The Primary Source

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Why Mulroney Won And Ferraro Won't

Daniel Marcus, A'85

The astounding victory on September 4 of Canada's Progressive Conservative Party, under the leadership of now Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, provides a clear indication of Geraldine Ferraro's impending defeat.

Mulroney and Ferraro are both new faces in their respective country's national political scene. Mulroney never served in Canadian public office until he won Nova Scotia's Parliamentary seat after his election as Progressive Conservative Party leader in 1983. He spent most of his adult life as a successful labor lawyer.

Ferraro has a more extensive political resume, serving in Congress for six years. But she too has primarily been a lawyer in private practice. Before 1984 she would not have been included on a list of the 20 most prominent politicians in America. Mulroney and Ferraro were both thrust into their national political arenas only within the past two years.

Naturally, arrival on the national scene does not automatically translate into popularity and power. Again Mulroney and Ferraro succeed because they have the skills to sell themselves: raw charisma and polished oratory.

Finally, Mulroney and Ferraro are similar in that they guarantee maintenance of the welfare state. Mulroney promises that all austerity programs to reduce the Canadian budget deficit will circumvent the extensive medical, housing, and other social government services. Ferraro too opposes decreases in entitlements in America; in fact she screams about the present reductions in the percentage *increases* in U.S. welfare expenditures. Mulroney and Ferraro both come with a welfare warrantee.

So far on the *libra civilis*, Mulroney and Ferraro are equals. Then why has Mulroney succeeded and Ferraro stalled?

For one thing, Mulroney represents the political departure from the 16-year reign of Pierre Trudeau. The Progressive Conservative Party won 211 of 282 Parliamentary seats, in many instances simply because it was not the Liberal Party. Ferraro is a Democrat, and Democrats continue to receive blame for past economic recessions and current budget deficits in America. As a Democrat, Ferraro is perceived as a member of the stagnant status quo, especially with cronies like Tip O'Neill.

Secondly, Mulroney and Ferraro have both been selected leaders of their parties because they supposedly attract voter blocs essential for victory. Mulroney, who was born in Quebec, carried his party to victory in his native province; the Progressive Conservative Party increased the number of its seats in Parliament representing Quebec to 75 of 85 seats from *one*. Mondale selected Ferraro primarily because she is a dynamic woman from the inner city East. An unusual combination of bedfellows—women, laborers and Yuppies—must be her constituency providing the essential votes for a Mondale-Ferraro victory in November. Ultimately, she must politically carry the weight in this election, since Walter Mondale receives a lukewarm reception wherever he goes. But she has been unable to gain the voter support she needs, and as a result, Mondale-Ferraro trails Reagan-Bush by wide margins. (Mondale receives equal blame for Ferraro's failure to rally voters. After all, if she were Gary Hart's running mate, her job would be easier.)

The bottom line in all national elections is the economy: the candidates' proposals and nation's vitality. Canada's economy is a nightmare with 11% unemployment and the value of the Canadian dollar worth U.S. 77¢. To alleviate these problems, Mulroney provides a positive proposal: American investment in Canada. As Prime Minister, he has already changed the name of the Foreign Investment Review Agency, Trudeau's bureaucracy that ultimately discouraged investment, to Investment Canada, a title that says "please invest in Canada now."

Mulroney espouses positive economic action during poor economic conditions.

Here, America's Ferraro is the reverse of Canada's Mulroney. Although the federal deficit is a pressing concern in the U.S., the strong economy overshadows this reality. So when Ferraro espouses tax increases, she presents a negative economic proposal during good economic times. And that's a formula for political poison.

Because Mulroney generates new regional support for his Progressive Conservative Party and because his economic proposal is based on positive action to alleviate an ailing

continued on page 4

It was an overcast evening at Tufts University when the right to free speech was rendered obsolete.

What a wonderful way to start an Orwellian story. But unfortunately on October 3 this truly happened, thanks to—as usual—a group of students who disregarded (or should I say violated) our constitutional rights.

When the CIA comes to town, you better watch out or the *protesters* will get you. They'll come dressed up in black sheets, carrying signs with emotional messages. And don't dare peep a word; freedom of speech is not allowed when Richard Arum and David Riker hold a demonstration.

As everyone in the audience told them—over and over again—no one objects that these students want to express their heart-felt feelings. But to openly refuse to allow the CIA representative to speak is criminal.

In fact, it is criminal. Tufts University is private property. And the University should have requested that the demonstrators demonstrate outside Jackson lounge. For a police force with such ominous-looking officers, this should not have been such a difficult task.

Shall I transcend from sarcasm to outrage? Over fifty students came to hear about the CIA's career opportunities. And damn it, we have the right to hear what the CIA representative has to say, and he has the right to say it.

It's incomprehensible how the demonstrators can be so intolerant. Their actions were dictatorial, and what is so sad is that everyone in the audience—except the protestors—recognized that immediately.

The Primary Source

The conservative student journal of opinion at Tufts University.

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Letter

Vietnam Memorial

To the Editor:

I had a pleasant surprise when I walked up the memorial steps last week and saw a new plaque, but I felt terribly betrayed when I read the words on it: "In Remembrance of Those Members of the Tufts Community Who Served During the War in South-East Asia."

Last year Tufts witnessed an ongoing controversy concerning the placing of a memorial to those who died during the Vietnam War. ROTC at Tufts and the Tufts College Republicans found it disgraceful that for over a decade the Vietnam War and its veterans had been shamefully ignored and viewed as a blight on the national honor. All other major wars in which the United States was involved had a representative memorial and the Vietnam War did not! Some claimed that by inaugurating such a plaque, American "ruthless imperialism" would be honored and expected that the Vietnam War would hover over Americans' heads as an everlasting hang-up. How utterly disgraceful on their part! Whatever one's involvements and beliefs regarding the US intervention in Vietnam, it cannot and should not be forgotten that Americans died. Let us at least be human enough to remember these men and women, and not, at all cost try to forget.

I am not at all satisfied, and I believe I speak on behalf of most respectful and concerned American students, with what was inscribed on the plaque in question. It is not at all what was expected and fought for. The terms used are very dry and generic. The plaque does not honor "those who gave their lives," as is written on other memorials on the steps, but rather uses an ambiguous, disconcerting "those who served." Why is it that those who fought and died in the Vietnam War are alienated from their fellow American soldiers who gave their lives in other wars?

What is even more unforgivable is that no mention whatsoever was made of the "Vietnam War" itself on the new plaque! What is this "War in South-East Asia" the plaque mentions? The war between the Koreans and the Japanese? No date is even quoted! Scandalous!

I am not sure who decided on the words of the text, but I know that they were trying to appease both sides involved in the controversy. I find it regrettable that this plaque has come to represent a political and not a humanitarian issue. The plaque does not do justice to anyone as it is and I demand in the name of human decency that it be reworded.

—Jan Faryaszewski, A'85

From the Editor

"SOCIAL JUSTICE"

In this election year, the central theme of the Democratic Party, as is evidenced by Walter Mondale's frequent attacks on the "lack of fairness" in the policies of the Reagan administration, is social justice.

William F. Buckley, Jr. recently spoke on this same theme at Boston College as a part of a social justice lecture series. Several students of B.C. protested on the premise that Buckley's philosophies in no way tie with the conventional conception of the term social justice.

As no definitions are accepted aprioristically, meanings of "social justice" and "fairness" need to be established. Buckley admitted that he was not certain exactly what social justice meant (though at an informal press conference before the lecture he said that ninety-five percent of the people who use the term mean socialism) but, addressing the demonstrators, he stated, simply, "I do believe in social justice" and preceeded to explain.

The term social justice has become synonymous with that used most often in liberal political rhetoric. In this form, the term has been led to new heights of distortion. Buckley cited Jesse Jackson who, speaking at the Democratic National Convention, proclaimed that larger numbers of babies were dying in Detroit, one of the great cities of the Western Hemisphere, than in Honduras, one of the poorest countries in this Hemisphere. "If Detroit is in fact one of the great cities of the Western Hemisphere," Buckley asked, "then why is it letting its babies die?" It is clear that fact plays little role in Jackson's oratory.

One of Buckley's main points was that in the social justice dialogue, logic and common sense have been obscured by ideology. Again referring to the alleged dilemma of Detroit, Buckley pointed out that Minneapolis, a comparably sized city, has a per capita budget that is $250 less than that of Detroit. And yet, as Buckley remarked, the infant mortality rate does not approach that of a destitute third-world nation. Clearly Jackson is more concerned with promoting his own socialist ideology than addressing the problems which are causing the social injustices.

Buckley, Reagan and other conservative thinkers do, of course, concern themselves with social justice and fairness but, as Buckley explained, they resist the desire for immediate, ephemeral results in order to achieve more long-term, lasting effects. Instead of paying "a trillion dollars" over a twenty year period (1960-1980) in welfare and seeing no real improvement of the poverty level, Buckley would apply the "politics of Reason" to attain more efficient and equitable results. It is more difficult, and yet more beneficial, to foresee ends and employ means to those ends than it is to use the means as ends in themselves.

Voting and Financial Aid?

In our efforts to make America strong again, little could matter so much as getting our citizens to vote in our free elections. We should support our Public Interest Research Group's efforts to register voters for this coming election, and we should work with them to register more voters in the future.

After we re-elect the President, committed conservative students ought to sponsor a bill which would allow federal educational financial aid only to those students who had registered to vote. The resulting link between our educations and our responsibilities as citizens would, at least in theory, help us to appreciate more the gifts of free education and free society.

Let's make America strong again!

—Jonathan D. Silverman, A'84

The Editor-in-Chief:

Although I support, on behalf of **The Primary Source**, *your "efforts to make America strong," I do not see justification in your proposal. As you probably know, the Solomon Amendment does legally deny federal financial aid to those men who do not register for the draft. However, the distinct difference is that whereas American men are obligated by law to register for the draft, no American citizen is obligated to vote: it is a privilege granted to him as a citizen of a democratic society.*

My conclusion is that there can be no legal link created between the disbursement of federal financial aid and the "obligation" to vote, simply because no such obligation exists.

On the Right

KEEP YOUR EYES ON MARIO

—WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Mr. Cuomo has accused President Reagan of "pandering" to the Catholic vote, and the occasion is ripe to touch on the meaning of the word.

Webster's Third gives three definitions, the first two having to do with prostitutes and the role of the panderer. These are irrelevant to a political discussion save when the intention is to suggest that a candidate is offering his services (the endorsement of a political plank, let us say) in pursuit of an unprincipled purpose (for instance, subsidies) in exchange for money (votes). The operative word here is "unprincipled." A moral whore is not only an oxymoron, it is a contradiction.

The third definition of a panderer is one who "caters to, and often exploits the weaknesses of, others." This last definition isn't one that a politician like Mario Cuomo would rush to emphasize, inasmuch as it would find him required to elaborate on just what are these weaknesses of American Catholics to which Ronald Reagan is pandering. Mario Cuomo would change the subject.

Concerning the first two definitions, a reminiscence.

Sometime after he (in effect) announced his candidancy for President in 1952, Adlai Stevenson telephoned his former wife and told her to prepare "the boys" to be picked up on Sunday at 10:45. "Why?" Mrs. Stevenson asked. "I am taking them to church," said Adlai. "That was when I knew he was going to run," Mrs. Stevenson told a friend later. And sure enough, the photographers were there to record the hebdomadal piety of Adlai Stevenson.

Could we then say that Adlai Stevenson was "pandering" to the churchgoing community? No, not really. One might accuse him of hypocrisy—but even then, we would need to do this with caution. Men of standing are expected to do certain things whatever their internal inclination. For all we know, Ronald Reagan might, a polygraph strapped to his arm, admit that he loathed baseball and choked at the very thought of spaghetti. The old saw of La Rochefoucauld was that hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. To like baseball is considered, in America, not merely a workaday preference, like for instance an innocent preference for chocolate sundaes or catamites, but a virtue, very possibly ennobling. It is not a part of any political candidate's moral mandate to shake that confidence. And if indeed Adlai Stevenson was an agnostic or an atheist, he did not feel that it was his mission to go out and preach iconoclasm to the American people.

So what, then, is Mario Cuomo talking about?

The event to which he referred was a spaghetti dinner given under Catholic auspices in New Jersy and a speech in which Mr. Reagan reiterated his conviction that family life and religion are fundamental American institutions.

The question before the house is: How is this to pander? We have disposed of the problem of eating spaghetti—it is simply good manners to pretend to enjoy what you are served, though an exception might here be made of gefilte fish, the consumption of which, reasonable epicureans might conclude, is not worth going through to gain admission to the White House. What was it that Mr. Reagan did that "pandered" to Catholics? President Reagan opposes abortion, as do many non-Catholics; as do 49 per cent of registered Democrats. Is it to pander to Jews to profess one's belief in the right of Israel to exist? Was Mario Cuomo anywhere around in his own state during the Democratic presidential primary campaign? Murray Kempton, the brilliantly amusing columnist, remarked on television that the Democratic presidential candidates had jumped on Jesse Jackson for saying that New York was Hymietown, and then proceeded during the campaign to prove, by their explicit solicitation of Jewish support, that they thought Jackson was right. An amusing formulation, and indeed Gary Hart went further in his public pledges to the territorial integrity of Israel during the campaign than he'd have been willing to go on behalf of Iowa.

But there was nothing heard from Mario Cuomo in protest.

Governor Cuomo is beginning to grate. This happens when men affect to speak from high moral ground (George McGovern comes to mind) and are regularly subversive of principles by which they profess to abide. Keep your eyes on Mario. Or am I pandering to the patriotic vote?

A JOBS BILL THAT WORKS

Richard L. Lesher

WASHINGTON—There is a piece of legislation now before the House of Representatives that would create thousands of jobs for Americans. Really.

It is not one of those "make-work" jobs programs that congressmen like to talk about. It is not one of those election year specials that takes money out of the productive sector of the economy, killing real jobs while temporarily "creating" highly visible and thus politically popular make-work jobs.

This bill, the Enterprise Zone Act, would create real, wealth-creating, permanent jobs.

The Act would create these jobs by lowering or reducing tax and regulatory barriers to investment and job creation in economically depressed rural and urban areas. The bill would eliminate the capital gains tax in the zones, provide tax credits for employing disadvantaged workers, and allow investment tax credits for putting capital into depressed areas. It is not your typical effort to help inner city areas by throwing taxpayers' money at the problem or by launching an invasion of well-intentioned welfare bureaucrats.

The enterprise zone idea is to allow individuals to provide their own opportunities and jobs and work. It gets the government out of the way and off the backs of those who can least afford the deadweight of government obstacles keeping them from achieving for themselves.

Enterprise zones would create thousands of jobs. This is not an expression of hope or a statement based on some economic theory or econometric model. We know from experience at the state level that enterprise zones work. To date, some 23 states have decided that they could not wait for Washington to act and have enacted their own enterprise zone legislation creating some 948 zones.

The well-respected Sabre Foundation recently published a study of these state enterprise zones and the results are encouraging. Studying those states that had ongoing enterprise zones, the Foundation found that more than 20,000 jobs had been created, saved, or committed and over $450 million in new construction, expansions and renovations had been committed to the zones. New businesses had been started. Other businesses which had planned to leave zones or go out of business remained and expanded.

A federal Enterprise Zone Act would have even more impact, as the state zones are only able to cut state and local taxes and regulations and many of the most debilitating taxes and regulations come from Washington.

We can also see the success of designated enterprise zones in other nations. Turkey, Great Britain and even Mainland China have established such zones.

continued on page 4

Shamie Trounces Richardson In Republican Primary

James Hosker, E'87

Ray Shamie, the Walpole businessman, won an overwhelming upset victory over Elliot Richardson in the Massachusetts Republican primary for the U.S. Senate seat. Shamie won by a 62% to 38% margin over Richardson, who conceded less than two hours after the polls closed.

Richardson was slated to be the winner of not only the primary but the final election for retiring Senator Paul Tsongas's seat. Richardson was the former U.S. Attorney General who stood up to Nixon in the Saturday Night Massacre, a former Secretary of Defense and HEW, and former Lt. Governor of Massachusetts.

He is a liberal Republican who opposed the Republican party platform for its stand on the ERA and its pledge of no new taxes. Richardson is a representative of the old guard of the Republican party in Massachusetts. Even with the endorsement of former President Ford and many liberal Republican senators and politicians in the Northeast, Richardson lost largely due to his stand to raise taxes if elected.

In his concession speech, Richardson said, "This election is a critical one for the Republican party in Massachusetts, and Ray will have a long hard fight if he is to win this one for the Gipper [Reagan]. But he can do it. Go for it Ray."

Shamie on the other hand is a self-made businessman, who worked his way up in the world. His father was a union truck driver during the depression who died in a truck driving accident. Ray had to go to work mopping floors and washing dishes to support his family.

He attended an engineering school for two years while holding a full time job, and then went to work for a manufacturer of steam locomotive accessories as an errand boy. Four years later, he worked his way up from an errand boy through the foundry and metal working departments to assistant plant manager.

During World War II, Shamie volunteered and earned his wings as an Army Air Force Pilot. After the War, he went into a new company and tried to interest management in his idea for new welding techniques, but was turned down.

1984 Republican Senatorial candidate, Ray Shamie.

Ignoring many people's advice he decided to leave the company and risk everything he owned by founding his own firm. Now a multimillion dollar high-tech enterprise, the Metal Bellows Corporation employs five hundred people.

Ray's political involvement started with his programs to educate high school students, area teachers and his own employees about economics and free enterprise. His public affairs programs are used as models by corporations around the country. He is the founder and Chairman of the Productivity Communication Center, a non-profit educational foundation in Boston. He is also active in local Walpole politics.

Ray stands with President Reagan's policies and the Republican party platform. He pledges no new taxes and supports a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

He favors arms reductions and a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union, but only if the agreement is balanced and verifiable with on site inspection.

He supports President Reagan's economic policies and the efforts to make government less of a burden on small businesses. After all, small companies create jobs, and they provide the most lasting way to reduce unemployment and improve economic productivity.

Also, he does favor an acid rain commission, stronger environmental policies, and the passage of the ERA with certain amendments.

The campaign trail was tough for Ray but with his impressive victory over Richardson and the recent endorsement of Reagan-Bush, he will be a tougher candidate to beat in the final election against John Kerry, his Democratic opponent. Furthermore, in his 1982 senate race against Kennedy, he kept Senator Kennedy to his smallest victory ever by winning 40% of the vote.

Many papers, such as the *Boston Globe*, believe Ray has little or no experience in politics. This comes from papers that six years ago endorsed a local politician in the city of Lowell for the U.S. Senate, Paul Tsongas.

Ray's fight with the Globe has been a long one. Against Kennedy and Richardson, the liberal reporting and editorials attacked Shamie calling him a unexperienced, conservative hard-liner who didn't deserve to win. The Globe treated the word conservative as if it was a dirty word.

In his acceptance speech, Ray asked President Reagan to come to Massachusetts and endorse him but he warned, "The Globes Here." He went on to say, "In Massachusetts, we love to make history." Ray's nomination was a fight for the soul of the party. Ray is a moderate Republican who is part of the Reagan renaissance but not part of the old guard. Ray wants to rebuild the GOP in this state with the New Realism of Reagan. He prides himself as being the candidate of principle rather than politics. He sees the Reagan recovery as the American miracle and believes the recovery has preserved the family unit by providing jobs for Americans.

In his victory speech he reiterated his beliefs and principles which haven't changed throughout the Kennedy or Richardson Campaigns. Already his democratic opponent, John Kerry, has changed his mind on taxes. In the primary fight, he said he would raise taxes, but now he says only if it is necessary will he raise taxes. But ploys like this are similar to the failed attempts that Richardson made toward Independent voters and conservative Democrats.

Kerry is trying to attract those conservative Democrats to the campaign of a liberal Democrat. If the voters go to the polls this fall to vote for Reagan, it is hard to believe that they would vote for Kerry.

Ray Shamie is an instinctive fighter and survivor. He survived the depression and fought in World War II; he risked everything and survived the business world, coming out on top of the American dream; he survived the primary against Richardson, the favored candidate, by a landslide 2 to 1 victory; he survived and fought the attempts of the *Boston Globe* to influence the primary by slurring his campaign; and he will survive the final election and fight in Washington as our next U.S. Senator.

If Reagan wins Massachusetts as he did in 1980 election, Ray Shamie will win the U.S. Senate seat.

Mulroney

continued from page 1

economy, the Progressive Conservatives won by overwhelming margins. Ferraro cannot draw the support she must receive, and her economic platform—taxes—constitutes negative action during economic vitality.

And that's why she and Walter Mondale will lose by overwhelming margins in November.

A Jobs Bill That Works

continued from page 3

What, then, is holding up Congress?

The Senate has passed the Enterprise Zone Act twice. Over 250 members of the House of Representatives—150 Republicans and 100-plus Democrats—have co-sponsored the legislation. Everyone is aware of its successful track record at the state level.

What is the problem?

Well, if you guessed that the liberal leadership clique that runs the House of Representatives is holding up this job-creating bill, then you have been paying attention for the last four years.

Yes, once again, we can thank Tip O'Neill and his small group of committee chairmen who keep bills like the enterprise zone legislation from coming to the floor of the House for a vote.

The problem, you see, is that they know the enterprise zone legislation would work. They know it would create jobs. So, if they pass it and Reagan signs the bill he had championed for years, it will be harder to attack him for being unfair and unfeeling about the poor.

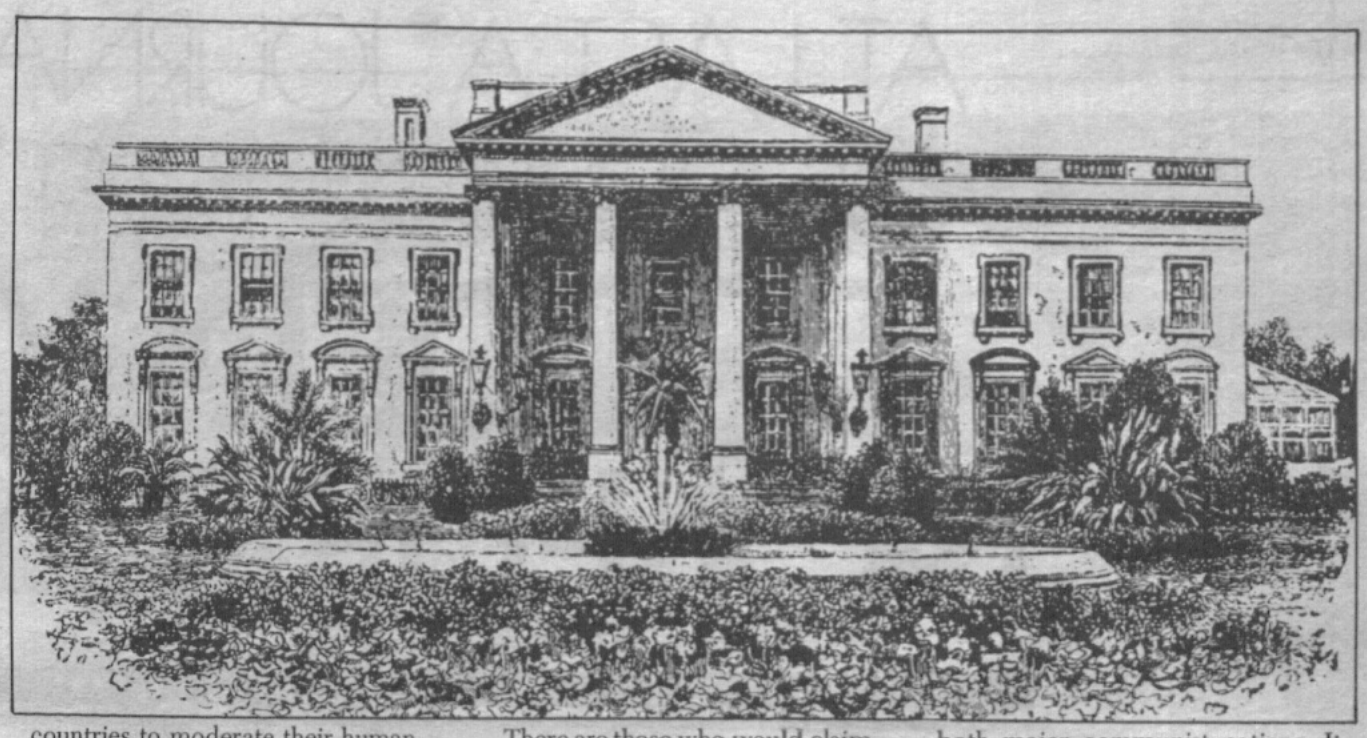
And this is an election year. It is tragic, but Tip and Friends are willing to kill the hope of thousands of Americans who need enterprise zones in order to win a few debating points.

It is the ugly side of politics.

Lesher is the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

The Advantages Of Being A Conservative President: Freedom Of Action

Stuart Weichsel, A'86



The image that accompanies a conservative President of the United States of America is in itself an asset for the country. While a newly elected liberal President may suffer from international doubt of his resolve in foreign affairs, a conservative president does not suffer the same disadvantage.

A conservative president enters his executive position with the full commitment to protect the interests of the United States, not to uphold outlandish ideology, while a more liberal Chief executive may be limited to a more utopian practice, and as such may not have a full range of foreign policy options, positions to either be taken or used as negotiating positions.

For example, when President Carter was elected, he came into office with "moral and humanitarian" commitments that limited his immediate course of action. He was limited by his absolute commitment to human rights, over any other consideration; the result was alienating many of our allies and ignoring communist states. Instead of being able to influence certain countries to moderate their human rights position, Carter was limited to endorsing or isolating any one country; and if America alienates an ally, we lose its strategic importance as well as any leverage to create change in its internal conditions.

While Carter's ideology cleansed the moral soul of liberal American politicians, it left America the laughing stock of the world international community. America was playing by utopian rules, while the rest of the world was playing hardball.

There are those who would claim that the first 18 months of the Carter Administration were frought with failures caused by political naivete. The entire campaign to make the world "good" through human rights and the flexing of American diplomatic pressure collapsed around President Carter as reality challenged his ideals.

And yet, he cannot be proclaimed valueless, for by the last year of his administration, and especially the hostage crisis, President Carter had learned that reality must be faced. It may be noted that President Reagan's arms buildup was actually begun under President Carter.

Other Democratic presidents have suffered the same fate in office. President Kennedy, although known best for the Cuban Missile Crisis, started his term with the Bay of Pigs and a complete foreign policy disaster. He also learned about the world of *realpolitik* by the end of his term, but not without a foreign policy cost.

Most conservative politicians have had less difficulty with foreign policy in office if only because of their foreign images. The image of a conservative president shown to the rest of the world depicts a leader willing and able to take whatever actions necessary to protect American interests. Thus, the possible actions of America are considered more realistic. In effect, having a conservative President reduces the challenges to American will and power, since such a leader is perceived to be more willing to use the resources available to him. It is an instant deterrent to war.

There is another major advantage to being a conservative president of the United States. In dealing with communist nations, it is generally perceived that a conservative president can be trusted to protect America's interests against communist nations.

An excellent example of this activity is the ability of President Nixon to deal with both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China successfully during his terms in office. Being a strident anti-communist for his entire political career, President Nixon was able to lead the way to better relations with both major communist nations. It could not be imagined that he, an ardent anti-communist, did not question the actions and interests of every communist nation he dealt with during his presidency.

A conservative president may face dissent from his more conservative supporters over his temporary abandonment of a foreign policy, but he would not face domestic revolt from the opposition.

This added freedom of action that a conservative president may have over his liberal counterpart gives him possible foreign policy opportunities that few others could duplicate.

With the power as an American president, he may use a carrot and stick technique in an attempt to separate the U.S.S.R. from some of its allies.

This is not a policy that has been overlooked in the past, for the Soviet bloc has lost allies to the West in the past. One of the more important has been Eygpt, which America has now been dealing very closely with, while only 20 years ago, Nasser was firmly supported by the Soviet Union.

This is policy that can be utilized elsewhere. By showing such a sharp disparity between the treatment of a friendly and a hostile nation (as in the case of El Salvador versus Nicaragua), progress can be made in improving American relations with ideologically hostile nations.

This policy can be used on such supposedly "oppositional" nations as Nicaragua and even Cuba. By using such a policy, nations that at least ideologically oppose the U.S. can be approached in a more effective and beneficial way.

Nicaragua can be offered the options through negotiation of either moderating its regional activity, and benefit from improved American relations, or attempt to hold out and face mounting U.S. opposition.

Thus a conservative president intrinsically has a stronger base in which to create viable American foreign policy. With worldwide respect and no straight-jacket of utopian ideals, he can effectively represent the United States in our world of *realpolitik*.

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AT LAST, A JOURNAL OF OPINION THAT'S DECIDEDLY NON-LIBERAL

"IT HAS BEEN A PLEASURE TO WATCH LEOPOLD TYRMAND AND THE CHRONICLES OF CULTURE CONFRONT—A LA ORWELL—THE SMELLY LITTLE ORTHODOXIES OF OUR TIME."—TOM WOLFE

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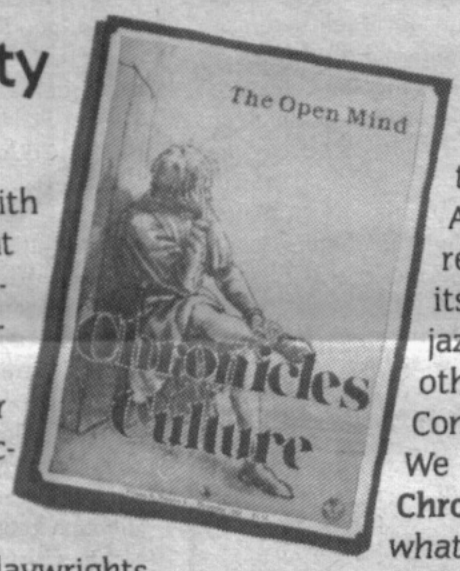

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NON-LIBERAL CRITICISM AT ITS BEST.

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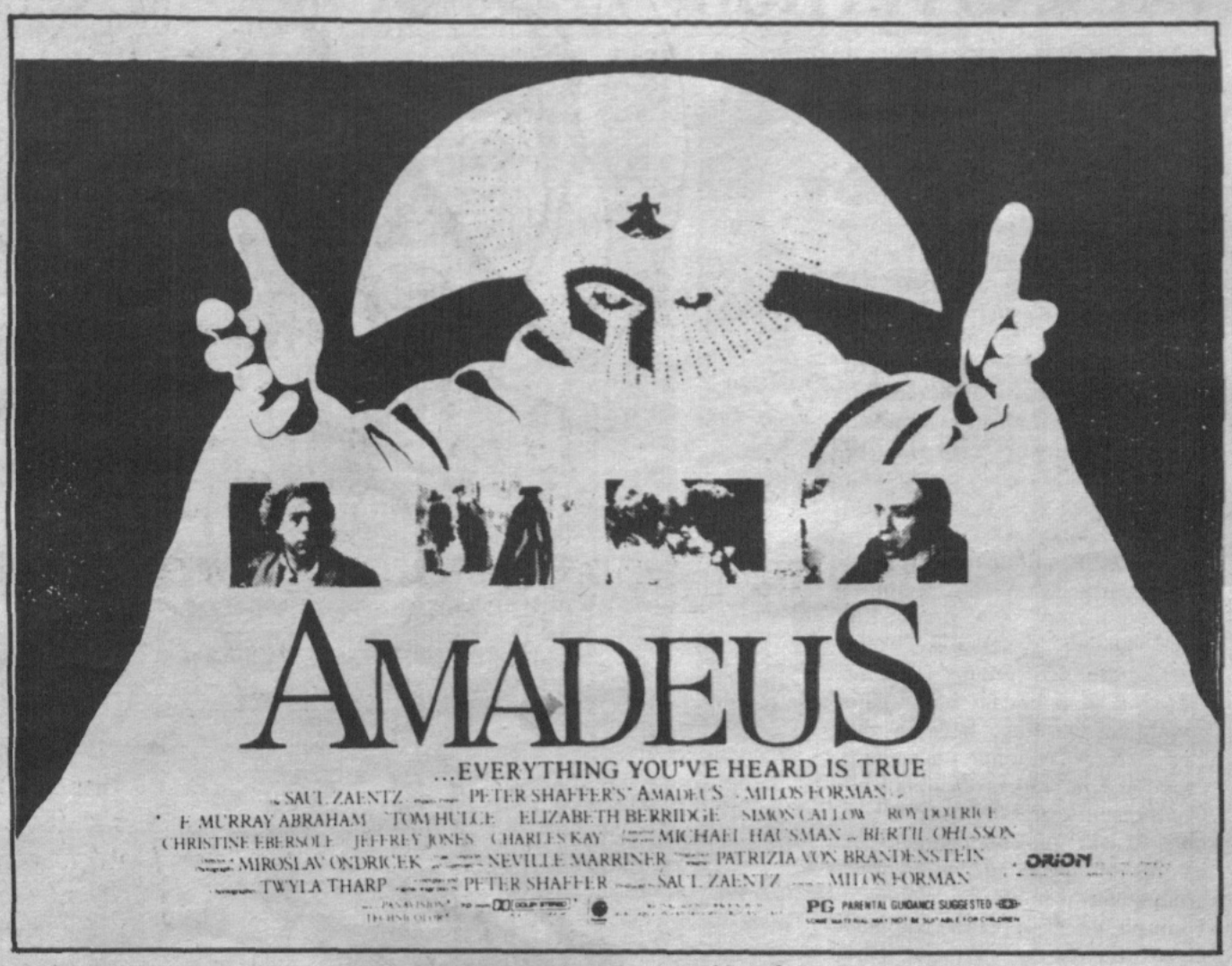
Film Review

Amadeus: The Play's the Thing

Brian Kelley, A'85



Theater and cinema have long had an intrinsic yet precarious relationship. Some of the earliest films ever made, those by the French director Georges Méliès for example, were in fact a form of filmed theater. Hollywood producers have always been eager to capitalize on commercially successful Broadway productions. By transferring Broadway box-office hits to the screen, producers hoped to profit from the vastly larger film-going audience. From *The Philadelphia Story* to *Equus* to countless movie musicals, theater has served as a ready-made source for film production.

Although theater and film share many of the same artistic efforts which combine to create the final product—acting, directing, set decorating, etc.—the two media are quite obviously entirely different. Within the confines of the stage, for example the impragmatism of frequent changes in the set decoration or costumes, theater must rely on the spoken word, the turn of a phrase, the gesture of an actor. Theater is, in effect, highly literal. However, film removes the confines of the stage. Frequent changes of location, costuming and makeup are possible. Camera placement and angle as well as the arrangement of shots and sequences determine the viewer's perception of situations and can connote meaning far beyond the literal narrative. Film is, in effect, highly visual.

Hence the precarious relationship between film and theater. Filmmakers who attempt to transfer plays or musicals to the screen verbatum invariably fail commercially and artistically because they do not employ the tools necessary to make a film a visual experience. The filmic adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion* is a paramount example; the movie was little more than the play itself posing as a film.

Milos Forman's *Amadeus* is the $18 million filmic adaptation of the eminently successful Peter Shaffer play. Forman and Shaffer spent four months rewriting the original script of *Amadeus* for the film adaptation. Both narratives tell the fictional story of the embittered Viennese court composer Salieri who claims to have poisoned, or at least driven to the death, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

However, significant changes were made in the play to "facilitate" the narrative of the film. Most importantly, the director downplayed the metaphysical undercurrent of the play in which Salieri is driven to madness by the incomprehensibility of God granting musical genius to an impious rambunctious clown like Mozart. Meanwhile, Salieri who has devoted his life and music to God must suffer to only realize another's greatness and his own mediocrity.

The film, like the play, is a confession of Salieri—although in the play this confession is made to the audience while here it is made in an insane asylum to a priest. The film is a flashback as the aged Salieri recounts for the priest the events leading to his murder of Mozart. It seems this device was employed to preserve some of the metaphysical aspects of the play. Not knowing how to visually enliven Salieri's theatrical monologues about the unfairness of Divine guidance, director Forman resorted to making the monologues shot-reverse-shot dialogues between the priest and Salieri interjected into the flashback.

However, Forman did realize at one point that he was dealing with a visual and not a strictly narrative medium. When Salieri, in the flashback, finally decides to forsake his devotion to God and murder Mozart, there is a low angle shot of Salieri throwing his treasured crucifix into a blazing hearth. The connotative and visual potency of this sequence is quickly retracted, however, as a cut forward to the asylum leads to a complete verbal explanation of this visual act in dialogue between Salierei and the priest. Cop out!

The flashback itself, director Forman and screenwriter Shaffer profess, was intended to portray in greater depth than the play the life and music of Mozart. Supposedly, the power of cinema would help audiences understand and appreciate Mozart's struggle and music. To this end, lavish sequences of Salieri viewing Mozart's operas were added as well as excerpts of Mozart's major works as music over. However, if music appreciation was the aim, the director once again failed. A five minute excerpt of *Don Giovanni* cannot possibly educate the audience of the power of this opera. The panoply of excerpts from various concertos, symphonies and overtures provide appropriate music over (mood music), but, once again, such works arranged in bits and pieces could hardly lead to a cohesive, comprehensive *understanding* of Mozart's music. The opera sequences are "pretty" to look at and the symphonic music over is "nice" to listen to, but all they do is expound on the narrative; to claim they provide insight into Mozart's life and music is precocious.

In the play, Mozart's father never appears. He is the mysterious entity who seems to control Mozart from afar, driving him and commanding his respect. This adds even more mystery to the play because Salieri is able to tap the anonymous power of Mozart's dead father—a death Mozart feels partly responsible for—and haunt the struggling composer disguised as the ghost of the father. Rather than trying to visually incorporate the connotative power of this theatrical craft, Forman and Shaffer simply introduced the father as a new character in the film. His constant quarreling with Mozart's wife, Constanza, visibly tears Mozart apart (notice the heavy emphasis on dialogue, however). The father's unyielding demands on his son force Mozart to drink more heavily. Although the charcterization of the father serves to explain Mozart's suffering, it detracts from the mysterious power Salieri yields when he comes dressed in black cloak and headset to demand Mozart write a funeral requiem. The power, the audience now knows, stems from the father's overbearance and the guilt he used to manipulate Mozart all his life.

All tolled, director Forman did not commit the first cardinal sin of converting a play to a film; i.e., he did not simply adapt the play verbatum. However, he did commit the first cardinal sin of filmmaking: he *told* the viewer everything and *showed* us very little beyond the opulence of big-budget American cinema. There is not one visual image in this film which is not either immediately or soon after explained in dialogue and stuffed down the throats of the viewer like pablum.

As a result, the movie achieves the same fate as Salieri: to languish in mediocrity. This film is only for those living in Wichita, Albequerque and other remote areas the play will never reach; the film *is* a sufficient substitute. However, if you live in a major urban area with a theater district, "The play's the thing...."

Mondale's Campaign Strategy Guarantees Defeat

Barry Weber, E'87

With the Presidential elections approaching rapidly, citizens across the country will choose for whom they will vote. Most Republicans are quite satisfied with President Reagan's performance and will vote for him again this year.

However, the Democratic Party's candidate does not inspire the confidence of many of the traditional Party members. Thus, without a strong base with which to gain support, the question remains, "Who will vote for Walter Mondale in November?" Mondale apparently thinks votes can be won by supporting the causes of single interest groups.

The Democratic Party bills itself as the party that directly supports the oppressed, the poor, the minorities, the peace-seekers and the liberal activist groups. It claims that the Republicans only care about the wealthy, because the Republican's economic philosophy espouses a purer form of capitalism. Consequently, the Democrats are able to win the endorsements of leaders of many special interest groups throughout the country. Examples of these are the National Organization of Women, the National Education Association, and almost every major labor union. But to obtain these endorsements Mondale must sell himself out to these groups by crusading for their causes.

One-issue voters constitute the group to which Mondale can most easily sell himself. These are people who will vote for a candidate simply because he supports E.R.A. or because he repeats the rhetoric of the nuclear freeze movement.

However, by catering to these one-interest groups, Mondale has been forced to create a campaign coalition in which he must, to receive its members votes, reign as champion of any liberal group seeking recognition for its causes. Unfortunately for Mondale, he is just learning that promising something to everyone is petty and insincere; it only creates friction between groups and alienates the majority of Americans.

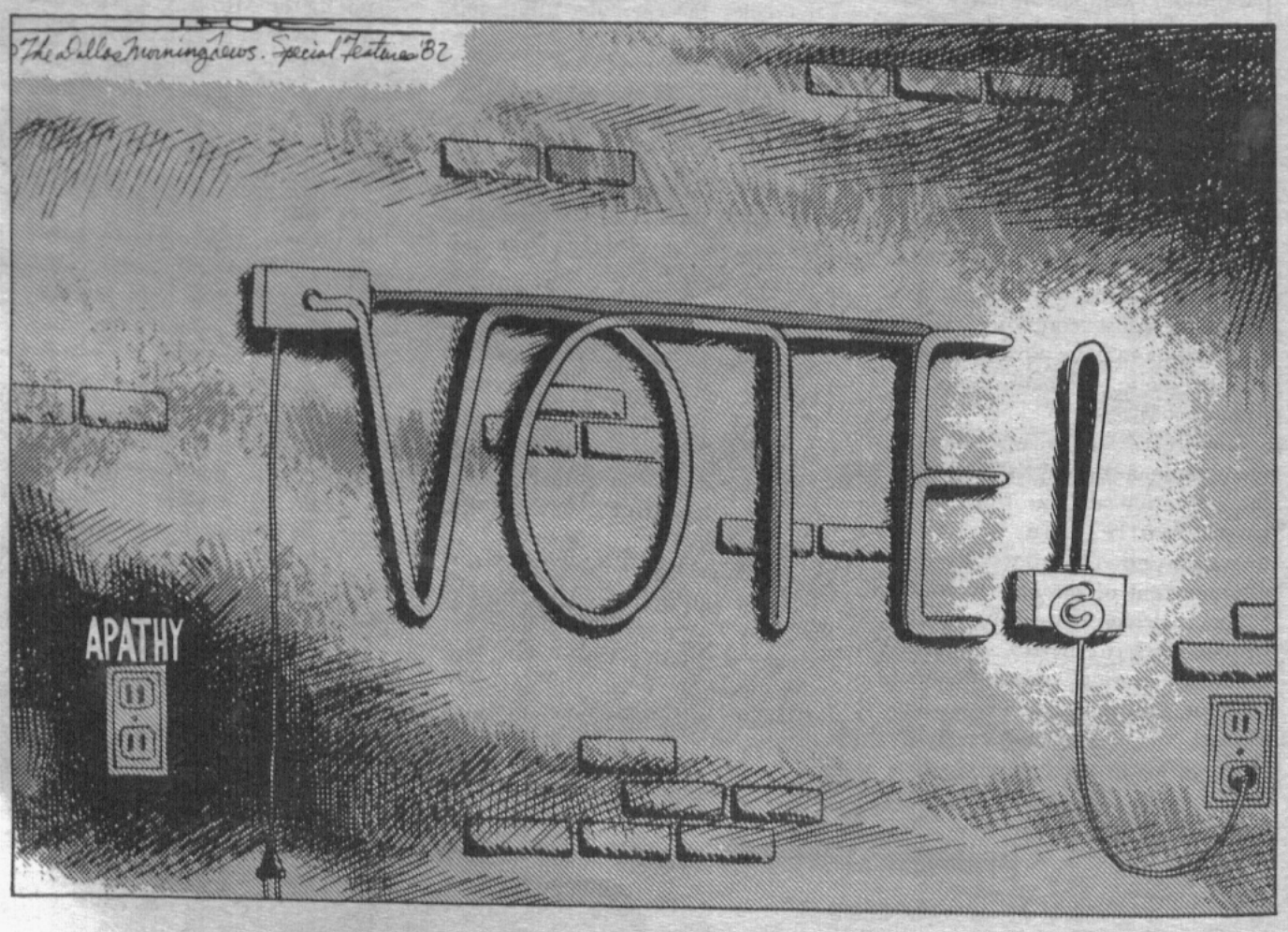
Mondale's unsuccessful attempts to please all groups is exemplified by the recent tensions between Jews and Blacks who belong to the Democratic Party. Both groups are longtime supporters of the Democratic Party, but since Jesse Jackson has become the power-broker for Black Democrats, Jews fear his influence in the campaign will create an anti-Israel President Mondale, cynical of the concerns of American Jews. The Jewish voters are worried that Jackson's views supporting Arafat and Assad in addition to his socialist platform (such as affirmative action) will be adopted under a Mondale presidency.

Mondale further alienates voters because he subjugates himself to organizations that view government as a panacea, in which more government (at the cost of the taxpayer) is inherently better. Obviously, this does not reflect the consistent themes of the American voter: responsible, limited government and fewer taxes. Americans ideologically reject the philosophy of many liberals and understand and support Reagan's theme that the welfare state is a disincentive in a productive society.

Finally, Mondale has courted the union leaders with the falacious assumption that union *leader* support can be translated into union *member* votes. But Americans do not want a president hostage to any large group, neither business leaders nor labor leaders. Also, just ask any union member and he will tell you he is a independent voter; in a democracy, he, not his union leader, chooses for whom he will vote.

Obviously, the Democrats will win some votes from their party during this Presidential election year. However, many Democrats do not like what Mondale has to offer them. Mondale and Ferraro are seen by some as too liberal. Others will associate him with the disaster known as Jimmy Carter when stagflation was rampant and American morale was at its lowest in years. Also, there are those who will not vote for Mondale because he is not a strong leader.

However, Mondale will lose most of his traditional voter support because he looks twice as bad when compared to the incumbent, President Reagan. Currently, the economy is vibrant, with both inflation and unemployment decreased. Mondale claims that the recovery is only temporary, but the public believes that Reaganomic's capitalistic ideals are rebuilding this country. And raising taxes, as Mondale proposes, will only stagnate the economy. In the past, when the government was given more money, it merely wasted it. What is to stop it now?

With regards to foreign policy, Americans are confident that they can be proud when President Reagan represent's America overseas and espouses its interest. Americans want a strong defense and are relieved that, since Reagan came to office, no country has fallen to a pro-Soviet, communist regime.

Thus, as long as Reagan runs a campaign that points out our booming economy and national peace, he will be reelected. Mondale neither has the charisma nor support even within the Democratic Party to convince Americans that he deserves to serve in the Oval Office.