and therefore he could not tell how to get there. In fact, the bus he was driving went to the Reichstag, which is in West Berlin.

Now it was time for me to experience shift in countries, philosophies, and attitudes. In East Berlin, the government masks the signs of the War and makes it easy for its citizens to place the blame for Nazism elsewhere. The official War memorial in East Berlin is called the "Monument to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism." The Monument is housed in a large building which typifies the beauty of the pre-War architecture that was rebuilt after the War. Inside, there is a large transparent glass flame with an orange light which looked to me more like a bad modern art sculpture than an eternal flame. Three people including myself stood inside the sterile monument, while 60 people stood outside. Those outside—mostly

families—seemed more interested in the East German soldiers who stoically guarded the Monument.

Every half-hour, from the Army barracks across the road, three soldiers relieved the guards. I found it offensive enough that the sterile interior of the building was supposed to commemorate the millions killed by the Nazis, but the glorification of the East German soldiers who guarded the memorial angered me. Seeing the adulation in the eyes of the parents and watching young children goose-step after these soldiers whose colleagues over the years have fought in numerous foreign lands on behalf of the socialist fatherland (the USSR) negated the point of a museum to "the victims of fascism and militarism."



The manipulation of words and symbols was even more evident at the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte. This museum deals with German history from a Marxist perspective. Contrary to what we are taught at Western universities, the Russian Revolution of 1917 is shown as one of the most important events in German history. World War II was fought against Fascists and militarists by the "Coalition against Hitler" led by the Soviet Union and German communists. In addition, one section of the museum deals with the construction of the Berlin Wall, a measure undertaken in supposed self-defense because of an impending NATO invasion.

The state line dominated all aspects of East Berlin. The downtown area was filled with huge buildings and large plazas that stood as a monument to the utilitarian nature of socialist architecture and the grandeur of the DDR. Socialist-realism paintings filled the Staatliche Museum, while college-aged students marveled at the beautiful paintings of happy men with

their modern farm machinery and dedicated factory workers building the socialist republic. Young Communist Party members sold books in German, Russian and Spanish detailing how the Soviet Union graciously rebuilt East Germany after the War. (Naturally, it did not mention how the Soviets disassembled much of the industry of Eastern Europe and shipped it back to the USSR when they first occupied the COMECON nations.)

What I did not expect to find in the "showpiece of Eastern Europe" was what I encountered when I walked away from the downtown area. I intended to visit the Synagogue that is a memorial to the German Jews who perished under Hitler. Unlike the Czechoslovakian government which transformed the Prague Ghetto into a state museum, the East German government does not encourage tourists to visit its Jewish memorial. The synagogue is on Ranienerstrasse, a street not even listed on the city map the Young Communist members' information booth gave me.

I walked away from the downtown area and the gigantic modern building began to fade in the distance. As I approached Oranienburgerstrasse I arrived in a region of the city that had not changed since the time of the War. I began to feel peculiar as I walked down the street towards the synagogue. I passed by an old apartment building that was almost leveled by bombs. Other buildings were only partially reconstructed after the War. Unlike the Kaiser Wilhelm Church in West Berlin, the synagogue in East Berlin was hidden in the midst of a devastated street kept far from the sight of most tourists.

The synagogue was torched by the Nazis on November 9, 1938 and has never been reconstructed. Almost as if by design, it escaped the Allied bombs that destroyed most of the street. In 1966, the East German government put up a plaque which reads (in German), "Never forget this." I sat for 45 minutes in front of the synagogue, the only memorial not tainted by the hypocrisy of a government that sees "fascism and militarism" as a logical outgrowth of capitalism and sees no parallels between imperialism justified by Nazi ideology and its own participation in Angola and during the crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring.

The DDR has been able to mask the atrocities of Hitler with memorials that conveniently blame the rise of Hitler on a system never supported by communists. Yet the synagogue on Oranienburgerstrasse, a devastating sight, shows what really happens when a society represses religion and advances its own extremist ideology. Whether Mein Kampf or the Brezhnev Doctrine provides the legitimacy for the action, militarism of any color can lead to repression.

I could not help but reflect on the similarities between that synagogue and the churches and synagogues I visited years earlier in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. At one of the only Russian Orthodox churches that still holds services in Leningrad, a few old women tried to convince my parents and I that the entrance to the church was two blocks away from