

VIEWPOINT

THE BATTALION
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

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Nixon's folly

Richard Nixon's first major public speaking appearance since his resignation from the presidency in disgrace left us with only sadness. It would be folly, we believe, for Nixon to misread the reaction from that hand-picked, select crowd that turned out to hear him speak at Hyden, Ky.

The American people have not forgotten that on the whole he debased the presidency as no president before him. There is no chance that Nixon will ever be accepted in the role of an elder statesman, whose counsel and advice are eagerly sought on national and world issues.

That carefully-selected crowd of 4,000 whooping, foot-stomping Nixon hard-core followers in the mountains of Kentucky last Sunday certainly is not representative of the vast majority of Americans who have not forgotten this country's long night that was experienced during the ordeal of Watergate.

Wheeling (W.Va.) News-Register

Guessing what's on Carter's mind

By DAVID S. BRODER

WASHINGTON — A most disquieting description of the way in which foreign policy is made in the Carter administration was given last week, not by one of the President's external critics, but by a Carter political appointee whose work gives him first-hand knowledge of the process.

The official in question was talking to a group of reporters under ground rules that prevent any of us from using his name. He was asked a question about the instructions Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had given for his Geneva meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on the strategic-arms limitation treaty.

"WE DON'T KNOW," he said. That was surprising, because the discussion was taking place at mid-day last Monday and Vance was scheduled to leave early the next morning for talks on the most important issue in U.S.-Soviet relations.

The explanation, the official said, was that the President's special coordination committee on arms control, a part of the National Security Council apparatus, had met the previous week (without the President, who was vacationing at Camp David) and had sent him alternative policy options. But the papers had not reached the President until the weekend, and on Monday his reply was still being awaited.

While the specific circumstances of this situation were unique, the official said, there were four general characteristics of the Carter presidency that made it anything but unusual for senior officials to be unaware, on the eve of major negotiations, of what the Chief Executive wanted done.

— First, unlike most of his predecessors, back to Harry Truman, Carter has not clearly designated a single center for foreign policy decision-making outside the Oval Office. There is no one with authority

approaching that exercised in the past by a George Marshall, a Dean Acheson, a John Foster Dulles or a Henry Kissinger.

Rather, authority has been divided among Vance, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, with U.N. ambassador Andrew Young, arms control negotiator Paul Warnke, trade negotiator Robert Strauss and Secretary of the Treasury W. Michael Blumenthal having a major voice on some of the international issues as well.

Vance has been asserting himself lately, the official said, but he has not been able to pull together the authority that Carter deliberately subdivided.

— SECOND, CARTER'S APPROACH to decision-making has tended to inhibit these officials from doing much politicking among themselves to build support for a

particular decision. The inhibitions are weakening, the official said approvingly, but most of its 18 months in office, the administration's senior foreign policy officials have been reluctant to lobby, each other, or to use the techniques of backscratching and persuasion needed to push the President in a particular policy direction. The Carter administration has been as non-political internally as it has in its external dealings with Congress, the interest groups and other external power-centers.

— Third, there has been a similar inhibition on carrying any internal arguments to the point of bureaucratic bloodletting, the official said. There are as many policy disagreements within this administration as is normal, but Carter inhibits full-scale personal or bureaucratic war. The advantage is that there is less personal venom inside the

Carter administration than is usual.

But on the other hand, he said, since no one ever feels the deep cuts of defeat in the battle for the President's mind, there is never any real certainty among those who prevail about how final any particular policy victory may prove to be.

— Fourth and finally, this official said, Carter, unlike most other politicians, feels no great need to "harmonize" all his policy ideas and puts no great stock in consistency. Rather, he is quite comfortable in holding simultaneously to strongly conflicting notions and in allowing others to see that he changes his mind about which ideas to make predominant at any given moment.

This is, the official said, linked to Carter's habit of looking on foreign policy, not from the perspective of a diplomat seeking to mediate intractable and long-term international rivalries, but rather from the viewpoint of an engineer seeking through experiment to find the right solution which will dispose of the problem.

AS A RESULT of this rather unusual way of making policy, Carter frequently leaves even his most senior advisors uncertain until the last moment where he is going to come down on a question. Not surprisingly, the official said, when the word does come down from the President, there is often a last-minute scramble to adjust plans to his command, or to persuade him to alter the just-completed decision.

There has been abundant evidence available to reporters and other outside of Carter's handling major domestic issues — from energy policy to urban policy — in this fashion. To hear, from the lips of one of his own foreign policy officials, that the most sensitive international issues are handled in much the same way is, to put it mildly, unsettling.

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U.S. playing 'shell game' with missiles

By ROBERT KAYLOR

WASHINGTON — Perplexed Pentagon planners, puzzled over how to deal with a force of 6,000 Soviet missile warheads in the 1980s, have devised several schemes, including a "shell game," to hide U.S. strategic weapons from the Russians.

The "shell game" approach includes hiding each U.S. intercontinental missile in one of as many as 20 holes in the ground, and a plan to move the ICBMs on tracks in 13-mile underground tunnels. But some of the plans could hit snags during Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Others that seem acceptable under SALT may not work.

Such questions caused President Carter last year to put off deciding how to counter-act the growing accuracy and numbers of Soviet warheads. By 1982 they will threaten U.S. Minuteman ICBMs, even in their blast-resistant underground

silos. The Soviets are expected to have around 6,000 warheads in the mid-1980s.

A decision is now set for October, but defense sources say a final choice still may not be possible then.

Military

U.S. military planners say there's little likelihood such nuclear weapons as nuclear-armed ICBMs with their power to wreak unimaginable destruction would ever be used. Their very existence is supposed to be a deterrent to war, but to do that the warheads themselves must be able to survive an attack without warning. All the schemes now being considered

would do that by using "mobile" or moveable bases for missiles. In Pentagon jargon it's called MAP, for "multiple aim point."

The aim is to keep Soviet spy satellites from finding exactly where the U.S. ICBMs are, so the Soviets would have to use all 6,000 warheads in an attack with no assurance of success. Gen. Lew Allen, Air Force chief of staff, calls it "designing a great sponge to catch all these warheads."

The tunnel plan appeared workable under SALT and was the Pentagon's No. 1 choice until tests raised doubts whether it would give enough protection. It also could be costly, running as high as \$30 billion.

Extra holes or "silos" in the ground are now the favorite plan. They would not have the heavy protection of Minuteman silos and the cost would be perhaps \$20 billion or less. Advocates say if the Soviets built still more warheads it would be fairly cheap to add a few more holes and thus keep the

safety factor.

But this scheme has SALT problems since every hole could serve as a missile launcher. U.S. sources say Secretary of State Cyrus Vance sounded the Russians out on it last week in the Geneva SALT talks.

There would have to be a means of verifying that extra missiles weren't being sneaked in. Allen says this is possible by periodically opening up "X" number of holes to show there's been no cheating. But if the Russians built a similar system, they might not be so cooperative.

At least two other schemes are under consideration. One recently offered by Defense Secretary Harold Brown's Defense Science Board, would put missiles on special truck-type launchers that would either keep moving on regular highways or on special road systems. But high costs could knock this plan out of the running.

Slouch

by Jim Earle



"IT SORTA SMARTED WHEN I GOT UNDER TH' PRESS, BUT IT'S MUCH COOLER IN THE LONG RUN!"

Outlaw skivvies

By DICK WEST

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court having ended its 1977-78 session with such a flourish (by handing down a decision on the "seven dirty words" case), many citizens are wondering what the justices could possibly do for an encore.

Well, there's nothing definite on this yet, but it's quite likely that by the time the court meets again next fall it will have on the docket a case involving seven dirty T-shirts.

Although the older media still are more pervasive, T-shirts are moving rapidly into the front ranks of communications. I know I've spent more time this summer watching T-shirts than I have watching television, and I suspect I'm not far from average.

Without making any indvidious comparisons, I would say that both pictorially and verbally T-shirts come close to the cultural level of summer television fare.

It is, however, an unfortunate fact that much of the material seen on T-shirts is X-rated — or at the least calls for parental guidance.

I feel certain even before a test case arises that the Supreme Court will rule that T-shirts are protected by the First Amendment. Nevertheless, certain factors make one wonder whether this newest form of mass communication shouldn't be subject to some type of regulation.

For one thing, dirty T-shirts are worn indiscriminately and thus appear in public places at times when children may be watching.

It may be argued, of course, that the nasty-minded owners of lewdly inscribed skivvies have a right to express their sexual proclivities, peculiarities and perversions freely and openly.

It also may be argued, however, that other citizens have a right not to be exposed to their vulgar affirmations.

Just as freedom of information is a right to be cherished, equally precious is the right of freedom from information.

If people insist on flaunting what should be private details about their sordid habits, I shall insist with equal vigor that such data

The Lighter Side

not be dumped on me.

There are some things about strangers that I desire not to know, and I shall defend to the death my right not to know them.

The best approach might be that taken by the anti-smoking lobby.

Just as we now have smoke-free areas on airplanes and certain other public places, some government agency could establish smut-free zones where dirty T-shirts would be prohibited. Surely the Supreme Court would uphold such a limited restriction.

For if the constitutional guarantee of free speech doesn't include the right to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater, neither does it sanction bawdy bosom banter across the front of a crowded T-shirt.

TOP OF THE NEW STATE

Transsexual sues Air Force

A transsexual civil service worker at Kelly Air Force Base, Antonio is suing for \$50,000, claiming officials will not allow her to dress as a female during working hours. Dorothy Parker, who identified herself as a transsexual, said physicians and psychologists at the University of Health Science Center had instructed her to undergo hormone therapy in preparation for a sex change operation in the center's gender dysphoria program. "Air Force officials prohibited Parker from wearing female attire on grounds that 'this mode of dress and appearance would contribute to a nonproductive or disorganized work environment.'"

NATION HUD falls short

In a self-examining report, the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington said it has failed in its responsibility to provide housing and community development assistance in rural areas. The new report, issued by HUD's Task Force on Rural Non-Metropolitan Areas, concluded that rural America, where the greatest need for housing and development aid, was not getting assistance from HUD that it should.

Rape law unconstitutional

A Honolulu circuit court judge has ruled Hawaii's statute on rape unconstitutional because it punishes men who have sex with women under 14 but not women who have sex with boys under 14. A prosecutor said his office would appeal the decision by Judge Doi because young girls need more protection. Doi struck down the law Friday in dismissing three counts against Franklin Sasagawa, who cited a federal appeals court ruling that a similar New Hampshire law violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution.

Stapleton protests

Evangelist Ruth Carter Stapleton said she had lost much speaking engagements in the wake of a Newsweek magazine article which she claims misquoted her, causing "the most devastating experience of my life." Stapleton, the sister of President Carter, said the article contained a total of 21 errors, which she claims she rarely goes to church except to conduct a workshop that she daily talks with Larry Flynt, the paralyzed publisher of Pentecost magazine.

Beef prices down

Summer shoppers stocking up on fresh vegetables and fruit economically add beef to their lists because retail prices in many areas have dropped from June levels, the National Cattlemen's Association said Tuesday. "After rising during most of the first six months of the year, beef prices decreased in late June and early July," NCA President Richard McDougal said. "Beef prices go down as supply up. And the past few weeks have been one of those times when prices have declined."

House to aid Vet loans

The House wants to make it far easier for Vietnam-era veterans to get government-backed home loans. The House unanimously passed a bill Monday reducing the qualification requirements and boosting the maximum guarantees for home loans. Veterans Administration chief Max Cleland estimated an additional 165,000 Vietnam-era veterans would be eligible for guaranteed loans if the bill is passed by the Senate and becomes law.

WORLD

First chess game a draw

The first game in the world chess championship between Anatoly Karpov of the Soviet Union and challenger Viktor Korchnoi, a Russian defector, ended in a draw in Baguio, Philippines Tuesday. Karpov, who had offered to play the match in Manila, accepted only 18 moves. World champion Karpov offered the draw and Korchnoi angrily accepted. Karpov apparently was pleased with the draw, and stayed on at the championship site to discuss the match with Philippine chess officials. But Korchnoi, who had been by the most outgoing of the two until Tuesday, angrily stalked out of the hall.

Weizman may have torn poster

Israeli newspapers reported Tuesday that Defense Minister Ariel Sharon tore up a peace poster outside the office of Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Tel Aviv and declared that some people in government do not want peace at all. Government sources said Weizman was not quoted correctly but they did not deny that he had ripped the large, pale blue poster off a wall and shredded it in the presence of a few other ministers and employees.

Cuba suffers combat losses

Cuban forces have suffered as many as 1,400 combat deaths in African fighting, the Washington Star reported Tuesday. Quoted senior U.S. intelligence official, Star reporter Jeremiah O'Leary said 1,000 Cuban soldiers have been killed in Angola and 400 deaths in fighting involving Ethiopia and Somalia. In addition, the Star reported, three or four times that many Cubans were wounded or reported missing. If this rate continues, O'Leary reported, one of every 10 of the 40,000 Cuban troops said to be serving in Africa can expect to become a casualty.

WEATHER

Partly cloudy and hot today and tomorrow. High today near 100, low tonight mid-70s. High tomorrow near 100. Wind from the south at 10-15 mph.

THE BATTALION

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