

# O R E G O N C O M M E N T A T O R

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## Observing Europe

By Michael Rust  
Assistant Editor

American press coverage of Europe and European press coverage of the United States both "feed into certain myths and stereotypes," says Kevin Michel Cape, who writes for both American and European publications.

The 31-year-old Cape, a 1972 University history graduate, has spent eight of the past 11 years in Europe, living at various times in France, Spain, Italy and Britain. His analyses of the politics and economics of Western Europe have appeared in such newspapers as the **Los Angeles Times** and **Christian Science Monitor**, as well as the **Portland Oregonian** and the **Eugene Register-Guard**. He also writes about American affairs for various European periodicals.

In addition to his journalism, Cape is one of the few non-French members of the Paris-based **Institut Charles de Gaulle**, which was founded in 1971 by the late Andre Malraux. At the institute, he has been involved in the editing and arranging of de Gaulle's papers by a team of editors and historians.

Cape's special interest in France is derived not only from his French ancestry but also from his admiration for the late president. Cape, who describes himself as a Gaullist, says de Gaulle's legacy is proof that individuals can affect history.

"I think that...in this century that we're living in, the tendency has been to believe that history has been formed by inflexible forces, that there's an inexorable flow of history where individuals cannot make a difference," he says. "De Gaulle was one of the few figures in history, particularly the history of France, that changed his country's destiny."

Thanks in large part to General de Gaulle, France is one of the most stable countries in the world, Cape believes, pointing out that in the last 25 years France has had fewer changes in government than the United States.

Cape also says the NATO alliance is still "indispensable" to Western security, and the alliance isn't in as precarious a position as some think.

While many Europeans are unhappy with both the rhetoric of the Reagan administration and the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, "We shouldn't allow these frustrations to eclipse certain realities almost never mentioned in the Western press," he says. These realities include the overwhelming support shown for NATO in public opinion polls of nations such as West Germany and Norway.

Both left-wing and right-wing American perspectives on Europe "are really the same view," Cape says. "It's how Americans see Europe." The "real dichotomy" is not between American left- and right-wing views, but between the way Americans view

Europe and the way Europeans see themselves.

"You can't take an ethnocentric approach. You have to look at each country in its cultural context."

As an example of a lack of cultural understanding, Cape cites a recent column by George Will, in which Will referred to the Mitterand government in France as a government of "high school teachers." While this is in many ways true, a French secondary school teacher has a much different status in French society than an American high school teacher has in American society, he says.

Part of the American problem is "the naive liberal assumption" that most people are either like them or want to be like them, Cape says. A lack of communication skills is also a factor. Cape cites the time he was in Iran shortly before the Shah's downfall when he knew only one American reporter who spoke Farsi.

However, the American press isn't alone in its shortcomings. Cape also believes that the European press has been "unfair" to President Ronald Reagan and that part of the reason the Reagan administration's rhetoric "has scared Western Europe to death" is that the rhetoric has been exaggerated and distorted by the European press. The Europeans depict Reagan as a "trigger-happy cowboy," he says.

Cape, a Republican, has mixed feelings about the Reagan administration. While he believes that some of the rhetoric emanating from the administration has been excessive ("The President of the United States shouldn't trade insults with Khaddafi"), he describes himself as "generally a supporter in terms of direct actions toward the Russians....When it comes to military procurement, I'm in favor of what Reagan is doing."

Cape says both the American Left and Right see foreign policy in terms of simple right and wrong, and that this "is the same foreign policy and it never works." The Right utilizes the rhetoric of anti-communism, while the Left utilizes the rhetoric of "human rights," he says.

"We should consider both human rights and anti-communism, but the overriding consideration must be what works on a cost-benefit ratio," Cape says. This attitude leads him to oppose the Reagan administration's current policy toward Nicaragua, "not because it's wrong," but because he believes it can't work and that the **contras** will be unable to overthrow the Sandinista regime.

Americans shouldn't regard Soviet and Cuban influence in the Third World as always being a long-run strategic setback, Cape says. "Wherever I've travelled in the Third World where the Soviets and Cubans have

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Kevin Michel Cape  
Photo by Bob Davis



## Analysis

# ASUO-USSA connection questioned

By David Ridenour  
Contributing Editor

Last June, ASUO President Mary Hotchkiss broke with a tradition established by three predecessors—Dave Eaton, Rich Wilkins and C.J. Balfe—by joining the United States Student Association. Prior to this time, the ASUO held membership in the American Student Association, an organization considered by many, including ASA President Tom Duffy, to be a more “moderate” national student group.

“We founded the American Student Association to provide a unified educational voice for students,” Duffy said. “We felt we should focus on student issues for educational purposes.” In his view, the USSA did not provide this.

In an interview with the **Oregon Commentator**, ASUO Vice President Kevin Kouns explained the reasons for joining USSA.

“The USSA is a student advocacy group which lobbies on behalf of students on student issues such as financial aid and the Solomon Amendment,” Kouns says, adding that “this is what makes USSA so important.”

Indeed, the USSA’s 1983-84 Policy Priority Statement addresses important student issues such as student financial aid, student voter registration and civil rights. But it also emphasizes the need to work to stop the “militarization” of American foreign policy, the need to promote the nuclear weapons freeze and to encourage legislation such as the repeal of the “squeal rule.” It is questionable whether issues such as American foreign policy qualify as “student

issues.”

The USSA should express its opinions on such issues in the students’ roles as citizens, Kouns says. The support may not be as broad-based as on other issues, but such policy positions are reached in a democratic manner, he says.

USSA’s main strength as an advocate of student issues lies in its increasing, broad-based support, Kouns says.

“USSA has membership in around 38 states...over the past few years, it has grown in membership from 150 to between 350 to 400 schools,” he says.

Nevertheless, representation at the USSA’s 35th Congress in 1982 declined to just 10 states.

The funding mechanism for USSA differs from state to state and from school to school. Some member schools receive student funding for USSA activities through a voluntary check-off system. Others have established a mandatory fee structure.

At the University, the only student funds expended this year on USSA activities were the registration fees (\$75 each) for a recent conference (Oct. 20-23) held at Cleveland State University, Kouns says. All other expenses, including transportation, membership fees and housing, were paid for through private contributions.

The real controversy surrounding the USSA, however, involves recent claims that USSA is an organization dominated by Marxists and supported by the Soviet Union.

One reason for concern centers around a statement by Diana Jablonski, legislative director of the College Democrats of America, referring to the 34th National Congress of USSA. “The conference was dominated by left-

wing activists, many of whom were self-proclaimed Communists,” she said.

“These claims are hysterical. They’re a joke,” says Kouns, who believes in “democratic participatory socialism.” He added, “No one there carries around a hammer and sickle.”

But following a USSA conference held at Emory University in Atlanta this summer, the National Union of Students, a Marxist student group in Great Britain, had this to say about USSA:

“The USSA leadership is certainly on the radical end of democratic party politics...There were those (at the Atlanta conference) wholly wed to the idea that USSA should be a radical force in United States society, primarily, rather than a mass student movement.”

Kouns says that is an “incorrect perception of USSA,” noting that NUS representatives at the conference were far more to the left than USSA members.

The “progressive organizer movement” defeated the “bureaucratic mainstream movement” at the conference for the presidency, Kouns says. The bureaucratic movement consisted mainly of former ASA schools that were attending their first USSA conference, and the support for this movement’s presidential candidate eroded during the conference as representatives had more time to think, he says.

In addition, USSA Chairwoman Janice Fine met Feb. 14 with leaders of the International Union of Students, a “Soviet International front organization,” according to the Central Intelligence Agency. The IUS receives a budget of more than \$905,000 annually

paid for by the Soviet Union. USSA holds observer status in IUS and works with it on special projects, including organizing tours across the United States.

It has been said that the best measure of Soviet support or rejection of a particular organization is best found in the reaction of official Soviet news media. On September 29, 1981, **Komsomolskaya Pravda**, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union youth newspaper, launched an attack against ASA, while praising USSA. “Everybody knows” that the “real” representative of American students is the USSA, the newspaper wrote.

In addition, the Communist International Union of Students praised USSA, calling it part of the international “struggle” against capitalism. The IUS publication went on to say that students in the United States were in “solidarity with international democratic and progressive student movements and of peace loving people all over the world...because they live, as it were, ‘in the belly of the monster.’”

The question must be asked, “Even if the USSA is dominated by Marxists and supported by the Soviet Union, what does this have to do with the merits of USSA’s purposes and goals?”

Doug Green, an outspoken USSA critic and chairman of the University chapter of **College Republicans** sums it up best: “Many members of USSA are well-meaning individuals. They honestly believe they are working for the betterment of students and society as a whole. But they have become unconscious advocates for the Soviet cause.”

Ridenour is state chairman of **College Republicans**.

# Fee issues face year of reevaluation

By Richard E. Burr  
Editor

The mood of the Incidental Fee Committee seems to indicate that its members will address major funding issues that have lingered for years.

The student body may see a “new wave in program structure as a whole,” says Sheila Schain, IFC vice chairwoman, who also was a member of the 1981-82 committee. The IFC probably will be reevaluating the need for different programs and different types of programs, Schain says.

An issue that appears to have come to a head this year is athletic department funding, says IFC chairwoman Julie Davis. The athletic department may run a deficit this year, she says.

The IFC has reached the point where it must decide whether to fund the department at a “viable” level or “slash it dramatically,” Davis says.

“I don’t see the use of them limping along much longer,” Davis says.

Standards of what publications to fund and the extent to which the IFC will subscribe to them will be another issue, says IFC member Marc Spence. Incidental fees fund the ASUO Executive’s “**Off the Record**”, the Student Bar Association’s **Dissent**, **AVENU** for architecture and allied arts students,

the Survival Center’s **The Advocate** and the **Oregon Daily Emerald**. The **Commentator** is applying for a subscription.

Concern about publications is not necessarily the result of the **Commentator**’s appearance, says IFC member Lois Day, but a series of developments such as “a lot of dissatisfaction with the **Emerald**” and the **Dissent**’s attempt to become more viable.

The issue of funding academic groups, which was debated last year, again will be an issue. It surfaced during last week’s committee goal hearings when the IFC decided not to approve some goals of the Pre-Law Student Association. Goals must be approved before a group receives funding.

Pre-law is too specialized, says Day, a law student. Whenever program members receive credit for their activities, the program automatically becomes suspect because an academic stake is involved, she says.

Incidental fees were established to provide cultural and physical enrichment for students.

ASUO Vice President Kevin Kouns raised a similar concern about the marching band, which is a new group requesting funding. Noting the band’s affiliation with the school of music, Kouns said there are more appropriate

sources of money from which the band could gain support, such as alumni who have taken an interest in the band.

Although the IFC approved all the marching band’s goals, committee members say no group is ensured of funding just because its goals are approved. If IFC members object strongly to something at the goal hearings, groups should consider such statements to be indicative of what may happen at budget hearings, Davis says.

The recurring issue of stipends also will be addressed. The IFC last year reduced some stipends.

Stipends should be incentives for students to assume leadership positions but should not reflect the workload, says Spence, who was on last year’s committee.

Certain programs require more work and need sufficient stipends to attract qualified people to fulfill the duties, Day says. There is a concern that stipends that do not reflect the workload may exclude people in financial need, she says.

IFC members are discussing changing the structure of the committee, especially since the ASUO Constitution Court ruled unconstitutional an IFC resolution that granted the committee the power to freeze budgets.

The Court ruled that although the IFC has legislative powers, it is up to the ASUO Executive to enforce policies.

The Court’s decision was shortsighted and too broad, Spence says. Some resolutions were passed with legitimate restraints on how budgeted money should be handled and these also could be ruled unconstitutional, he says.

The IFC has to question “how much authority we will be allowed to exercise,” Spence says.

The decision has been blown too much out of proportion, Schain says.

“There’s no such thing as the all-powerful IFC, certainly not at \$80 per month,” she says. If the ASUO Executive refused to enforce a policy, the committee could take its case to the Constitution Court on a charge of non-fulfillment of duties, Schain says.

Some IFC members wanted a quicker, more emergency-oriented way to handle such a situation, Day says. Inherent in a checks and balances system is the option for a legislative branch to act when the executive branch refuses, she says.

Although IFC members do not know if and when such policy decisions will be made, Schain says when decisions are reached, the committee will not be “consistently arbitrary.”

# Reporter not always happy with media coverage

Continued from Page 1

been, I've found that ordinary people ended up hating them....Even among Marxists in the Third World, there is no love of the Soviet model."

If for nothing more than economic aid, the majority of Third World nations will turn to the West, but the Left in the West "has to learn that most Third World regimes are not going to be run by very nice people."

Most Third World countries are going to be neither democratic or capitalist. In dealing with such nations, diplomacy and economic aid should be emphasized over military power, he says.

Cape also believes that "since the Vietnam War, there has been a tendency among the American intelligentsia to adopt a hangdog attitude and assume responsibility for the affairs of the Third World. I don't think that gets you anywhere."

He contrasts this attitude with the French role in Africa, where he thinks they have prevented the Cubans from expanding their influence. The French have troops and bases in Africa, but are not regarded as "imperialist" because they don't react in the self-defensive way of the United States, he says.

In discussing the American military

presence in Europe, Cape says while in the long-run the United States probably doesn't need 300,000 troops in Western Europe, now is not the right time to begin withdrawing them.

Cape finds a similarity between the progress of the Reagan administration and the ups and downs of the socialist government of Francois Mitterand: "Given the constraints of their ideologies, (Reagan and Mitterand) haven't done too badly."

France enjoys a basic consensus in foreign policy, he says, but that is not the case with domestic policy. The major problem with the socialist nationalization of the banks and other economic policies is that "they're doing it for political reasons rather than economic ones," Cape says.

It's "not who owns, but who manages," he says. The French Left is "pathologically unable to say no to workers' demands," Cape says. The nationalization of the banks, the attempt to establish workers' councils and efforts to decrease the workweek and increase vacation time have been derived from ideology rather than economic needs, he says.

Cape says France is a rich country with a per capita income nearly that of the United States. Still, he says, a country "can only stand so many egalitarian reforms."

The 1986 elections may bring a Gaullist victory, which could lead to a constitutional crisis, Cape says. Never in the 25 years of the Fifth Republic has a situation existed in which the president and premier were of different parties.

Looking at the recent change in leadership of Britain's Labor Party, Cape says "Labor's finished." New Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock "is moderate only in terms of the British Left. Most of his views are not in common with the British people."

Cape has visited Northern Ireland 10 times and regards it as "an intractable problem. What you do is not clear. There is a very militant minority who want the British out. How in a democratic society do you reconcile that, I don't know."

Recent events also have focused American attention again toward the Middle East, where he also has travelled.

Cape, who is temporarily back in his hometown of Eugene, will return to Europe within the next several months. He has a not completely flattering perspective of his old home:

"I think Eugene is a very pleasant, but also extremely narrow and parochial, town. I think most of the discussion of foreign policy that takes place occurs within the limits of this

very narrow ideological left/right divide."

He also has mixed feelings about his alma mater:

"I think that the University is a good, but not a great institution. It's on a par with some of the second-rank universities in California such as USC or UCLA, but not on par with Stanford or Berkeley.

"One problem I see here, and it's true of most American universities, is that there is a tendency to reward professors with promotion and tenure on the basis of publication and/or political connections, and that outstanding teaching is not recognized. The outstanding professor that I had—who is in the French department—received the Erstead Award for outstanding teaching, and the next year he was denied tenure. He has subsequently received it, but it occurred after a very long battle.

"Students should have greater input in the promotion and tenure process."

On Dec. 8, Cape will address Eugene's Rubicon Society. Within the next two weeks, the *Christian Science Monitor* will publish what he describes as the longest newspaper article he's ever written, an article dealing with the problems resulting from increased Turkish immigration to Western Europe.

# Unilateralism is 'foolish way' to deal with Soviets

By Kevin Michel Cape  
Reprinted from *The Oregonian*

Without question, Eugene is one of the leading capitals of the anti-nuclear weapons movement. A partial list of recent activities includes a courthouse exhibition, fasts, workshops in churches, a conference on parenting for peace, bake sales to raise money, peace walks and a sit-in at the U.S. Army recruiting station.

The underlying assumption of most of these activities is that by exerting public pressure, the anti-nuclear activists can force the Reagan administration to make a unilateral gesture, such as delaying deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe, and that a positive Soviet response will be forthcoming. Thus, the slowdown of the nuclear arms race would be brought about by grass-roots action. At the risk of raising a few hackles, peace activities that create unilateral pressure on the West are not only unhelpful to the cause of multilateral disarmament, they are potentially destructive.

For many of the Eugene activists, the Vietnam War protests were their finest hour. In fact, talking to some of them about the 1960s is rather like talking to an Englishman about the Battle of Britain. Both times are recalled fondly as periods when every man or woman made a difference, as being marked by a sense of solidarity contrasting sharply with today's apathy.

Some in the peace movement have predicted their cause will be the Vietnam of the 1980s. They may be right. But such comparisons disregard the fact that America's Vietnam participation indeed was ended by a unilateral gesture of troop withdrawal, while disarmament will require Soviet participation as well.

Having spoken with Soviet citizens

in all walks of life, from beribboned generals to dissident writers, I do not share President Reagan's view that the Soviet Union is the focus of evil in the world. But I do regard the Soviet Union as a highly militarized, expansionist state with a military-industrial complex that makes its U.S. counterpart resemble a Boy Scout Jamboree.

The Soviet boys and girls of 12 or 13 who stand in the snow as honor guards at omnipresent war memorials provide a chilling contrast to the attitude of Western youth toward such matters. All Soviet children play in mock war games at some point during their teen years, and 65 million people, including youngsters no older than 14, belong to a paramilitary organization called the Volunteer Committee for Assistance to the Armed Forces. Some military training is carried out in all Soviet high schools, and the Soviet equivalent of ROTC is compulsory in universities, as is two years of military service for all men. Intelligence estimates also indicate the Soviet Union is spending 50 times as much on civil defense as is the United States.

Those in Eugene who feel that somehow the ordinary Russian will be moved by the sight of the ordinary American's peace efforts and thus join him or her are unaware of the basic cultural values of both the Soviet Union and ancient Mother Russia. The Soviets, of course, are a complex mixture of Leninist ideology and old Russian ideas and customs. Stalin's foreign policy was not very different from that of Peter the Great, and it is not surprising that many Soviets of today still yearn for the good old days of Uncle Joe. One factory manager remarked thus: "Stalin may have killed a lot of people, but he made our country great and powerful. He would have dealt with these people in my factory who are not working hard enough."

In the Soviet Union, the common desire is not for individual freedom, but for a strong central authority, for civic order and for collective strength. Western-style individualism is something that frightens ordinary Soviet citizens, and political pressure groups are unknown. Despite the right-wing myth that the Soviet Union is a captive country shackled by a Communist Party elite, the sudden disappearance of communism would not alter the ageless xenophobia of the average Russian nor would it make the country necessarily more friendly to the West. It is noteworthy that many dissidents, such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, do not want to see the Soviet Union become a Western-style democracy but prefer going back to the age of autocracy.

Unilateral restraint on the part of the West seems a foolish way to deal with the Soviets. Western governments, in fact, have been restrained during the past two decades, with military spending often declining as a percentage of Western gross national products, while the Soviet response has been to build an arsenal of conventional and nuclear weapons that is currently quantitatively superior to that of the United States and qualitatively not far behind.

The proper response to Soviet expansionism is not unilateral gestures, but firmness, consistency and calm. The Reagan administration, with its frenzied rhetoric, actually has tended to confirm the Soviet propaganda machine's exhortations about capitalist warmongers.

Westerners must not attribute to the Soviets strengths they do not have. They have a rickety economy with dissatisfied consumers in a state of material penury. The latter sometimes reaches comic proportions, as with the Russian women I once saw happily trying on cheap Hungarian drapery

material for skirts, because it was of higher quality than anything produced domestically.

In addition, we must not see the invisible Soviet hand in every Third World country. Despite Reagan administration propaganda, for instance, the Soviets are not the primary cause of the revolution in Central America.

Nor should Westerners blind themselves with notions about changing Soviet behavior with selective trade sanctions, such as the boycott of Russian vodka over the Korean airliner incident. Likewise, however much the West disapproves of the Soviet Union's treatment of its own people, it must be recognized that there is little—beyond publicity—Westerners can do to lighten the burden of the Soviet people at home.

But all of these principles pale in importance to the last: The West must be militarily strong. Qualitative improvements in the West's nuclear and conventional arsenals, including further procurements of Trident submarines, are necessary and proper. Every Soviet I ever met has one thing in common: He respects strength, especially military strength, and has contempt for those who are without it.

Unfortunately, local activists have the true picture reversed. It is the Soviets, not the Americans, who are quickest to think about the unthinkable. A case in point was provided by the Soviet teacher I heard lecturing his students at a war memorial outside Leningrad. I asked my Russian-speaking Finnish friend, Petri, what the teacher was saying, and Petri replied anxiously: "The teacher is talking about the suffering during the last war and saying that the *Rodina*, the motherland, is surrounded by enemies and that the children must be ready."

"For what?" I asked.

"For you," he replied. "For the Americans."

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"When all are thinking alike, no one is thinking...very much."--Walter J. Lippman

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## Peace studies wasted effort

In the last issue of the *Commentator*, we said in passing that the establishment of a peace studies program is bogus. We would like to address the issue more fully.

Arguing for the creation of a National Peace Academy, the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, notes that "it is important to recognize that conflict is inevitable—indeed, conflict is a necessary part of our social evolution. We need an Academy of Peace, then, not do away with conflict, but to learn and teach—as Kenneth Boulding so aptly put it—how to creatively 'manage' conflict, so that conflict can remain constructive rather than destructive."

It all boils down to the study of human behavior. The University already has departments and programs of anthropology, biology, folklore and ethnic studies, humanities, psychology, political science, religious studies and sociology studying behavioral tendencies and sometimes how deal with these tendencies.

A peace studies program especially would duplicate the efforts of two areas of study—international relations and international studies. One would think that another bureaucracy could be avoided and an increased emphasis in these two areas might be a better solution.

Another problem with the peace studies program proposal is that it would become the captive of a particular ideology, peace through disarmament, just as the women's studies program is dominated by feminists. Because peace through strength is perceived as a burr under the saddle of international tension, we doubt there would be an even-handed discussion of the merits of peace through strength and disarmament.

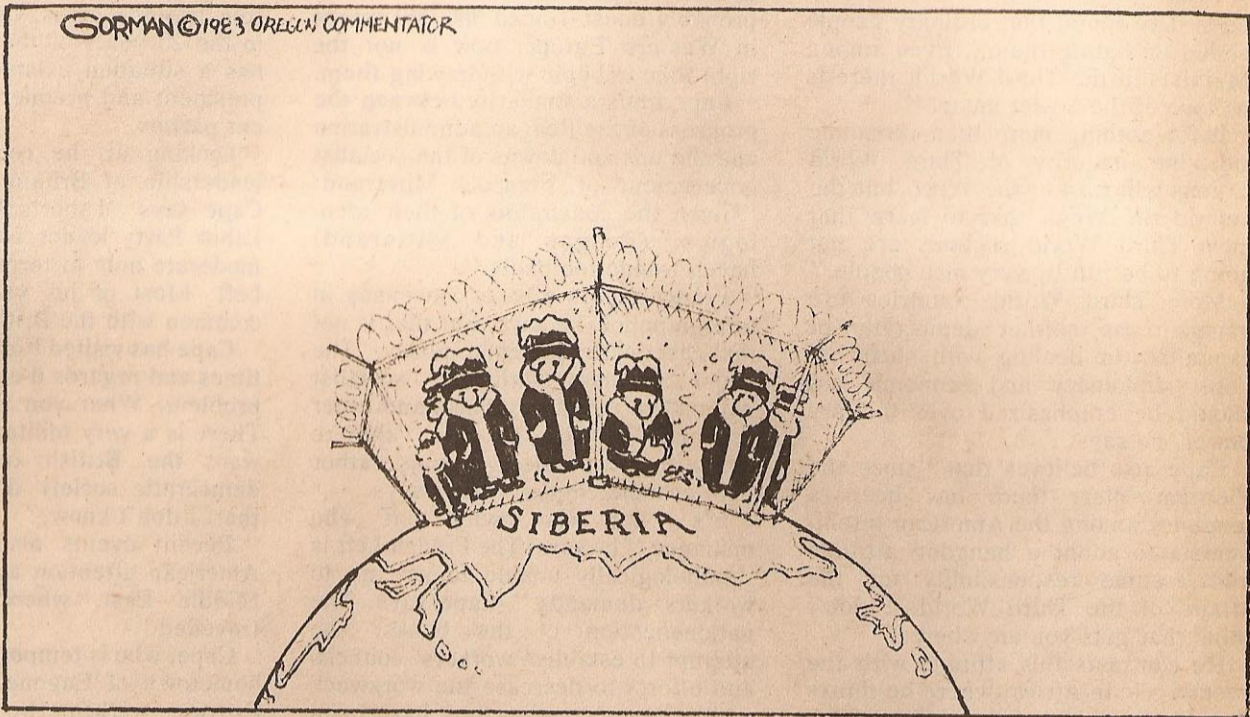
Peace studies advocates also are missing the boat because they fail to realize that human behavior is paradoxical—people wish for peace, but they also have aggressive tendencies—and that conflict is difficult to manage because conflict often is the result of irrational action that cannot be dealt with rationally. (Note the Middle East situation and the suicidal truck-bomb incident with the U.S. peace-keeping force in Beirut, Lebanon.)

Peace through disarmament advocates who dominate the peace studies movement believe human nature is basically good, but one must realize that a world that produces altruists such as Albert Schweitzer also produces Adolph Hitlers and Joseph Stalins who cannot be conciliated.

Perhaps the most disturbing part of the discussion of the peace studies program is the kindergartinish attempt by some program advocates to portray opponents as being against peace.

Of course, the freeze movement almost was worked up into a frenzy when President Ronald Reagan labeled the MX intercontinental ballistic missiles "peacemakers." The president had seized the moral high ground. But no one accused the freeze movement of being against peace for opposing Reagan's name christening.

People concerned with achieving peace could better use their energies by cutting through this hoopla and concentrating on the available areas of study.



A SOVIET-BACKED FREEZE

## LETTERS

### American failures are the rule

Dane Claussen is correct in claiming (*Oregon Commentator*, 21 November 1983) that our news media underreport the war in Afghanistan, and that our government is remiss in not supporting the Afghans. But do I detect a tone of surprise? Sad to say, such failures are the rule.

An early indication of things to come was the Collectivization Famine of 1932-33, which was deliberately caused by the Soviet government and resulted in an estimated 9 to 15 million deaths. The resistance was so disorganized that the West cannot in this case be fairly blamed for not supporting it; but nothing justified the "spiking" of the story in the media, or the decision of Western governments to ignore it (it was in 1933 that the United States granted full diplomatic recognition to Stalin's regime).

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviets invaded and annexed the western Ukraine and Bielorussia (which had been under Polish rule during the interwar period), and the countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. This time the organized resistance was impressive; it took the Soviets almost a decade to contain it. Again, the West chose to look the other way, keeping itself busy instead of rounding up several million people who had managed to escape to supposed safety during the war and returning them by force to Stalin's gulags or executioners.

A parallel case occurred in 1951, when the Peoples Republic of China invaded Tibet. The resistance movement enjoyed massive support among the Tibetans themselves, but the West, in particular the United States, gave only minimal aid, and even that ceased when the Nixon administration began its diplomatic initiative toward China.

The new American policy sent a clear signal to the vultures of the Himalayas that they could now attack Tibetans with impunity; India invaded and annexed Sikkim, and Nepal crushed the Tibetan freedom fighters in Mustang. And again the media mostly ignored the topic.

The same pattern applies even to Soviet blitzkriegs against wayward satellites. The invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 were launched only after the Soviets had received signals from Washington that American reaction would be purely rhetorical. It is possible that both countries might have been saved by our simply withholding such assurances.

If we are to judge from experience, we must acknowledge that the prospect of a powerful Marxist-Leninist state militarily crushing neighboring peoples who are no threat to it excites among the leaders of the West a consistent, predictable reaction, compounded of cowardice and cruelty. Afghanistan is no exception; indeed, the war there is better reported than either the Ukrainian-Baltic resistance or the Tibetan struggle. The American people have in such cases usually been presented with a *fait accompli* (in blitzkrieg operations), or have been kept uninformed (in protracted struggles), and have therefore been powerless to change what appears to be a permanent, bi-partisan policy of refusing aid to genuine liberation movements. Not even a supposed hawkish and anti-Soviet administration will give assistance to people fighting to preserve their freedom from Marxist-Leninist invaders. It is not too late in Afghanistan, but breaking the bad habit will not be easy.

Stephen Reynolds  
1941 E. 19th Ave.

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## Abortion: an issue of children's, women's rights

### Pro-life

By Ron E. Munion  
Contributor

A civilization ultimately should be judged by how it treats the weakest, most innocent and poorest members of its society.

Legal abortion is a perplexity. Proponents claim it's an issue of "women's rights," but it's based on suppression of the unborn child's right to live, therefore making it a civil rights issue.

On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court decided a worrisome question that had troubled the citizenry for many years. In the landmark *Dred Scott* case, the Court ruled that black people were not legal "persons" according to the U.S. Constitution. A slave was the sole property of the owner and could be bought and sold, used or even killed at the owner's discretion.

On January 22, 1973, the Court decided a similar troubling question. In the landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision, the Court ruled that unborn children weren't legal "persons" according to the Constitution. An unborn body is the property of the owner (mother) and she can have the baby killed at her discretion.

By a 7-2 vote, the Court declared

unconstitutional all state laws protecting the unborn children from abortion. Most states previously had laws limiting abortion to rare and extreme cases, usually when the mother's life was endangered.

Before the Court's decision, as early as 1795 state laws fully recognized the unborn child's personhood. Until 1973, the child's life, and even its ability to sue, inherit and qualify for Social Security benefits, were closely protected by law, regardless of the child's gestational age.

Ironically, the Court denied the unborn child's civil rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment—the same amendment that had been enacted to overturn the *Scott* decision that upheld slavery as legal. The Amendment reads:

"Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction that equal protection of the laws."

In 1857, the Court's decision was based on skin color. Today's is based literally on the living environment, for as long as children live in the wombs, they can be aborted without regard to their civil rights.

Euphemisms often are used to describe abortion and the unborn child,

and play an important part in abortion's acceptance and legalization. While these vague terms make it seem less objectionable, these cause many people to use or accept abortion unknowingly. Mothers often discover too late the scientific truth that "removal" of the "products of conception" simply means killing.

The most common reason given for abortion is mental health—97 percent mental duress; 3 percent rape, incest, deformed child, mother's life endangered—yet abortion will not cure any known mental illness and often has been proved to be psychologically harmful to the mother.

Guilt is common after abortion, and this may reflect insufficient counseling. Using broad interpretations of the mother's "health," such as mental stress, family or economic problems, the Court allows abortion until the day it's born; abortion in the six to seven and one-half month period of pregnancy is not uncommon.

Because children's rights aren't socially recognized or legally represented, their identity becomes more obscure and abortion becomes more commonplace.

International Planned Parenthood, founded by Margaret Sanger, who strongly opposed abortion, was in-

tended as an educational organization to promote the use of contraception by married couples. In 1964, Planned Parenthood stated:

"An abortion kills the life of a baby after it has begun. It is dangerous to your health and life. If you may make you sterile so that you want a child you cannot have it. Birth control merely postpones the beginning of life."

It was no accident that the Constitution's framers recognized the right to life is "unalienable" and basic to the meaning of freedom and equal protection under the law.

It's essential to the governing of pluralistic society. Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The care of human life and not its destruction...is the first and only legitimate object of good government...."

Today, however, the law has diverted from this sound concept and allowed certain individuals (unborn) to be considered "less equal" than others; this is no different than the past prejudices against black Americans, women, native Americans and others. In each instance, freedom was confused with "free choice" irrespective of the innocent who have suffered and were denied recognition of their civil rights.

### Pro-choice

By Lori Lieberman  
Guest Columnist

A woman's right to an abortion is just that—a woman's right. This has been acknowledged by the Supreme Court and those who deny that such a right exists are denying women the control of their bodies. They are attempting to impose their morality on women and compel women to bear children against their wills.

The constitutional right to an abortion stems from the general right to make personal decisions and from the right of privacy. Associate Justice Brandeis recognized this guarantee in his dissenting opinion in *Olmstead v. United States*, (1927): "They (the makers of our constitution) sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man."

In 1965, the Court relied upon the right of privacy stemming from the due process clause of the 14th amendment in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, (1965). The Court acknowledged that

such a right, implicit in our tradition of individualism and limited government, was basic enough to our society to be given constitutional dimensions.

The right to privacy also supported the decision in *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, (1972). The Court explained, "If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted government intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child."

The right progressed once more in the landmark decisions of *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and *Doe v. Bolton* (1973). "This right of privacy, whether it be founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action, as we feel it is, or, as the District Court determined, in the Ninth Amendment's reservation of rights to the people, is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

The Court determined in *Roe v. Wade* that there is a fundamental right to privacy that encompasses the pregnant women's decision to have an abortion. The right to an abortion

can only be limited by a compelling state interest that arises approximately at the end of the first trimester of pregnancy.

The *Roe v. Wade* decision attempted to strike a balance between the competing interests of the woman and the state and it did so on constitutional, not moral, grounds. The right to an abortion seems well-grounded in my eyes yet there are people who object to abortions moral grounds and who attempt to impose their morality on others.

My personal reaction to people who are anti-abortion always has been "Fine, don't have an abortion, but leave the option open to others." I'm willing to recognize that there is no overriding moral right on either side and I expect the same consideration from opponents of abortion. However, "abortion and childbirth, when stripped of the sensitive moral arguments surrounding the abortion controversy, are simply two alternative medical methods of dealing with pregnancy...." *Roe v. Norton* (1975).

Abortion before the stage of viability (somewhere during the second trimester) is not the destruction of a human being. As Garrett Hardin says, "An acorn is not an oak tree, an egg is not a hen, a human fetus is not a

human being or person. Smashing acorns is not deforestation, scrambling eggs is not gallicide." And abortion is not murder.

Hardin compares a fertilized egg to a set of blueprints for a house. By burning the blueprints to a house nothing of value is really lost. There is, of course, the potential for value as time goes on and the house is built. Analysis based on molecular biology provides the truth for this analogy in the case of the fetus.

However, if opponents of abortion get their way what will be the outcome? Compulsory pregnancies, illegal and dangerous abortions, and generations of unwanted children are likely alternatives. Little social good is achieved when pregnancy becomes a compulsory servitude rather than a voluntary choice.

The option should be left open for people to make fundamental choices about their bodies and their lives. Why should someone be denied a fundamental right just because a small group of people think they know better? This is a decision that no one can make for anyone else. Anti-abortionists shouldn't close the door on others just because it is a door that they choose not to go through.

## SPEW

"...our editorial writers will spew forth 1960s rhetoric without thinking."

Dane Claussen, Publisher  
Oregon Commentator, 10-24

Mr. Andrew Beckwith, a man with an inquiring mind, comes up with a question we admit never occurred to us:

"Assuming for the moment that the 'Commentator' is homegrown, then

why do we need another right wing campus publication?"

Oregon Daily Emerald, 11-16

Emerald readers are exposed once again to the benefits of that great institution's editorial wisdom:

"'Freeze today, fry tomorrow' is an ambiguous chant, not the sort in which the chanter's political point is simultaneously loud and obvious. . . . it would certainly be a great service to University students if the various

chanting groups on this campus, like the College Republicans, make damn sure their noisy politics are readily understood. If not, how can students knee-jerk to the left, knee-jerk to the right, or knee-jerk — if at all?" — 11-14

At the Eugene IRS office, a group of courageous young idealists defy the hellish repression of fascist America:

"As the day wore on and most of the media left, the protestors sang, chant-

ed slogans and ordered pizza." — ODE, 12-1

Professor Cheyney Ryan, philosopher, humanist and thespian, looks down his nose at his social inferiors:

"We get a certain number of doctors and businessmen types....They're the kind of people who come wearing suits and ties are almost entirely interested in cheap sex jokes. They're the most depressing people to play to." — ODE, 11-18

## Anniversary revives media negligence

By Michael Cross  
Contributor

Americans are aware of the atrocities Adolf Hitler committed against Jews. Numerous movies, docu-dramas and chapters in history books revive the tragic event. But an equally horrible occurrence took place during the 1930s, of which few Americans are even aware. No movies, no specials from Hollywood, yet suffering on an unimaginable scale existed and the victims deserve to be remembered on the 50th anniversary of the event.

The Soviet government enacted policies in 1933 that resulted in the death of more than 7 million Ukrainians. It was a planned policy of genocide with two goals: crush Ukrainian nationalism and make the Soviet Union an industrial power.

Two factors contributed to the lack of knowledge reaching the public: isolationism and a bias toward the socialist "great experiment" by much of the journalistic and intellectual community. Even historians, to borrow a phrase from Orwell's 1984, assigned the event a "memory hole"—a place where history that one would rather silence was destroyed by eliminating articles reporting the facts. This act of symbolic annihilation means the event never happened for people who don't know about it.

When English journalist Gareth Jones visited the Ukraine in 1933, he found suffering and death to be the rule. He, along with other responsible journalists, reported the information, but numerous American journalists intentionally censored these reports out of their publications so Stalin's reputation would not be damaged.

Walter Duranty of *The New York Times* was no exception. During the extermination, he claimed there were "food shortages," but any report of a famine—specifically planned—was "exaggeration" or "malignant propaganda."

Interestingly enough, Duranty later admitted that a manmade famine had occurred, and millions had died, but he did not apologize for his distortion. According to *New York Times* book critic John Chamberlain, Duranty "had betrayed his calling as a journalist."

Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Upton Sinclair wrote, "some people will say that this looks like condoning wholesale murder. That is not true; it is merely trying to evaluate a revolution. There has never been a great social change in history without killing...." Sounds like what Hitler said to justify his policies.

Dr. Myron Kuropas writes in *The Ukrainian Weekly* that journalists Max Lerner and Robert Lovett "wrote glowing accounts of Moscow's important role in defending democratic principles."

So what were the actual policies that journalistic and intellectual liberals defended, ignored or praised? Religious Studies Professor Stephen Reynolds says "food—or the lack of it—was used as a weapon against Ukrainians."

It was a policy of extermination against the peasant or kulak population. Kulaks were small acreage farmers who had obtained two cows. Hardly exploiters or wealthy landowners; after all, they only had gained their freedom from serfdom in 1861.

Reynolds points out, "the Ukraine presented a special problem. The peasants were antagonistic toward collectivization, and nationalism was growing as well. When the goals of the first Five-Year

Plan were not achieved throughout the Soviet Union, Stalin accused the Ukrainians of hoarding food and sent troops to confiscate it. Many rural peasants were left with no food. These people were allowed to die while the urban population (mainly consisting of factory workers) were rationed enough just to survive."

Red Army troops were stationed in rural areas to prevent people from escaping to regions with food. Starvation, execution and deportation to slave-labor camps squelched Ukrainian resistance.

According to Soviet statistics, the Ukrainians had produced surplus food in 1932, which alone could have fed the population for more than two years and supplied seed for planting. By taking the food and selling it abroad to gain currency for buying industrial machinery from eager American capitalists, the Soviets made about a \$6.50 profit for every one starved to death.

As the media ridicules President Ronald Reagan's policies (remember Tom Brokaw's interview with *Mother Jones*?), let us contemplate what Kuropas wrote at the close of his article:

"Fifty years later the *Ukrainian Weekly* is still warning a largely indifferent America about the perils of trusting Soviet Communists. If docudramas such as "The Holocaust," in which the USSR was portrayed as a haven for Jews feeling Nazi annihilation, and "The Winds of War," in which Stalin is depicted as a tough but benevolent leader...are any indication of current media perceptions of the Stalinist era, then the legacy of the Red Decade lives on."

Reynolds will speak about the subject Dec. 8 on Channel 11.

### Publisher's Files

## Reevaluation of college's real value needed

By Dane S. Claussen  
Publisher

University students, when asked why they are attending college, invariably will say they do so because they desire salaries and a better job they otherwise could not obtain. They took different routes to get to college (see Sean Meyers' article, *Oregon Daily Emerald*, September 28, 1982), but the goals are the same.

Students should not simply make these assumptions (that's what those reasons are based upon) and feel comfortable. Many college graduates don't obtain their claimed, primary pair of goals, and even more don't realize that what they accomplished by going to college wasn't what they set out to do, and that they didn't even know how to accomplish those goals.

What I am suggesting is that not only are there too many educated people (people who have been processed by an institution, as opposed to the knowledgeable or skilled), but that young people should be more realistic about what they get out of

college, regardless of whether such thinking alters their decisions to obtain "a little b.s."

For the tens of thousands of June graduates who still are unemployed or underemployed, they would be at least four years too late in reading *The Case Against College*, a book by Caroline Bird whose title coincidentally is nearly opposite of the headline over Meyers' article, "Making a case for college." Bird's 1975 book, albeit biased and dated, published statements by college administrators and professors one wouldn't believe they said, and is still intriguing reading for today's high school seniors, college students, and graduates.

The book in a nutshell (statements are Bird's):

The introduction: "(C)ollege professors and administrators, when pressed for a candid opinion, estimate that no more than 25 percent of the students they serve are really turned on by classwork. For the other 75 percent, college is at best a social center, a youth ghetto, an aging vat, and at worst a 'young folks (rhymes with old folks) home, a youth house

(rhymes with poorhouse), or even a prison."

On college as a means for increasing lifetime earnings: "It's a good thing for colleges that students think they are getting something more out of their educations than increased income. For if students hoped only for money, and each student had a banker with a computer at his elbow, enrollments would drop much further below expectations than they did during the enrollment recession of the mid-1970s....We concluded that in strictly financial terms, college is the dumbest investment a young man can make."

Note that this was written when college graduates were more successful in obtaining good jobs, before college costs skyrocketed, and as the earnings gap between white-collar and blue-collar workers was narrowing to where it is now (see Peter Drucker's article, *Oregon Commentator*, October 24, 1983).

On the alleged monopoly of colleges over knowledge: "Today you don't have to go to college to read the great books. You don't have to go

to college to learn about the great ideas of Western man. If you want to read Milton, or Camus, or even Margaret Mead, you can find them. In paperbacks. In the public library...."

The bottom line: "Employers, parents, and in their more candid, unofficial conversations, even the professors agree that the chief benefit of the four-year investment is not intellectual but social...."

"College is being used to get kids who look grown up out of the parental nest and into making their own decisions in a wider community more tolerable, egalitarian, and rational than the 'cold hard world' without making them earn their own living in it...."

Are these conclusions, all supported by at least some evidence, wrong because they are eight years old? Is it possible that they are more true now than then? Can you say they are baseless in your own experiences?

My own qualified answers to those questions, respectively, are "no," "yes," and "no." While you think about it, I'll be completing graduate school applications however....

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# Economists' crystal balls project more good times

By Douglas F. Green  
Contributor

It's that time of year again—everyone is running their Christmas sales and University students are settling in for "Dead Week." It's also the time when the sages are out—**The National Enquirer** or some other reliable source will predict world assassinations, a cure for cancer and the inevitable earthquake that will deliver Southern California to the sea. Often with equal accuracy, businessmen and economists will attempt to tell the country what lies ahead for the nation's pocket-books.

Assembling forecasts is a risky business. Trillion-dollar economies, billion-dollar deficits and the individual decisions of millions of businessmen and consumers are impossible to predict with pinpoint accuracy. Instead, economists turn to "macroeconomic" models that measure

major or leading indicators—such as the unemployment rate, inflation growth, the expansion of the money supply—to try to gauge both what is happening and what is about to happen. For 1984, the wonders of econometric engineering are cranking out generally good odds that this shall be a good year (i.e. a "good" year should be toasted in with something better than T.J. Swan but something less than an excellent, but too expensive wine).

1983 was a better year than expected and a great year compared to the stark times of 1982. Unemployment decreased from 10.8 percent to a more comfortable 8.8 percent. The economy, which shrank in 1982, grew at an average of almost 6 percent this year. Best of all, inflation and interest rates rose, but only moderately. The consensus among forecasters seems to be that 1984 should bring more of the same.

"The landscape is dominat-

ed by good economic news on the economic front with most of the economists projecting a continuation of the expansion through 1984," writes **Oregon Business Barometer**.

The optimism seems to stem from all that good news the country has heard about the economy.

American industry is using more of what it has—utilization of industrial capacity is up to 78.9 percent.

American industry also is expanding its abilities—capital spending is up almost 15 percent. As a result, more people are working, working longer hours and taking home more cash.

In return, workers, who in off hours become consumers, are spending more, thus sustaining the growth. The current wisdom holds that if interest rates do not rise, if inflation stays moderate and if both consumer and capital spending grow and are not "crowded out" by rising government debt, the year 1984

will see continued and perhaps sustainable growth. But it's those big "ifs" that have some worried.

As the economy leaves Christmas 1983, which is expected to be one of the most brisk ever, much will depend on how the Federal Reserve Board reacts to continued pressures to finance the huge deficit (see **Oregon Commentator**, Nov. 21). If the Fed accommodates the debt by making more money, interest rates will not climb (at least in the short run) thus allowing the needed borrowing for the recovery. However, that could be inflationary. On the other hand, if the Fed fails to meet money demand or falls too short, it may risk another recession. Either scenario means a great deal to Oregon's still-sluggish rebound.

Oregon's mainstay industry, lumber and wood, depends on the affordability of housing. Affordability depends on inflation, interest rates and income. Housing starts this year went up 71 percent as growing family incomes outpaced inflation and slowly rising interest rates to restore housing affordability, and hence the state's primary industry. If the growing economy sees more income improvement in 1984 without high inflation—as the Fed accommodates the growing credit demands of government and business—then that affordability trend will continue to lift the state back to

normal.

However, if the Fed again should fear that inflation is about to climb, it will turn off the money machines and ultimately turn off the Oregon recovery.

Most economists seem to agree on two things. First, the Fed, though frustrated with Congressional inaction on the budget, probably will not wish to be villanized again as recession starters and will be content to allow the money supply to grow, letting Congress take the heat if and/or when inflation begins to perk.

Second, even if the Fed fully accommodates those big projected credit needs, inflation still may be more than a year away because the economy still is climbing from a deep hole.

Whatever happens in the year to come, Oregon will remain at the mercy of outside cyclical forces. The state still is dependent on the lumber industry—an industry that depends on healthy national economic growth to function at "normal" levels. In the words of Governor Vic Atiyeh, "...Oregon catches pneumonia every time the country catches the flu."

(Writer's hunch: A strong first quarter, mild second and third, but a flat fourth. Unemployment will decline slowly to 7.9 percent as inflation climbs to 6 percent, but there will be gloom in the fourth quarter when the first signs of new inflation are seen.)

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## Fanny and Alexander fitting finale for Bergman

By Michael Rust  
Assistant Editor

Ingmar Bergman has said *Fanny and Alexander* (now playing at the Bijou) will be his last theatrical film. If so, the great Swedish director has chosen to leave movie audiences in a manner both appropriate and paradoxical.

It's appropriate because *Fanny and Alexander* is clearly in many ways a recapitulation of Bergman's career. Bergman utilizes many individuals who have worked with him before, and the symbolism and visual expertise are of the same high quality that audiences have come to expect from him.

At the same time, if this is Bergman's last feature film, his exit isn't typical of the kind of brooding

meditation on death, faith and despair that many associate with his work.

The film opens in the home of the Ekdahls, where grandmother Helena, the matriarch of the brood, is overseeing the preparations for Christmas, 1907. Helena has three sons. Oscar manages the city theater, in which both he and his beautiful wife, Emilie, perform. They have two children: Alexander, 10, and Fanny, 8. The young boy is obviously representing the young Ingmar—he is a dreamy boy who enjoys playing with his puppet theater and magic lantern.

The second son is Carl, a professor whose only apparent talents are for drinking, alternately berating and apologizing to his German-born wife, and snuffing out Christmas candles by what used to be called breaking wind. The third son, Gustave Adolf, operates

the restaurant adjoining the theater, but his principle avocation seems to be philandering, particularly with Maj, the pretty new chambermaid.

The Christmas celebration of the Ekdahls is beautiful and lavish. It becomes apparent rather quickly that Sven Nykvist's skills in cinematography have not diminished one iota.

The other major character is Isak, who the audience first sees at the Ekdahls' Christmas celebration. He is a Jewish antique dealer and moneylender who was once Helena's lover. He has two nephews, one of whom, Ismael, is kept under lock and key for alleged madness and what later turns out to be quite potent psychic powers.

The film has several currents flowing through it. It is the story of the Ekdahl family. It is also a sometimes excursion into mysticism; it also is an

examination of the relationship between art—here called "the little world"—and reality—"the big world."

The "little world" also is identified with the family as a haven against the forces of the outside world. This is sometimes dealt with at painful length, particularly in the closing speech by Gustave, which is basically an overly long exposition of existentialist cliché.

However, there are enough excellent moments throughout the long film (more than three hours) to keep the audience enthralled.

The real honors belong to Bergman and Nykvist. This is the most expensive Swedish film ever produced, but it has provided them with a fine vehicle to display their talents. If this is their last feature collaboration, it's a suitable one go out on.

## University Theatre's 'Cat' production a winner

By Tamy Riggs  
Associate Editor

Tennessee Williams wrote, "There is nothing more determined than a cat on a hot tin roof." That line, one of the last spoken in Williams' masterpiece, "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof," just about tells its own story.

University Theatre has brought Williams' work to life. "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" opened Thursday in the Robinson Theatre. The story of Maggie the Cat (Enid Clarke) and her interaction with the rich Southern Pollitt family is one of desperation,

determination, disgust and interesting brands of love.

Director Robert Barton brings together a fine cast in his production. The group maintains the image of a genteel Southern family, yet displays the rottenness underneath the superficiality.

Clarke gives a magnificent performance as The Cat determined to stay on that hot tin roof until things cool down to her liking. Maggie is a woman of many qualities—at first glance, she seems a vicious, deprived woman with few redeeming qualities. But as the story progresses, one sees the reason

for her behavior—she's motivated by love and desire for her husband, Brick (Eric Johnson), the favorite Pollitt son. To Maggie's chagrin, Brick doesn't return her love and instead treats her with contempt, maintaining a marriage in name only.

Big Daddy (Joel Morello), the patriarch of the Pollitt clan, is a bull of a man determined to enjoy his twilight years to the fullest, but he is deprived of that pleasure by a cancer that soon will render him lifeless. As his family lies to hide the truth from him, he grows stronger until Brick, himself only half alive, lets the truth out. The

collapse of the bull to a shrieking, shrinking old man is captured beautifully by Morello.

Creating facades—an actor's forte—are all the Pollitt family seems to be able to do. When confronted with any truths, a breakdown occurs.

The illusion of dreaminess is carried through in the color scheme of the production. The actors dress in white, ivory and rusty pastels, and white billowy curtains around the set lend a cloudy, misty appearance.

The show continues this weekend on Thursday, Friday and Saturday at 8 p.m. For ticket information, call the box office at 686-4191.

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