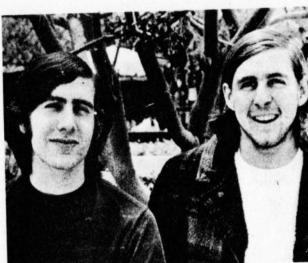
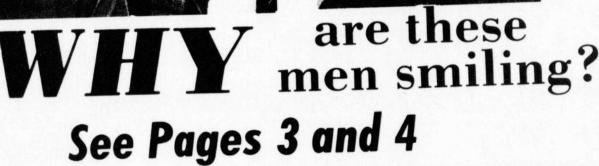
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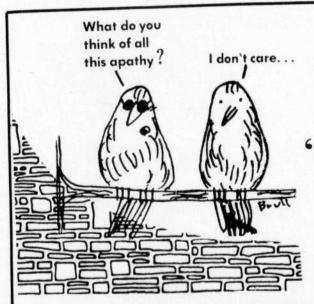
Vol. 3, No. 6

U.C. San Diego

February 2, 1972







Do YOU care?
Read,
'Who are the real racists?'

See page 4

DIMENSION

'It is indeed absurd to accord respect or legitimacy to a government if it cannot accomplish the objectives of the people it is intended to serve. . .'

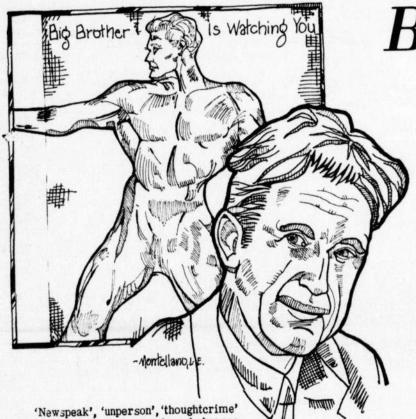
-Paul Kaufman

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George Orwell: first citizen of the Big Brother Is Watching You Brave New World



and 'Big Brother' are words and phrases familiar to all of us. The thoughts and concepts of George Orwell's 'Anima! Farm' and '1984' are remarkable for achieving a thorough penetration into the consciousness of the political Left and Right. Consequently, a student is as likely to be found reading those two books in a high school course in a conservative home town as in a Humanities or Political Science section at UCSD. Though Orwell is sometimes supposed to have been a conservative, due to the tone of 'Animal Farm', his analyses are probably most visible today on the Left (viz. 'J. Edgar Hoover, John Mitchell, and Nixon are trying to set up a Big Brother government.') Where did this vision of a possible cataclysmic future originate? What sort of mind thinks to compare the class struggle with the relationship between man nimal? Just who was George Orwell?

Snob to socialist

Orwell was the son of a British civil servant, and was educated at England's most exclusive (and snobbish) school, Eton. But Orwell was also an independent young man who became a socialist, and one of England's most influential left-wing columnists and critics during the late 1930's and throughout the following decade. Orwell's collected essays, letters, and journalism, only recently published in this country, are a week-to-week account of Orwell's reactions to the formation of the Nuclear-age world. The controversy over Hitler's intentions, the Blitz of London (where Orwell lived) and the ensuing war and the rise of the Cold War were the events which occupied Orwell's mind as he entered his period of maximum literary productivity.

A matter of words

Orwell was a convinced socialist, and his essays are replete with statements like, It is not certain that Socialism is in all ways superior to capitalism, but it is certain that unlike capitalism, it can solve the problems of production and consumption ... and 'I don't need to indicate to you the various features of capitalism that make democracy unworkable.' But Orwell was not an 'orthodox'socialist in an era when socialist orthodoxy required hatred of Nazi Germany, but love of the Soviet Union. Orwell was one of that handfull of men in the late 1930's (like Koestler, Silone, and Lyons) who were anti-totalitarian, i.e. against both Hitler and Stalin. Orwell's illusions about the 'socialist fatherland' began to die during the Spanish Civil War. Orwell joined the Republican side, fighting with the Trotskyist POUM forces agaisnt Franco until he was wounded. As the Soviet Union began to take control of the Republican government, Trotskyists were hunted down and executed by their own side. Orwell managed to escape back

That mysterious army

Watching Europe's ordeal of total war after 1939, he developed many of the insights that are so prominent in 'Animal Farm' and '1984.' Newspeak', for instance, is mentioned in one of his 1944 news columns:

'Many of the expressions used in political literature are simply euphemisms or rhetorical tricks. 'Liquidate' for instance (or 'eliminate') is a political word for 'to kill,' while 'realism' normally means 'dishonesty.'

Orwell had begun with the writer's normal insistence on the precise meaning of a word. He finished by exposing the most effective propaganda tool of our age.

Orwell found another section of '1984' in the war-time attempts of government to control the past. Orwell mentions the Big Lie of the Spanish Civil War: that a large Russian army was in Spain. Though

Orwell knew personally that this is untrue, he reflects that future generations of Spaniards will believe that Red Army existed. He was more shocked, however, when British newspapers (influenced by government pressure) assisted in the propagation of another Big Lie. The Soviet Union, and its British sympathizers, had justified the bloody purges of the 1930's by claiming that Russia had had 'no traitors' during the war with Nazi Germany: all disloyal elements had been rooted out. Yet as Orwell pointed out, tens of thousands of Soviet citizens (especially Ukrainians) had gone over to, and fought for, Nazi Germany:

'The really frightening thing about totalitarianism is not that it commits 'atrocities' but that it attacks the concept of objective truth: it claims to control the past as well as the future....History is written by the winners.'

Nazis and commies

Speaking on the general subject of totalitarianism in April of 1944, he wrote in reply to English pacifists who claimed that a Nazi occupation would still leave people free to think:

'The fallacy is to believe that under a dictatorial government you can be free inside...The human being (is not) an autonomous individual....your thoughts are never entirely your own. Phi-



even scientists, not only need encouragement and an audience, they need constant stimulation from other people. It is almost impossible to think without talking. If Defoe had really lived on a desert island he could not have written 'Robinson Crusoe,' nor would he have wanted to. Take away freedom of speech, and the creative faculties dry up.'

And when one speaks, the Thought Police, or a junior member of the Spies will be listening.

Orwell's analysis of Nazism implies the sameness of the imaginary states of Oceania, Eurasia, and East Asia:

'Until the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the assumptionwas that the Nazi regime was in no way revolutionary. National Socialism was simply capitalism with the lid off... Hence, the frantic efforts to explain away the more and more striking resemblance be-tween the German and Russian regimes. Then came the eye-opener of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Suddenly the scum of the earth and the bloodstained butcher of the workers (for so they had described each other) were marching arm in arm...National Socialism IS a form of Socialism, IS emphatically revolutionary, DOES crush the property owner just as surely as it crushes the worker. The two regimes, having started from opposite ends, are rapidly evolving towards the same systema form of oligarchal collectivism.'

Writing in 1946, this was his analysis of the expulsion of several million Germans from East Prussia at Russia's insistence:

'Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called 'transfer of population' or 'rectification of borders.'

An honest mind

George Orwell will surely live in history as one of the most honest minds of the 20th century. Raised in Imperial Britain, he saw its inequalities: its class system, colonial exploitation, perversion of democracy. Turning to Socialism, he was eventually forced to realize that his new belief could degenerate into a total-itarianism that more effectively stifled free speech than any other system.

Has 1984 arrived here? No, but ponder the meaning of words like 'pacification', 'peace demonstration' and 'ethnocentrism.' What does the first word mean if nor the forcible removal and relocation of peasants? What has the second become, if not a special pleading for one side in a war, not to mention a pretext for assault and intimidation? What does the third mean if not the sort of racism acceptable in Harlem but not in Alabama?

Jim Sills

The Week



- Rent strike? What rent strike?
- VOLUNTARY A.S. MEMBERSHIP-The petitions containing the required 1,000 sigantures are finally in, and a new referendum on voluntary A.S. membership is a certainty. If approved by the students, the election would let each student decide whether the A.S. was worth the \$12 per quarter membership iee. It he mount not, he could choose not to join, at the price of being not, he could choose not to join, at the price of being not, he could choose not to join, at the price of being not, he could choose not to join, at the price of being not, he could choose not to join, at the price of being not join, at the election will probably be in mid to late February. Watch the TRITON TIMES for details.
- ON THE FRONT-Meanwhile, the final figures are in on Paul Kaufman's autumn spendfest, i.e. we now have a record of A.S. expenditures during Fall quarter. The figures are startling. Perhaps most shocking of all were the rundowns on the top six funded clubs funded by the A.S. These six, representing about half the \$18,000 allocated for clubs by A.S., spent a total of \$2771 during Fall quarter. Of that \$2771, \$1257 was spent on travel expenses and long distance phone bills, the vast majority on travel (\$1204). This amounts to 44% of the total spent on luxuries.
- THAT'S NOT ALL- The A.S. breakdown did NOT include the \$5,000 appropriated to the Experimental Theater (nee 'Anomaly Factory'), a student club that puts on amateur theatricals twice or so a year. ALL of this \$5,000 will be spent on salaries, as much as \$300 a month going to individual officers of a student organization. So far this year, \$2329 of this bonanza has been paid out. So adding up the Experimental Theater, the six clubs mentioned above and a few others, we have the following totals. Of \$8100 spent by student clubs in Fall quarter, \$4586 went directly to long distance phone bills, student salaries, or travel expenses. This is 56% of the total spent and if this figure holds up throught the rest of the year, some \$11,000 of the \$18,800 allocated for clubs by the A.S. will go to salaries, phones, and travel. Hurry, hurry, hurry! Start a club and join the A.S. lobby today!
- MORE BAD NEWS-Only slightly less shocking was the total bill for ALL salaries paid by the A.S. You



finish the silver, you can unload the dishwasher. I'm off to help out in the ghetto."

start with the A.S. secretary and accountant; \$11,000 for starters. Then there are various coordinators, temporary secretaries, and the like who add up to a total \$5,000. Add in stipends to A.S. Council members and various employees of the A.S. program board and Coffee Hut (specifically excluding Paul and Sue's jobs there) you have another \$3700. But don't stop now! Add in the drivers for the Coast Cruiser bus and a special subsidy or two and you have \$2601 more. The total? A minimum of \$27,153 will be spent by A.S. on salaries this year, out of a total projected budget

In this corner

Gary Kreep

The Challenge to Mr. Nixon

At last there is a challenge to Mr. Nixon from the Right. Rep. John Ashbrook(R-Ohio) is entering the New Hampshire primary and, hopefully, other ones, in an attempt to force President Nixon to a more conservative direction in his policies. Representative Ashbrook's candidacy will have two effects: -(1) it will give President Nixon an idea of how widespread the revolt against him in the



possibly cause him to take a turn to the right; and (2) their dissatisfaction with the present administration's policies without being forced to turn to liberal challenger Pete McCloskey, and thus keep the latter's number of votes from being inflated.

As I believe it is with most people, I always remember on what points I disagree with a politician, and not the cas I agree with him on. So it is with our President. I break with many noted conservatives in their condemnation of his trip to China, yet I do condemn the way he handled the affair. He insulted and embarrased two of our oldest allies, Nationalist China and Japan, and caused great political troubles to a government friendly to the U.S. in the latter country. He gave permission to Ford to build a truck factory in Russia, prompting one to ask, 'Why don't we just build one in North Vietnam and save Russia the transportation costs! He allowed Nationalist China to lose its place in the United Nations, a truly infamous deed by that supposedly esteemed organization. Finally, at least until I think of something else I dislike about Nixon's policies, I agree with Prof. Milton Friedman and Russel Kirk that deficit spending by the national government is injurious to the economy, and the U.S. has had a very big deficit all three years of the present administration. (Nixon's total deficit for 1970-72 will run over \$70 billion, far

surpassing anything LBJ did). If Mr. Nixon is renominated, and he almost certainly will be, and he does not make a turn to the right, I hope Mr. Jackson will be the Democratic nominee so that we may see a true

To attract attention to the ever widening missile gap between the United States and the Soviet Union, twenty Illinois teenagers raised \$75 this summer to send to the Defense Department. The twenty youths are members of the Palatine. Illinois(a suburb of Chicago) chapter of the Young Americans for Freedom. The money was raised in three weekends by the high school students mowing lawns and doing odd jobs. According to one of the organizers, sixteen year-old Joel Davenport, one of the goals of 'Operation Survival' was to alert the public the missile crisis.'

Things that Bug Me, with apologies to Herb Caen: chic radicals with their chic handshakes...Black racists claiming that they're different from white ones...political opportunists like George Wallace who take advantage people's hates and fears...racial quota systems in



educational institutions (hello Third College) ... Reagan and McCloskey being in the same political party...white racists who claim they're better than Black ones... academicians who scream for intellectual integrity but bend the rules to their own ends (good bye, Mr. York) ... the A.S. getting money to lose on its bus...all racists... compulsory A.S. membership...Lester Maddox and Edmund Muskie being in the same political party...political activists who call everyone who disagrees with them 'fascists' (hello Paul Kaufman)...

of \$84,000. That's 32% of your A.S. fee direct to salaries. Add to that already imposing figure the various administrative costs(more travel expenses, paper, postage, various supplies and 'etc.') and you have a further \$9285! Thus the final, grand figure of administrative A.S. costs (salaries and administration) is a staggering \$36,438! Out of a total A.S. budget of \$84,000, that is 43% spent on purely administrative costs! The Pentagon, Chicago City Hall, and Mayor Yorty's expense account all rolled into one can't match that figure. Indeed, Mr. Kaufman and friends ARE working harder.

■ WISE WORDS-All this brings to mind the prescient words of Mr. David Shaw, the man who defeated Kaufman for President last year, only to 'step up' by resigning the office. Said candidate Shaw last April, 'The few useful functions served by our glorified high school student government (e.g.- facilitating dances and concerts, funding various groups) could easily be performed by a single committee without the ostentation and expense involved in our junior U.S. Congress AS government is, and will most likely continue to be, a private party to which most of us will not be invited: it is an absorbing diversion for some of the guests, and an exhilirating ego trip for others.'

■ WHICH 'HENCHMEN'- A recent letter in the triton times by a Mr. Vandeveer is the latest in a series of letters extolling Kaufman and Co. and comparing them to the saints. The letter says Kaufman is fighting corruption and kickbacks, and the notorious 'henchmen' of the infamous Program Board Chairman, Dave Wallace. Mr. Vandeveer neglects to mention a few things. (1) that Kaufman appoints the Chairman of the Coffee Hut committee, and just by coincidence, Kaufman and his girl friend are now working for a nice salary at the Coffee Hut. (2) the payoff to 'henchman' Mike Palcic (last year's A.S. President) of a soft job driving the Coast Cruiser and (3) Mr. Wallace and the A.S. Program Board account for only \$2,000 of the total \$27,000 paid out in salaries by the A.S. The man with the big money sack to buy favors is Kaufman not Wallace. The man who has made nepotism a way of life is Mr. Kaufman, not Wallace. The man who has dreamed up hair-brain money-losers like the Coast Cruiser is Mr. Kaufman, not Wallace who at least brings some decent entertainment on campus.

R.I.P.- Sleep softly, the academic standards of Muir College. Assassinated January 25, 1972 in the H-L Auditorium in the name of expediency and pop-

■ MEDITATION- Tune in to the big 550 spot on your am dial for the cosmic vibrations of radio KSDT. You will hear a peaceful 'om' sound. Some say that this is merely the 60-cycle hum generated by the station's antenna, but we discount this. Still others claim to have heard music beneath the hum. This is a rumor that hardly merits reply. After all, is \$22,000 of student money this year too much for a radio station that says 'humm'? Huh?

- Yes, it is. \$22,000 too much.
- MESSAGE TO KEN CARR-Come out, come out, wherever you are!

"Arise, O Vegetables. You are the conscience of the vast majority. Throw off your shackles of silence and Ad Manager Rose Cirelli Subscription Story co-ordinate
Jim Sills Bill Stoddard Mike Sheerin Craig Griffin John MacGregor Larry Shaw Far-Eastern Correspondents N.S. Rubashov N.I. Bukharin Jim Hayes DIMENSION is officially recognized as a student communications medium by the UCSD Communications Board. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily represent those of either the University or the student body as a whole All manuscripts. letters, Federal Grants and written threats of reprisal should be sent to Post Office Box 4659. La Jolla. California. 20037

The Kaufman-Caryl Platform:

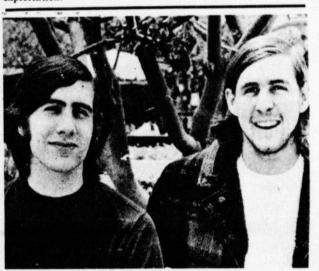
(From the Triton Times, 4/23/71)

It is indeed absurd to accord respect or legitimacy to a government if it cannot accomplish the objectives of the people t is intended to serve; but we contend that the potential and the capabilities of the AS are significant, and deserve your respect as well as support. As evidence, We intend to implement the following Platform:

(1) FORM AN OFF-CAMPUS STUDENT CORPORATION TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT FINANCIAL BASE FOR THE ASUCSD. Money could be raised, invested, and then reinvested; with enough money, the AS would no longer have to collect mandatory fees. Because the corporation would be ndependent of Regental control, its funds would be accumulated and then allocated to the best advantage of its members. Moreover, the student corporation would make it possible to develop a SELF-SUPPORTING STUDENT COMMUNITY. Services such as a DISCOUNT RECORD STORE, NON-PROFIT FOOD STORE, co-op laundromats, an ASUCSD-owned and operated bookstore, and whatever else nay be needed by students could be established and run at

close to cost. In short, the student corporation offers

considerable possibilities for combating student economic



Paul Kaufman - President and Tom Caryl - Vice President

'Gee Paul, do you really think they'll swallow this stuff?' 'Sure, they always have, they will now.

(2) ESTABLISH THE POSITION OF "ASUCSD ADMINISTRATIVE REPRESENTATIVE" TO MINIMIZE THE DISADVANTAGE WHICH THE STUDENT NOW SUFFERS WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY BUREAUCRACY. The administrator has always enjoyed two advantages over the student: first, the administration is an on-going structure, and second, the administrator spends full time on the job. In contrast, students are limited in the amount of time they can spend in committee meetings simply because they have classwork to do, leave campus during summer and quarter breaks, and undergo a continuous and rapid turnover which prevents their accumulating experience. Thus, students all too often miss their opportunity to influence those decision-making processes which directly involve them. To minimize this, we would like to create the permanent position of Administrative Representative. This person, a full-time employee of the ASUCSD, would be able to assist students with ideas and give the AS some continuity.

(3) USE AS MONEY TO PUT ON A BIG-NAME CONCERT this past year. IN THE SPORTS ARENA WITH PROFITS TO BE SPENT ON One issue the Council HAS S. does is absolutely necessary MORE STUDENT SERVICES. Financed out of the AS budget, been attacked on recently is and even vital to the general this venture should return a substantial income over and above that of student government student welfare. the cost of the production (which can then be allocated for "salaries". The allocation we Moreover, the Council student needs). Additionally, the AS could sell tickets at a discount to UCSD students.

'Open Black's Beach to students'

(4) WORK TO DRAW UP A LEGAL CONTRACT BETWEEN THE REGENTS AND THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT STIPULATING WHAT THE OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES ARE OF THE REGENTS, ADMINISTRATION AND FACULTY TO THE STUDENT. The value of the contract is that any differences between Hut entertainment, films, etc.); pansion of A. S. into greater University and students become differences of law, and the and Student Clubs and involvement in university students can seek redress against the University in the courts. Organizations and Com- government, community in-

(5) EXPAND THE LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY PROGRAM support for the Del Mar Food aggressive and comprehensive (THE UC-WIDE "STUDENT LOBBY"). This will enable us to Co-op, BSU, MECHA, and the pursuit of student goals and draft our own bills for such things as increasing scholarship Student Legislative Advocacy objectives. Indeed, if the A. S. money (and perhaps even obtaining permission to sell alcoholic beverages on campus).

(6) OPEN BLACK'S BEACH TO STUDENTS.

(7) EXPEDITE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STUDENT CENTER. Sufficient monies have been collected to start work immediately; only the Planned Program Guide remains to be finished before building can begin. We intend to involve as many students as possible in the planning and design of the student union complex.

'Put on a big-name concert... form an offcampus corporation... Support a Free University

(8) IMPROVE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE AS AND THE STUDENT BODY AND EXPAND PUBLIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GENERAL STUDENT BODY AND THE COMMUNITY, ESPECIALLY THROUGH USE OF

(9) SUPPORT AND FUND AN ON-GOING "SUBSIDIARY" OF THE FUSD (LOCATED ON CAMPUS) TO PURSUE EDUCATIONAL REFORM. The Free U. should do more than offer courses in sandal-making; it should be an actual workshop in which to explore better ways to learn (and teach).

(10) OBTAIN "STUDENT DISCOUNTS" AT BUSINESSES THAT TRADE IN ITEMS FOR WHICH THERE IS A LARGE

A.S. Salaries

(From the Triton Times, 2/26/71)

entrusted with student monies, members to encourage exand responsible for ad-cellence on the Council itself is ministering them on behalf of justified for exactly the same those it represents, it must also reason; accordingly, the \$4,050 be responsible for reporting (out of \$76,500) for stipends is back, and if need be, justifying seen to be appropriate its actions to the students, reasonable, and even nominal Council expenditures or ac- (at about 5 percent of the total tivities undertaken in the name budget). In fact, this stipend is of the Associated Students are really only token remuneration justified to the degree in which for the time and energy put in they benefit the students; a by the various officers. Council action which failed to Speaking for ourselves, we demonstrably better realize the average 10-15 or more hours per aims of the students would week performing our A. S indeed be misguided.

Because the A.S. Council is Compensating its eleven functions, and others on he

The work that the A.S. does is . . . vital to student welfare'

It is the purpose, then, of the Council make equally large upcoming A.S. Referendum to sacrifices of time they might enable the student body to otherwise spend in improving review the A. S. Budget enacted gpa'S OR WORKING AT \$2.12

would be sorely missed.

make in an area of student continually trying to anticipate concern is intended to represent student needs and initiate a level of funding com- solutions (witness the proposed mensurate with the value North County Commuter Bus received from it, and one that System, for instance); and, of will insure the efficiency, course, the Council is extremely quality, and effectiveness of the receptive to ideas or projects in which the Council is suggestions for things it might involved. Thus, the Council do or improvements it could spends about a quarter of its make. The fact that the number budget on each of the following: of student government officers Communications Board (TT, receiving stipends has in-KSDT, Third World, etc.); creased over the past several Programming (concerts, Coffee years merely reflects the exmissioners Projects (including teraction, and the more program in Sacramento, among were to suddenly disappear, i

The great unkept promises

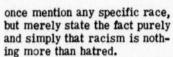
Just nine short months ago, in the April 23, 1971 TRITON TIMES article reprinted on the left, then-A.S. presidential and vice-presidential candidates Paul Kaufman and Tom Carvl presented their program.

How has the Kaufman ad. ministration done since last April in keeping the campaign pledges reprinted on the left? Let us review

Point #1 promises an "off-campus student corporation" in order to reach a point at which "the A.S. would no longer have to collect mandtory fees." Among the benefits promised by this are a "discount record store", a "non-profit food store", "co-op laundromats" and an ASUCSD "owned and operated bookstore." Needless to say, none of the promises made in point #1 have been kept. We still must pay fees mandatorily and without the compensation of the promised expanded services.

Other points promise an "administrative assistant" who has never materialized, a "big name concert" at the Sports Arena which is also distinguished by its non-existence, and a special "legal contract" that is still in the netherworld. The UC lobby has been expanded, as promised. Point six promises to "open" Black's Beach to students, and there is nothing to report here, either. Perhaps the biggest failure is the breakdown in #8, "improved communication" between the A.S. and the students. The A.S. Director of Public Relations' response to this was to circulate a memo directed to "all A.S. functionaries" directing them not to speak with reporters unless first approved by the Director. President Kaufman has done his best by threatening a financial squeeze on the TRITON TIMES for its editorial critical of Kaufman's administration.

D.L. 'Bucky'



Certainly the White man is not innocent of the crime of hate, but neither is the Black man, the Yellow man, the Red man, the Brown man or, for that matter, any man.

White oppression of other races or non-dominant white groups is no recent historical development. Perhaps the earliest recorded instance of white oppression is the story of the enslavement of the ancient Hebrews in the land of Egypt. The story of Jewish oppression is one of almost complete historical consistency. It is an oppression that has continued even into our times with the persecution and attempted destruction (however subtle) of the Jewish population in the Soviet

Pagan v. Christian

When Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, much pagan philosophy and custom was incorporated into its body. In effect, this created a monotheistic religion based on polytheistic custom. One result of this was an inheritance of the pagan hatred

of the Jew. Christianity then proceeded to overrun Europe. Eventually anything non-Christian came to be feared, and by edicts of the Popes, either had to be converted or eliminated.

Incas, Moslems, Biafrans

In 1492, Columbus sailed etc. Shortly there after, much of the Earth's population became dominated by white Europeans, who brought with them their religion of love, which they naturally assumed was superior to anything in existence. Needless to say, this religion eventually eradicated practically every native culture in the Western Hemisphere.

However, racial oppression is not a white monopoly. Just as the Christians before them, the followers of Mohammed did not hold informal teas to convince others of the beauty of the Crescent. Ghengis Khan and his descendants did not conquer half of the Eurasian landmass with foreign-aid. The Incas, Aztecs and Mayas did not build their great palaces with union labor. The Biafran revolution was not halted by Vienna fingers, and Bangla desh did not win its independence in a poker

Centuries of discrimination and oppression from Whites to Blacks and Yellows and Reds and Browns, and vice versa, are certainly not ideal grounds for relations of love and fellowship, but neither should they be the basis for a philosophy of vengeance and retribution. Unfortunately though, that seems to be what is occuring now, at least in America.

Racial equality movements have evolved from movements of unity and harmony into movements believing that the only way that their group will achieve racial equality, is by utterly destroying the white man. This method of vengeance and retribution has several serious

Bitter fruit

First, it will not, as some may believe, eradicate racism. It would merely switch the roles of elite and peon solving absolutely nothing.

Second, the achievement of equality and freedom by means of vengeance would only engender within the defeated party the same emotions of vengeance and retribution that led to the first overthrow. Once again the fruits of victory would be planting the seeds for the next dis-



racist, some people react as if it is some sort of crime. They say that's impossible, but i is not. Unfortunately it's just as possible for a Black man to be a racist as a white man or a Red man or a Yellow man or a Brown man. Successful change that could achieve lasting equality and freedom for everyone can not come about until men of all races are willing to admit their bigotry to themselves and those around

So who are the real racists?

Nation Killers.'

peoples, and their subsequent progress since those 1917 words of Lenin, are the subject of Robert Conquest's, 'The

Sons of the Khanate

The names (Volga-German, Chechen-Ingush. Crimean -Tartars. Meskhetians, etc.) are strange to the ear, as was the name 'Bangla desh' a few months ago. But the problems and turbulent history of these people are no less filled with

The Tartars, residents of the Crimean peninsula, trace their ancestry to the magnificent empires of Ghengis Khan and Kubalai Khan. As late as the 16th century, their forebearers raided and sacked Mos-

The Kalmyks, of the steppes, are the Buddhist descendants of a Chinese stock. They live in the area of the Volga River.

Also near the Volga lived the Volga-Germans, the children of German immigrants, invited in to populate Russia in the 18th century.

The Chechens, Ingushi, Circassians and others living near the Caucasas are mountain dwellers: farmers and shepherds with long and distinguished histories.

What happened to these nationalities to make them a class, is their long subjugation by Russia. Through the 17th century and on to the 18th and 19th, the Russia of the Tsars pushed out for its own 'living room', displacing and oppressing those that got in their way.

Yet a new day seemed to have dawned for these people in 1917. Lenin, and subsequently Stalin, promised dignity and cultural independence to all ethnic groups.

During World War II, however, Stalin decided that all national minorities were a 'risk' to the regime. Stalin had good reason to fear, since the words of Lenin had proven hollow in the intervening 25 years. Local communist party councils were packed with those of Great Russian nationality. Borders between provinces were carefully drawn to divide and fragment national spirit. National literary epics were 'reformed' by censors so as not to contain 'reactionary' or bourgeois' sentiments.

The fate of the 'un-nations'



With the war then, Stalin decided on drastic action. Often after Germanarmies were in full retreat, or several hundred miles away, whole nations were taken from their homelands. A Balkar shepherd described the operation this way, 'We were invited to a rally. Everyone came. When we got there troops surrounded us and the whole tribe was told that as we had cooperated with the Germans we were to be punished and deported to Central

Asia.' In ten nations and 10,000 villages over three years this scene was repeated.

'1984' author George Orwell spoke of unpersons' but the Kalmyks, Balkars, Karachi, and others became 'unnations. Mentions of their nations and achievements simply disappeared from Soviet Encyclo-

In all, more than 1,500,000 (at a minimum) were deported from their homelands; strictly on the basis of their nationality. They were herded like animals into filthy trucks and train cars and sen into the cold and desolation of Central Asia or Siberia. The figures on those who died en route, or shortly after arrival from exposure and starvation, vary The Soviet government now says about intellectuals put the figure at close to one-half. Author Conquest's research suggests that more than 500,000 died.

Only in 1956, in Khruschev's famous denunciation of Stalin, did the Moscow regime ressurect the names of the forgotten. Five of the nations were sent back to their homes, given back their limited self-rule, their city and place names changed back from Russian. They were banned from trying to recover their property, however.

There are still three nations in exile. The Meskhetians, the Volga-Germans, and the Tartars have at last been freed from the control fo the secret police, but cannot return home, nor reclaim their confiscated property.

The lesson of these nations is clear NO group, whether religious, political, or ethnic, will be allowed to stand in the way of the Totalitarian Government's control of the individual. Let those who pray for the Soviet Jews, add the Meskhetians, Volga-Germans, and Crimean-Tartars to their communions with God.

India-Pakistan: Who's the real winner?

Jim Hayes

The Indian-Pakistani conflict should not be a surprise to anyone who has read a little into the histories of the two countries or who are familiar with the intentions of all participants in the conflagration.

The history of the two countries, India on the one hand, and East and West Pakistan on the other hand, is a stimulating study in religious turmoil and powerful political ambitions.

The present strife is another climax of religious hostilities, permeated with political tensions, that have been known on the subcontinent since the early 1500's. It was in the early 14th century that Moslem warriors culminated a centuriesold attempt at subjugation of the subcontinent, predominantly settled by Hindus. The incompatability of the two great religions predicated a severe rule by the Moslems for many, many tears. Sixteenth century European colonialism saw the British gain the reins of power and supremacy on the subcontinent. Eventually the British dominated India.

Less than 200 years later the British were forced to leave India because of economic difficulties and a surge of rising nationalism, dramatically focused in the life of Gandhi. The British occupation had obfuscated the religious tensions there to some degree but had been unable to eliminate it. With the departure of the British, political power reverted to the Moslems and Hindus. This was just after World War II, and in 1947 we find the separate nations of India and Pakistan being formed.

The roots of conflict

After the 1947 partition, religious bloodletting followed which prompted the Moslems to flee India to seek sanctuary in Pakistan. This meant political boundaries were largely identical to religious homogeneity, although not entirely.

Political forces in Pakistan have set the tone for modern Pakistani history since 1958 when Field Marshall Mohamman Ayub Khan established military rule. Years later Yahya Khan succeeded Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan (1969), general elections were promised to dismantle the military rule and restore civilian government.

As might be expected President Yahya Khan called for these elections in order to cool down the internal tensions existing between East and West Pakistan.

Repression and aftermath

Yahva Khan suffered a singular political set-back in the face of the Awami League's winning a majority in the Pakistani legislature (167 out of 313 seats). The Awami League is a socialist po-

litical organization, anti-Peking, and anti-Yahya Khan, Amd it is centered primarily in East Pakistan, known now as Bangia

Confronted with a tense political situation, Yahya Khan postponed the soonto-be convened Assembly. Of course the effects of this were to stir the Awami League into fierce political activity. President Khan countered with his now famous and historical repression in East Pakistan. It was this political repression of dissident political forces that provoked the mass exodus of East Pakistan's population, mostly Hindus in this case, to flood neighboring India. In the meantime Sheik Mujibar Raman. leader of the Awami League, was captured and sent to West

Pakistan to be jailed. War, it seems, was inevitable as India emotions in East Pakistan by helping to India was moving her own military forces off the Indian coast. The Nixon admin-

full scale war between India and West Pakistan over East Pakistan. The outcome was in many respects predicated by the numerical superiority of the Indian military and the disadvantages that the West Pakistani army had fighting in an hostile environment in East Pakistan.

Chronology

1969 - Yahya Khan takes power

Nov., 1970 - Typhoon hits East Pakistan

Dec., 1970 - Elections, Awami League wins Jan., 1971 - Assembly delayed by Yahya Khan

March, 1971 - Repression and civil war begin

Summer, 1971- Bengali exodus December, 1971- India defeats Pakistan in war

India triumphed in the war as the Pakistani government eventually surrendered its army in Bangla Desh. Later Yahya Khan stepped down as President of Pakistan and Zulfikar Bhutto was named to replace him.

For the victor, Indira Gandhi, this was her supreme moment in a political career that had otherwise been tenuous. She had been up to this time a compromise leader among the political factions of India. With this war, however, she clearly holds title to India's political reins for some time to come.

Bangla Desh has a tumultuous future ahead of it as it attempts to consolidate government and stabilize the contry along social, economic, and political lines. Yet in many respects the global ramifications of this war are yet to be fully appreciated, much less felt.

Jacks or better to open

No less than the United States, Russia, and Red China had high stakes in this war. Each has contributed its own influence or arms to the conflict which lasted only a few days, but whose full effects will be expressed in the future.

Consistent with its aggressive foreign policy, Moscow supplied India with arms, know-how, and Russia's credible military influence, as India took the initiative in a war that has dramatically shifted the balance of power on the subcontinent in her favor.

Backed by over a billion dollars worth Soviet aid over the last few years that has included 450 medium tanks, 150 light tanks, 4 attack submarines, 5 destoyer escorts, more than 100 SU-7B fighter bombers, more than 120 MIG-21 interceptors, 50 transports, 80 helicopters, and 50 SAM-2 surface-to-air missles. India found itself in a superior military position. This position was confirmed by a 20-year friendship pact between India and Russia, signed earlier in 1971.

The triumph of Mrs. Gandhi

This emboldened the Indians, particularly Indira Gandhi, to spurn the U.S. initiated peace-proposals and opt directly for war. India did not have to worry too greatly about U.S. or Red Chinese retaliations, especially Red Chinese, in the war by aiding significantly the Pakistani effort.

Consequently Red China was limited moved to consolidate anti-West Pakistan to delivering oratorical tirades in the U.N. against Russia and India. Washington arm and train a rebel army in East on the other hand quickly mobilized the Pakistan, the Mukti Bahini. Meanwhile nearest American fleet to show its colors to the East Pakistan-Indian border area. istration also made official statements Finally skirmishing broke out into branding India as the aggressor in the

war. Russia also voted for India in the U.N. Security Control, as she vetoed cease-fire proposals initiated by the same

Red China had been intimately involved in the military and political support of the Yahya Khan government. Red China has furnished Pakistan with more than 70 MIG-19 interceptors, 225 medium tanks, and quantities of artillery pieces and other arms. Very important too is the Red Chinese stationing of 13 to 15 divisions of its own troops along the border with

The price of friendship

American presence in this conflict is ubiquitous. Over the years it has contributed billions of dollars in foreign aid to India, 700 millions alonelast year. America also contributes foreigh aid

to Pakistan. For example earlier this year, the Nixon administration, in an attempt to prempt conflict there halted 35 millions of dollars worth of arms to Pakistan. Also the Nixon Administration made several attempts to stave off con-

Yet the episode is not over as Pakistan nurses its wounds, and India luxuriates in its newly-found political and military eminence on the subcontinent. The super powers would not have staked their prestige and influence in such a minor skirmish had not the stakes in the game been very high.

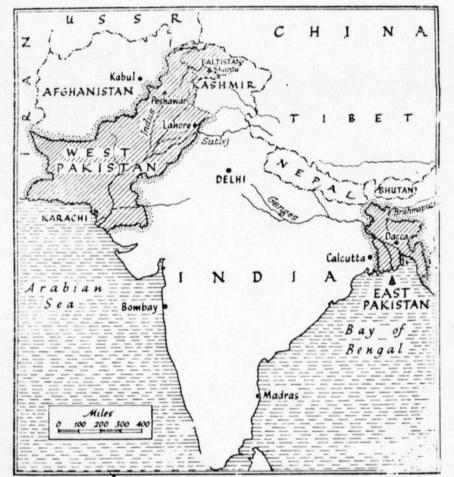
feel she was in a position to involve herself, militarily, directly in the conflict. The fact that Red China did not participate directly may be considered to be at the cutting edge of the Russian-Indian friendship pact. Had she invaded India or otherwise dramatically stepped up the pace of the war by direct intervention, the men in the Kremlin would have had ample synthetic justification in either striking back at the Red Chin-

ese by pouring even more arms to India or perhaps attacking, inside Red China, her nuclear missile facilities. The latter of course is a price the Red Chinese cannot afford to pay. In over-view the American role in the

affair clearly shows a declining influence on the subcontinent as shown by India's spurning of U.S. peace measures. The United States lost face in the confrontation. And given the realities of American military might, one begins to question if our role in the debacle was deliberate to the point of easing American participation in subcontinental affairs with the least possible costs.

Our indecisive participation is testimony to the prevailing trend in American foreign policy of appeasement, conciliation and, when expedient, withdrawal from difficult international problems when the antagonist is Soviet Russia.

If it is one lesson that Americans have learned, it is that you cannot buy friendship for very long. It goes to the highest bidder. Billions have been given



Pakistan and Surrounding Countries

And indeed they were. For it is to India over the years only to see her expand her influence in the Indian ocean. citrant enemy, Communist Russia. To do this efficiently she needs ports at which her ships can stop over for supplies, re-fueling, and/or repairs.

India can supply these ports to Russia. Therfore it should come as no surprise if in the coming weeks or months if India should quietly allow the Russians to begin to build the facilities she needs to accomodate her navy.

This in turn would enlarge Russia's political profile in the lands that border the Indian Ocean, as no less than thirty countries border the ocean. These nations would have to recognize, more so than they do now, the price they might have to pay for not cooperating with the Soviet Union in matters of interest to Russia.

In this respect the Russians clearly Pakistan lost and Red China did not communists have a stake in it.

openly recognized that Russia wants to go to war with the support of our recal-Even the Russians in the years to

come might find themselves at the end of a losing line, given the constantly shifting affiliations of underdeveloped and developing nations throughout the world.

Meanwhile the insidious socialistcommunist juggernaut moves on. And one has only to call into memory Russia's role in the conflict, Russia's own tumultuous political history, the Russian-North Vietnamese alliance, the Russian-Egyptian alliance, the consolidation of political power in Red China, the repressions of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslavakia, and the millions of people who have been killed or tortured in the name of communism, whether Red Chinese or Russian, to feel and realize the great evil portended gained in the India-Pakistani war, as in such events as this war when the



Racism, a word that has most

unfortunately become a cliche

to many of us; a word that

should not have to exist, and

yet, it does. But in becoming

a cliche, the word racism has

lost some of its meaning. It

has now come only to denote

white supremacist attitudes to-

wards other racial groups, most

In its purest form, racism

is simply 'the practice of racial

discrimination', or 'a doctrine

or feeling of racial antagonisms'

or most succinctly: hatred. That

notably Blacks.

'Moslems of Russia, Tartars of the Volga and the of Siberia and Turkestan. Turks and Tartars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia! Hence forward your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural instituions are declared free and inviolable! Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights like those of all the peoples of Russia will be protected by the might of the Revolution, by the councils of

This is how the various ethnic minorities of the Russian Empire (Germans, Turks, Caucasians, etc) learned of the Bolshevik revolution. The history of these

Workers', Soldiers', and

Peasant Deputies!

Could Archie Bunker stifle Mr. Spock?

Martin Radwin

Of all the fallacies perpetated throughout history, few have been more destructive- both philosophically and psychologically- to more human beings than the reason-emotion dichotomy. This concept has promoted the systematic obliteration of reason through the establishment of two irreconcilable, mutually exclusive, stereotypes designed to depict 'reason' and 'emotion'. After centuries of virtually unchallenged reinforcement and expansion the dichotomy has grown into a grotesque, distorted monster, having nothing to offer but a grotesque, distorted view of man's

The dedicated Mr. Spock

One of the most obvious manifestations of the dichotomy can be found in 'Star Trek', a recent television show about the exploits of a captain and his crew during their five-year excursion through space. Mr. Spock, first officer of the ship, is a man who has never felt anything. He is a man who never smiles, never frowns never laughs, never cries, a man whose unswerving dedication to Logic has replaced the joy, the hope, the love he has never felt



Reason: Mr. Spock

To identify the significance of this characterization, it is first necessary to identify the roles of reason and emotion in man's existence. Reason is the faculty which evaluates the perpetual influx of data from man's senses, thereby enabling man to make decisions, to develop new ideas, and to continually increase his understanding of the universe. An emotion is an automatic metaphysical appraisal of a given aspect of reality.

Fear of the irrational

Mr. Spock is a man who represses his emotions, refusing to acknowledge render him irrational. Yet a man who represses his emotions is often highly neurotic; he is the very opposite of Ra- siders trivial.

DICHOTOMY: 1: a division into two mutually exclusive or contradictory groups...

has never experienced happiness, but who has no desire ever to experience it, a man who has deprived himself. Whatever else he is, Mr. Spock is not a rational man. It is interesting, therefore, that the conflict between reason (Mr. Spock) and emotion (Captain Kirk and Dr. McCoy) is 'Star Trek's' most consistently empha-

The reason-emotion dichotomy has manifested itself in such forms as the science-art dichotomy (and its corollary, the logic-creativty dichotomy), the soulbody dichotomy, and the technology-nature dichotomy.

According to the science-art dichotomy, the scientist and the artist are irreconcilable antagonists. This, since the scientist represents the ultimate embodiment of logic, while the artist represents the ultimate embodiment of creativity. Logic and creativty, asserts the dichotomy, are mutually exclusive enemies; one destroys the other. In addition, logic is the product of a cold, unfeeling, dissecting mind, while creativity is the product of a spontaneous outburst of feelings, uncorrupted by logic (the modern product of this doctrine is pop art'). Virtually all of the proponents of this dichotomy favor the artist, looking upon the scientist as a frigid, inhuman monster who does not take cognizance of their feelings.

Body and soul

The soul-body dichotomy establishes an irreconcilable schism between man's soul (consciousness) and man's body, between though without action and action without thought, between a supernatural soul and a maliciously evil body holding it in bondage to this earth. In addition, the needs of the soul and the needs of the body are said to be irreconcilably opposed, the fulfillment of one inevitably resulting in the frustration of the other. The final, inevitable product of these premises is the morality-practicality dichotomy, the doctrine that the moral and the practical are opposites, that a man is practical to the extent that he is not moral and moral to the extent that he

Saga of the electric heater

Science and art are not antagonists; rather, they are two manifestations of man's supreme gift- reason. The goal of the scientist is to discover the nature of reality; the goal of the artist is to selectively re-create reality according to his values, to project his view of life as it could be and ought to be, to emphato be philosophically important to the exclusion of those values which he con-

'Mr. Spock never smiles, never frowns, never laughs, never cries... never experienced happiness

tional Man. Emotions are to the mind what the pleasure-pain mechanism is to the body. Just as the sensation of pleasure indicates that the body is functioning properly and the sensation of pain indicates that the body is malfunctioning and may be in grave danger, the happinessunhappiness mechanism indicates the degree to which the mind is functioning properly, serving as a barometer of the psychological well-being of the individual. Without emotions, by what standard is Mr. Spock to determine the degree of his rationality (or irrationality)? A rational man will understand that happiness is the highest, most precious emotional state, the greatest reward of life. Yet Mr. Spock is a man, not only who

There is little necessary conflict between man's mind and man's body. Their goal is identical- the fulfillment and furtherance of man's life. Man's body strives to achieve the values selected by his mind. If man is to live a rational, productive, rewarding life, his mind and body must function as a harmonious unit. working to achieve those values which make this type of life possible.

There is no necessary conflict between technology and nature, between man and machine, between wealth and happiness. Technology is man's application of science to the problems of his existence. Man cannot survive by adjusting himself to nature. He can survive only by adjusting nature to the requirements of his survival (which he must first identify), by learning to understand nature so that he may learn to control it for the furtherance reliable guides to action, that the only of his life. Animals perish in a storm. reliable guide to action is the verdict Man builds homes and electric heaters of his own reasoning mind. For example, to protect himself and electric generators he may feel so passionate a hatred for to produce the electricity which power another man, that he suddenly feels the them. Life with technology is a distinctly desire to kill him. But, obviously, he would human manner of existence.

being. It is a myth (the reason-emotion dichotomy) that the fully rational human being lessens his capacity for feeling. All human beings experience the full spectrum of emotions throughout their lives (except those who have successfully repressed their emotions). A rational man understands that his emotions are not tools of understanding, that they are not realize that merely feeling like killing

'To reject reason is to subject oneself to a never-ending wave of pain and fear. . . .

Finally, there is no inherent conflict between reason and emotion, just as there right thing to do. Or he may see a is no conflict between mind and body. Reason is Man's faculty for evaluating and understanding the nature of reality. Emotions are estimates of a given aspect of reality provided by man's subconscious mind. Since man's subconscious mind functions automatically, he experiences emotions automatically. But man's conscious mind does not function automatically. Man is a being of volitional consciousness. Man's fundamental choice in life is: to think or not to think? If he chooses not to think, if he rejects reason, his life will be guided solely by dark, unknowable emotions-emotions he can neither understand nor control. He will become a being

That rare individual

But man's fundamental choice is not between thought without feeling and feeling without thought. Rather, it is between reason and whim, between a life of rational control and efficacy, of creativity, resourcefullness, understanding and confident sell-assertion, or (on the other hand) a life ruled by blind and unpredictable emotions. The vast majority of people lie in an area where between these two extremes, hampered by contradictory premises, irrational, unintegrable ideas, and philosophies which have seldom been consciously examined. It is a rare person who has successfully integrated all of his ideas and values into a rational. internally consistent, coherent system. Rarer still is the person, not only who has achieved this, but who is fully able to live up to his own established ideals.

This is the hallmark of the rational

woman and immediately feel an intense sexual desire for her. But were he to



Emotion: Archie Bunker

to rape her, he would end up behind bars, where he would belong.

This is the idea that is so crucially important- that to reject reason is to subject oneself to a never-ending wave of pain and fear and self-destruction, ending ultimately at that abyss which

Sen. Muskie Sen. Muskie

"The question is do I file reports on campaign contributions, etc. at the present time in connection with my present efforts with the Clerk of the House. I do not for the reason it's not required and I know of no candidates who do....Now I think there needs to be policy in this field to cover this period as well as the conventional campaign period. We don't have it yet and I think we should."-Sen. Muskie before Congressional interns, July 15, 1971.

"I hope we will again do something to separate money from politics a little more. I think it can be done easily. All we need is political leadership that will raise its sights beyond immediate partisan advantage and work towards a meaningful reform of our electoral process." -Sen. Muskie before Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, March 3, 1971.



that. Most people today would be well-advised to accept this advice from our 30th President. Especially by democratic politicians, and not at all by the demowe already have a burnt their house down...But voted to admit women...BUT

Let us begin with some

immortal quotes from the

past and present. First, con-

sider these words from the

golden lips of Calvin Cool-

idge: 'If you don't say any-

thing, you won't be called on

to repeat it.' Hmmm. I like

cratic public - Charles de Department of Peace. It is mankind has obviously re- A BACKLASH of sorts seempreserve, what part we will bringing war to America as consin, where an unidentified baggage. It would be pre- ally,

baggage. It would be presumption on our part to discardold customs and institutions because their purpose is not clear to us; no one generation should set itself up as a judge of society's future needs; the ties which knit together a state or a know how to blow up the more when the local constabulary decided to detain him at the hospital for observation...The Russians are having their troubles in India, basically due to the fact that they lack contact with the ordinary people. One Western diplomat in the new abortion law has worked out in its first full observation...The Russians are having their troubles in India, basically due to the fact that they lack contact with the ordinary people. One western diplomat in the new abortion law has worked out in its first full observation. He wishes that the 600 women who had two abortions in the course of a single year would exercise moderation. Chase says that gress may end by destroying are now 4 Nixon nominees the vital but intangible forces sitting on the Supreme Court; which preserve you are invited to imagine a civilization.'......FROMA what the Court would look

DISCUSSION on modern po- like with four Humphrey

litical superstitions by R. nominees TIME has named

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Ambassador and Indian Cabinet ministers. There are literally no working-level dealings any more.' IN CHICAGO Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond of the American Cancer Society announced that a definite connection has Emmed Tyrrell, Jr.- 'One Mr. Nixon its 'Man of the been found between cancer senator, a son of the famous Year' in spite of the Amer- and early sex THIS IS A Hoosier State, seriously sug- ican Hotrl and Motel Assoc- do-it-yourself test for para-"(SUMMIT CONFERENCES
ARE) not diplomacy or negotiation at all. They are gotiation at all. They are gotiation at all. They are sians to disarm is to beat widening in France, especi- friends are arguing, and you which the protagonists are aiming not at those with whom the protagonists are aiming not at those with whom are of course untrue and ir
Western Hance, especial friends are arguing, and you them to it. All these notions ally in the city of Dunkerque know both of them are wrong where a certain Bernard DeTHE CIGAR SMOKERS of they talk, but at their ri-vals' public opinion. This is superstitions. The last two ents. One night, Bernard be-men to their tenth annual well understood by the to- are vividly illustrative of came enraged when his par- Convention. Following this talitarians, but only partly the deficiencies afflicting the ents refused to accompany trend, the Young Men's

Gaulle...Next, consider an called the Department of De- ached a new pinnacle of en- ed to be coiling up in Harexample of Edmund Burke's fense, and if the pawky sen- lightenment in progressive risburg, Pennsylvania where writings: 'Each generation is but one link in a leng- Department of Defense truly Kenneth Kaunda has banned thening chain. It is not for intends to promote war, well the opening of any new beer opinion that women's beauty us, the creatures of a day, then a cursory look at recent halls....Also, it appears the parlors may not refuse to to decide what part of the history reveals that it has spirit of Christmas is not cut or style the hair of male heritage of the ages we will been about as successful at dead in Milwaukee, Wis- patrons..... remodel or destroy. We are not the owners, but only the has been at providing health, destrians and was on his way custodians, of humanity's education, and welfare. Fin- to the bank to withdraw \$2,000 Services Administration, is the more when the local constab- very pleased with the way

knit together a state or a know how to blow up the New Delhi commented re- death rates for women having

people have a mystical sensitivity, and the rationalist forget....' A thought for those
who strikes right and left Conservatives disgruntled
disgrun in a fanatical desire for pro- with Richard Nixon, there **LA JOLLA**

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