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Zweig Discusses Mission to Iran

by Jesse London and Ray Katz

Economics professor Michael Zweig, a 13 year veteran of Stony Brook's academia, has been politically active since the early days of the radical SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). Some of Zweig's most recent work has been with the Committee to Send Back the Shah, and his efforts with this organization resulted in an invitation from the Confederation of Iranian students to visit Iran on a "fact-finding mission."

Zweig spent January 28 to February 5 touring Iran, along with James Cockcroft, a Rutgers University Sociology professor, and his artist-photographer wife Eva.

Zweig returned with documents of United States involvement with the Shah, and a wealth of information on the people of Iran. Between a press conference and an address to the Stony Brook campus last Thursday, Zweig took time to discuss his findings and observations with The Stony Brook Press.

PRESS: What did you find out about the hostages?

ZWEIG: We were told by the students in the embassy that the hostages are being treated well and that they are no longer bound. They eat a solid lunch every day, they get exercise, they get sunlight every day. They can read whatever they want to read. We asked (the students) if (the hostages) were organized into "study sessions"—a brainwashing kind of idea.

And the answer was "no." They have available to them all kinds of things, not just Islamic materials. We asked (the students) whether they planned to try the hostages, in particular the people they are convinced are CIA agents. They said "no," that was only a last resort. They said, "If we try them we find them guilty because they are. If we find them guilty then we have to execute them because that's what the law says. If we execute them, it's very bad. We don't want to do that."

I believe that Carter wants the hostages released on November 2. Election day is November 4. That'll give people time to find out about it but not enough time to ask any questions as to how did all this happen in the first place.

PRESS: Suppose the hostages are released tomorrow. Where do you think the U.S. will stand with Iran?

ZWEIG: It depends on what terms they're released and it depends on this Carter doctrine. I think it's a very serious thing President Carter said in his State of the Union Message. He said that those countries are ours. The Iranian government is not going to play ball with that. They just fought a revolution to resolve that question. I think that we have very much in our interest as a people, as American people, to see to it that that kind of an outlook on the part of our government

Continued on page 2

On the Inside

Documents reveal plans to admit Shah
_____page 2

Benny Andrews' exhibit at Fine Arts
_____page 6

"Pierre Patelin" reviewed _____page 7

Stony Brook's world track champion
_____page 8



Andrew's "Circle"

Press/Melissa Spielman

Commoner Plugs Citizens Party at SB

by Melissa Spielman

Accusing the two major political parties of avoiding issues vital to the United States, professor, environmentalist and author Barry Commoner told a Stony Brook audience Saturday that the newly formed Citizens Party, of which he is chief spokesman, will deal with those issues head-on.

"The time has come for the country to at least debate taking control out of the hands of the big corporations," Commoner asserted before an attentive capacity crowd in the Union auditorium. "I think it's time now to call the bluff on the two parties."

The Citizens Party contends that the Democrats and Republicans avoid the issue of nationalizing large companies because they receive funding and support from business. Roy Murphy, the party's Stony Brook coordinator, said, "We don't take grants from corporations—we're funded by individuals and foundations."

In addition to a hard anti-corporate line, the Citizens Party calls for an end to nuclear power, decreased military spending, guaranteed jobs, support for human rights throughout the world, stable prices, conservation, and solar energy.

The party was started by political activists who, according to Commoner, realized that more than protests was needed to change the country. "We've got to go beyond protest," he asserted. "We've got to go for political power."

The party is very young; its formation was first publicly announced last June. By the beginning of January there were chapters in 32 states, and a New York chapter was added in mid-January. Although they plan to run a presidential candidate in the next election, party members view this mainly as a means of getting support. "This next campaign is going to get us publicity and support," said Murphy, "so in 1982 we can run state and local candidates, and run a president in 1984."

The nominee for the 1980 election will be chosen by state delegates at a national convention in Cleveland in mid-April. No one has yet announced candidacy, but Commoner has been busily spreading the word of the party on the lecture and television circuits, and Ward Leo, Co-chair



Barry Commoner addressing a Stony Brook audience.

of the New York chapter, said, "I'm sure he will run for the candidacy."

The 62-year-old Commoner, director of the Washington University Research Institute, is known for several books including *The Poverty of Power* and *The Politics of Energy*, and for his long involvement in the anti-nuclear movement. Nuclear energy was a major topic of his Stony Brook speech, which was sponsored by Science For the People and ENACT. (The speech will be broadcast over WUSB, 90.1 FM, 8 PM tomorrow.) He told the audience

that despite reports to the contrary—including statements by President Carter—68 out of the 72 nuclear plants operating in the United States could be shut down immediately without affecting service. He also stated, "There will never be another nuclear power plant built in the United States...it's just too politically difficult."

Commoner tied nuclear power, the decaying railroad system, the slipping economy, and other ills with the dominance of big business. "The major decisions that govern how we use our resources, how we produce our goods, what the conditions of work are—that governance is in the hands of the big corporations, and they determine it simply in terms of their own self-interest and maximizing their profit without regarding its effect on the rest of the country." The party's solution is nationalization. Commoner did not make clear the extent of public control sought, although he did indicate that small businesses such as "the corner candy store" could remain private.

By contrast, the party's foreign policy seems less developed. Commoner's discussion of foreign affairs came mainly during his criticism of Carter. The President "threatened war for his own political ambitions," Commoner said disparagingly, explaining that the United States could not protect the Persian Gulf oil with military force. "Every military expert knows that oil fields are vulnerable to any kind of military attack," he said. Commoner opposes registration, the Olympic boycott, and arming the Middle East, which he compares to "putting guns in a tinderbox."

Commoner also attacked Carter's handling of Iran. "Three years ago, Carter praised the Shah as a bulwark of democracy," he said, adding that if the President had publicized the files on CIA intervention in Iran, the hostages would have been released immediately. And as for Afghanistan, Commoner said that the Soviets chose to invade at this time because "They had a political opportunity...we had put ourselves in the insane position of supporting despots in the Middle East."

Murphy reported, "We're finding support among trade

Continued on page 3

Professor Denounces Imperialism



Ayatollah Khomeini returning from exile last year.

is ended as soon as possible. Bani Sadr is being touted all over the U.S. as a big friend of America. Bani-Sadr is a big friend of the Iranian people. And to think that the man, because he is an enemy of the Soviet Union, that therefore he's the same as Brzezinski, and he's ready to sit down and do business on American terms, is completely wrong. The longer the U.S. persists in that self-deception, the longer it's going to be that Iran will not be able to play the proper role that it should play in opposition to the Soviet Union.

PRESS: Do you think the Soviet Union represents a threat to Iran, and if so, how might Iran cope with it?

ZWEIG: I think the Soviet Union today represents the principle threat to Iranian independence.

PRESS: Not the U.S.?

ZWEIG: Not the U.S. The U.S. represents a threat, that's true. The U.S. would like to get into Iran. The U.S. is extremely exposed and its operations are very exposed, and its friends within Iran are very exposed. It's going to be very difficult for the U.S. to reassert itself in a way that endangers Iranian independence. The Soviet Union is not exposed. The Soviet Union presents itself as a friend of the people, fighting against U.S. imperialism. But it is itself an imperialist power that's trying to come in on the backs of the people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and re-enslave them to their own (USSR's) way of doing things.

PRESS: As a Marxist, how do you draw the line between spreading the Socialist revolution, and self-serving imperialism? ZWEIG: First of all, the dividing line question is, do you respect the independence of other countries? You can say spread socialist revolution and support and give aid to socialist revolution—that's one thing—but respecting the independence and integrity of other people and other peoples' countries, that is a cardinal principle. And that's been violated in Cambodia, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Cuba, it's violated all over the world. The Soviet Union does not respect those other countries' independence. And so, I would say it's not a socialist country, it's not spreading socialism. It's in the cover of spreading socialism, in fact, spreading its own imperialism. In a way, this is very similar to what the U.S. did in the early days of its own empire—we spread democracy.

PRESS: How can Iran cope with the threat?

ZWEIG: The first element of coping with it is to recognize that it exists. Here's a concrete foreign policy problem, for example: Soviet Union invades Afghanistan, Pakistan calls for a

conference of all Islamic nations to come to Islamabad in Pakistan and condemn the Soviet Union. What do you do? Do you go to the conference or not? According to the

'... the independence and integrity of other people is a cardinal principle. And that's been violated ... all over the world.'

students at the embassy you don't go to the conference because that's a diversion from the real struggle, which is a fight against U.S. imperialism.

According to Mr. Bani-Sadr, and according to Khomeini, you go. I think that's good. Incidentally, Bani-Sadr says that he's perfectly ready to work with the U.S. government. He doesn't want to completely isolate Iran from the U.S. All he wants is independence. All he wants is respect and treatment of equality. And that's another way to deal with an enemy. You look around and you say "let's amass all the forces that you can put together" and unite those forces to deal with that common central problem. But the U.S. has to be ready to do that on the basis of really respecting equality, because if it doesn't do it on that basis and tries to sneak back in and dominate, like the "Carter doctrine," that's counterproductive. That's not going to work.

PRESS: What changes would you recommend in American diplomacy in the Muslim world?

ZWEIG: I would say that the United States should recognize the independence of those countries, not seek to dominate them, not consciously and explicitly disavow the history of that domination. And it should disavow the Carter doctrine.

PRESS: And isolate ourselves?

ZWEIG: I don't think that would isolate ourselves. The U.S. should send arms to the rebels in Afghanistan. If Carter was really serious about dealing with the Soviet threat, why is he giving up Afghanistan? There are plenty of rebels in Afghanistan and there were these stories in the paper about the rebels. What the rebels said is, "we don't need tents and blankets. We need guns. Give us guns." Why doesn't the U.S. give them guns?

PRESS: There are many factions in Iran, but one, the Kurds, are famous for their long struggle for independence. Do you think they have a right to independence or at least greater representation in the government?

ZWEIG: I don't really know about the situation in Kurdistan. I would say, from what little I do know, that they do have the right to self determination. But I don't think that's a proper policy at this point.

From what I understand, the way that Mr. Bani-Sadr wants to resolve that situation is to grant Kurdistan and other minority regions autonomy within an integrated united Iran. That is easier said than done. But that is the overall strategic orientation that I believe will successfully resolve the problem. If you cut it loose and say, "okay, you're your own country" it carves up the area, and it makes it more difficult for those regions to survive as independent entities.

PRESS: Iran offered one day's oil revenues to the Kurds to stop their rebellion. How do you feel about that?

ZWEIG: It's not just a question of revenue, although I wouldn't pooh-pooh the question of revenue. It's really a question of recognizing the national differences and allowing these nationalities to go their own way within the boundaries of a certain unity against the common enemies they face.

PRESS: Who formed the Committee to Send the Shah Back and what are its goals?

ZWEIG: That was formed by Americans, immediately after the Shah came to the United States. In November (1979) the hostages were taken and then the situation got very ugly. There were attacks on Iranian students, even here at Stony Brook. The Iranians have pointed out to us that more Iranians have been murdered in

injured, let alone killed, in Iran...in that period of time. Iranian students have been shot in the streets in California, in Texas, and killed. So we formed this committee to take up three questions: number one, the return of the Shah and all of his wealth to Iran. Because simple justice calls for that.

PRESS: What's he worth?

ZWEIG: I don't really know, but I understand it's in the billions and I wouldn't doubt it.

PRESS: Was he an embezzler?

ZWEIG: An embezzler and a thief and a grafter and a corrupt element and all the rest of it. The second point of the committee's program is to defend Iranian students in the U.S. against attacks. Whether it's deportation or unjust attacks by the government, or attacks from people going wild and reactionaries shooting them down in the streets. The third element of the thing is to oppose any U.S. military intervention or sanctions against the Iranian people.

PRESS: You've called for an investigation into U.S. policy in Iran. What do you hope this will accomplish?

ZWEIG: We hope it will get the facts and the truth of the matter out. And if the Americans have that, then they'll be richer for it and be able to help to influence policy and affairs of state and evaluate political candidates and do whatever else they have to do in order to get a more favorable and just foreign policy.

PRESS: What facts do you want uncovered?

ZWEIG: The facts of the history of the Shah, who this guy is, what kind of criminal the guy really is, what the complicity of the U.S. government has in the history of the Shah and his policies.

PRESS: Since 1953?

ZWEIG: Since '52, '53, yes. Since

the United States since the taking of the hostages than Americans have been

Plan to Admit Shah Revealed in Documents

by Jesse London

Top secret and "secret-sensitive" classified documents obtained by Michael Zweig, James Cockcroft and Eva Cockcroft during their eight day fact finding mission to Iran earlier this month have disclosed that plans to admit Mohammed Reza Pahlavi into the U.S. were being discussed as early as last summer, before his illness.

One document which escaped shredding during the embassy takeover, drafted at the U.S. State Department on August 1, is headed "Planning for the Shah to Come to The United States." It addresses the question of the Shah's admission to the country, which was under consideration by the Carter Administration at the time, and outlines some alternatives for the U.S. to "justify" letting the Shah in. "The new (Iranian) government may not like it, but it is best to get the issue out of the way," stated the text.

When it was learned that the Shah was ill, Bruce Laingen, Charge d'Affaires at the American Embassy, wrote to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on September 30, "It would presumably make our own position here more defensible if we were seen to admit him under demonstrably humanitarian considerations." That, in fact, was the reason given when the Shah was later brought here.

The documents, which were seized by the Iranian students who took over the embassy in Teheran, also refer to suggestions from the State Department that the U.S. government provide additional security for the American Embassy and its staff in anticipation of Iranian backlash upon the Shah's admittance to this country.

A memorandum to Laingen from Henry Precht, Director of the State Department Office of Iranian Affairs, notes that "...the danger of hostages being taken (at the U.S. Embassy) in Iran will persist."

This document was drafted on August 2. The embassy was siezed on November 4. No steps had been taken on the part of the U.S. government to secure the embassy or strengthen its guard force.

Henry Precht could not be reached for comment. A spokesperson at the Iranian Desk in the State Department said that statements would not be made until the "situation is resolved." The spokesperson reiterated the official position that there were no plans to allow the Shah into the U.S. before his illness, and that he was admitted "for medical treatment only."

Upon returning to the U.S. with the embassy documents, and other information obtained by speaking with various Iranian officials and citizens, Zweig and the Cockcrofts drafted a report calling for a "public investigation into the ... history of U.S.-Shah relations."

"We think a cover-up is going on," they reported.

At a press conference on February 7, the delegation called for inquiry by "congress or citizens, with powers of subpoena and, if need be, a special prosecutor." They proposed investigation into such areas as: the Shah's illness; additional security for the embassy; and visa privileges for Iranians hinging upon willingness to "provide information."

Early this week, a United Nations inquiry commission was formed to look into Iran's grievances. Zweig commented, "We'll see what the content of it is. I hope the U.S. will co-operate and that it is a full investigation into the history of relations between the two countries."

After Fact-Finding Visit to Iran

Mossadagh. Even when Mossadagh was in power in '52 (there were) plots at that time under Truman to overthrow and get rid of him. So the Shah says, "You try me, you try seven American presidents."

PRESS: That's why, even if there is an investigation, it might not go as far as you want. The American government doesn't want to incriminate itself that way.

ZWEIG: That's true, the American government doesn't. But the American people deserve the truth and if you're going to talk about what is the American policy that's necessary at this point it seems to me that one aspect of that policy is that we have to turn away from that whole history and say we aren't going to do that any more. Because we can't do it any more. Of course David Rockefeller would love to keep doing it, but his fingers are

maintain independence from superpower manipulation?

ZWEIG: It's a very iffy situation. Iran faces many, many difficulties. Almost no countries have done what they're trying to do. You can name very few countries that have really managed to maintain independence in this world. We could talk about Yugoslavia, the Peoples' Republic of China, maybe Romania, and then you're basically done with the list...So what the Iranian people are trying to do is extremely exciting. I don't know what their prospects are. I would think that in part depends upon what we do here in this country—what the American people do to support that thing.

PRESS: What has been the reaction to your call for an investigation? Does the press—

and they're not being fired, they're being hired. Because the government is not cracking down, there's a freedom of expression. There's almost 2 million new titles that have been published in Iran since the revolution. People are translating books of all types which are freely available on the streets. That's not anything I'd seen before. I got exactly the opposite impression (from the press). Also, on western television you get the impression of complete chaos. It's just not like that.

PRESS: Do you think we should send guns to the Afghan rebels?

ZWEIG: Absolutely. We should arm them to the teeth. They're fighting 100,000 Soviet troops with most sophisticated weaponry. The Soviet Union has more stuff than they need. That's a war game for them. That's

Poland.

PRESS: Do you think those examples are applicable to today?

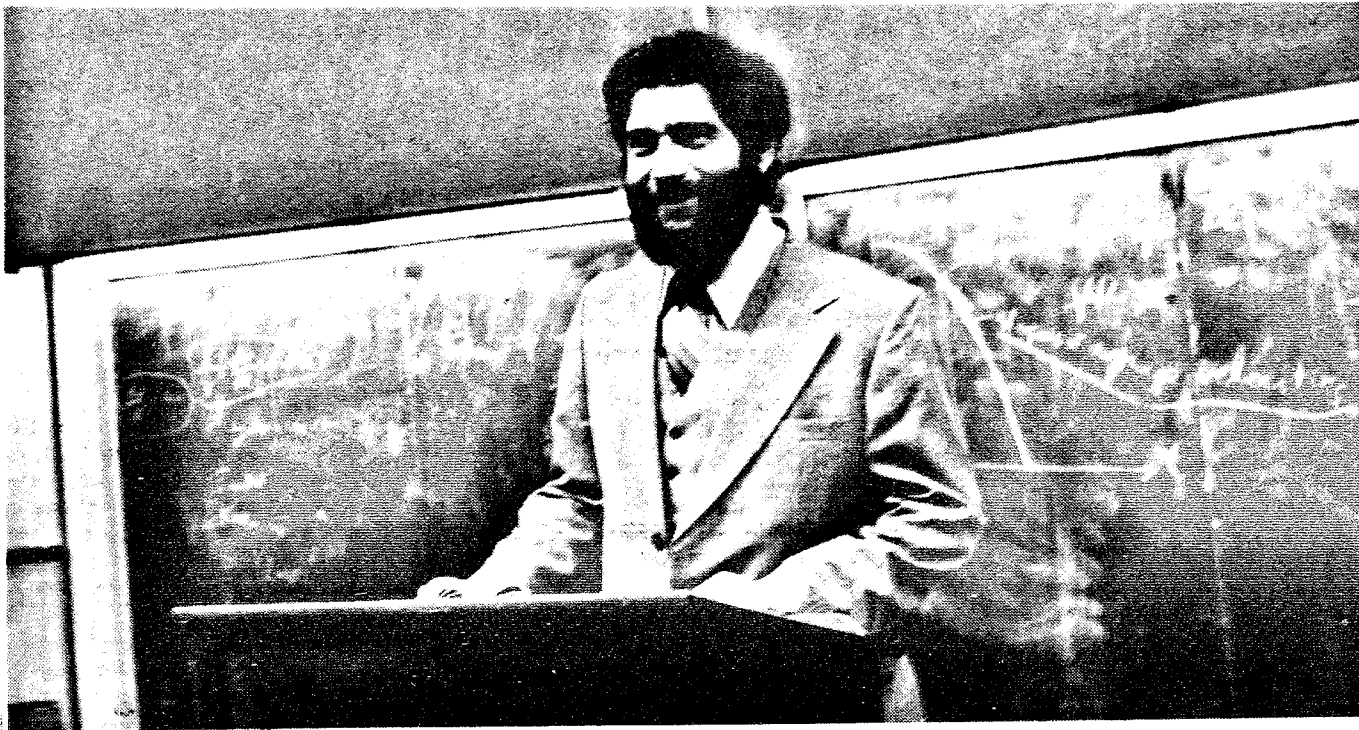
ZWEIG: I don't want to say that the situation today is exactly the same. The preparatory stages to World War III is where we are. I don't want to say that it's exactly like going into World War III, because it's not the same. There are many important differences, not the least of which is the strength and the unity and importance of the Third World countries. But the question of appeasement to aggression—that is the same. And I believe that the Soviet Union is a very dangerous, aggressive imperialist power, and it means to take over the world. That's what it is trying to do. And it will do it through political and military means, both. And if you appease it, if you say "O.K., we'll give you Afghanistan, just don't bother Pakistan, please"—and Secretary Vance can go to Moscow and sign a detente agreement saying "to show our good will we won't give any arms to Pakistan"—do you think the Soviet Union is going to do anything but go into Pakistan on the basis of that? I think that's all they'll do. We're dealing with an aggressive power that's cynically out to dominate the world.

PRESS: Can the same be said for the U.S.?

ZWEIG: Yeah, but we can't do it in the same way. U.S. imperialism is strategically on the decline. It's been defeated many times, it's been exposed. And I don't want to say it's nothing. It's a significant power. And it can do great damage and it will try to do that damage—that's true of U.S. imperialism. But it's not the same as the Soviet Union.

PRESS: What do you think the role of the college student is in the face of the international situation today?

ZWEIG: On the question of Iran, there are many Iranian students on this campus. I think that the students on this campus should not condone or allow any harassment of those Iranian students because of what's gone on in Iran. Yet we know that kind of harassment actually happens. A climate needs to be created on campus—not just this one but on all campuses—of respect and support for the Iranian students, because what their people are trying to do and what they themselves are hoping to do when they go back to Iran is to build an independent democratic country and I think we should respect that and wish them well.



Press/Jim Fowler

Economics Professor Michael Zweig giving a lecture after his return from Iran.

getting chopped off in one country after the next.

PRESS: Do you have more specific ideas or guesses as to what an investigation would find?

ZWEIG: I don't like to guess because, to tell you the truth, in my experience with these things you never guess bad enough. You could make up stories. We made up all kinds of stories, what we estimated, what was going on in Vietnam and how did we get in there. And then when the truth actually came out, it was worse than anything we had imagined. The government tries to keep these things as secrets and, like radioactive waste, they try to put it in a barrel someplace. It's supposed to be buried deep in the government bureaucracy and the secrets are not supposed to leak out. But it leaks out. We ought to go in there with spades and shovels and bulldozers and find out what the hell is going on. And that's why I don't like to speculate. I like to get to the heart of what's true.

PRESS: Do you think Iran will be able to

ZWEIG: The press doesn't want to hear anything about it.

PRESS: Why is that?

ZWEIG: I really don't know.

PRESS: Do you think that it's misunderstanding, misinterpretation or conscious cover-up?

ZWEIG: It depends on what level you're talking, what level of authority within the press. I would say, when you get to the top, then you're talking about conscious deliberate decisions just to cool out this question.

PRESS: How did the American press misrepresent the sentiment of the Iranian people?

ZWEIG: I had the impression from western journalists covering the scene that it was an Islamic dictatorship, that everybody prayed to Allah six times a day and that was it. Now, when I got there, there was western music on the streets, posters of Charlie Chaplin, many different kinds of things. It's not just the Ayatollah Khomeini. There are openly avowed professors of Marxism in the universities

a live war game for them.

PRESS: Is that comparable to what Vietnam was to us?

ZWEIG: Well, no. It's more like Spain in 1936. It's not really the same as Vietnam.

PRESS: Do you think that arming Afghanistan will increase hostility in the region, and that arming other nations will start another arms race?

ZWEIG: That comes down to the very

'The government tries to keep these things as secrets ... We ought to go in there with spades and shovels and bulldozers and find out what the hell is going on.'

basic question of what is your attitude towards appeasement. Should we have armed England in 1938? I believe so. Should we have armed the Poles with the most modern weaponry in 1939? I certainly think so. Would that have been inflaming tensions in the area? I think the Nazis would have been very upset, but I think it would have been harder for them to invade

Young people in America—students—are a very powerful force. I have enormous respect for that importance and for that possible role. The world belongs pretty soon just to you. And that's a serious thing. Maybe the world doesn't come to you on terms that you like, but it comes to you nonetheless.

Commoner Seeks Political Support Here

Continued from page 1

unions, farm workers, environmental groups, people who haven't registered to vote." In question is how much support the party will receive, especially in a country of capitalists who favor a tough stance against the Russians. In addition, third parties in this country have had a history of failure—with one notable exception, the Republican Party. It is to this exception, of course, that the Citizens Party points when confronted with pessimism.

The Republican Party was formed in the 1850's because the two major parties, the Democrats and Whigs, were not addressing the vital issue of slavery. In the same way, by addressing the issue of corporate control, the Citizens Party hopes to replace one of the major parties. Commoner would not predict which one, although he did say the Democrats had a greater chance of losing.

In addition to the viability of the Citizens Party, the necessity of the party is questioned. Left-wing Democrats such as DSOC (Democratic Socialist Organizational Committee) contend that Commoner does not advocate anything he could not advocate as a Democrat, and that his party will only serve to draw votes from liberals with a greater chance of being elected. The Citizens Party replies that since the Democrats receive money and support from corporations, they will not support nationalization, and that the Democratic candidates are not worth voting for anyway. (After his criticism of Carter, Commoner described Senator Ted Kennedy as an opportunist who changes his stance at a whim, and dismissed Governor Jerry Brown entirely.)

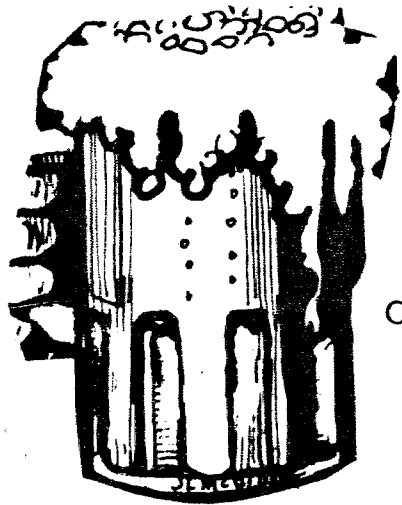
Commoner was asked during the question-and-answer period after his speech how the Citizens Party differs from the Socialists—a label that the new party seems

eager to avoid. Commoner explained that while "socialism is defined as public ownership and control of the means of production," the Citizens Party is concerned primarily with public control. He added that in the Soviet Union "there's social ownership, but very little social control."

The party has grown by thousands in the last few months, and Commoner said about \$250,000 has been raised in the last six, most of which "has come in in amounts no more than 100 or 200 dollars at a crack." Commoner seems to believe that the electorate will not be disturbed by the party's anti-corporate line. "The experience we've had...is that the American people are not nervous" about discussing nationalization, he said.

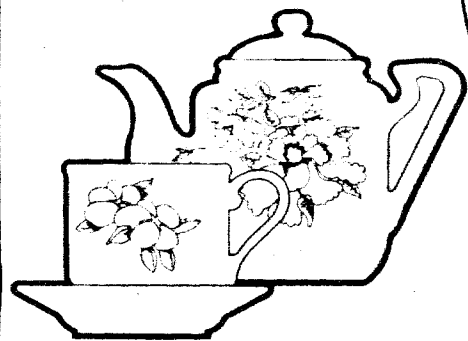
"We are running a campaign in 1980," he concluded, "because we think it's a historic moment because people are hungry for a party that talks sense."

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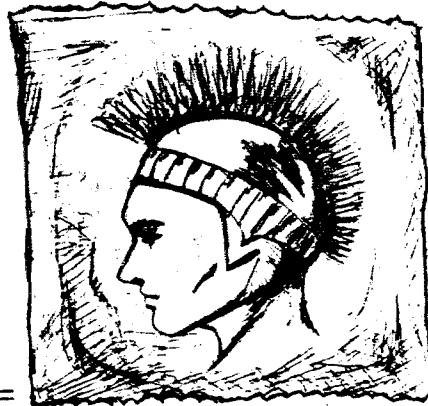
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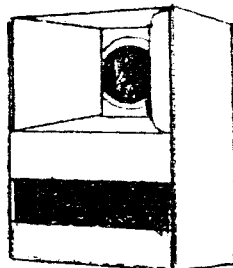
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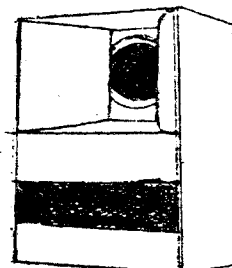


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The Perils of Knee-jerk Foreign Policy

What is passed off as foreign policy in the United States is simply a succession of knee-jerk reactions to isolated incidents. Government leaders legitimize this by manipulating the media to rouse public support for their actions, and as this is a republic, the aroused populace then perpetuates the system through its coerced cooperation.

The democratic ideal of the government obeying the electorate is not under attack here. However, government officials should realize that in a world under constant threat of nuclear war, foreign policy must not be dictated by the swiftly shifting mood of the populace. And without a consistent, far-ranging foreign policy, the U.S. suffers poor status in the world, as evidenced by this country's relations with Cuba, some middle-eastern countries and the Soviet Union.

There is evidence suggesting that the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. rationale for starting the Spanish-American War, and relations with Cuba after 1959 have been based upon short term foreign policy goals, and that resulting repercussions have hurt the U.S. in many areas. In addition, these examples illustrate the government's manipulation of the media, which in turn influence public sentiment. They are explored here because it seems that foreign policy for the Persian Gulf is also based on short term whims, and that this policy could result in economic straits or even war for the U.S.

Though European nations posed no threat to the U.S. in 1823, President Monroe issued a doctrine ordering them to stay out of this hemisphere. This doctrine grew out of the founding fathers' bent for isolationism. However, the doctrine asserted this policy too forcefully, over-generalized its aims and was viewed with contempt in Europe. It now seems senseless that a young nation with a depleted militia and recovering from a revolution would irritate potentially hostile powers, but the doctrine's usefulness outlived the irritation.

The Monroe Doctrine was cited two decades after its creation in asking the British to leave the California territory, and most recently, in ordering the Soviet missiles out of Cuba in 1962. In both cases, a doctrine

was not necessary to tell foreign powers to leave the hemisphere. But its invocation points up the short term, special interest clause in American foreign policy; for on occasions when South American nations requested U.S. assistance in fighting off imperialistic powers from Europe, the U.S. declined.

The dynamics of the Spanish-American War are more complex. It was said to have been triggered by destruction of the battleship Maine. At the time, Spain was trying to quash

subjugate the island. The electorate clamored for attack, and the result was war.

The United States also took over the Spanish-controlled Philippines and Puerto Rico, so as to prevent other powers from exerting influence there. In addition to creating anti-American sentiment, fighting in the Philippines resulted in thousands of American deaths. With regard to the Philippines, the public was misinformed by the media for over two years as to the

asked the United States for aid. The President refused to see him, the Vice-President insulted him, and he was given nothing. This seems to have reflected public sentiment.

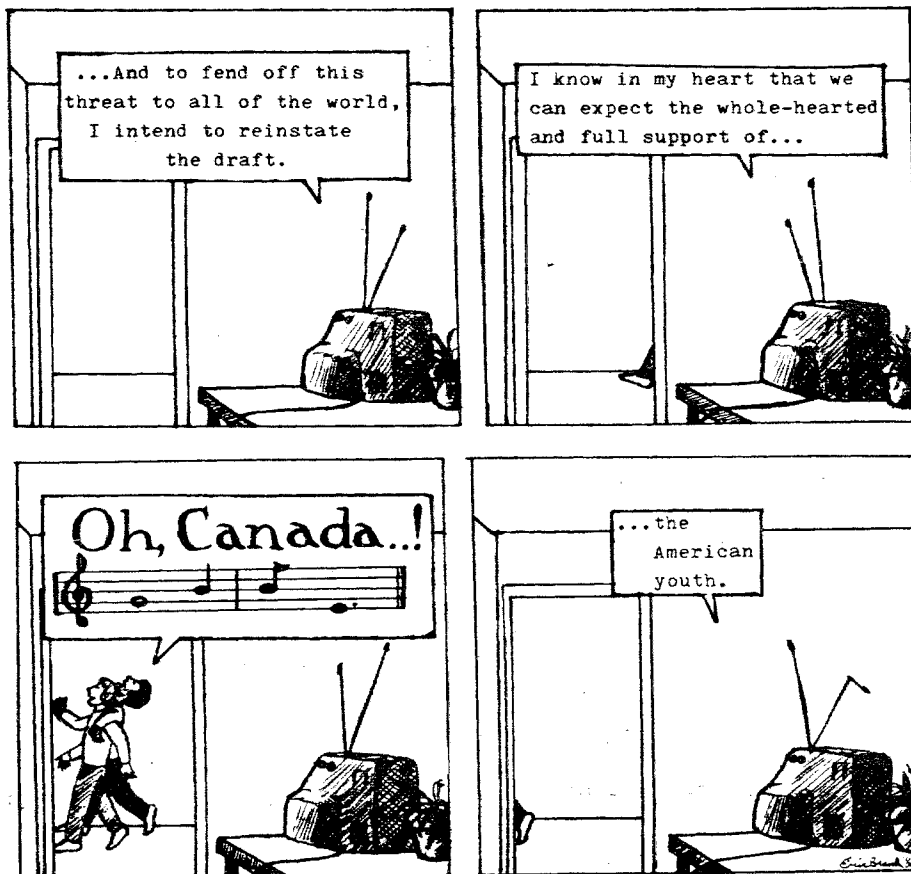
The results of our policy towards Cuba have been grave. The United States once provided Cuba with 70 percent of its imports; now, the U.S. sells Cuba virtually nothing. Because the Soviet Union did not refuse Castro, America was threatened by the Cuban Missile Crisis, and recently, is troubled by Soviet combat troops on the island only 90 miles from the Florida coast.

The idea behind registration in 1980 is to show that the U.S. is reacting strongly to Soviet imperialism. To further strengthen this line, President Carter issued a doctrine which said we would protect our foreign interests. Many have interpreted this doctrine to mean that the United States is declaring sovereignty over the Persian Gulf.

It appears that the U.S. is repeating several mistakes with its recent policy decisions. As the history of the Monroe Doctrine illustrates, the U.S. has a tendency to overreact to situations. The media have played much on the possibility of war in the Persian Gulf region, citing our dependence on oil from there. Coupled with this is the portrayal of the Soviet Union as an ever-present menace. The result is a nationalistic fervor in which the electorate has assented to the government's request for its services in the military.

If there were reason to advocate war as part of U.S. foreign policy, these initiatives would make sense. However, in light of the American inclination towards overreaction, they are dangerous, for they portend serious consequences—including nuclear war. There can be reasons for war, but they can logically exist only when circumstances directly compromise our foreign policy.

The crux of the problem in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere is that the United States has no discernible, rational long range foreign policy, other than making short term decisions which create long range problems.



a revolution in Cuba. The United States intervened in behalf of Cuba, but its true goals were revealed once the Spanish were repelled. With U.S. military controlling Cuban politics, American business took over the island. The result was strong anti-American sentiment within Cuba, as well as much of Latin America.

The media played an important role in this. It was known that the Spanish would soon withdraw from Cuba. When the Maine was destroyed, the U.S. had many options available. Reparations for the U.S. and freedom for the Cubans were well-publicized benefits of military conflict, whereas no mention was made of the intent to

intensity of the warfare there.

U.S. policy towards Cuba after 1959 has followed no logical course. Two years after the revolution, Castro nationalized Cuban land and business. The American business sector had controlled 70 percent of Cuban enterprise and was furious over Castro's actions. Through use of the predominantly business-controlled media, the electorate was presented with the image of a dictator who was making life unbearable for Cubans. In actuality, Fidel Castro has made great reforms in Cuba—reforms all but ignored by the press. Castro knew that Cuba was an agrarian society, with little industry. So in 1959, he

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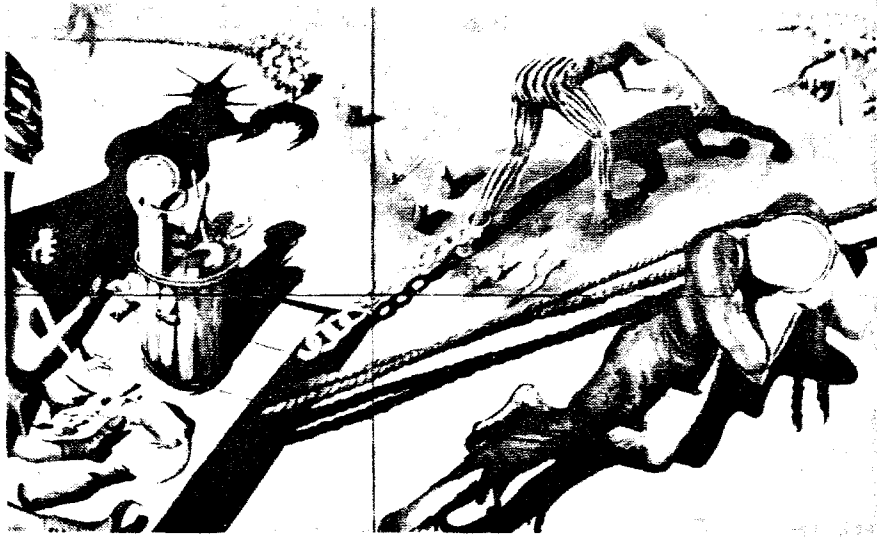
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A segment of Benny Andrews' "Trash," on exhibit in the Fine Arts Center Gallery.

Benny Andrews' Exhibit: Frightening Perception

by Scott Higham

Benny Andrews' exhibit in the Fine Arts Center Gallery successfully conveys contemporary social and political values. The vibrancy of the exhibit is due not only to the exceptional quality of Andrews' work but to the perspective he has, as a black man, of the United States.

Current problems and traditional failures of our society, some of which we would like to forget and others of which we fail to recognize, are brought to reality on his life-size murals. Huge oil and collage works such as "Trash," "War," "Utopia," "Circle," and "Sexism" lend themselves to people of all interests.

"Trash," one of the most expressive murals, depicts beautiful trees along the coast which obscure the world's view of the "Land of Opportunity." On a procession of patriotically colored carts lie bottles, rats, a Klansman, and a jack-in-

the-box among other garbage, all being lugged to the junk yard by two young black men as a third tries to free himself of shackles. The symbolic struggle for freedom is overwhelming.

In combining surrealism with expressionism, Andrews brings to Stony Brook many aspects of America which have existed outside for over two hundred years. Although one's opinion may differ from the artist's, it is impossible to deny the quality of Andrews' art and his frightening perception of reality.

Benny Andrews is 60 years old and a resident of New York City. This is his first exhibition tour; it will close at Stony Brook on Saturday. He is currently involved in a mural project for Atlanta Airport.

The exhibition will open tomorrow from noon to 5 PM and 7 to 10:30, and on Saturday from 1 to 5 PM. Admission is free.

Susan Liers: Walk To Victory

Continued from page 8

the Syracuse meet, and she said, "It just so happened ... that the times were really good." She explained that the officials "were given the right to choose a torch bearer," and told her in August she was a likely candidate.

From there, Liers said, "I was just waiting for something definite." Six months later, Liers had not been notified, but she had started "hearing things" about the torch bearing. "Two weeks before they were going to Greece, I got this phone call," in which she was asked "This is going to sound sort of strange but I need to know immediately if you want to go to Greece."

Her answer was yes.

Departing on a Sunday evening, arriving on Monday and leaving again Wednesday made the trip a hurried excursion, although the group of 45 people had all the comforts of U.S. One during flights from Washington to Greece. Most of the group were state department personnel and part of the organizing committee, and only three were athletes.

Liers did not accept the torch, but that ceremony was only part of the trip. Much time was spent touring the Acropolis, and "We had some free time to go shopping," said Liers, adding she brought back little for herself because she was trying to pick up what her friends requested. However, she was given a memento. "They gave us a nice commemorative medal from Lake Placid," she said.

Though there are no women's walk races in the Olympics, Liers said she empathizes with the athletes who have trained four years for the Olympics, and now face a boycott of the games. Despite her empathy, Liers says she stands behind President Carter's decision.

Liers said her feelings about boycotting the summer games "shifted back and forth" before she decided to support the President's policy. She added, however, "I really think the people have to consider the athlete's position a little bit more. I think everyone has to stand together. I think it would make us look bad if he (the President) said we can't go and the athletes (did not respect that.)"

Though Liers could not compete in the Russian Olympics, she still looks forward to going, in the event the U.S. goes there. She has a vested interest because the Smithtown High School track coach has a possible shot at competing in the games. In addition, the coach is the president of a local track association, of which Liers is Secretary-Treasurer.

"We do everything together," Liers said of the coach. This is not too surprising, for the two are engaged to be married, and Liers said she was really looking forward to going with him to Russia. "There's still a possibility with Russia," she said. "That is, if anyone goes."

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'Pierre Patelin': Mired in the Past

by Patrick Giles

The major demand of a comedy is that it should elicit laughter by conjuring humor, but while viewing *The Farce of the Worthy Master Pierre Patelin* I did not laugh. No matter what one says about comedy, everyone should agree that, before anything else, it must be funny. Broad or subtle, social or escapist, historically accurate or blissfully topical: each category, no matter how disparate, aims at a single target. Pierre Patelin misses—and leaves a wide gap between arrow and bull's-eye.

Based on a brief, anonymous text of the late 15th century, this Pierre Patelin takes as its source and inspiration the European theatrical genre *commedia dell'arte*. This genre has become seductive to producers, and every now and then one sees a recreation of *commedia*, a form of comedy which began sometime before 1550 and had a strong, exuberant history until the mid-18th century. In other words, when one attempts to do *commedia* one must recreate *commedia*. The resuscitation of a vanished art-form is a hazardous, dubious task; it might be valuable for a museum-curator or scholar, but in the theater, which leaves behind only scripts, sketches and scores, one is not easily able to raise the dead.

Commedia dell'arte was a theatre of professionals. Translated, its title can be literally rendered as "comedy of professional players" or "comedy of the guilds." A scenario was sketched, the action and dialogue, usually consisting of well-rehearsed, well-known comic bits (*lazzi*) later filled in by the actors themselves. The essence of *commedia* was invention. The freedom and lightness of the art was anchored by the restriction of comic types (which persisted, with slight variations, from generation to generation) and the extraordinary physical and vocal dexterity of its actors. A major influence in the theater in many ways and forms (such as vaudeville, Warner Brothers

cartoons, performers like Jackie Gleason, Daffy Duck, etc.), *commedia's* place in theatre history is unshakeable.

Except when one tries to drag it, supposedly intact, from the grave. This is what has happened with the current production, which has made a well-meaning attempt to give a classic *commedia* performance to a wholly inexperienced campus badly in need of a lighter sense of humor. But in burying their noses in textbooks the company, and especially their director, Mark De Michelle, misses the spirit of the art and

humor. The director has not helped the situation by setting the vocal rendition on one loud, tortuously shrill level (a problem hereafter known as The Equus Syndrome), and hurling his actors from one side of the stage to the other so mercilessly I prayed the Volunteer Ambulance Corps was present. In conception and execution, Pierre Patelin was thoroughly wrongheaded.

These are not the actors, directors, or audience to undertake a Living Museum project. These are a group of students searching for the theatrical parameters

Zach plays the Judge with a firm awareness of how to carry off a difficult situation. The Judge in *commedia* is invariably a fool, a figure to be scorned and laughed at. For whatever reasons, Mr. DeMichelle conceives the Judge as a high-strung Queen. (And with a lavender handkerchief! Has Gay Liberation wrought nothing?) The potentially disastrous results are offset by Mr. Zach's highly amusing swishing and simpering, which he deploys at the expense of the character's ignorance, not his sexuality. An even better success is scored by Lisann Rothstein's Mistress Patelin, even though several new lines of the text force the actress to bring a needless sexual crudity to her role. Shrewish, self-pitying, greedy, the Wife can easily be played as a tiresome haridan, kvetching, bitching, whining, and not funny. Ms. Rothstein needed greater vocal variety—as did everyone in the company—but she has a sharp sense of timing and, physically and intellectually, is a born comic.

The other actors are sporadically amusing, but they seem stranded by the creaking style of the production, and do not make a vivid impression. The costumes are charming and instructive in their period detail, but they were designed for a production that could meet that charm and exactitude: perhaps this Pierre Patelin would have been more successful, and made more sense, without its cumbersome physical-conceptual baggage. Why not perform it in jeans and T-shirts, during lunch-hour in the Union, or in the Lecture Center between classes? Why not feed off the lessons of *commedia* and apply it to experiences and situations in this age, on this campus, in ourselves? The true beauties of *commedia dell'arte*—its revelling in contemporary, impromptu, irreverent farce, its constant movement and adaptability—are lost in this Pierre Patelin, and a good way to correct that loss would be for some of Stony Brook's actors to start working towards capturing it at the next opportunity.



Press/Dana A. Brussell

becomes mired in unnecessary, archaic details. Instead of investigating the essence of *commedia*—the sense of anarchy, the formal construction, the base of humor—this production goes for the Historical Look. The costumes, text and situations are based on points of view and ideas that are four centuries old, and feel it. The actors, who lack the generations of breeding, training and tradition available to their ancestors, lurch and stagger across the stage, pointlessly creating gags and situations that no longer connect with their own or the audience's sense of

that will open tides of communication between themselves and their audience. The vocal, intellectual, technical work they are supposed to be learning here aim, like the different comic genres, at a single target. When a production works, the target is struck. When it does not, their status as beginners spares them some of the pain, but also gives them time and reason to examine their errors and avoid the same mistakes.

Several members of the Pierre Patelin company distinguish themselves as perceptive, skilled workers. Philip Alan

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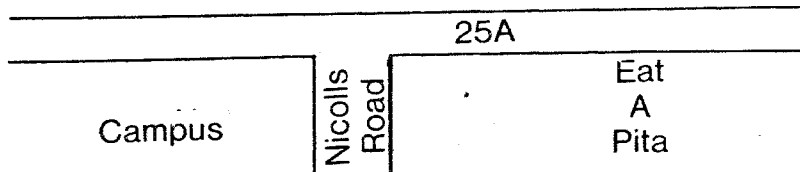
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The Stony Brook Press/Sports

Walking

To Victory



by Chris Fairhall

From being blown away in men's X-Country races four years ago to becoming the fastest woman race walker in the world, Susan Liers has proved that you do not necessarily walk before you run.

While attending Smithtown High School West, Liers ran X-Country, winter and spring track. As there was no women's team, she explained, "I was running on the boys' team." She did not fare too well against the guys, but things changed in her senior year as the new track coach "turned out to be a race walker."

Liers recalled, "I always wanted to try it," and as the coach said she had potential in race walking, that's just what she did. Finishing a race against the coach in 7:52 may not seem impressive, but she said, "He about died. It was the best time (for women) on the East coast at that time."

With some additional meets along the way, Liers was headed for the national championships in

California. From scoring third at the nationals, it was on to bigger and better events. "That got me on the team that was going to the world championship that summer," she said.

Liers has competed in numerous meets in the past four years throughout the country. California, Michigan, Syracuse, and Nassau Coliseum are some of the places where she has competed. However, her best time in the mile race walk, 7:00:60, was at her old high school.

And she explained that it was not even a race she intended to compete in. "I was going to watch," she said, but as "the other team didn't have any walkers," she was cajoled into giving Smithtown West men walkers some competition. And that she did. "At that time it was the world's best," but she quickly added, "Unofficially, because there were not enough judges, and it was against guys."

Because the status of women's sports has not reached that of

Susan Liers is the world's fastest woman racewalker.

men's, Liers explained, "Most of the women's times aren't considered records. They're called 'world best performances.'" From talking with her, it was not surprising that she added, "But, it really doesn't mean anything, anyway."

While record setting may not seem too important to Liers, those she has set have helped her

to compete in world events. Denmark, Norway and Germany are some countries in which she competed during her last world trip. "And we stopped in a couple of other places while traveling," she added. "London — we stopped in Sweden .. for 30 minutes."

The key to entering world completion, she explained, is to make it to, and then score high in, the nationals. "We usually go with a team of four to eight people, with one coach. It's usually chosen from the top four or eight at the national championships," she said.

As a rule of thumb, it takes dedication and discipline to be a great athlete. It also means a lot of practice, although one would never gather that from how Liers described her regimen. "It's sort of like training for distance running," she said of race walking. "One day, I'll walk six miles," and the next it's quarter mile sprints.

With a double major at Stony Brook in computer sciences and

anthropology, along with other activities, Liers can not always spend as much time as she would like on practice. "Sometimes, I don't have the time, or can't make the time ... If I don't, I don't worry about it," she said. With a laugh she added, "They call it the Liers Method."

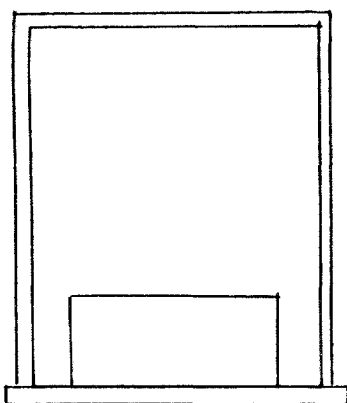
Liers explained that there are few techniques particular to her event. "With race walking you get the style right away, or you have a hard time with it," she explained. "There's two rules while you're racing," she added. "You have to straighten the supporting leg" and "at least one foot must be on the ground at all times."

One of Liers' most important meets was at the Empire State Games last August. Though she did not realize it then, her performance so impressed officials there that they selected her as a torch bearer for the Olympics.

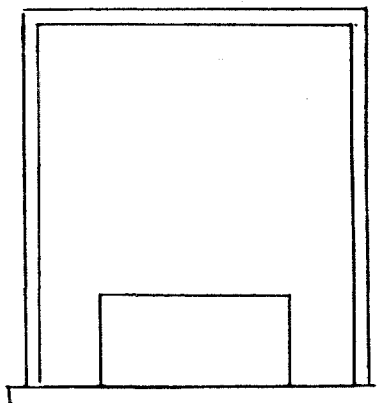
Liers competed in two events at

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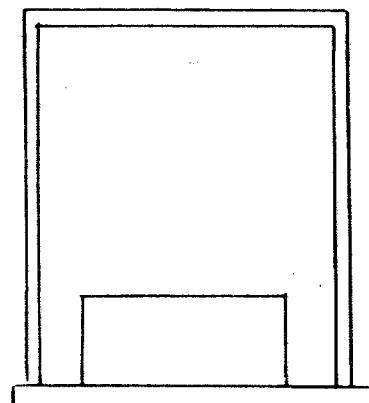


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