

# The Primary Source

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## NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE MEANS INFERIORITY FOR WEST

—Melanie Sturm, J'84  
National Chairman,  
Students for Peace and Security

The premises upon which the nuclear arms freeze concept is based are simplistic, naïve and impetuous. This is illustrated by the Freeze Movement's dream that a freeze, and therefore a weakened resolve by the West, will somehow encourage the Soviets to lose their expansionist appetite. This is a barren dream which does not recognize the opportunistic nature of the Soviet Union; the Kremlin is determined, backed by a military build-up of gargantuan dimensions, to exploit every opportunity to extend its military and political influence around the world, wherever and whenever it can. The Soviet Union is not a sincere partner in the global effort to limit nuclear arms and promote peace. Instead, it is like a hotel burglar who skulks along the corridors at night, checking door-knobs, ready to enter any room he finds unlocked.

The West must keep its door locked. The Soviets did not invade Afghanistan, because they believed the United States would retaliate. Instead, they invaded because they did not foresee that their aggressiveness would be countered with strong reprisals. The Soviets simply capitalized on the opportunity to promote its ultimate goal: the world-wide spread of communist control.

The Freeze Movement emphasizes "overkill" as a major reason for a freeze. According to this logic, both

superpowers can already kill the other many times over, so we should just stop developing nuclear weapons, regardless of who has a strategic or numerical advantage. This reasoning is faulty because it disregards the fact that, in this world, nuclear weapons are not only military weapons, but also political weapons. The side possessing more nuclear weapons has the potential for what Eugene Rostow calls "nuclear blackmail," which can be utilized to spread its — and in this case the Soviets' — influence in many areas of the world.

In addition, freeze advocates have a misguided perspective about who is re-

sponsible for the arm's race. They ignore the steady decline in U.S. strategic nuclear forces, especially in survivability and total force levels, in contrast to the massive increase in Soviet strategic forces. Moreover, the defeatist attitude the Movement has generated blinds its advocates to the benefits of American possession of nuclear arms. It is a fact that in 37 years — since the dawn of the nuclear age — there has not been a nuclear war anywhere. There has been no war between the superpowers, and Europe has enjoyed its longest period of peace since the fall of the Roman Empire.

continued on page 6



## TuftsPIRG: A Matter Of Choice

—Kristina Hill, E'84

Once again we students here at Tufts University must address the issue of the funding procedure of Tufts Public Interest Research Group (TuftsPIRG). What ultimately makes this controversy important is not the issues of budgeting, fairness to other campus organizations, or TuftsPIRG's claim to support "just" causes. Rather, its funding procedure is of concern to me because it violates our fundamental right to individual freedom of choice.

TuftsPIRG receives its income through a "blanket tax" of six dollars per student. This tax is removed from the activities fee each student is required to pay. TuftsPIRG is funded this way because a majority of voting students decided to support it with their votes and thus our money. Yet this majority has made a decision to use my money for an organization over which I have no control. Perhaps I am critical of some aspects of the democratic process to say that the majority vote should not rule. But I cannot retain my personal integrity by blindly relinquishing my viewpoint to that of an outside organization. More specifically, I cannot agree to allow a majority vote determine what political legislation I will support. If I like most of TuftsPIRG's ideas, what should I do if I oppose one or two? There is no six dollar refund for conscientious objectors. The fee specifically designated a "stu-

continued on page 6

## UNFAIR CRIES OVER STUDENT LOAN CUTS

—Monique A. Gaudette, J'84

Tuition, room and board, and estimated expenses for the academic year 1982-1983 at Tufts University? A whopping \$12,713. Certainly a sizeable figure for most any student and his family to deal with these days. And there is no comfort nor any surprise in the fact that the Reagan Administration has added a reduction in student loans to its budget-slicing rounds. Do these rising fees and disappearing loans spell doomsday for those seeking a higher education? Outraged parents and students everywhere are crying so and are joining the parade of special interest groups trying to stop the slash of Reaganomics where it affects their concern.

Just what the reduction in student loans involves may be surprising. Until 1978, most families with an annual income of more than \$25,000 could not obtain a government-subsidized loan. Only the truly needy were entitled to such privileges. But due to a wave of Congressional generosity in that year (an election year), such loans were available to everyone pursuing a college education with no restrictions whatsoever. The attraction of a low-interest, deferred-payment loan made the program a prime target for abuse. Loan volume QUINTUPLED. No doubt, many less-than-needy families

found it enticing to borrow at such low rates and invest their freed income and savings at a high yield. The default rate on these loans jumped to incredible heights as graduates failed to honor their commitments to repay. These are just a few examples of the many possible abuses of the generous student loan program of the recent past.

Subsidies due on this huge volume of loans will continue to burden the

budget for years to come. The government must cover the interest rate over the full term of these loans — in full during years of borrowing and in part during years of repayment (the difference between the 9% and the market rate of interest) — as well as guarantee payment to the lending institution in event of any default. Such payments will cut into amounts available to middle- and lower-income students

from present and future budgets.

Now, as the indulgences of the past have come to fester economic hardship, we are forced to engage in more prudent fiscal practices. Under the Reagan budget cuts, income restrictions have again been imposed on government subsidized student loans. Only families earning less than \$30,000 in annual adjusted gross income will

continued on page 6

## The Need For ROTC On Campus

—Ian Ballon, A'83

In theory, a "liberal" university community should offer students exposure to diverse viewpoints and challenge them to form their own opinions on important issues. Why, then, did the professors of Tufts University decide last April to prevent students from receiving a truly diverse education of their choice?

The decision by the faculty — made without representative input from the student body — to prohibit Reserve Officers Training Corps from existing on the Medford campus represents a "reactionary" and not a "liberal" approach to undergraduate education, in their opinion. Those students who have dedicated themselves to serve their nation have been denied a legitimate academic discipline (military science) by this latest decision.

Since 1975, students have been limited to a joint ROTC program with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1977, President Mayer arranged a formal exchange policy with MIT officials.

Despite repeated requests by individual students, the faculty has since refused to accommodate Tufts students with ROTC on campus. At the April meeting, one student was allowed to address the faculty. Morton Orlov, who graduated from the combined Tufts-Fletcher five year program in June of 1982, is presently a second lieutenant in the eighty-second Airborne division at Fort Benning, Georgia. At the faculty meeting, Lieutenant Orlov was allowed to address briefly the council of professors. He argued that Tufts students should not have to tra-

vel to MIT to attend classes in Military Science, thus losing the four year academic scholarship offered to qualified students who have ROTC programs on their campuses.

Lieutenant Orlov furthered his case by correctly pointing out that, regardless of the committee's decision whether or not to reinstate ROTC on campus, students at Tufts who needed the income to finance the exorbitant cost of higher education would still enroll in ROTC. But, he queried, why couldn't the faculty try to understand and accommodate these students by allowing ROTC on their own campus?

The meeting, unfortunately, turned into an ideological debate. Stating their opposition to "war," "violence," and "American Imperialism," and other catch phrases of the Left, the majority of the faculty opted to prohibit ROTC at Tufts. Perhaps the faculty felt that

continued on page 5



## WHY WE'RE HERE

Heaven knows, Tufts has enough publications already. In the morning there's the *Tufts Daily* and on Fridays *The Observer*. If you're an alumnus, there's the *Tufts Criterion* and if you're anyone else, the *Tufts Journal*. And now we also have a *Tufts Magazine*. So why do we need *The Primary Source*?

As a hypothetical situation, let's say you want to write an article supporting Congressman Jack Kemp and his efforts to implement a strict supply-side economic policy. Most likely,

- You would recognize that people only read the cartoons and try the crossword puzzle in the *Daily*, so that wouldn't suffice.
- You would be wary of *The Observer*, since last year it was less than equitable when publish-

ing articles. When the president of the College Republicans submitted a half-page article supporting Reagan's military programs, it was supposed to be printed with an anti-Reagan article on the other half of the page that week. Instead, the next issue contained a full-page rebuttal of his contentions. Also, you would remember that when *The Observer* addressed conservative ideas such as pro-defense positions, it usually defaced the article with a derogatory cartoon.

- You wouldn't submit it to the *Criterion* or the *Journal* because you would feel these publications do not immediately reach the student body.

- As of the date of this issue, you had not read an issue of the *Magazine* yet.

Your conclusion is that you need a separate vehicle through which to express your conservative thoughts. And your conservative friends need some mode to express their beliefs on campus as well. After all, conservatives are a political minority on campus.

That's exactly why we, the founders of *The Primary Source*, are presenting a conservative editorialized journal. *The Primary Source* is here at Tufts to provide a unified, distinct voice for conservative ideals. It is an opportunity for everyone to support the philosophies of the conservative movement and write freely in support of these ideas. Of course, we're not so naïve as to believe everyone will support our

beliefs, so *The Primary Source* is also an opportunity for you to respond with letters to the editor if what we say irks you.

*The Primary Source* will continuously provide a voice for conservative students and help create an understanding for conservatism, today's political reality. Ultimately, Tufts will come to understand that *The Primary Source* is not just another newspaper amongst publications at Tufts, but rather an integral, representative journal with a distinct viewpoint. After all, isn't the goal of higher education to expose us to the ideas that shape the world? We believe these ideas are the conservative viewpoints that we present to you today, seven more times this school year, and in years to come. We hope you decide to participate.



"An Invasion of Armies Can Be Resisted. But Not an Idea Whose Time Has Come."

— Victor Hugo

Victor Hugo's remark is an appropriate declaration for our new publication, because *The Primary Source* presents conservative philosophy, the ideas that will shape the 1980's, 1990's, and the 21st century.

For the first time in almost 50 years, Americans are rejecting the stale ideas of the New Deal. Important conservative concepts that have and will improve our nation are receiving enthusiastic support:

- Americans no longer accept the Keynesian belief in government spending beyond its income. Even Senator Edward Kennedy, the Don Quixote of liberal Democrats, acknowledges that deficit spending is detrimental spending.
- Americans reject the fallacy that a central government can best evaluate the people's needs; we know localities, and more importantly individuals, can best determine our own needs, objectives, and aspirations.
- Americans recognize that policies of passivism towards international threats are ultimately self-defeating (such as detente with the Soviets). We see that these policies lead to military inferiority, blackmail by the aggressor, and resentment by our European peers. Peace and strength must be our coexisting goals, the first of which is dependent on the second.

Today we embrace these concepts that made our nation the world leader: the innovator in industry and the vanguard of democracy.

Conservative philosophy is an idea whose time has come. And *The Primary Source* is the voice of these ideas at Tufts University.

## Will The Real John Lakian Please Stand Up?

From the Editors

John Lakian, Republican nominee for Governor of Massachusetts, may have reached the pinnacle of his career. In an August 18th article of *The Boston Globe*, Lakian was cited as making some less than truthful statements in his campaign brochure. Lakian insists that his claims were mere embellishments of minor details in his past. However, his exaggerations may just cost him any hope of election in the upcoming primary and force him to remove himself from the race altogether.

The controversy began a month ago when the *Lowell Sun* reported that Lakian's father was killed in a 1945 streetcar-truck collision in Worcester and not from injuries sustained in World War II, as Lakian had claimed in his brochure. Lakian insisted that his mother had told him as a child that his father was unable to handle the truck due to a leg injury which he received in the War. Therefore, Lakian felt perfectly justified in asserting that his father died from injuries received in battle. However, when pressed by *Globe* reporters, Lakian admitted that he only found out about the accident 18 months ago, and that his mother had always claimed that his father had died

while overseas.

But the *Globe* accusations go even further than a simple matter of paternal admiration. Lakian insists that he has been a Republican since 1970. This statement is contrary to the election files of the six communities he's lived in since that time. While he was living in Boston in the early 70s, Lakian claims to remember registering

### On the Campaign Trail

as a Republican. He now admits that this was only the time at which he first registered as a Republican, and that he has been registered as an Independent and a Democrat in the period between 1970 and 1980, when he again switched back to the Republican Party. However, City of Boston election records are in disagreement with his original statement. They show that both Lakian and his wife, Carol, were registered as Independents from their 151 Tremont St. home where they lived in Boston in 1970. Even more misleading in Lakian's statement was the fact that he neglected to inform the public that in 1978 he took a Democratic ballot in the primary election.

The next falsification revealed by the *Globe* team concerned Lakian's service in Vietnam. In his brochure, the candidate claimed to have received a "battlefield promotion" from second to first

lieutenant for his combat role in that war. He announced last month that this claim was false, and the Army confirmed that there were no such promotions awarded during the fighting in Vietnam. It appears that Lakian received the promotion to first lieutenant after serving the mandatory one-year term as second lieutenant. Although this advancement did come through while the officer was on combat assignment, it was in no way related to any acts of heroism in battle, as the phrase infers.

Accusations were also made questioning the validity of the schooling Lakian received. Although no one denies he graduated from Boston University in 1964 ahead of his class, he claims to have obtained the degree in 2-1/2 years time. B.U. records show, however, that Lakian received his degree after 2 years and 11 months of school time. That is equivalent to three full academic years plus at least one summer term. Lakian defends his original statement that technically he finished his schooling in under three years but admits that he somewhat stretched the truth when claiming it was actually 2-1/2 years. "I think there's that degree

continued on page 6

## EXTRAS

### Training Capitalists

Standard and Poors recently reported that colleges and universities in Massachusetts educate more future top executives than in any other state.

One could then make an analogy that most liberal students at Tufts who decry the "sins" of capitalism will become economic blasphemers themselves one day.

### Nuclear — Free Mail

The United States Postal Service recently proposed to Congress a plan ensuring that, after a nuclear attack by the Soviets, surviving Americans could reroute their mail to a safe location.

Our recommendation for this absurd idea is based on an even sillier concept: since Tufts is now a "nuclear-free zone," everyone should notify the Post Office to reroute mail here. After all, the Soviets would never dare to harm us (or our mail) in our "twilight zone."

### The Real Soviet Union

Sergio Batovrin, a 25-year-old artist, was arrested at the home of one of his friends. What makes this common event important is where and why he was arrested.

Mr. Batovrin was arrested in the Soviet Union because he is a co-founder of Moscow's only independent disarmament group. As an example of the Soviets attitude toward human rights, the Associated Press dispatch from Moscow reported that Batovrin "is being administered depressant drugs against his will in the psychiatric hospital where he is being held, his wife said."

Nuclear arms "freeze" proponents should think about Sergei Batovrin the next time they claim the Kremlin is trustworthy and concerned about the welfare of the world's people. They're not.

### 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.

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# REAGANOMICS: THE ANSWER TO A TROUBLED ECONOMY?

—Brian Kelley, A'85

When Jimmy Carter took office in 1976, inflation stood at an annual rate of slightly less than 5%. In 1977 consumer prices rose by nearly 7%, in 1978 by 9%, and in 1979 by a whopping 13.3%. In the first three months of 1980, just as President Ronald Reagan was entering office, the consumer price index (CPI), which measures percentage increases in consumer prices, stood at 17.3%, the worst peacetime inflation rate in American history. This problem was not solely the product of the Carter Administration nor the Democrats in general. Indeed, inflation plagued both President Nixon and Ford, though not as severely. Rather, the root of the problem lies in fifty years of Keynesian economic policy employed by almost every president from Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Jimmy Carter.

Keynesian economic theory is, on the whole, quite straightforward. The core problem of capitalist economies is balancing the supply of goods and services with their demand. When a country tries to spend beyond its means to supply goods, prices rise and inflation occurs. Keynesian economists have tried to produce a prosperous balance between supply and demand primarily by pumping up demand, largely through heavy government spending. They have assumed that supply would more or less automatically rise to meet demand. But decades of Keynesian policies have now trapped the economy in a blind alley.

The beleaguered 1970s, however, introduced a new crisis to the troubled U.S. economy. Stagflation, as it has been coined, is a phenomenon which combines both limited economic growth with high inflation. Traditionally the economy would, during an inflationary period, approach full employment. When in a period of disinflation or recession, the economy would no longer experience rising prices but would go through a period of cyclical unemployment. Through traditional Keynesian patchwork, the government could, through deficit spending, sufficiently boost demand to regain near-full employment. However, this often spurred on a renewal of inflation. Stagflation combines both high inflation and high unemployment, thus rendering Keynesian policies ineffective.

Though the causes of combined unemployment, inflation, and stagnant growth in the past decade are numerous and complex, the basic reason is obvious. Individual industries may overproduce, but supply in the economy as a whole no longer grows fast enough either to provide jobs for all the people who want them or to absorb the demand created by government outlays.

Now enter President Ronald Reagan and Reaganomics. Reaganomics is actually a pseudonym for supply-side economics, the quasi-official theory of the Reagan Administration. Supply-side economists frown on Keynesian assertions that aggregate demand should be the main target of government fiscal policy. Prices are high and unemployment exists, insist supply-siders, not because of a lack of aggregate demand but because of high production costs to suppliers.

Government must make more prudent fiscal policy decisions. Rather than spend itself blind in order to pro-

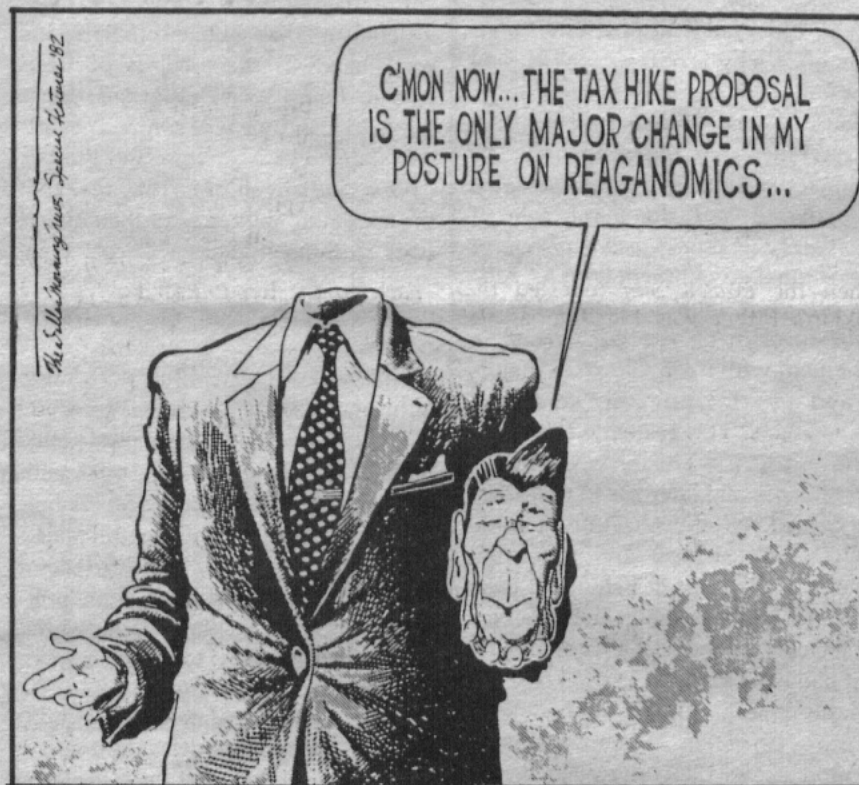
vide short-term remedies, government should shift its emphasis to the supply side of the market to alleviate the high costs crippling American industry. It must provide incentives to Americans to increase savings and investment as well as rekindle sagging American worker productivity.

Supply-siders claim these incentives are lacking in the U.S. today. Due to run-away inflation, Americans must forego more savings simply to counter today's high cost of living. Furthermore, current tax laws deter saving and favor consumption. With a 70% maximum tax on savings dividends, versus a 50% maximum tax on income, it is unprofitable for large income recipients to save any more than necessary. Incentives to work harder and thus earn more income are hindered by our progressive income tax system. Workers are hardly encouraged to be more productive if, once they obtain a higher income, they have more of their wage eroded by taxes.

Some supply-side economists even say that government exacerbates inflation by funneling tax revenue from business and workers to those who

made it impossible for aggregate supply to rise and meet the huge demand created by government and consumer spending. The result has been a stagflated American economy.

How has President Reagan attempted to alleviate stagflation? First are the controversial Reagan tax cuts. These tax cuts follow the moderated Kemp-Roth formula of cutting personal income taxes across the board over a three year period by 25% (5%, 10%, 10%). Under traditional Keynesian theory, cutting taxes in an inflationary period would be absurd. Since consumers spend much more of any additional income than they save, the tax cuts should boost demand even higher and worsen inflation. However, supply-siders point to the Laffer curve for an explanation why reduced taxes provide incentives to work harder and earn higher incomes. If less of any additional revenue will be taxed away, workers may not be dissuaded from earning more income. The first phase of the tax cut, which went into effect in July, has not boosted the CPI and hence inflation significantly, but it still



consume but do not produce: military retirees and welfare recipients, for example. Though this is possible, there is certainly little incentive for Americans receiving Social Security benefits to become productive workers when benefits are sharply reduced if recipients earn income.

This is only part of the problem according to supply-siders. To reduce the high production costs faced by business, which invariably translate into higher prices for the consumer and fewer jobs for workers, government must assume a *laissez-faire* policy toward American industry. High business taxes raise costs and therefore prices; high sales, excise, and payroll taxes are ultimately costs to the suppliers. Supply-siders also insist that measures in the past to check big business and preserve the environment have engulfed expanding businesses with huge costs which are, in turn, handed over to the consumer. "Government over-regulates every company that wants to build a new plant or change a production process," insists Jude Waniski of Polynomics Inc.

All these factors combined have, in effect, stifled American industry and

is too early to tell.

Further, the top rate tax on savings and investment earnings has been cut from 70% to 50%, thus eliminating discrimination against large savings and investment. This, coupled with the boost in incomes to high income families, may provide great incentives for savings.

More importantly to businesses themselves, the capital gains tax was reduced from 28% to 20%. Many capital goods have also depreciated in value, allowing businesses to write off used machinery and buildings as tax losses much earlier. Lastly, the Reagan cuts allow tax credits for increased research and development spending and restoration of old buildings.

In addition to the tax cuts, President Reagan, under the advice of former Chief Economic Adviser Murray Weidenbaum, has enacted a one-year moratorium on all new government regulation over business. Although this will not curb the maze of regulation already encompassing American industry, it will at least postpone any further damage.

Furthermore, President Reagan strives for incentives for increased sav-

ings and improved worker productivity. Such programs as the recently enacted All-Savers Certificate offered by savings banks provide high interest rates and tax-free dividends. The latest suggestion from the Reagan camp is a possible elimination of our progressive income tax system. In its place would be a flat income tax rate on all levels of income. Although this is far from implemented, it would abolish the current dissuasion from earning higher income.

President Reagan, and supply-siders in general, still emphasize that the most important element in the Reaganomics formula is the reduction of taxes. The tax cuts would have obviously created huge deficits if government spending had continued on its previous rampant path. Therefore, the Administration has pushed for decreases in government spending commensurate with depleted tax revenues. These cuts in spending are necessary to deflate aggregate demand, or at least neutralize boosts in demand caused by the tax cuts. The main target in the budget slashing has been social programs. Although some expenditures were saved by trimming fat in the Federal Government, particularly by the elimination of the Department of Education and Energy, cuts had to be aimed at those people in society who consume through social program benefits and offer no substantial production back to the economy.

However, Congress, unwilling to cut back to the core on many social programs while huge increases in defense spending were proposed, did not cut spending enough to absorb the lost revenue. The result has been a huge fiscal deficit: projected at \$153 billion in 1983, thus pushing the national debt over the trillion dollar mark.

This deficit has plunged a huge thorn in the Reagan Administration's side. Just as it appeared that inflation was coming under control — the CPI recorded a negative inflation rate of 0.3% in the month of March marking the first time in seventeen years that the nation has experienced disinflation or falling prices — the deficit threatens to jeopardize any hope of interest rates falling.

The Federal Reserve uses the money supply, M1B (currency, demand deposits, and NOW accounts), to adjust interest rates and control inflation. During 1980, when inflation skyrocketed, the Fed adopted a "tight money" monetary policy. They limited the growth of money to 2.3% in 1980 as opposed to a growth rate of 6.6% in the last year of the Carter Administration. This contraction of the fixed supply of money against the varying demand for investment funds has raised the "price of money," that is, the interest rate.

But now that inflation is controlled, why haven't interest rates come down? This is partly due to the skepticism the Fed expresses in the sudden downturn in inflation. They fear that government spending in excess of tax revenues will bolster aggregate demand and signal a return to inflation. Moreover, rates remain high due to the expected impact of the huge federal deficit. Since the government plans to finance the \$153 billion deficit by borrowing some \$100 billion, the demand for investment funds will explode and push up the interest rate. No matter how "easy" a money policy the Fed employs, it may not expand the money supply enough to absorb the increased demand for loanable funds.



# LEBANON: WEST FEARS ISRAEL'S VICTORY

— Professor Henry Delfiner

The outstanding characteristic of the events we have witnessed in Lebanon is the fear that the West will bring things to a victorious conclusion. Israel, after astounding initial successes, fears high losses if it dislodges the Palestinian Liberation Organization from West Beirut. It forgot General MacArthur's words about war: "There is no substitute for victory."

The Lebanese Christians and other outstanding organization, the Phalangists, were all too willing to let the Israelis do the fighting for them, probably missing the historic opportunity to achieve a future in freedom. The United States underwent a complete turn from initially supporting our Israeli friends to exclusively striving for the restoration of peace, frustrating everything the Israel and the Lebanese Christians had pinned their hopes on.

The struggle in Lebanon is three pronged: the PLO is supported by radical Lebanese Moslems, Syrians, and of course the Soviets on one side; the Israelis are supported at least partially by the United States on the second; and the Lebanese Phalangists are supported by the Israelis on the third. The interest of Lebanese Phalangists and Israelis are almost identical, namely to restore Lebanese independence by removing Syrian occupation troops, the PLO, and also the Israeli invasion troops who, with victory assured, would be delighted to withdraw.

Lebanese independence is meaningful for the country's Christians only if it provides a formula of religious freedom under which the country had been governed with minor interruptions since the 1860's. This formula gave special rights to the Christians, compensating for the fact that they were an isolated minority in a sea of Moslems. It is highly doubtful that anything short of a complete Western victory and elimination of all PLO influence from Lebanon would suffice to allow a return to the status quo ante. If the return to status quo is impossible, there is only one alternative for Lebanese Christians; partition the small country into a Christian core consisting of the mini-state that the Phalange has been running of the north of Beirut with its center in the so-called capital of Junieh. However, this mini-state, for purposes of survival, would be linked by land to Israel. This requires that the coastal strip south of Beirut, previously run by the PLO, would come under Christian control, most likely by Major Haddad and his Christian forces in southern Lebanon.

A glimpse at the history of Lebanese Christianity in the last century will hopefully illuminate what has been stated. The Maronites, an off-shoot of Syrian Christianity that incidentally far antedates the Moslem conquest, have lived in the mountains of Lebanon practically since the beginning of the Christian era. In early modern times they established links to Rome and have been a part of the Roman Catholic Church ever since. This gives their members a Western outlook that is not as pronounced as with the other large Lebanese Christian groups, the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians.

Modernity for the Maronites started in 1860. The sagging Turkish empire to which Syria and Lebanon then belonged was increasingly rent by the

political radicalization of parts of its Moslem peoples. One effect of the rise of Moslem radicalism was a bloody pogrom against the Maronites in 1860, costing the lives of some 5000 Christians in Damascus alone. The French government, which considered itself the protector of Middle Eastern Christians, intervened, briefly occupied parts of Syria and forced the Turkish government to make Lebanon an autonomous province governed by a Christian governor and perpetually freed from the stationing of Moslem troops. This special status of the Lebanon area lasted from 1860 until the outbreak of World War I. Following the allied victory and the defeat of Turkey in 1918, France was given a League of Nations' mandate over Syria and Lebanon and made a point of separating the two areas to respect the Christian character of one and the Moslem character of the other. During the following two decades, a distinct Francophone and Francophile Christian population became typical for Lebanon. This group quickly acquired Western education and became known among other things as the outstanding commercial brain of the Middle East.

In World War II after a brief interlude of Vichy control, Syria and Lebanon were taken over by Charles deGaulle's Free French and in 1941 Lebanon declared independence. The National Covenant of 1943 perpetuated the separate and dominant role of Christianity. It established a system of proportional government with a Christian president, Sunni prime minister, Shiite speaker of the parliament, a parliament with a 6:5 Christian majority, and an army primarily controlled by Christians. This system worked until the mid-1970's. The influx of Palestinian refugees and later the PLO leadership caused the radicalization of some Moslems in Lebanon and upset the numerical relationship between Christians and Moslems on which the National Covenant had been based.

Today it seems almost impossible to restore Christian dominance in Lebanon unless there is a clear defeat for the PLO and its helpers, followed by the physical exodus of all PLO members and their Syrian supporters. Perversely, this clear defeat is exactly what the American government and Mr. Philip Habib want to prevent in their eagerness to stop bloodshed. The other aim to restore Lebanese integrity is meaningless without the corresponding awareness that Lebanese integrity must be based on the restoration of religious freedom.

Why must the restoration of religious liberty be based on the restoration of Christian preponderance? In view of seven years of civil war, radicalization of the Moslem world, and the fact that Lebanon, except for its border with Israel, is surrounded by Moslem states, it is doubtful that religious freedom will be possible under any system except that of Christian preponderance which worked so well from 1860 until 1914 and then again from 1943 until the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

When musing about the curious development of Lebanese Christianity under the protection of France, one cannot help recognize its similarity with the development of Jewish colonization in Israel under similar protection from Britain following World War

I. It seems as if the two Western European powers used the Middle East as a haven for persecuted minorities. Yet the possibility that this may be a policy worth continuing seems to escape Western statesmanship; we are so immersed in the throes of anti-colonialism that the mere reminder of such policies is considered embarrassing. We forget that human rights might be better served by reviving some of the enlightened aspects of colonialism than by condemning them sight unseen. The Middle East lends itself particularly well to a search for minority rights; constant human rights attention has lately been given to areas such as Africa and Latin America but absolutely none has been devoted to the Middle East. Yet many religious and ethnic groups there, such as the Coptic Christians of Egypt, the Bahai of Iran, the Druse of Israel, Syria and Lebanon and the Kurds of Iraq and Iran, as well as the Lebanese Christians, have no rights whatsoever. If American policy truly seeks to preserve human free-

dom, it should examine whether these freedoms are better served if minorities, beginning with the Lebanese Christians, are given their own homes than if Arabists continue to brainwash us into believing that a Moslem monolith is the only form of government for the Middle East. If pluralism is considered a blessing at home, why should complete Moslem domination seem mandatory in another part of the world? My thoughts are not completely theoretical, because the salvaging of the PLO and its friends seems to be America's primary concern in Lebanon. Ultimately, our actions will fuel the continuation of civil war rather than the restoration of peace and freedom in that country.

Our country has acted in a peculiar way, time and again, to impede a true solution to the Lebanese problem. In 1978, the Israelis had a brief incursion in southern Lebanon. The Israelis withdrew shortly after they had moved up to a line roughly equalling the Litani

continued on page 7

## The Flow Of Federal Aid To States

— Bruce Yandle and Richard McKenzie

President Reagan's proposed "New Federalism" has public officials and social analysts exercised. It portends cuts in many social programs. Since the federal aid pie will contract, Frostbelt states, like New York and Illinois, have a special concern. They fear that the upcoming shift of 17 of their House seats to Sunbelt states will cost them political power and compound their problem of hanging on to federal dollars.

Not so necessarily. While population influences the distribution of federal aid, our research reveals an unexpected finding: During the 1970s, states with the larger delegations in Congress failed to do as well as states with smaller delegations in terms of securing federal grants on a per capita basis. State political power in Washington, measured in House seats, seems to count, but in a perverse manner.

How much federal money does adding seats to a House delegation cost a state? Our answer must necessarily be tentative. However, one estimate indicates that a one seat increase in a House delegation in 1979 led, on average, to as much as a one-half percent decrease in per capita federal funds (which for all states averaged \$391). On a total aid basis, such a decrease translates into a loss of millions of dollars in annual federal aid, depending on the size of the state.

One explanation for these seemingly perverse results is straight-forward: the larger delegations, representing diverse and competing economic interests, have more difficulty working together as a political bloc than do smaller delegations. Hence, the fortunes of New York, which will lose 5 of its 35 seats in 1982, can be expected to rise relative to what they would have been, because of the smaller delegation it will have.

Our research effort brings to light other findings that speak to the sanity of curtailing "Fiscal Federalism." Given all the political rhetoric in praise of federal grant programs, we were determined to find evidence that would show that the flow of federal funds across states was being driven by such social considerations as the age of the population, poverty, racial composition, and the degree of urbanization within a state.

Only urbanization had any detectable effect, and it was also perverse — that is, the greater the degree of urbanization, the lower the federal funds flow. As expected, we found that the federal aid system has been used to redistribute income from higher to lower income states, crimping economic growth in higher income states. The higher income states have endured higher federal tax rates only to get less in return.

The single most important factor explaining the distribution of federal funds is something called the "tax effort" of states: the percentage of state income paid in state and local taxes. And during the 1970s, the importance of state tax effort in explaining the flow of federal funds grew dramatically.

This finding is understandable. By raising their taxes, states can lobby for more outright federal gifts and provide more matching dollars for grants. Through the grants economy, states have been effectively authorized to impose a part of the costs of their own public services on the rest of the country. The federal aid system has, as a consequence, encouraged states to grow by more than they could otherwise justify.

Further analysis leads inextricably to the conclusion that a reduction in federal aid will result in lower, not higher, state and local taxes. Each \$10 billion reduction in federal aid should lower state and local expenditures by some multiple of \$10 billion.

Without question, politics matter — this time, in how federal grants, which are supposed to have noble national objectives, are distributed among states. As states have rationally raised their taxes and dipped their hand into the federal till, the grants economy has expanded, creating "fiscal pollution" at both levels of government. Perhaps, an unrecognized objective of the "Reagan Federalism" is to insure that national politics count for less in what states do and that states once again bear the full cost of the services they provide.

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## Why Not Redistribute Talent

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New York Jan. 20 — It never ceases to surprise you how men and women of cosmopolitan background can crank up the kind of hostility to "the rich" which is the staple of the anti-Reagan critics these days. The other night at Harvard University, three gentlemen songsters of the Left dwelt almost interminably on the subject of the high favors President Reagan's Administration is performing for the rich, and the majority of the audience whooped with delight, much as one would expect cannibals to do before roasting their captives, and eating greedily their flesh.

Of course the paradoxes abound. The university wouldn't exist, save for "the rich." And by almost any plausible standard, most of the students will be "rich" very very soon. Indeed, some of them will be "rich" by the time they graduate. Young lawyers are fetching as much as \$37,000 a year upon graduation. And the highest marginal tax rate, presumably reserved for "the rich," was under Mr. Carter applicable at \$32,000 per year. After that, you paid fifty cents out of every dollar to the Feds, plus the local tax. Under Mr. Reagan's tax reform, the figure of \$32,000 was raised to \$41,000. You are officially "rich" nowadays at that figure. Using 1972 dollars, that means that you became rich just after achieving a salary of \$19,000. The anguish of Mr. Reagan's critics appears to issue from the tax reform that gave any relief at all to "the rich." Mr. Reagan didn't lower the marginal tax rate, which remains at 50 percent. He merely postponed a little bit the figure at which you hit that high rate. That is construed, in fashionable intellectual quarters, as a grievous blow to the poor.

If you think about it, it is strange, isn't it, that the egalitarians are given over enthusiastically to effecting redistribution only in terms of money. Some very bright people are rich, and some very dumb people (by extra-market standards) are rich; so are some people who are merely lucky. Now the money taken from the rich isn't all that substantial. There isn't enough money out there to go very far — a reduction of the top tax rate to 36 percent for instance, would cost the Treasury only \$6 billion, less than 1 percent of what the Federal Government is spending. One wonders whether there are other motives in taxing the "rich" so heavily. If it isn't their money that is primarily desired, what are the motives?

Nature, so doggedly opposed to equality, endows humankind with vastly different degrees of talent of every kind. Take, for example, John Kenneth Galbraith. Is his money, or his brains, the more important of his assets? Clearly the latter. Well then, if we were to seek to redistribute the more important of his assets, how might we set out to do so? He has written about twenty books. If he has published twenty books, then one or more other people didn't publish twenty books, right? It is important to answer in the affirmative, otherwise you are talking supply-side economics, which holds not that a given number of books will be published every year, but that as many books will be published as the people choose to read. Well then, if Mr. Galbraith had been confined to ten books instead of twenty, there would be ten authors, one book each, who would be much happier men than they are. We would, so to speak have redistributed Mr. Galbraith's voracious hold on the publishing business.

Or — we are thinking out loud, obviously — why shouldn't a redistributionist temper inquire into a more impartial allocation of Mr. Galbraith's talent? As things stand, his books tend to glorify the state and disparage the private sector. Perhaps a redistributionist ideal should require him to write at least one book in favor of capitalism, for every book he writes disparaging capitalism. Isn't that a way of redistributing his talent? The idea fascinates. If there is a central authority designed to make people as equal as possible, why should Art Buchwald be funny every day, instead of funny only every other day? Why should Rosalyn Tureck play only Bach, thus neglecting Scarlatti and Couperin? Why should I be wise, day after day, when equality would suggest that I should occasionally be foolish, like Mr. Galbraith?

The conclusion is, I fear, increasingly inescapable. What the critics of Mr. Reagan, the critics of "the rich," wish is that the rich be punished. They are, in a strange sort of way, an affront. If you could prove as irrefutably as a Euclidean proposition that the more rich people there were, the fewer poor people there would be, one truly wonders whether the animus against the rich would dissipate. I think not. Accordingly, I think we should pass a law punishing the talented. Such a law would require Professor Galbraith, every other year, to be sensible.

Other professors, stating their opposition to the Vietnam War and the draft (both non-sequiturs in 1982) prevailed in imposing their personal views on the entire student body.

Thus, ROTC remains merely one of over 130 "student activities" at Tufts. As such, ROTC class scheduling is not given the preferential treatment that most academic disciplines receive. Meanwhile, the faculty is prohibiting the students who pay their salaries from supplementing their own income to finance tuition bills in an honorable, American fashion.

There is one final implication of the faculty's action last April which transcends the infringement upon the basic right of a "liberal arts" education. Although President Ronald Reagan has repeatedly stated his opposition to a peacetime draft, one must consider the inevitable consequences if every university is to pursue as reactionary a policy towards ROTC as Tufts does.

## ON THE RIGHT

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

### UNTANGLING THE JOBLESS FIGURES

New York, April 23 — It becomes necessary to open all statements on the general subject of unemployment by professing one's disapproval/dislike/hatred of same, and this I do with good conscience, even while resenting the psychological intimidation. At that, it is a step more relaxed than a discussion of the atom bomb, which requires a recreation of the horrors of Hiroshima before you get into the subject. So let us say, to keep the record straight, that if one human being who desires employment cannot find it, then that datum is to be deplored.

But having said this, one needs perspective. Suppose that tomorrow, ten million Americans who traditionally did not work — let us say they had been retired, or were raising large families, or were younger than the normal age at which work is undertaken — put themselves on the job market. What then would happen to the unemployment figures?

28 percent of American women (of working age) worked. In 1979, that percentage had risen to 42. The year 1979 is otherwise interesting in that it was the year in which the highest percentage of working-age Americans had jobs (59 percent). If absolutely everyone who desired a job had had a job, then the figure would have risen to about 63 percent. I.e., 6 percent were unemployed.

Now it is widely known that for March we are said to have reached the highest unemployment figures since World War II. If one stares at just that sole statistic, one would become as gloomy as Lane Kirkland; or if that is unbearable, just plain gloomy.

But what actually happened in March?

To begin with, 57 percent of all working-age Americans were at work. Since this shows only a 3.4 percent decrease in employment over the peak year of 1979, whereas the unemploy-



"Diddle with these unemployment statistics, Nelson, until there's some truth in them."

In my college days, there was in the Yale Department of Economics, presumably because his presence hadn't been detected, a conservative. He believed in the gold standard. A student was questioning him, ending the interrogatory by asking: "What if every American who owned dollars went tomorrow to a bank demanding gold instead?"

Professor Saxon answered: "Look. The transportation facilities between San Francisco and Los Angeles are by everyone's reckoning entirely satisfactory. But if, tomorrow, everyone in Los Angeles decided he wanted to go to San Francisco, a system otherwise accepted as adequate would prove grossly inadequate."

Consider trends in America. In 1947,

ment percentage rose from 6 percent to 9 percent, we see that the scary part of the relative figures resulted from more Americans wanting to work than ever before.

And then get this: The Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals that in March unemployment had increased by 280,000. But the employed had declined by only one hundred thousand.

If you probe the figures, you discover that the number of unemployed in March was actually 88,000 less than in February, not 280,000 more; and the number of employed was 525,000 more, not 100,000 less.

One asks: How can the Bureau acknowledge an actual increase of more than half a million in employed and a reduction of 88,000 in unemployed, and report that as: 100,000 (the actual figure was 98,000) fewer employed, 280,000 more unemployed?

The answer is that the Bureau uses the past five years for purposes of projecting the unemployment statistics they issue. Using that five-year trend, they predict how many Americans will be employed at a given time. They had predicted the increase in employment would be 623,000. Since it came to only 525,000, they reported a 98,000 shortfall. By the same token, their prediction for unemployed was a reduction of 367,000. When that decrease turned up at only 88,000, they labeled this an increase in unemployment of two hundred eighty thousand.

In fact: Unemployment in February stood at 10,378,000. In March, the figure declined to 10,290,000. But the official unemployment figures are that they are up from 8.8 percent to 9 percent. If you are confused, you should not be self-conscious about it. It happens to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

## NEED FOR ROTC

continued from page 1.

allowing the military on a campus where the Spartacus Youth League is given the right to free speech might lead the student body to support the insidious American nation! Perhaps a Tufts-based ROTC would encourage students to support the United States for a change.

In the heat of the faculty's debate, Romance Language Professor Seymour Simches stood out as a notable exception. While the other professors continued discussing everything but the rights of those students enrolled in ROTC, Professor Sinches wisely noted that their ideological arguments were futile since Tufts students were already participating in ROTC. He argued that faculty members should allow ROTC on campus to facilitate the needs of those enrolled in the program whether or not they support the United States

Although pay scales in the military are not comparable to those in the private sector, many college students, nevertheless, join ROTC and pursue careers in the military. These college-trained officers provide the type of expertise that obviate the need for a peacetime draft. If all universities ban ROTC from their campuses, a highly qualified pool of officers will be depleted. Faced with such a situation, even an ardent opponent of a peacetime draft could find himself supporting such a measure.

Perhaps these professors will consider that their attempts to weaken America's defenses may, in fact, lead to a reintroduction of the draft. On a more philosophical level, perhaps one day the liberal professors who seek to limit a "liberal" arts education to only disciplines they approve will recognize the injustice they cause, not only to ROTC students, but to the Tufts community as a whole.



## WILL THE REAL JOHN LAKIAN PLEASE STAND UP?

continued from page 2



Republican gubernatorial candidate John Lakian.

of slight fluff that's put into every candidate's brochure, every candidate's advertisements," Lakian said to *Globe* reporters.

But the questions over Lakian's education do not stop there. Lakian said several times that he took graduate history courses at Harvard. University records show he never attended there. Lakian insisted to the *Globe* that he took a graduate course in Middle European History during the fall term of 1964, although he admitted that he never completed the course. However, Harvard officials proved the hopeful governor wrong again. James R. Ball, a spokesman for the University, told the *Globe* that the school has no record of Lakian ever enrolling there, and that there was no Middle European History course offered in the fall of 1964. A week later Lakian insisted that he had been mistaken all along. He suddenly recalled that he and his wife had actually taken a course in oceanography at Harvard several years ago. But this time even his wife contradicted him. She told the *Globe* that she and her husband took the course at the Cambridge Adult Education Center.

Further scandal has enshrouded Lak-

ian claims that he owns the downtown Boston office building that houses his investment firm. *Globe* reporters pressured Lakian into admitting that he only owns two office condominium units in the building. In addition, his campaign brochures say that Lakian formed his own company directly after leaving the brokerage firm of Kidder Peabody in 1971. The *Globe* article revealed that Lakian actually worked for the firm of Bounty Management Corporation between Kidder Peabody and Fort Hill, which he now owns. Representatives at Bounty Management said that Lakian was fired from his job there supposedly for trying to take some of Bounty's clients with him when he left.

Although John Lakian does not deny many of the deceptions he has presented to the press and the public, he still insists that they were merely slight exaggerations. Nonetheless, he pins a lot of the blame for the hyperboles on his principal political aide Roger Woodworth, a man who may be soon looking for another job. Regardless of whom he fires, all the patchwork and apologies in the world may not be able to buy John Lakian a trip to the State House now.

## Nuclear Arms Freeze

continued from page 1

Another fallacy believed by freeze advocates is that the nuclear freeze would be bilateral. This is naïve because the freeze would ask the United States to trust the Soviet Union to abide by yet another treaty after it has violated almost all of the treaties it has signed. At the present time, there is positive proof that the Soviet Union is using chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan in criminal violation of at least three different treaties. Furthermore, the Soviets unlawfully occupy all of Eastern Europe, violating the strictest accords at Yalta and Helsinki. Their invasion into Afghanistan violates basic international law. Even more conspicuous is the suppression of the human rights and civil liberties of its own citizens and those of Eastern Europe and especially Poland. It is frighteningly ignorant to believe that the Kremlin would freeze production and deployment of nuclear arms when further production would give them a nuclear advantage. Thus, a nuclear freeze would mean in essence unilateral disarmament by the United States. Previous attempts to freeze demonstrate how fallacious this proposal is. For example, to limit the arms race of the 1920s and renounce war as an instrument of policy, the United States, Britain and Japan agreed to maintain a 5-3-3 naval ratio. The U.S. scrapped 15 ships on which an immense investment had already been made, while the less morally conscious Japanese and Nazis lulled the democracies into a false sense of security. They capitalized on the opportunity to achieve naval superiority and World War II ensued. All Ameri-

cans of 1941-1945 paid dearly for the futile attempts of 1928 and the appeasement policies of Neville Chamberlain.

Finally, a freeze codifying Soviet superiority would undermine the confidence of countries dependent on the U.S. for their security. These nations would then want to have nuclear self-sufficiency. A nuclear arms freeze would thus fuel the proliferation of nuclear arms, the opposite of what the Movement seeks to achieve.

If not the freeze, then what policies should be implemented? It is evident that the Soviets strive to limit the arms race only when America's ongoing military programs equal or surpass theirs. When the Soviets realized that the Nixon administration was developing anti-ballistic missile capability, they agreed to limit defensive systems. President Reagan's attempt to achieve equitable, sustainable and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons during Strategic Arms Reduction Talks

## The Berlin Wall After 21 Years

— David Keithly

On the hot summer night of August 13, 1961, East German Police and military units sealed off the 28 mile boundary between East and West Berlin with cement block and barbed wire. Through this action East Germany slammed shut the last escape route out of a drab police state, a police state which to this day is bolstered by 19 Soviet divisions.

As President John Kennedy noted, the Berlin Wall was an admission of failure. By 1961 the stream of refugees from East Germany had reached unprecedented levels. Between 1945 and 1960 some 3,300,000 East Germans — one fifth of the population of the Soviet zone — had fled to the West. A majority of these refugees were young people and a sizeable number consisted of professionals, technicians, engineers, teachers and doctors who had become disillusioned with what their leaders called a "worker's paradise." In the first half of 1961 over 150,000 had "voted with their feet" against the East German regime.

The Berlin Wall reflects the regime's need to quarantine itself from the "infection" of Western ideas. The regime has consistently demonstrated its refusal to adhere to the third "basket" of the Helsinki Accords, which aims to widen East-West contacts and to facilitate the flow of information. Laws passed in the summer of 1979 prohibit East German writers from publishing in the West without the regime's permission and make unofficial contact with Western journalists a criminal offense. In the fall of 1980 East Germany raised the required exchange rate for visiting the country. Upper and middle level party members are forbidden to maintain contacts with Westerners. The regime's continuous desire to isolate itself shows that its sole interest in the Helsinki Accords is the recognition of post World War II boundaries, not the freer exchange of ideas.

The Wall thus serves as a reminder of what communism stands for in practice: first, the denial of individual freedoms and equality before the law, which are the cornerstones of Western democracy; second, the concentration of power in the hands of a party elite that disdains criticism and opposition of any kind; third, an ideology that totally subordinates the individual to the state.

(START) depends on a strategic modernization program of the U.S. military forces. By stopping the modernization program, the freeze would end any chance to achieve negotiated Soviet reductions. Furthermore, START seeks to achieve goals that go beyond those of the freeze: the total elimination of land-based, intermediate range missiles. Abandoning the "two-track approach" of deployment and negotiation would leave the Soviets no incentive to reduce. The

mann, was expelled from East Germany in 1977 for "slandering the East German state" although he professes to be a communist. The scientist, Robert Havemann, was arrested in 1978 for criticizing the East German leadership. The economist and industrial manager, Rudolf Bahro, was expelled in 1979 for the "crime" of publishing his suggestions for improving East German economic efficiency in the West. In open violation of the Helsinki Accords, the East German leadership continues to pursue a determined witch-hunt against writers.

The Wall has had far-reaching effects upon the political situation in divided Germany. It extinguished the last spark of hope for German reunification while strengthening in certain ways the East German regime. East Germans, realizing the total absence of an alternative, tacitly support the regime and work for their own material prosperity. Political stability has brought tremendous economic advancement, and East Germans have become conscious of the fact that theirs is the richest of the communist states.

The Berlin Wall stabilized the East German regime, strengthened the country economically, and therefore brought it international recognition. Prior to 1961 the very survival of East Germany, drained of its strength by the constant flow of refugees, was doubtful. Its economic and political stability enabled the country to become a member of the United Nations and to establish full diplomatic relations with most countries.

Viewing the Wall, how can one respect a regime that is anathema to all Western democratic values? What kind of regime is it which needs to wall in its citizens in order to maintain economic and political stability? Those who are relieved to hear Soviet professions of peace — despite Czechoslovakia, despite Poland, despite Afghanistan — need only to gaze at the Berlin Wall for a silent but penetrating reminder of the harsh reality of communism. This is a 21st anniversary which should not go unnoticed.

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proposal for a freeze is a poor substitute for what ought to be this country's first arms control objective: substantial reductions in nuclear missiles by both the United States and the Soviet Union. Yet cries for a nuclear freeze only serve the Soviets' purposes. Why should they enter into serious negotiations when there are good prospects that the U.S. will eventually accept military inferiority?

The lesson is clear. If we react emotionally to complicated security policy issues such as how to best deal with nuclear weapons we will inevitably make decisions without regard to the facts. Such decisions never serve the public interest.

The West would do well to recall the motto of the civil rights activists of the 1960s who proclaimed "united we stand, divided we fall." For only united as a military and diplomatic force can we ever hope to preserve human rights and civil liberties, ending Soviet aggression throughout the world. If we freeze ourselves militarily into a position of inferiority, we will only further augment the political and military strength of the Soviet Union.

### Unilateral Cutbacks in U.S. Strategic Forces Since 1975

1983 (planned)	54 Titan II missile launchers scheduled for deactivation
1981	Planned MX deployment of 200 missiles halved — no basing mode chosen
1980-81	10 Polaris submarines with 160 SLBMs deactivated
1977-82	Trident submarine construction cut back and delayed; Trident II Missile development postponed
1977-81	ALCM, GLCM, SLCM production delayed and cut back
1979	400 Hound Dog cruise missiles deactivated
1978	SRAM production line closed
1978	Minuteman II ICBM production line closed — 100 missiles cancelled
1977	250 B-1s cancelled. (In 1981 the decision was partially reversed, with 100 B-1Bs ordered.)
1975	Single U.S. ABM site deactivated.



## TuftsPIRG

continued from page 1

dent activities fee" is used to support statewide political causes such as the bottle bill and hazardous waste legislation. TuftsPIRG dollars go off-campus to support an organization — MassPIRG — over whose policy decisions I have no control.

I respect the people I have met who represent TuftsPIRG. I think they support a worthwhile cause. Yet I am somewhat suspect because of their somewhat narrow-minded collegiate support of TuftsPIRG's traditionally liberal rallying cries. I do not mean to decry its ideals, but merely question this organization's right to tax me and use my money to support certain legislation on Beacon Hill.

My solution for TuftsPIRG's funding system is to allow the new referendum to be held in an equitable manner: include a clause specifying an individual's right to a rebate if opposed to TuftsPIRG if it should receive majority approval.

TuftsPIRG should not make it mandatory for everyone to support its value judgments on political issues. An alternative to this measure is simply to give donations to support PIRG. If a student really believes in its efforts, he will contribute.

TuftsPIRG may object to these proposals because MassPIRG, its mother organization, requires all of the student body to be taxed to support one of its many chapters. It seems quite odd then that, although TuftsPIRG is supposed to accept only campus-wide direct taxation, it accepted \$13,000 temporarily from the student government because poorly organized balloting invalidated the referendum last semester.

A university is traditionally a place which fosters freedom of expression. A learning environment should allow for freedom of choice and individual thought. At Tufts we as individuals deserve the right to stand apart from the organizations that exist here. TuftsPIRG should no longer receive its funding through a referendum. It's a matter of individual freedom of choice.

## REAGANOMICS

Towering interest rates have locked the economy into a severe cyclical downswing. With the cost of borrowing money so high, small and medium size businesses cannot meet cash flow problems and have been failing. Such industries as housing and automotive have been severely pinched by high mortgage and interest rates. As a result, the economy has entered one of the worst recessions since 1933, and in July unemployment rose to a post depression high of 9.8%.

Now, what steps will the Reagan Administration take to mollify this austere economic climate? Sticking with their supply side doctrines, the main target has to be interest rates. If the deficit can be eliminated, or at least reduced, then interest rates ought to fall. Since further budget cuts in this election year are almost impossible, President Reagan sees raising more revenue as his only choice. He has proposed a tax bill which will net the government \$98.6 billion over the next three years.

However, by raising taxes, President Reagan has veered from the path of the supply siders. Indeed, most supply siders are beginning to doubt the President. Such staunch supply siders as Congressman Jack Kemp insist that the only way the deficit can safely be reduced is by further cuts in government spending. That is easier said than done.

Supply side economists such as Arthur B. Laffer insist that the reduc-

## UNFAIR CRIES OVER STUDENT LOAN CUTS

continued from page 1

automatically qualify; others will have to prove need. It must be emphasized that these restrictions have not disqualified anyone from the student loan program; the only change is that a loan is now contingent upon need. Roughly nine billion dollars will be loaned with federal guarantees under the new guidelines, in addition to three billion dollars given in other forms of federal aid to students, yielding a healthy total package.

Is there justice in cutting loans to college students, the country's prime talent and resource? Even as a student who has had to struggle and scrape to afford college bills, I feel the Reagan cuts should be applauded. In times of economic downswing, a return to more thrifty, practical fiscal management seems not only wise, but also neces-

sary. In attempting to reduce the excesses of the past, administration officials should strive for equity in budget allocation — both in the restructuring of benefits and in the application of reductions. In the first case, the new structure of the student loan program eliminates a great deal of inequity. Those who truly need such help will still find it available; those abusing the system will find themselves left out. No longer will the public be taxed to subsidize loans for those who can well afford to finance a college education from their own personal resources.

In the second case, the reductions in the loan program are a manifestation of the dire necessity for everyone to share the burden of reducing the bloated federal budget (where the heavy debt service on loans from the past account for their own portion of the swelling). There is a general con-

sensus that taxes are outrageous, that government is too big and too costly, yet unfortunately few of us seem willing to tighten our own belts in an effort to solve this problem — an attitude that bespeaks negatively of our culture and lifestyles. We were spoiled in the past and must pay for it now — all of us.

Restrictions on student loans are a step in the right direction. They lead to greater equity and more prudent fiscal management. Most importantly, these reductions, and all others, begin the return to a self-help society in a plan to give government back to the people. In our quest for greater progress and prosperity, it is the private sector — individuals like you and me — who must assume the initiative in a forward push to regain momentum, the initiative that once made this country so great.

## Lebanon: The West's Fear of Winning

continued from page 4

River and a United Nations peacekeeping force moved into their place. The trouble began almost immediately because the UN's purpose was unclear. The Israelis insisted that they keep the PLO out of south Lebanon, while the UN said it was there to restore Lebanese integrity and supervise the Israeli withdrawal. It is no wonder under these circumstances two things happened: the PLO infiltrated the south under the very noses of the UN, and the Israelis had no recourse but to ensure that Major Haddad and his Christian militia keep both the UN and PLO out of the immediate border adjoining Israel. I cannot recall any meaningful effort by the United States to change its instructions to create a truly effective force for peace. While the UN was dispatched to Lebanon, continuing intervention by our country came last summer when the Phalangists were attempting to build a road from their mini-state to the Israeli border. The Syrian peace-keeping

troops promptly intervened against the Phalangists and Israel promptly retaliated against the Syrians by shooting down a couple of Syrian helicopters. At this stage the Syrians escalated the situation by introducing Soviet-made SAM 6 missiles onto Lebanese soil. When Israel prepared to remove the missiles, the American government sent Philip Habib to mediate the conflict. It is interesting to look back to last summer to observe the erosion of our purpose in this particular situation; our actions significantly resembled what has been happening this summer. At first Habib's instructions were to convince Syria to withdraw the missiles. This obviously had been the promise the US government made to the Israelis to persuade them to stop their actions against the Syrians. As time progressed, we heard less and less about the missiles. When Habib finally returned home after endless discussions, there was no indication that Syria had pulled back her missiles. Yet Washington widely acclaimed Habib's "triumph" in stopping the war in the Middle East. In former years this used to be called a "peace at any price" philosophy. While this might have fit well with the Carter Administration's frame of mind, it surprised many of us who had believed that President Reagan meant to take a tough position against the Soviets and their cohorts.

Now I shall address this year's episode which, at the time I wrote this article, was still far from settled. At first the Reagan administration tacitly endorsed Israel's actions to move into Lebanon. Israel halted when it reached the outskirts of Beirut and the US government again got into the act by sending Mr. Habib to mediate the situation. Habib's initial instructions were to clear out the PLO, but as time progressed and the PLO showed no indication of accepting unconditional terms, America started to squeeze Israel against further military action instead of increasing the pressure on the PLO. This not only prevented a clear-cut Israeli victory but also made a relatively bloodless victory more difficult. US intervention allowed the PLO to dig in and discouraged the Israelis from using the only effective weapon at their disposal to achieve victory with a minimum of losses: declare West Beirut under siege, warn all non-belligerents to leave and then impose an airtight blockade which would have forced the PLO to give up or fight an increasingly hopeless battle. Instead we succumbed to the usual appeals of humanitarianism, addressed of course only to Israel. The US disregarded the fact that the

PLO had built its entire power-structure on anti-humanitarian principles by forcing women and children to fight and by hiding behind women and children in their West Beirut redoubt. In other words we not only did not remove the PLO but also helped, with our infinitely patient tactics, to allow it to dig in and launch its propaganda appeal to the whole world.

This analysis would not be complete without a discussion of the official position of the United States toward the PLO. President Richard Nixon emphasized that the PLO is a terrorist organization that pursues its goals by attacking not soldiers but the unarmed and uninvolved. From this position of moral indignation was born the decision not to deal with the PLO until it ceased its terrorist tactics and accepted Israel's right to exist. Again erosion has set in during the last ten years. The position that the PLO is morally unacceptable has made way to the purely practical demand that it recognize Israel, which it has not shown the slightest inclination of doing. Our repugnance to deal with the terrorist organization received its first dent when Andrew Young, President Carter's United Nations ambassador, met with a PLO representative. Fortunately, our repugnance was still strong enough to cost Young his job.

Today Mr. Habib's refusal to deal with the PLO has become a mere charade; he in effect deals with them on an indirect, day-to-day basis. It is ironic that the content of his negotiations is almost exclusively designed to save the PLO's neck. Yet the United States goes through the motion of avoiding direct contact and believes that this is sufficient evidence of our morality.

Reverting to my initial definition of the Lebanese conflict as three-pronged, it is clear that our weakness and willingness to allow our position to erode in 1978, 1981 and 1982 not only undermines the Israelis who have been our most steadfast friends in the Middle East but also threatens the reestablishment of a Lebanese state. A separate Lebanon must be created so the Christian population can live in acceptable conditions. In the long run we are not serving the cause of peace unless we learn to give up the tendency to mediate between friends and foes. Our government must espouse a clear-cut victory for the Israelis and the Lebanese Christians. Once achieved, this will serve as nucleus for a freer, more pluralistic and in the long run more peaceful Middle East.

continued from page 3

tion of the deficit is unnecessary if the administration can only curb the Fed's power over the money supply. Laffer suggests making the quantity of money in the U.S. depend not on whims of the Federal Reserve Board but on the quantity of gold in Fort Knox. By a return to the gold standard, the money supply would be much more stable and, according to his supporters, anti-inflationary.

Keynesian economists are baffled and skeptical of the tax hike as well. Raising taxes during a recession could be catastrophic. They claim the action will plunge the economy even deeper into recession by reducing aggregate demand even further.

Whatever the result of the tax hike will be, it certainly comes as a disappointment to almost everyone, save maybe the Democrats. Just as Reaganomics seemed to be working, is President Reagan joining forces with Tip O'Neill and the Democrats? The tax increase may work or it may just be a reversal to stale Keynesian patchwork policies which started this whole mess. And right on the heels of the largest deficit in recent history, President Reagan now has the somewhat hypocritical notion of trying to get a Balanced Budget Amendment tacked onto the Constitution. This is all well and good, but as things stand now, it is just another case of closing the barn door after the cow has escaped.



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