

A lengthening shadow of death

Despite a facade of progress, the nuclear arms race is accelerating, and the likelihood of nuclear war is greater than ever.

This tragic fact is documented in brief articles in the December and January issues of *Scientific American*. The American-Soviet agreement reached at Vladivostok in November was ballyhooed as a step toward arms control. Nothing could be further from the truth. The agreement sets a limit of 2,400 on the number of strategic delivery vehicles (missiles and bombers) which each side may have. Up to 1,320 of these may be MIRVed (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles). The agreement will expire in 1985.

There are several reasons while this agreement not only fails to provide arms control, but is likely to accelerate it.

First, there is no limit on the number of warheads that may be placed on each MIRVed missile.

Second, 1,320 is a very high number. The U.S. at this time has 776 MIRVed missiles. The Russians have very few. With the new agreement, however, both sides are likely to deploy the maximum number. This will cause a severe strain on the economic resources of both nations, particularly the U.S.S.R.

But more important than any of these points is that the agreement only does half the job: it sets limits on numbers but not on quality so that, to quote *Scientific American*, "the arms race...is becoming qualitative rather than quantitative."

This means that both sides are completely free to develop new, more "advanced" missiles to replace older ones so long as the total limit is not exceeded.

Right now the U.S.S.R. has a greater number of missiles than the U.S., which depends more upon strategic bombers. However, the U.S. has massive superiority in what is known as "counterforce capability." This is the ability to destroy land-based enemy missiles in their silos before they could be fired. The U.S. will continue to improve the accuracy of its counterforce capability. The Russians will deploy more MIRVed missiles. The U.S. can then build maneuverable reentry vehicles (MARVs).

"Eventually," says *Scientific American*, "such improvements might provide one side—presumably the U.S. first—with a true counterforce capability... and thus partially frustrate massive retaliation, which has been the basis of the balance of terror."

But note that this frustration is only partial. Why?

The U.S. currently has a massive lead in the arms race due to its highly superior counterforce capability, and advantage due to its highly superior counterforce capability and advantage which is obscured...by the terms in which the U.S. political debate on armaments is conducted: aggregate numbers and megatonnage of missiles.

The current U.S. counterforce capability is estimated by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) to be five times that of the Russians. The purpose of counterforce is to eliminate the threat of enemy missiles ever being launched. "Assuming no change at all in the U.S. arsenal," says *Scientific American*, "and assuming the greatest degree of improvement that SIPRI can conceive for the U.S.S.R., this country would still have an advantage... in the early 1980's. Neither side,

however, would have a large enough (counterforce capability) to destroy all of the other side's missiles. Neither side, in other words, would have a dependable counterforce capability."

This of course, is if the U.S. stood still, which is not the case, since further improvements in missile yield and accuracy are now planned.

But even if the U.S. by some miracle developed a "perfect" counterforce capability, it would be all for nothing...Even if every single Russian land-based missile was destroyed, the missiles on Russian submarines are fully capable of devastating the United States.

What does this all mean?

It means that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are sinking vast sums of money into an accelerating qualitative arms race which has no foreseeable end—short of nuclear war. "In the long run," says *Scientific American*, "the newly authorized quality race can only cost both sides dearly and destabilize world politics."

One possible solution is suggested by Kosta Tsipis of the SIPRI. This would be to limit qualitative advances. Since on-site inspections have been rejected by the Russians and since satellite spying can only verify the number—and not the quality—of missiles, Tsipis suggests the number of test launchings be limited. This would necessarily slow advances in arms quality.

But for now, the Kissingers, Fords, Brezhnevs and Strangeloves are too busy engaging in mutual back-patting to see what needs to be done. And the rest of us must live under an ever-lengthening shadow of death.

Support of busing by the Left is declining

By NICHOLAS VAN HOFFMAN

WASHINGTON (KFS)—"Every September, as the opening of school nears, white liberals steel themselves for moral paralysis over whether busing is a good idea or not; conservatives busily prepare speeches on 'quality education'; honest racists start getting nigger fever, and the Left prepares to be confused," writes Malecai Andrews, a black writer and intellectual in a symposium on busing in the December *Ramparts*, a superior left-wing magazine.

Mr. Andrews' words may signal the decision by the American Left to leave off that confusion and to junk their reluctant support for busing, an activity they never had much taste for anyway. Were it not for the Left's revulsion at the others who oppose busing, radicals might have denounced it years ago as the idiot escapade it has turned out to be.

"Busing is a racist, lazy selfish decision made by people who don't want to take the time to do the work required to improve the quality of education in all our schools," writes Ericka Huggins, who would have

been described a few years ago as a black radical activist or worse. Today she is the director of a school for poor youth in East Oakland, and if, as an educator, her views on busing were formed long since, for other radicals the black-white scrimmages in South Boston this fall have turned uncertainty into conviction.

The news reports of that city's poorest whites and blacks pitted against each other in battle—in which neither side had anything much to win—was too reminiscent of interracial battles earlier in this century over jobs. So Noel Day, himself a black man who took a leading part in the Boston school boycotts of a decade ago, writes:

"...white mothers wearing football helmets and carrying baseball bats to bat black kids may really think that they are keeping their children from being knifed; but underneath it all they must also know that Boston's blacks are their main competition for jobs, for decent housing, for self-respect, and in all those other races that poor and powerless people must run..."

"More students go to college, for example, from those high schools with large

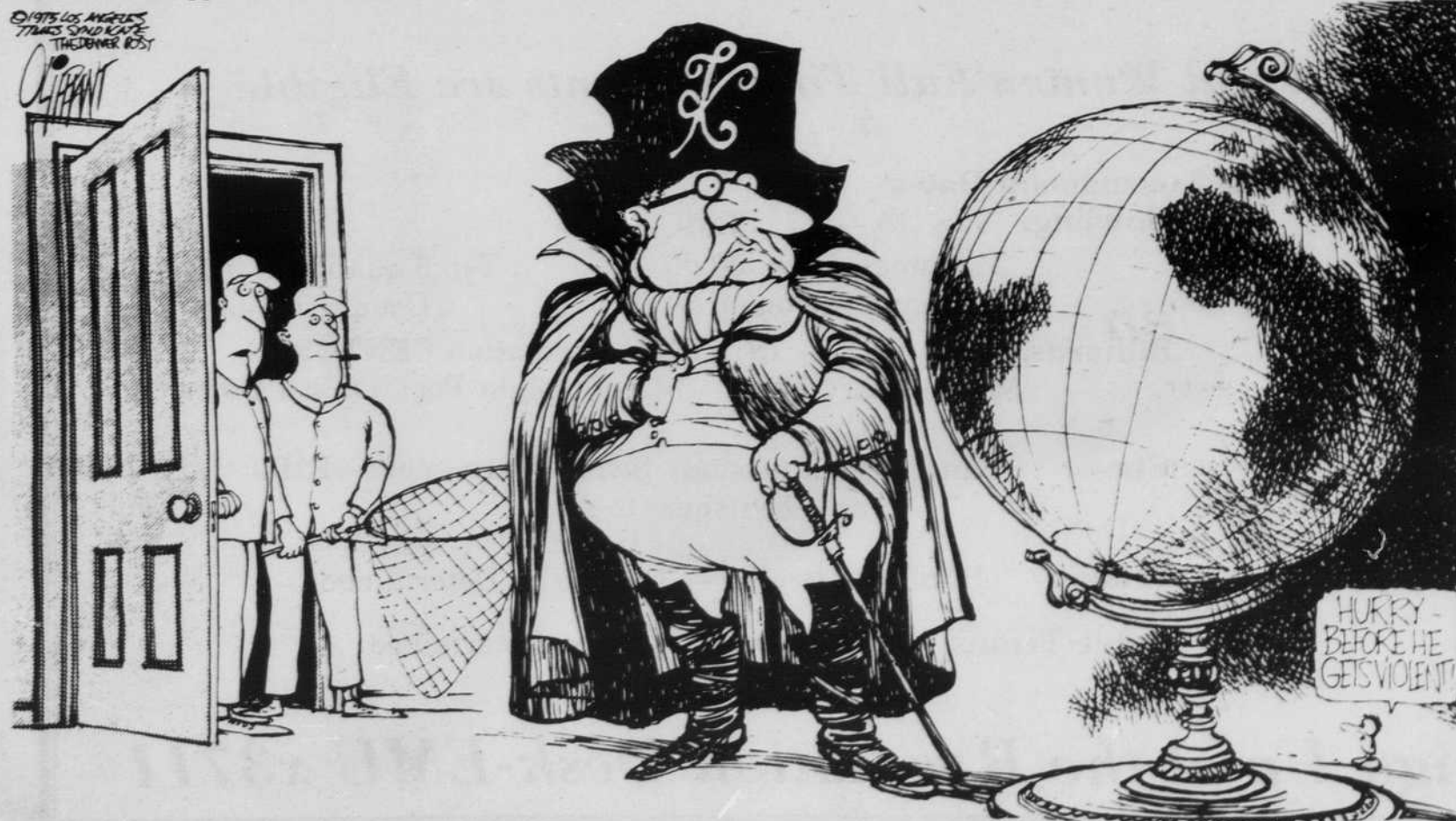
numbers of black students than from South Boston High School. The (white) kids in South Boston are as educationally 'deprived' and 'disadvantaged' as the black kids are...instead of pushing for better schools, black people and white people are fighting over who will sit next to whom in some of the worst schools in the nation."

By staking out a non-racist, anti-busing position, the Left has enabled us to think about education as something other than the contorted transportation logistics of upper-middle class, suburban lawyers and judges. Having ruled out any involvement with suburban school districts, these jurisprudes are apparently mad enough to keep on truckin' the children of the poor from one lousy school to another in aeternum. Another contributor to the *Ramparts* symposium, Miriam Wasserman, says it: "Integration-desegregation-busing has now become a policy of the authorities—courts and federal bureaucrats—with community support mainly from some middle class minorities and liberal whites." A perversion is the name Malecai Andrews fixes to it.

Since the Left is scarcely one voice or organization, it doesn't propose one alternate way of handling education, but the general direction of left-wing thought, details aside, is fairly clear. The Left continues to advocate community control of schooling but not of the schools. The consensus seems to be that no system of community control in the present administrative and legal framework can be much better than gangsterism in its effects on the society at large and "a form of involuntary and unpaid servitude" for the children, to quote Edgar Friedenberg, the psychologist and educational philosopher.

In the big city school systems, at least, matters have passed the remediable stage. The thing has degenerated into a species of racketeering. Racketeer administrators, racketeer teachers' unions and textbook publishers, racketeer teachers' colleges, consultants, social workers, equipment manufacturers, all of whom give as little for what they get paid by the local Pentagons of Pedagogy as the armament suppliers give to the big Pentagon of War.

Like the billions spent for foreign aid, of the billions spent on public education only the smallest part gets to the victims, as we might better call the pupils whom we compel by force of law to pass their childhood and youth in these places. Unhappily, the job of abolishing the system and building a new one can't begin so long as we're locked into the infinite busing dispute. No matter what happens with it, the only conceivable winner will be General Motors. They sell the buses.



'DOCTOR... IT'S TIME.'

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