

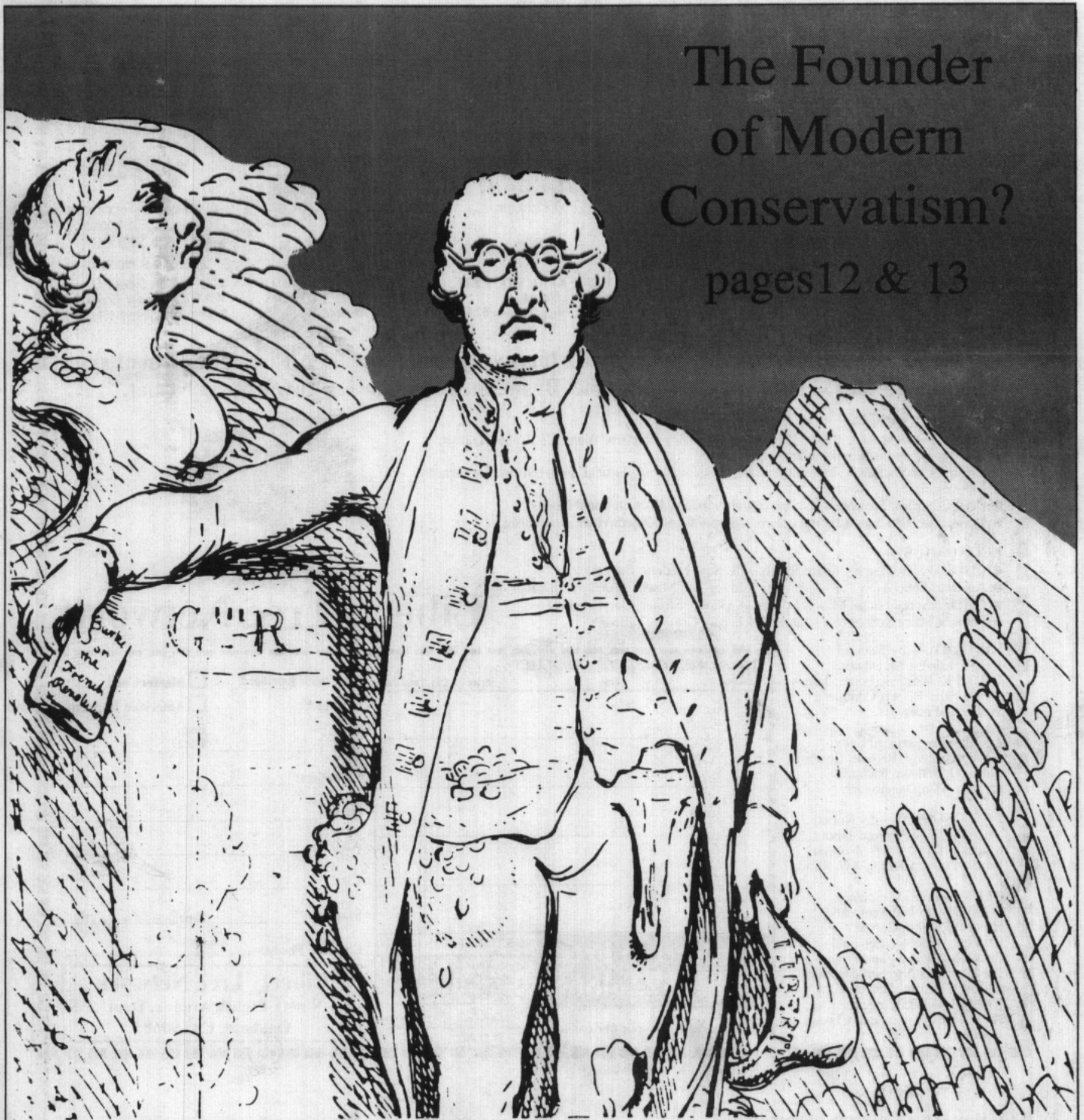
THE PRIMARY SOURCE

The Journal of Conservative Student Thought at Tufts University

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April 1990



The Founder
of Modern
Conservatism?
pages 12 & 13

THE PRIMARY SOURCE

THE JOURNAL OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENT THOUGHT AT
TUFTS UNIVERSITY

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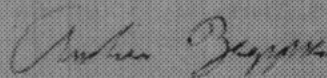
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From the Editors

The Primary Source is approaching an end to a remarkable period in its history. For the last two years *The Source* has been guided largely by the will of three individuals. Our journal has no chief editor, rather three people, three Co-Editors, must collectively run our publication. Martin Menke, Micheal Flaherty, and I have filled this role for four semesters. Today, thanks largely to Martin and Mike, *The Source* is something fundamentally different and strikingly better than what it was only two years ago. Now, as Martin and Mike are about to leave our school to pursue what will surely be fruitful lives, we must take a moment to say good bye to them and to our five other seniors who will be graduating with them. These seven companions have been so important to our thought and our progress. We have achieved a great deal together, made a few mistakes as well, but we have always viewed our role and each other in the highest respect. Our seven seniors can never be replaced either as colleagues or as friends. The best way we can honor them and what they have done is to continue the work that they so thoroughly cherished. So we say good bye, we say thanks, and hope for them the best.

for the editors,



Letters

Dear Martin (and the rest of your motley crew),

I understand that the Source "welcomes all letters" so I'd like to take this opportunity to do something not many liberals have ever done: namely, thank the Source for their excellent insight.

The March issue "Month in Review" section began with the recognition of "Asian Awareness Week" at Tufts. While I do feel this period is necessary to alert the community of the aspects of being an Asian in a generally white society, sometimes it can be taken too far. For instance, there are Asian support groups, Asian students dinners, Asian formals, Asian parties and of course the Asian Students Club. More often than not, Asians go to dinner together too. What good is the wonderful diversity we have at this university if non-Asians never are able to spend time with Asians?

I am an Asian and am very proud of that fact. I am not the slightest bit insecure about my culture but sometimes I wonder about many others on this campus. It seems that some are so uncertain about themselves that instead of trying to be the best individual they can in our society they hide behind their race. By telling the world they're Asian (or any other minority) repeatedly, if they don't get what they want, society's being racist. Please don't think I see no value in sharing experiences with others who have gone through similar ones, but wouldn't the ideal society be colorblind? Let's introduce ourselves as individuals, not members of a particular race. The Source is absolutely correct on this one

(though I had to look through 24 pages to find the one paragraph I could agree with).

Now the real reason I'm writing. Though Adam Conn no longer is the general manager of WMFO, our executive board is hardly "bewildered." Perhaps "overjoyed" would be a better description or "extremely happy" or "relieved." At the very least, the executive board must be described as "competent." (And don't you forget it!) Be nice now,

Bret Nalani Bicoy
Public Service Director, WMFO

TO THE EDITORS:

I have considered carefully Andrew Zappia's well-written and thoughtful article about me in the March, 1990, PRIMARY SOURCE ("The Political Chaplain"). I will try to be more introspective, but I do not feel I am using religion as a veil for political motives; instead I believe I am fulfilling a religious responsibility to speak out on moral and ethical issues (which may of course have political implications). However, I am deeply concerned if any student therefore feels alienated from me, perceives that I am not equally interested in his or her needs, or thinks that I am neglecting counseling, worship or teaching responsibilities. While I will not stop trying publicly to provide spiritual, moral and ethical leadership for the university, I will also do my best to find new opportunities -- interpersonal, pastoral, liturgical and instructional -- to try to convince ALL members of the Tufts community that I am indeed YOUR university chaplain and always available to you in need or not.

Sincerely,
Scotty McLennan

THE PRIMARY SOURCE welcomes all letters. The Editors of The Primary Source reserve the right to edit letters for length and clarity. Please include your name and telephone number for confirmation.

Mail To: Mayer Campus Center; Tufts U; Medford, MA 02155

Commentary

MASSPIRG

With last week's Senate vote of 15 to 9 to 0 to deny funding for the MASSPIRG chapter at Tufts, students were freed of the tyrannical group, but only in spite of themselves. More than anything else, it seems to have been MASSPIRG's scattergun publicity tactics which finally revealed for all to see that which many had long suspected of MASSPIRG; namely its inherently money-grubbing nature. Down but not yet out, MASSPIRG can be counted on to rear its head again next year. In this calm before the storm it therefore might be prudent to examine some contentions with which one could frame the next and (hopefully) final engagement.

MASSPIRG's stated goal is to advocate environmental and consumer protection--nice in itself, but in need of more explanation. Is MASSPIRG the only vehicle for expressing environmental sentiments? Against whom are they to advocate, at what level, for what reason? And advocate in what arena, the State House? The courts? Congress? Only well-funded lobbying groups can mount such a gargantuan political task, yet with plundered student money MASSPIRG can afford to play with the big boys. More importantly for students, what about the objects of MASSPIRG's noisy political broadsides? By whose standards are they evaluated? Are they naughty corporations which the MASSPIRG machine needs to politically eliminate? Who knows. Only the individual can answer these questions, and the decision to support any political cause based on these answers also rests solely with the individual.

When MASSPIRG initiates another non-binding referendum next year, consider that political causes like MASSPIRG cannot legitimately be funded by the collectivity based on the results of a campus-wide referendum question, because the collectivity has no authority over what political causes the individual chooses to support, if any at all. If nothing else, consider that an early civil libertarian, Thomas Jefferson, believed that to force somebody to furnish funds for political ends is "sinful and tyrannical."

Sex Sells

We have noticed a recent proliferation of skin in the advertisements of many national magazines. There are ads blatantly insinuating orgy, showing tangled arrays of bodies with shadows falling on all the wrong places. On occasion one can even find a breast. We do not feel this is an appropriate way to advertise.

The more traditional subliminal messages and phallic symbols allow the consumer a certain mode for denial of "sex sells." We call for a return to the more traditional means of selling with sex.

Space

After more than ten years of technological breakthroughs and financial setbacks, NASA announced that all systems are go for the launch of the Hubble Space Telescope aboard the Space Shuttle. The scientific community, and really the whole interested world, anxiously awaits the startup of this phenomenal optical device which will allow humans to peer into the celestial depths unoccluded by the earth's atmosphere.

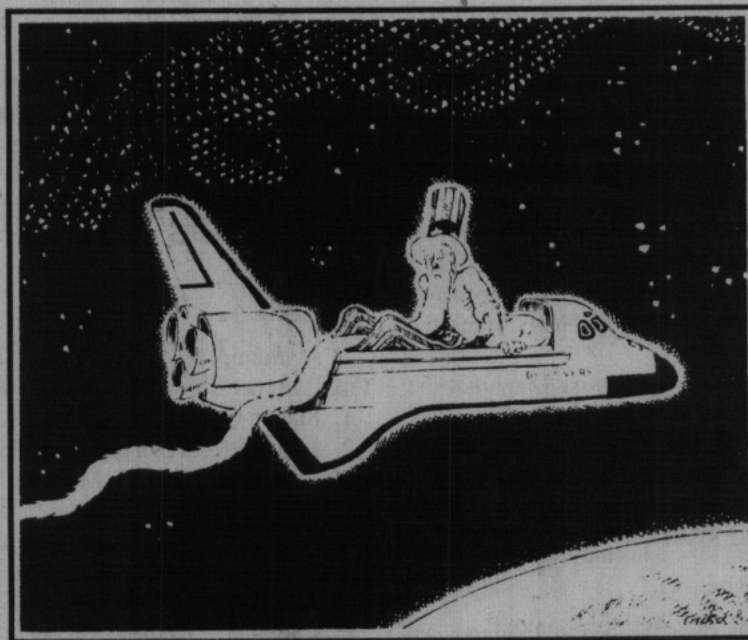
Among the innumerable marvels which will be revealed to us are Barnard's Star and the star Vega. Earthbound astronomers suspect that Barnard's Star possesses a planetary system which may resemble our own, and they have observed a dust cloud surrounding the star Vega which is quite possibly an infant planetary system.

Condolences

The staff of **THE PRIMARY SOURCE** extends its sincere condolences to the families of Anne Borghesani and Roger Woldorf at the loss of their loved ones. We pray for the repose of their souls.

Maggie May

Two weeks ago Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party in Britain lost a crucial Parliamentary by-election to the Labour Party in a seat once considered safe for the Conservatives. After this electoral loss, riots in London, two years of nascent dissatisfaction with Tory leadership, and a recent poll which put Tory support at twenty-four percent nationwide, even Parliamentary back-benchers are now grumbling publicly for Mrs. Thatcher's resignation. But even though Mrs. Thatcher may be at a low point in her political life, it is not yet time to bounce the Iron Lady out of 10 Downing Street. For example, her warm-ish relationship with Soviet leader Gorbachev has placed her in the enviable position of leading British interests into the opening markets of Eastern Europe. Considering this rapidly developing new world environment one would hope Mrs. Thatcher could get her party together before the Labour shadow government sneaks into power by default.



Month in Review

PS

After the Lord God Jumbo sent ten plagues down upon the heads of the people of the land of Tufts, the Pharoah Knable was sore afraid, for her first born policy had been taken by the Angel of Death. The Tribes of the Seniors left Medford *for the Real World*, about one thousand (or five thousand *by the reckoning of the Billyites*) on the march. People of *various sorts* joined *them* in great numbers, including their *families*. There were Saabs and BMW's, too, yea, verily. The time *that the Seniors* had spent in the land of Tufts was four years. *And on the day* that the four years ended the entire array of the Jumbo left Tufts. They had been driven out of Medford with no *time for dallying* and had not provided for themselves employment. *Thus*, their wallets were unleavened. In remembrance of that *day we give* no offerings as alums.

The Jumbo spoke unto Martin and said, "Consecrate all the first-born to my institution, the first issue of every womb. *Whether man or feminist*, this is mine."

Martin and Micheal said unto the Seniors, "Keep this *day* in remembrance, the day you came out of Tufts, from the house of Diversity, for it was by sheer *luck* that the Lord God Jumbo brought you out of it. On this day in the *month* of May you are leaving Tufts to enter the land of the Engineerites, the Doctorites, the Lawyerites, and the Accountantites, a land *with cash flow* problems, taxes and utilities."

And though they were *sore afraid*, the Seniors knew that the Lord God Jumbo would be watching over them always. Thus they went out from that spot...

from the *Book of Diversity*;
Exodus, 12:37-51

PS

In response to all the whoopla over the peace dividend, we suggest a top ten other ways to spend the MassPIRG dividend:

1. Increase funding for the *Source*.
2. Buy Peggy Barrett a wig.
3. Get the *Source* its own computers.
4. Give Ross some money for all those "special" favors.
5. Buy the *Source* a new office.
6. Buy Dean Knable a copy of "Strunk and White".
7. Get the *Source* a full-time coordinator: W.F. Buckley
8. Buy IGC some votes on CFS.
9. Buy the *Source* a company car.
10. Give MassPIRG one hell of a bon voyage party.

PS

While Brown University almost snared Mikhail Gorbachev as its graduation speaker, Tufts seniors have will have the unenviable privilege of hearing Robert Coles at the May twentieth Commencement. Robert Who?

The better question is Robert Why? The University's fiscal belt-tightening has apparently squeezed out funds for a more memorable windbag. But, Bob was not found in the Commencement Speakers' Booth at the Intercollegiate Bargain Basement. He was purchased

in Harvard's Boutique.

While THE PRIMARY SOURCE has not learned the actual amount of Coles' compensation, we know it is at least fifty cents for the #96 Bus. Seventy five if he takes the T.

The selection of silver-tongued Bob also shows how Tufts has *never quite recovered from its case of Hah-vud envy*. Since the "Light on the Hill" has *never flickered* with the academic brilliance of the Charles River Boys, the ole Brown and Blue has *resigned itself* to adopting at least the politics of, if not the reputation of, the Iviied Crimson. Tufts seniors have endured four years of the revisionism, deconstructionism, and hard-core socialism spouted by their ideology-bound professors. But the University feels that the soon-to-be alums *need one* more dosage of left-wing guilt, this time administered by a *pinko shrinko*. However, this time the listeners will not be *required to compromise their intellectual integrity* by regurgitating the *disagreeable diatribe on an exam*.

The new danger is that our unsuspecting parents and relatives will equate this kind of *exhortation* with education. Is the company of learned people good *company*?

Alas, seniors should *not complain* too much. It could have been worse. The speaker could have been Clifton Wharton. Or Gloria Steinem.

PS

In an attempt to improve future Tufts Commencements, we on THE PRIMARY SOURCE propose an alternative list of speakers:

1. Steven Gobie: We understand that he comes real cheap.
2. Joel the Homeless Guy: At least he has a reputation.
3. A videotape of Jean Mayer's Matriculation Address.
4. Gus Hall: He's dying for an audience.
5. Anna in Hodgson: Her speech will be brief, "Pizza, Pizza."
6. John Sununu: Whoops! We forgot he's too good for us now.
7. Ginny Hamilton: We hear she's only asking \$33,000.
8. Rich Little: At least he could imitate someone important.
9. Jessica Hahn: At least she's done someone interesting.
10. Lenin: The political climate on this campus would be more to his liking than that in the Kremlin.

PS

The *Source* has spent a fair amount of time this year poking fun at Billy Jacobsen. Well, we would like to thank Billy for being such a good sport. We would also like to say that we are sorry for our erroneous entry in the Month in Review last month stating that Billy stole the Financial aid issue from Stu Rosenberg. We have devoted a lot of copy to Billy and we hope he knows it was all in good fun and that we will really really miss him next year.

PS

Now that Dartmouth has lost their "Indian", Tufts should follow in suit and retire the Jumbo. After all, now that he's dead and burned, do we still have to oppress elephants? The civilization of mankind was built on the blood, sweat, and tears of the African elephant. It's time we all acknowledged that we are all bestiaphobes, and stopped being speciesists. Punish the Pachy Patty Payoff Perpetrators.

PS

As the school year finally draws to a close, we become misty-eyed when we reminisce about all the happenings of the past year. Who could ever forget...

- the Wessel Whacker?
- the administration's carefully thought-out "free" speech policy?
- homophobia, vegophobia, bestiaphobia,...
- guerilla theater, the best form of drama at Tufts?
- the movement of student feminists (too bad they didn't move off the campus)?
- SOFA, our own private hate club?
- the chapel protest: another trial of first amendment rights?

We at the Source only hope that next year will be absolutely nothing like this one...

PS

Congratulations to the Central America Collective on finding some of the last communists outside Cuba and the American Universities. We always like to see a little humor mixed into serious political debate.

PS

After holding our breath for so long, Donald Trump has finally outdone himself- the Trump Taj Mahal. Coming up next: the Trump Pyramids, the Trump Gardens of Babylon, the Trump Washington Monument, the Trump Wall of China...

PS

In our next issue: Conservatives- How did we become God?

PS

As usual, this year's *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue has been met with the expected protests from various feminist groups. The Source would like to make it known that we do not believe that women should be exploited in such an "unrevealing" manner. Besides, women are much better exploited in the movie industry!!!

PS

TUFTS VERY OWN "ACADEMY AWARDS"

- Best Silent Film- the Chapel protest
- Best Press Release- Free Speech Movement
- Best Costumes- "Gorilla" Theater
- Best Set Design- Olin Language Center
- Best Actor in a Drama- Bruce "Die Hard" Reitman in *The Free Speech Policy*
- Best Actor in a Comedy- Bruce "Die Hard" Reitman, *F.S.P.*
- Best Actress in a Drama- Bobbie Knable in *Driving Me Crazy*
- Best Actress in a Comedy- Ginny Hamilton in *Teenage Mutant Ninja PIRGers*
- Best Makeup/Hair Design- take a wild guess!
- Best Overall Film- *I'm Different Your Different We're All OK!*

PS

THE PRIMARY SOURCE would like to dispel any rumors that Senator Marks is considering to take the Senate seriously. How preposterous!

PS

THE PRIMARY SOURCE would also like to dispel any rumors that CSL member Zappia is considering to take the Committee on Student Life seriously. Any committee that sees itself so insightful as to rewrite the Constitution of the United States is itself preposterous.

PS

Senator Randy Rabid Rabbit Ravitz was successful in his reelection effort largely because of his progressive campaign slogan, "I want to cut, cut, cut, and cut some more." The Rabbit was also a favorite due to his refined social graces. When invited to Media Advisory Board, the Rabbit responded, "Thanks for asking me to come and I spit on you, here, I spit on you again."

PS

Now that Ross Ginsberg is no longer the Senate treasurer, we are going to make a little prediction.

We would like to give a very special thanks to:

Matt Sands



Teenage Mutant Ninja PIRGers try to coerce another senator

MASSPIRG vs. The Senate

Andrew P. Zappia

MassPIRG is no more. Like a leech denied by its host, our PIRG has had its life flow of cash clamped and now begins the process of self destruction. Although MassPIRG still has its little office and a few hypnotized supporters, as a money making machine MassPIRG is dead. The decay of the superstructure will surely follow. While the issue of MassPIRG is hopefully concluded, the ramifications for our student Senate are considerable and will have important implications for the future. The episode with MassPIRG is precedent-setting for our student government in that with uncharacteristic courage the TCU Senate has finally shown itself cognitive of the financial responsibilities with which it has been endowed.

Tufts University is very unique in the way in which it funds its student organizations. Tufts has institutionally devoted itself to the financing of almost every student organization desirous of funding. Not only does the university require every enrolled student to contribute to the maintenance of extracurricular activities

through the student activities fee, but the university goes so far as to allow the students themselves to allocate the money. It is for this reason that the TCU Senate and Judiciary are arguably the most powerful and influential student government organizations in the country. With this power come responsibilities and pressures not easily borne by a student government.

The TCU Senate is given a yearly budget of approximately five hundred thousand dollars supplied by the student activities fee. This money is provided to them in a covenant of trust. The money is to be spent for the promotion and finance of student activities of every variety. It is to be dispensed judiciously, evenly, and without discrimination and political bias. The money must be spent by Tufts students for activities directly benefitting the Tufts community. Organizations are required to account for all their expenditures and avoid the payment of salaries to professionals. It is in this context that the funding of MassPIRG made such a mockery of the TCU senate's obligations.

Throughout the controversy concerning MassPIRG, no one has argued that it is an unimportant organization. Clearly the efforts of MassPIRG for environmental and consumer protection are truly beneficial. However, the central question was how should these efforts be funded, not the worth of the activities. This central question was often obscured by MassPIRG's own propaganda. They preferred to center the defense of their organization around the activities they pursue, rather than the means by which they acquire their funds. Unsurprisingly, their activities are infinitely more defensible than their funding strategy.

TuftsPIRG is a member of a statewide organization, MassPIRG, and is governed by a twenty-eight-school Board of Directors. Any TCU funds given to MassPIRG pass directly into the control of this Board. No receipts can be provided to guarantee that the money given to MassPIRG is devoted specifically to the benefit of the Tufts community. Furthermore, the state organization requires that over seventy-five percent of MassPIRG's funding be spent on salaries for professional organizers. Finally, the budgets for MassPIRG chapters are not calculated individually, but as a percentage of the total state budget. It is obvious from these factors that MassPIRG would have to achieve very special status to receive TCU Senate funding. It was the denial of this status that led directly to the suspension of MassPIRG's funding.

By rejecting MassPIRG's budget request, the TCU Senate has finally begun the task of applying equal standards to all student organizations. Even more importantly, the Senators have shown themselves so committed to fiscal responsibility that they would even reject funding for an organization that most of the Senators find politically agreeable. This devotion to fiscal responsibility represents an act of courage as well.

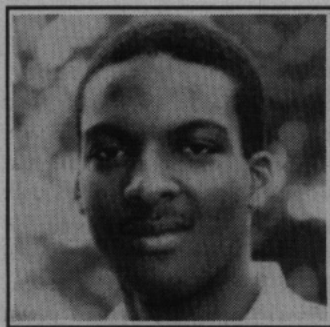
MassPIRG has consistently shown itself contemptuous of our student

The Big Goose Egg

*Democracy has triumphed one more time,
Hear the story, set down in rhyme.
MASSPIRG sought money, with one last plea,
Twenty-two thousand, perhaps twenty-three.
Co-ordinators and offices, expenses galore,
Depreciation, "miscellaneous" and much much more.
The budget was ludicrous, funny at best,
Typical fudging from the MASSPIRG pest.
The padding was blatant, without even a gloss.
Instead, ominous references to the big PIRG boss.
What was this money intended to do?
They wanted to pester and petition anew.
But they didn't obtain the money they sought.
What they finally received was naught point naught naught.
The big goose egg was all that they got.
For the likes of them, that's still a lot.
--Senator Chuck Marks*

Please see PIRG, page 20

The Men Who Would Be King



Directory photo

Julian Barnes has for a long time been considered the eventual star of the TCU Senate. His decision to enter into the "Junior's domain" by running for the TCU Presidency as a Sophomore shows that he is unwilling to await his appointed time to assume that reputation. Julian is a mover on the Senate. Considered efficient, rational, and shrewd, Julian has surely put

himself above the average Senator. Some have described him as a technocrat, the man with a plan, the organizer. Julian seems to enjoy tasks in the Senate where he can define the terms and deal with challenges factually and with accuracy. Some question whether he has the vision necessary to lead the Senate. This argument is aided to some degree by Julian's involvement in the financial aid issue. Julian played an integral part in the protest, but he seems to have no other issue on his mind. Surely, financial aid is of central importance, but with a platform so narrow, can he create a strong-issue based candidacy? In last Thursday's debate Julian began his remarks by stating, "I've been called pompous, arrogant, and conceited." It is true, he has been called all of these things. Part of this comes from his position on campus, he not only holds several influential "upperclassman" posts, but he carries himself like a Senior as well. This does not always induce favorable opinions from those who had to work much longer to move up through the ranks. Julian is ambitious, he'll tell you so himself, but it must be said that his ambition has benefitted the student body in many respects. Rather than pursue his goals in a private manner, Julian has committed himself to public service, describing himself as "by the students, with the students, for the students." Unfortunately, this is probably rhetorical garbage, especially in view of the elitist, club-like nature of the TCU Senate. But one must concede that at least his intentions, unlike his mannerisms, are well placed.

Julian would be the first African-American to be president of the TCU Senate. This fact may inspire support from many quarters. Regardless of his race, Julian is qualified to be president and it would be disappointing if the student body were to become less interested in issues than appearances. On most issues, from free speech to race awareness classes, Julian comes across as a positive moderate. Although, it always pays to play the moderate in campaigns like this one. The biggest question of Julian's candidacy is if he can inspire the TCU Senate to work together. In the past there has been much internal strife in the Senate. With his strong and condescending personality, subjugation rather than cooperation may become the rule of the day at Senate meetings. This would be a big step backward.

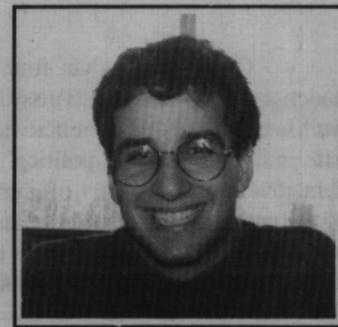
Harlan Tenenbaum has been the favorite for the next TCU President for over a year. Harlan is surely a smooth operator and has shown considerable ambition to reach the top. In his first weeks on the Senate, he attempted to get elected Parliamentarian with little or no experience. His eventual election to this position, to a council chair, and to Vice President show that he does inspire at least some degree of confidence in his fellow Senators. In his effort to be a popularly elected President, Harlan will have to shed the insider image that has won him so much success in the Senate.

In some respects Harlan is too smooth for his own good. He has been called everything from a demagogue to a snake oil salesman. Harlan likes to talk about creating a proactive Senate rather than what he terms the reactive body that exists today. It's funny, for a man so interested in being a creative leader, he is completely unwilling to stick his neck out on many issues. With the exception of Free Speech -- Harlan opposes any Free Speech Policies, he is a fence-sitter on most everything else. In being forced to face such a diverse student electorate, Harlan may feel he needs to be everyone's candidate to win.

Harlan in many ways is the typical resume candidate. He has achieved a great deal of electoral success during his years on the Senate, but in the realm of legislative accomplishment the plate is almost empty. There is nothing wrong with a resume candidate, however there is nothing particularly right about one, either. There is a big difference between succeeding the clubby TCU Senate and being a good President. Whereas in the old style of election the insider had the advantage, with a popular vote it could be a difficult obstacle.

Harlan has stated that the theme of his candidacy is "experience, responsibility, and results." Apart from being wholly generic, it is a good place to start. The TCU Senate has not been high on results or responsibility in recent years. Harlan knows the institution and his diplomatic qualities could be a cohesive force as President. There is no doubt that Harlan is a consensus builder, however his reputation as a visionary is more illusory. Harlan can surely keep the good internal relations in the Senate going, but will he be willing to make enemies to get something done.

In a Parliamentary election Harlan would have been a clear favorite; when facing all of the students he has a big job ahead of him.



Observer photo

-- Andrew Zappia

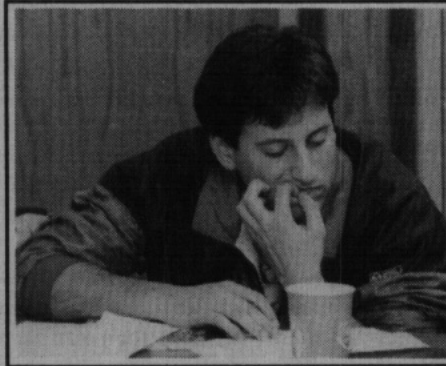
Time to Get Real

Martin R. Menke

Of the more than four thousand undergraduate students at Tufts University, well less than ten percent actively participate in the university's political life. Student government officials, officers and staff of the campus media, and the leaders of a few other student organizations determine and enact policy for their fellows. On them the burdens of public life lie, often lie heavily. The Tuftonian microcosm includes all the political forces at work in the "real world," and a few never heard of beyond the borders of academia. Differentiation between values specific to Tufts and such current in state and national society often proves difficult. Student leaders unfortunately lose the trans-Tuftonian perspective occasionally, becoming too wrapped up in the tiny world between Hillside and Powderhouse Hill, much to the campus' detriment. Student leaders take themselves too seriously.

If this fine journal ceased publication tomorrow, Tufts could possibly continue to exist. Even better, imagine how peaceful life without *The Daily* would be... Consider a Tufts devoid of ethnic strife. Students of all races would continue to achieve their degrees. A special victim of hyperinflated importance is the TCU Senate. The Senate fulfills one vital function, and one only, to approve the ALBO budget recommendation.

Do not misunderstand, all of these organizations serve legitimate purposes, but only within the context of the Tufts undergraduate community. The Senate's call to boycott El Salvadoran coffee or some foolish sit-in at a religious service resemble



Senator Ginsberg, hard at work

week-old *Daily* articles: In the great scheme of things, they don't matter.

How many students inform themselves about such momentous decisions as ALBO's recommendation of zero funding for MASSPIRG or Vice President Rotberg's tenure review? Of these, how many care? Finally, how many care to act? Probably no more than twenty percent of the student body. Of these twenty percent, half are the

same student leaders who raised these issues in the first place.

Granted, some issues are vitally important to the well-being of our community: free speech, financial aid, and incidents of intentional -- rather than ignorant -- racism or sexism. Even, or rather especially, the discussion of these issue, however, would benefit immensely from a more dispassionate tone in the university community. Heated argument and standpoints carried to the extreme are antithetical to dialogue.

Reconsidering the heated debate surrounding a number of campus controversies over the past three years, I now wish that in some instances, I had just sat back and smiled, rather than foolishly embroiled myself in some of these debacles. But then, Tufts would have been no fun at all. I imagine life after Tufts, a life devoid of the *Source*, *The Daily*, *The Observer*, TLGBC, Catholic Center, and Ballou Hall, that perpetual source of entertainment ranging from high drama to vaudevillian slapstick, will be quite drab and monotonous. I'll let you know...

Mr. Menke is a Senior majoring in History and is enrolled in the program for teacher certification.

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Census Absurdus

Chuck Marks

What's the difference between a Black and a Negro?

This is not a racist joke. It's the first question one might ask when looking over the new *Census Individual Report*. So, what is the difference? I have no idea, go ask the bureau.

The new form raises other concerns, particularly in the box labeled "Race". The United States government officially recognizes five ethnic groups: Native American, Asian, White, African American, and Hispanic. We'll pass over the facts that Hispanics are White, and that Whites, Asians, and Hispanics are able to be Americans, too, and get right to the heart of the matter.

The 1990 census form changes thing around a bit. Native Americans are requested to name their tribal affiliations. Hispanics are requested to name their national origins. Even Asians are requested to name a more specific back ground.

This is all well and good. We've begun to acknowledge that we cannot lump everyone into four or five "distinct ethnicities."

But what ever happened to the African American and the White? Are there no differences between an Anglo-Saxon and an Indian? Or an Egyptian and a Zulu?

The Census Bureau, and the government in general, not to mention Tufts confuses things by mixing terms. White is generally considered synonymous with Caucasian, and indicates race. Hispanic indicates language. Native American indicates place of birth. African and Asian indicate geographical origins.

A much better system would be the one that has begun to emerge, and is partially used on the new form: national origins. A person can now indicate whether one is Chinese or Samoan; Cuban or Puerto Rican; Mohawk or Seminole; but *not* Hungarian or French. Why the discrimination? Are African Americans or Whites more homogeneous than these other ethnic groups? Certainly not!

The government must recognize that human beings cannot be divided into a small number of arbitrarily defined groups.

They must begin to define more and more groups. And they must also consider that these groups can intermix. They must not only have French and Anglo-Saxon but also Franco-Anglo-Saxon, not to mention Anglo-Saxo-French, and Franco-Anglo-Saxo-French.

Sounds almost like there is an infinite number of groups. That's not true. There are only about five billion. Hmm,

that might mean a lot of fine print, maybe we should just leave questions of "race" completely off the form. After all, it is about fifty years out of date, isn't it?

Senator Marks is a sophomore majoring in Chemical Engineering and English.

After Completing Form


*Photocopy it. Do NOT tear THE PRIMARY SOURCE

*Mail to:
The Bureau of the Census

The Census Bureau estimates that this will provide the government with absolutely no useful information. Please fill it out carefully and take the time to answer the questions fully and truthfully.

Thank You
Mr. & Mrs. America

CENSUS '90



For Census use only
(We don't really use this, we just couldn't fill the space.)

3. Sex-Mark (✓) ONE Box

☐ Once a month

☐ Once a week

☐ Twice a week

☐ Once an hour

☐ Alone / Never

4. Race- Mark (✓) ONE box for the race you consider yourself to be

☐ Human

☐ Extraterrestrial (Print name of planet) _____

☐ 50m Hurdles

☐ Boston Marathon

☐ White Pig

5. Age(s)

a. Age ☐ ☐

b. Age at Kappy's ☐ ☐

c. Age at Janus ☐ ☐

1. Religion -Mark (✓) ONE Box

☐ Atheist

☐ Agnostic

☐ Pagan

☐ Mystic

☐ Skeptic

☐ Other

2a. Are you- Mark (✓) ONE Box

☐ A person WHO USUALLY IS CONSCIOUS or who is conscious most of the week?

☐ A person with NO MIND WHATSOEVER?

☐ A person WHO LIVES IN THEIR OWN SEPARATE WORLD (i.e. Tufts University)?

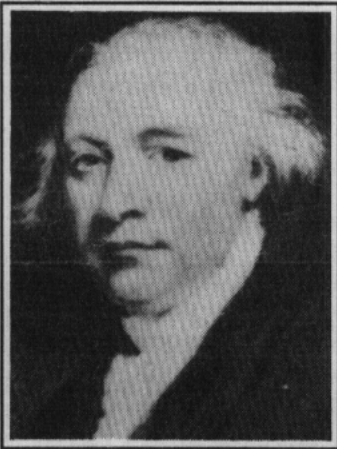
Form ABCDEF54321

1990 Improved Census Report

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BURKE BICENTENNIAL



This year marks the two-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. While Burke wrote in reaction to a triumph of radicalism, the conservatives of 1990 are fortunate to witness triumphs of traditional values as communist oppression is overturned around the globe. However, the success of our ideals also gives conservatives reason to reflect. Where should the focus of conservatives' energies be directed in the coming years? Even National Review, ever the bellwether of current conservative opinion, recently published a cover which boldly asked, "WHAT NOW?" In considering the future, conservatives turn to their roots. Hence, we turn to Burke. Two centuries after the publication of Reflections, how does Burke fit into contemporary conservative conceptions of political order? To what degree can Burke's ideas serve as models for formulating conservative public policy goals in the 1990's?

-TJM

Burke Reconsidered

Thomas J. Miles

A consideration of whether the political thought of Edmund Burke is still relevant for political actors today becomes a question of whether the father of conservatism was a man for all political seasons or merely a child of his own generation? The answer hinges on how our present American society and politics differ from those of Burke's eighteenth century England. Such an investigation must not become one of blaming Burke for what he did not foresee, for holding a figure of another age to the standards of our own is the essence of revisionism. Rather, the intention here is to evaluate whether Burke's thoughts may still serve as a useful guide for the self-styled conservatives of the 1990's.

At the heart of Burke's thought lies his traditionalism, the belief that society is held together by common culture, customs, and patterns of behavior. However, the America of the 1990's prides itself on its pluralism, having no set standards beyond the rule of law. What, then, holds a society together when the only shared custom and culture of that society is to have no preordained pattern of behavior? A number of recent books, including those by E.D. Hirsch and Allan Bloom, lament the nation's loss of shared experience. Yet, the

centrifugal forces at work in society are not only iconoclastic ideologies, but also a feeling of anonymity in mass society. Without a sense of belonging to reinforce self worth and dignity, the individual is not empowered to participate in society. Not only apathy but a desire to withdraw results. This isolation in industrial society becomes manifested in a longing for security, which is offered by, among other things, the suburbanized cocoon of so-called bedroom communities. Thus, the Little Platoons, the small groupings of individuals, which, according to Burke, provide the basis for loyalty to society as a whole, become more of a means to escape from society rather than to interact with it. The positive freedom to participate has been replaced with the negative freedom from involvement. The consequence is a limited sphere of experience, a narrowing of outlook, and an increased concern for individual interest. Faced with this compartmentalization of culture, those on the right of the political spectrum must wonder how does one be a conservative when there is precious little to conserve?

Without a common set of ideals, society lays an axe to the notion of a group of natural leaders, the Great Oaks, whose

purpose is to instill those ideals in upcoming generations. The series of scandals involving both legislative and executive government officials in recent years provides little hope that public service positions will be filled with individuals of superior virtue and ability. In fact, the prevalence of raw ambition and status consciousness among today's professional politicians have made the notion of "public service" bear little relation to the motivations of most governmental decision makers. Their motivations are found less and less in national unity and purpose and more and more in the chaotic convergence of interest groups upon government. The moral purpose that Burke saw the state possessing has been superseded by a materialistic one of parcelling out favors. Just as individuals organize in a firm to reap economic benefits from the market, now they also mobilize into pressure groups to claim a share of economic benefits from the state. In his 1795 "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity," Burke asserted that "the State ought to confine itself to everything that is truly and properly public..." However, the problem today

See Reconsidered, page 21

1790-1990

Catching up with Edmund Burke

Theodore R. Naemura

Political theorists everywhere have good reason to hail 1990 as a watershed year for political thought. The year will see unprecedented tests of democratic ideas as republics emerge from the ruins of totalitarian despotates in Eastern Europe, Nicaragua, Massachusetts, and other fair locales. Dovetailed perfectly with this celebration of nascent political freedom comes the bicentennial of Edmund Burke's publication *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, the ideas in which contain, as Burke himself stated, practical means of "linking the past with the future through the present."

But if, according to Burke's ideas, our country's future depends on what we have done with our country in the past, does this mean that political theories which are two-hundred years old also have relevance? Put another way, to see if Edmund Burke's ideas are motive forces in today's political climate we must see what in Burke indicates a two-hundred year continuum. This essay considers the position that Burke's ideas contain their own vehicles for continuity (in spite of Burke's position to the contrary), and that this continuity is borne out by holding the ideas up to history and experience.

With the benefit of almost ten years hindsight it is evident that America has recently gone through a revolution of sorts as well. In a slow-moving and natural manner, felt but largely uncomprehended by the majority, Americans overcame their own set of radical experiences in the 1970's--Watergate, race riots, Vietnam, Jimmy Carter--that thankfully were not rife with wholesale death, but were nevertheless politically dialectic. The impetus to right these wrongs came from a conservative, Ronald Reagan, who in steering the ship of state stood wholly within the Burkean tradition of forming the future with the wisdom of the ages. Our "revolution" was in

the truest sense a rediscovering of how great we as individuals and as a nation can be.

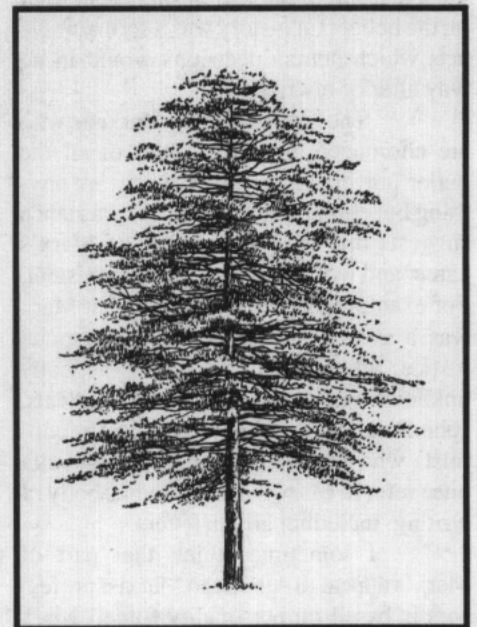
In fact, starting in the early 1980's the ideas of many longtime conservatives were thrust to the fore and became popular fodder for political dialogue around the country. William F. Buckley, Margaret Thatcher, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Pope John Paul II--the names and the ideas flow freely and easily. In the Reagan years, while the left was busy making a noisy show of ridiculing conservatives in the newspapers and on television, conservatives themselves were preoccupied with breathing new life into battered yet hallowed political ideas. Of course in doing this they did not have Burke's writings spread out in front of them as some kind of theoretical primer, and this essay does not at all mean to imply that such is a legitimate way to go about making policy. But the ideas upon which Burke commented are surprisingly similar to those many political actors comment upon today.

In his own times, Edmund Burke stood in reaction to many events going on around him. His *Reflections* note grave philosophical flaws in the French Revolution and explains his own position. French society, like all societies, was run by traditional institutions, and these had evolved through centuries of political experience. To know of these institutions--essentially the Three Estates--was to know the wisdom of the ages. On the other hand, Burke was a realist and recognized gross violations of the basic liberties of the French people. In France of 1789 what was politically pragmatic to Burke was gradual change, a slow yet deliberate adoption of republican principles which in tandem with the historic institutions would preserve those values and institutions which history and experience had shown to serve French society very well indeed. With the benefit of hind-

sight we know that the situations in France have settled down. But had political experience triumphed over reason--had the monarchy been shored up on a republican platform--Robbespierre and his Jacobin thugs might never have been let loose on French society, and Napoleon might never have found the means of thrusting Europe into a new era of warfare.

To draw the conclusion that Burke is a romantic monarchist or a myopic political thinker would be to miss the mark, because what he had to say about the American Revolution strikes a new chord altogether. To what be one's utter astonishment, Edmund Burke was a staunch supporter of the American colonists. We can even go so far as to call him a partisan of the American cause, because as a minister in Parliament he agitated on the floor for the Americans, criticizing British colonial policy and referring to King George III as a "schem-

Please see Catching, Page 21



Do we have any Great Oaks today?

Marxism and the American Professor

John P. Roche, Ph.D.

To say there are more Marxists at an annual meeting of the American Sociological Association than there are now in Eastern Europe is merely to utter a truism. But the closer you look at the views of these self-styled American radicals, the more you have to wonder about two crucial questions. First, what precisely do they mean when they call themselves "Marxists?" Second, what has led them to worship at the shrine of a minor nineteenth century economic and social thinker?

When I was young in the late 1930s and first entered into rhetorical combat with Marxists, one thing could surely be said: these characters had read Marx and read him closely. Nevertheless, they managed to disagree about most things. There was a basic consensus about one thing, however: Marx (as Engels put it in 1883 speaking at Marx's grave) was the Charles Darwin of social science, the man who had discovered the fundamental laws of historical change.

These laws doomed the capitalist to destruction as inexorably as Darwin's "survival of the fittest" prescription doomed the dinosaurs. This vision was not based on personal animosity -- after all, Marx and Engels had nothing but praise for the capitalist mission in the *Manifesto* -- but rather on the belief that history was a script in five acts which human decisions would in no way alter or rewrite.

The contemporary Marxists who are ensconced on the faculties of all the major universities in this country are anything but clinicians. Indeed my experience suggests that their knowledge of Marx's career and writings is virtually nonexistent. For example they seem to think that Marx was a great force in his time for social justice, when in fact he was practically unknown except among German radicals. John Stuart Mill, the great political economist who was a contemporary, does not once refer to Marx in his enormous body of writing, including all his letters.

I sometimes think that part of Marx's appeal to American Marxist professors is based on personality force. Marx

was a credit card radical, a perpetual student mooching first off his family and then, for the rest of his life, off the wealthy Engels. Luckily for faculty radicals, the university tenure system has made a pension from the likes of Engels anachronistic.

What then do today's radicals mean when they call themselves Marxists? Most important of all, they mean to express their dissatisfaction with the *status quo*, finding any *status quo* heartless. The fact



that this has nothing or little to do with what Marx actually believed does not seem to pose a problem. That Marx admired what is now known as "cultural genocide" and looked forward to Westernizing the natives has all been forgotten. Similarly, that Marx viewed alienation as simply part of the human condition, an automatic byproduct of the historical process, has been pushed off to the side. Instead, Marxism has become the repository of all ill-feeling about contemporary society.

This leads to my second question: If Marxists in the universities today do not study or even understand the life or teachings of the god, why is it that they call themselves Marxists? Here I think the answer is quite simple. American radicals in the academy are for various reasons anti-American and they think, quite naively, that the specter of Marxism haunts the

"American Establishment." Over the years, there has been a lot of fiery anti-Marxist rhetoric that could provide evidence for this view. But today, the average American businessman is more terrified by the Internal Revenue Service than he is by the threat of workers' revolution.

Moreover, given the high level of academic freedom and civil liberty Americans enjoy, denouncing the Establishment can easily get an ardent Marxist on the TV

news -- where he can bite the hand that feeds him with full confidence that he will continue to be fed. Beyond their emphasis on the sad state of the alienated masses -- still alas suffering from false consciousness and refusing to mobilize behind their natural leaders -- our Marxist academics have little to offer except a kind of primitive eco-

nomic determinism. In law schools, for example, it is considered quite daring to argue that any society's laws reflect the interests of the ruling class. Amusingly, Aristotle had this daring thought two millennia before Marx.

The "good news" is that most American academicians are non-political. Only a small minority are activists. The vast majority are inert, not because they are scared, but because they find academic politics a boring waste of time. Thus, while administrators begin their ritualistic preemptive capitulation to some noisy activist just as soon as the first blank round is fired, the bulk of American professors unfortunately say: "To hell with it -- let the dean deal with those clowns."

Dr. Roche is Olin Professor of American Government at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

Whereas the People of the Republic of Lithuania have lawfully declared their rightful independence from an immoral and unjust tyranny, and

Whereas that tyranny is imposed by an outside army which has occupied the territory of Lithuania illegally for 50 years, and

Whereas the Lithuanian Declaration of Independence must of needs command the assent of the several members of the community of nations, and

Whereas that assent has not been forthcoming, be it

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PS-3

Who Framed Roger Smith?

Anna Mollow

I wasted six dollars a couple of weeks ago on a movie which was supposed to be an "American classic," which prompted Siskel and Ebert to exclaim, "One of the year's ten best! Two jubilant thumbs up for this triumphant comedy. Easily one of the most entertaining films of the year." Far from being entertained, I was insulted and offended by the message that this movie attempted to convey. The movie, *Roger and Me*, is a very illogical attack on capitalism whose "humor" is funny only if the viewer is willing to look down upon people less fortunate than him or herself.

Written, directed, and produced by Michael Moore, the film is a documentary which takes place in the author's home town, Flint, Michigan. The scenario is the closing of the local General Motors plant, for which the company's president, Roger Smith, is made to seem solely responsible, and the ensuing ill fortune of the entire town's inhabitants, for which Roger Smith is also blamed.

Most of the documentary is an account of Michael Moore's attempt to interview the elusive Smith. Between visits to General Motors, Moore interviews a variety of residents of Flint, often highlighting their poverty and their ignorance. Some of these people attempt to escape the poverty into which their town has sunk, and others do not. Moore would have us pity those who do not and laugh derisively at those who do.

The people Moore chooses to represent who do something include the inventor of a lint brush, a Color Me Beautiful "color consultant," (she tells people what colors look best on them), and a woman who breeds rabbits and sells their meat. As Moore interviews these people, questioning them about the concerns that are part of

their work, which are often trivial or grotesque, the audience is supposed to laugh at them. We are supposed to snicker in condescension at the woman who earns money analyzing people's coloring and takes pride in her work and at the woman who kills rabbits without blinking because she does it for a living and is used to it. We are supposed to pat ourselves on the back for



being more intelligent than the color analyst and more "sensitive" than the rabbit breeder, although without a doubt the vast majority of the movie's audience eats meat, and judging from Moore's hefty physique, he is no vegetarian himself. Basically, we are supposed to look down on these people because they are too poor to afford the luxury of intellect and middle-class "sensitivity" that we enjoy. Moore is promoting "classism," the attitude which liberals often claim to despise.

The people who do nothing--for whatever reason--to save themselves from the poverty of their town are seen in a more favorable light. For the most part Moore does not talk to them; he merely shows them being evicted from their homes. By juxtaposing these scenes with segments of Roger Smith's speeches delivered in plush hotels, he tries to imply that somehow their

unhappy circumstances are Smith's fault. The guilt which most people experience when confronted with people much less fortunate than themselves is an important element of the audience's response to this part of the movie, and Moore plays off this guilt. But it is important to realize that much of the guilt we feel in regard to people who are poorer than we are is illogical. This guilt is based upon the assumption that we are responsible for these people's poverty. This is an erroneous assumption for two reasons. First of all, one person's being rich does not cause another person to be poor because the amount of wealth in existence is not constant; people are wealthy because they create marketable goods or services, not because they take them away from other people. The second reason that this assumption is ill-founded is that one person cannot be truly responsible for another person's wealth. People who truly believe that others' poverty is their fault should be compelled to sacrifice their possessions (and their expensive Tufts educations) and donate their wealth to the poor. Few, if any, are willing to do

this, least of all Michael Moore, who pockets the proceeds from his successful film.

Fortunately for the audience, there is another way of relieving their guilt: They can blame the entire situation on someone else--Roger Smith. But where is the logic in this? If we do not believe that it is our responsibility to sacrifice our wealth for the sake of the poor (and what student at a school which costs over twenty thousand dollars per year can honestly claim to believe in this?), then how can we believe that it is Roger Smith's responsibility? There is no reason that he should hold any more responsibility for relieving the poor than anyone else.

Often the movie implies that he is

Please see Roger, page 20

The Real Media Conspiracy

Tom Kaufman

It seems Israel has gained pariah status by the press for its West Bank policies. The standard news line is -- "The Israelis have been occupying territory that legitimately belongs to the Palestinians; hence, the Arab uprising is totally justified." This statement contains a laughable paucity of fact. If we delve into all aspect of the West Bank question we can see the wisdom in the words of the Israeli right. Examine some of the media myths:

MYTH #1: Israel took the West Bank from the Palestinians.

Israel did nothing of the kind. Jordan annexed (read absconded with) the West Bank in 1950. In 1967 Jordan, along with Egypt and Syria threatened to destroy Israel and began amassing tanks on the Israeli border. Israel responded with a pre-emptive strike, destroying the Arab armies in six days. At the end of this war, Israel occupied the Golan Heights of Syria, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Sinai Peninsula. All of the above territory was taken from attacking Arab armies, not the Palestinians.

MYTH #2: Israel has no right to annex the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel defeated three invading Arab armies and, as the victor, it may take the spoil, the occupied territory. Disagree? Well then, you ignore history. Germany lost much territory after World War I, Japan after

World War II. The best example, however, is the United States, which grabbed California, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona from the Mexicans after the Mexican American war. The United States "stole" territory that now makes up approximately one-third of its GNP in the same manner Israel "stole" the West Bank. If the United States would set a good example and give these back, I'm sure Israel would gladly do the same. The common retort is that this happened a long time ago, in a different age. Does this mean that if Israel can hold onto this territory for some amount of time its claims will become legitimate? Israel has historic rights to the West Bank; does the United States have those rights over its territory? The fact of the matter is that if you are against annexation, you would fit in well with those "downtrodden, and peace loving" PLO men, for you are for returning Israel to its pre-1948 borders -- nothing.

MYTH #3: The Palestinians have a long history of controlling the area of Palestine, so they should be allowed to control part of it now.

The area of Palestine has switched hand more than thirty times in its 3700 year history. The land has been under the control of the Egyptians, Jews, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Syrians (then Seleucids), Byzantians, Armenians, Romans, Turks, Crusaders, Arabs and British. There is great

controversy as to who has a right to the land, but two fact give the Israelis a good claim. First, Jews were the only ones to ever hold Palestine as a sovereign nation, under David and Solomon. Second, there is no other Jewish state whereas there are some

twenty arab regimes. The holocaust was just one of many reminders that Jews are not welcome as equals in any society. Many a society has treated the Jews cordially, until the Jews became too powerful. The people then simply killed or expelled their Jewish population. Israel is the only safeguard against this happening again. The West Bank was formerly Judea and Samaria, the center of ancient Judaic culture. If the Israelis have no right here, they certainly have none to the rest of Israel. Will the Palestinians survive without an independent homeland? I think so.

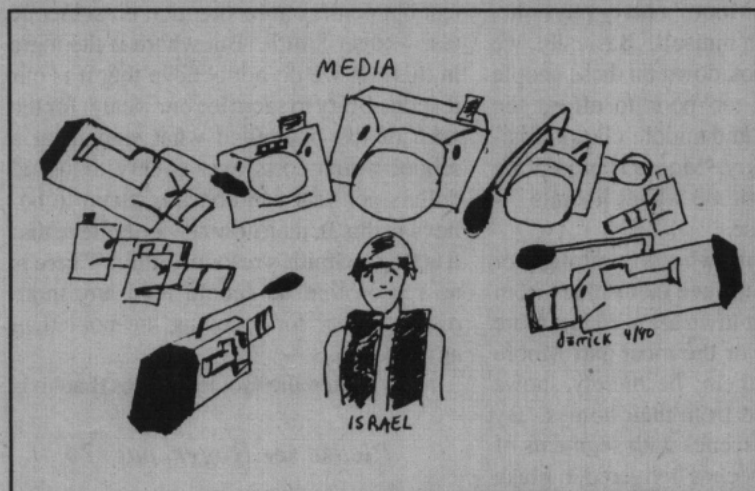
MYTH #4: There is no Palestinian State.

There is, it is called Jordan. Jordan was formerly part of Palestine Mandate. Britain split it off in 1922, appointed a Saudi Arabian King and called it Trans-Jordan. Trans-Jordan, shortened to Jordan, has a population that is sixty percent Palestinian. The Jordanian Hashemites do not call it a Palestinian homeland for they enjoy their control over the territory. However, Palestinians still constitute a clear majority. If you are not at home in a majority then it really is true that you can never go home again.

MYTH #5: Israel's concept of occupied autonomy is ludicrous and unfair.

Israel is being extremely fair by even offering the Palestinians autonomy in the West Bank under Israeli occupation. Israel has to constantly worry about its existence. Three wars in under fifty years prove this. Israel will not allow an independent Palestinian state for it would have to be weak enough to not threaten Israel. If this were to happen, another Arab country, like Saddam Hussein's Iraq, could easily annex it or use it as a base to plant missiles to fire at Israel. Israel is willing to grant to the Palestinians twenty times the human rights that most Arab regimes give. The solution of local autonomy under greater Is-

Please see Conspiracy, page 20



The Gulag Archipelago Lives

John Finneran

The reader has already perceived that the year '35, '37, '49 did not exhaust the account of massive shipments to the Archipelago. The recruitment was continuous. Just as there is not an instance without a birth or a death, so there was not an instance without an arrest. Sometimes it was imminent, sometimes further off; some deceived themselves, thinking that nothing further menaced, others tortured themselves as the menace eased; but from Kolkhovian to Politburo member, each adult citizen of this country knew it: an imprudent word or movement, and he would find himself cast without return into the abyss.

--Alexander Solzhenitzyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*

Contrary to what you may have heard, the Gulag Archipelago lives. It is certainly not as all-pervasive as it was at the height of Stalin's rule but the Soviet Union's system of political prisoners and concentration camps is not yet dead. Despite Soviet ruler Mikhail Gorbachev's December 1988 declaration before the United Nations that all political prisoners had been freed, there is little doubt that the USSR still has political prisoners. The only true object of controversy is exactly how many political prisoners it has. The French section of Amnesty International listed (6 February 1989) 101 prisoners who had been "imprisoned for having exercised their rights in a nonviolent fashion." The American Committee to Watch the Helsinki Accords published (28 February 1989) a list of 224 political prisoners or exiles. The International Society for Human Rights published (10 March 1989) a list of 301 "prisoners of conscience," composed of 240 detained for mainly political reasons and sixty-one detained for mainly religious reasons, for the most part Muslims and Jehovah's Witnesses. The International Society's list included twenty-six persons arrested in 1988 and ten in the first two months of 1989.

While these figures may appear small in a population of 289 million, the Baltic states included, they are much more likely to be floors -- and rather low ones at that -- than ceilings. Besides the consider-

able difficulties of obtaining information on political prisoners from an unfree society, figures vary with differing definitions of political and non-political crimes. Most organizations (including the three cited above) do not include those who use, or call for the use of, violence as political prisoners. The Hungarian rebels of 1956 imprisoned after the Soviet invasion therefore would not be included, nor would be the Rumanian rebels of 1989 if that rebellion had failed. Even accepting the non-inclusion of those who use or advocate violence,

definitional problems remain. Pierre Rigoulot (in the June 1989 *Geopolitique*) listed nineteen articles of the Russian penal code that can be used to punish political crimes. While most would accept convictions under Article 70 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda") as political, convictions under, for example, Article 206 ("hooliganism") are less clear. muddying the waters still further are those who, for political reasons, are convicted of non-political crimes.

Please see Gulag, page 20

Baseball

Cryptic Corner

The slugger steps back from the plate. T. West had just let two strikes glide past. The pitcher, Fast Rusky, had tossed a Hungarian fast ball. T West hadn't even blinked. Then the Bear had thrown a Vietnamese curve ball. The slugger had started to go for it, but then he'd checked his swing. The pitch had sailed right over the plate.

Now the pressure was on. It was the bottom of the ninth. The home team was down by two. The bases were loaded, with two outs. The slugger prudently tapped the clay from his cleats.

Vill Inde was on third. He inched toward home, ready to run as soon as the ball was hit. Rusky turned to face him, staring him down. Inde questioned the coach. "Negotiate it non-violently" was the only advice he received.

The runners on first and second stayed close to their bases. The crowd

cheered Inde on. Then they hissed as West stepped back to the plate.

Rusky gives the runner another glance.

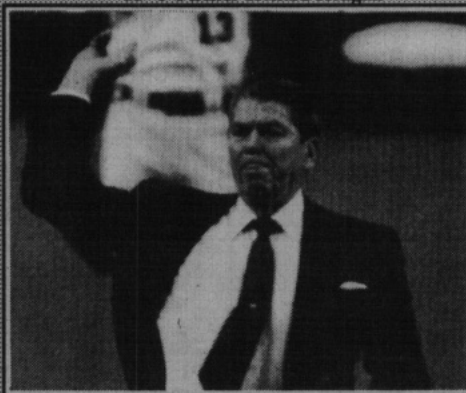
Inde appears to inch back to third.

West turns his head and spits out a gob of Neutrality Chewing Tobacco. He lifts the bat... The pitch comes in..... it's... it's.....

If the United States of America has learned anything in its checkered history, it is that when this nation fails to back the struggle against communist imperialism thousands die, and millions are condemned to the black abyss of dictatorial subjugation.

THREE CHEERS FOR THE HOME TEAM. IF THEY DON'T WIN, IT'S NOT JUST A SHAME, IT'S A TRAGEDY.

Senator Marks is a sophomore majoring in Chemical engineering and English.



Reagan's Photo

PIRG, from page 8

government. last year, when their funding was in jeopardy, MassPIRG attempted to flood the Senate with their own candidates. Even the referendum MassPIRG pushed sponsored semester was an effort to intimidate the TCU Senate by a show of popular support. Ironically, the referendum showed an absence of support, so MassPIRG protested the referendum and had it thrown out on a technicality. The whole history of MassPIRG is one of disregard, contempt, and spite for the TCU Senate, making the rejection of MassPIRG by that very same Senate not only an act of courage, but an act of honor.

Mr. Zappia is a Junior majoring in History and Classics.

Gulag, from page 19

Rigoulot gives the example of a former political prisoner and two human rights activists who in 1988 were arrested on charges of rape.

Moscow News in its 12 February 1990 issue gave the example of Boris Bolotov. With its story, *Moscow News* included two photographs of Bolotov which are reproduced with this article. The first is from 1983, before Bolotov's imprisonment. The second is from 1986, three years after the first but after two years in Soviet prison camps. The physical deterioration in three years is startling.

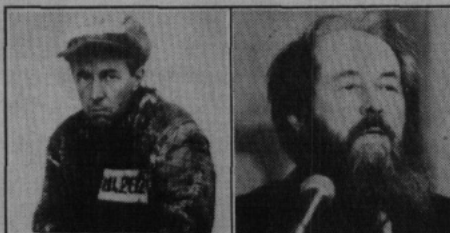
In 1977, Bolotov wrote a book that criticized some aspects of Soviet society. Following a few years of harassment, in 1983 Bolotov was arrested by KGB agents who confiscated and burned his works. Bolotov was subsequently convicted under Article 190-1 of the Russian penal code and Article 187 of the Ukrainian penal code for having defamed the Soviet state. A bogus charge of theft was added at his trial. Bolotov was sentenced in total to eight years imprisonment, three for political crimes and five for theft. Another two and one-half years were added after an escape attempt. Recently Article 190-1 has been repealed. In light of the repeal Bolotov's case was recently reviewed. The conviction under

Reconsidered, from page 12

is that because the welfare state has become an alternative source of economic resources to the market, the distinction between what is public and what is private is not only blurred but is the subject of continual popular discussion.

The question is how many people will any given piece of proposed legislation need to benefit for government to enact it? The number appears to be continually shrinking. A major concern for American politics is no longer the tyranny of a numerical minority, nor that of a majority. It looks to be a tyranny of a majority of minorities, each of whose self-interest is exceeded only by the common desire to obtain something from government.

190-1 was withdrawn since "it is no longer possible to reconsider the subversive bearing of the works of Boris Bolotov, they having been destroyed." His penalty was thereby reduced to five and one-half years, but to begin from his attempted escape in (4 March 1986). Having been convicted for political reasons, Bolotov is now consid-



With Gulag Solzhenitsyn After Gulag
ered a common prisoner. Let me reiterate: Bolotov, who has not committed any crime, languishes, for having written what was considered politically taboo thirteen years ago, in a prison camp as an allegedly non-political prisoner. It is encouraging that such a case has been published in a Soviet newspaper, even one like *Moscow News* which is designed primarily for foreign readers and is, in fact, difficult to find in the Soviet Union itself. It is at least equally troubling, however, that, in today's USSR, those who dare to express their opinion must still fear the Gulag Archipelago's sinister shadow.

Mr. Finneran is a Junior majoring in History and International Relations.

As a traditionalist, Burke cherished institutional arrangements that evolved from the past but believed that those institutions which lost their usefulness would fade away. Are the institutions of the welfare state still useful? Have the problems of poverty and ignorance been solved? Oddly, the very groups the welfare state was intended to benefit, the poor and the ignorant, are apt to be the last considered in the process of service distribution, given their disadvantaged ability to mobilize and gain access. The welfare state has not lost its usefulness; new uses have been found. The welfare state is more useful at satisfying the demands of its clients rather than responding to the needs of society.

If Burke's vision of the state as a partnership of the past and future through the present has been dissolved by the welfare state's test of service delivery, what then becomes of his thought for contemporary conservatives? The answer may be found in that Burke's vision of society and the state was just that. He did not describe eighteenth century politics but expressed a hope of what they could be. In that sense and given the magnitude of today's social problems, Burke's vision of a pragmatic and traditionalist politics may be more useful than ever.

Mr. Miles is a Senior majoring in Economics and Political Science.

Conspiracy, from page 18

raeli rule is the best compromise between Palestinian rights and Israeli security.

The media has proven itself an immensely unobjective force in the Arab-Israeli conflict. All you ever see on TV is the Israeli shooting at the young Palestinian, considerably less than the whole story. The whole picture shows that Israel often acts of frustration, for its security is a constant worry. However, Israel is by no means bloodthirsty, or bent on conquest of the Arab world. Israel is simply a nation of people who realize that on too many occasions, Jews trusted others to treat them like human beings, and on nearly every occasion, that trust was abused. Many of Israel's

Please see Media, next Page

Roger, from page 17

more responsible than others for Flint's poverty because he is an "evil capitalist," because his business supposedly caused this poverty. But in fact his company made the town more prosperous; everyone was happy until the plant closed. It was not capitalism, but the loss of capitalism, which destroyed Flint, Michigan. And it would be impossible to blame Roger Smith for the loss of capitalism in the town. Directed by the same motives which govern any capitalist enterprise--self-interest and the desire for profit--General Motors decided to leave Flint and relocate. There is nothing evil about these motives. They are what allow a company to survive, what make capitalism work, and what once brought prosperity to Flint.

Roger and Me exemplifies much of what is offensive about liberal, anti-capitalist philosophies. There is a great deal of elitism hidden in this movie's message. It attacks capitalism for creating differences between the poor and the rich, but at the same time encourages a middle-class audience to laugh scornfully at people who are poorer or less educated than they are, and to righteously blame poverty upon those who are wealthier than they are, even though the logic for doing so is extremely flawed, and many of the facts in the "documentary" were manipulated in order to make a point.

However, I did learn one thing from this movie. I learned the importance of being able to read between the lines when someone preaches about the evils and inequalities of capitalism. *Roger and Me* illustrates the fact that underneath what seems to be naive idealism often lies a strong need to feel superior to others.

Miss Mollow is a sophomore majoring in English and French.

Media, from page 20

current leaders lost family members to the Russian pogroms, or the Final Solution. Israel only wants to make sure that this never happens again.

Mr. Kaufman is a Sophomore majoring in International Relations.

Catching, from page 13

ing tyrant." Two immediate sentiments motivated Burke at this time. First, and predictable, Burke thought the American Revolution was a positive and constructive act of restoration of traditional British constitutional rights which had been violated by the King and his ministers. Second, Burke feared the consequence of a British victory in the Revolutionary War because such a triumph would set a grave precedent for a general subversion of constitutional liberties elsewhere in the empire, perhaps even in England as well. With the unfortunate miseries of war aside, Burke basically got what he wanted out of the American Revolution; a state which was a collective moral entity and had evolved out of some common past, and that had adapted itself to a new environment.

For other insights into Burke's relevance, consider the following statement:

The great use of government is as a restraint; to provide for us in our necessities is not in its power. It would be a vain presumption in statesmen to think that they can do it. The people maintain them, and not they the people.

Forgetting for moment that Burke wrote this in his essay entitled, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* in 1795, this could be a sentiment of just about any conservative politician or political thinker today. The point is that while not all conservatives base their thought on Edmund Burke, Burke was an articulate voice of timeless political sentiments, and because of their timelessness we find them echoed even today.

Furthermore, consider the following. In 1974 Richard Nixon's imperial presidency ended in a crescendo of American outrage. You probably recall the arguments well, about how, for instance, the president placed himself above his constitutional restraints. At this time did Americans not defend their constitution and uphold their traditional sovereignty over their government? In a sense anybody who wanted to preserve the integrity of our laws and

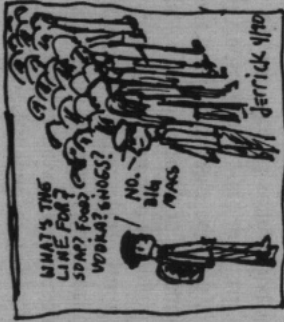
institutions was acting on the same inherent conservative--or should we say preservationist--sentiment Burke himself spoke about.

In fact, the ideas of Edmund Burke are a theoretical bridge between liberal and conservative sentiments in America. We have already seen how in Parliament Burke supported the American cause. The liberal tradition in America developed presently out of the very state of liberty Burke argued for, and it would be this liberal tradition which would form our nature through liberal habits, customs, and civic education, all manifest in the capitalist economy. In the liberal tradition we were and still are governed by our elected representatives, so-called elites. And Americans, like Burke himself, consent to government by such "elites", yet we do not trust anybody with an excess of power.

Of course, we cannot put Burke in a time machine and bring him to America to take charge of things, and as said before we cannot legitimately take his books as a literal primer for modern governing. But we can spot where contemporary policy makers act like Burkean conservatives, whether or not they themselves know it. One need not look far for examples. George Bush, and before him Education Secretary William Bennett, in calling for a new dedication to a great books curriculum in our nations schools echoes a sentiment that is entirely Burkean. Here is a modern politician calling for American children to be taught who we have been as two-hundred years of Americans, what our historical development has been, and most of all to be proud of it. Scratch the President's surface, or the surface of just about any modern conservative, and somewhere underneath you will find to some degree a Burkean conservative.

Mr Naemura is a Senior majoring in Classics and Political Science.

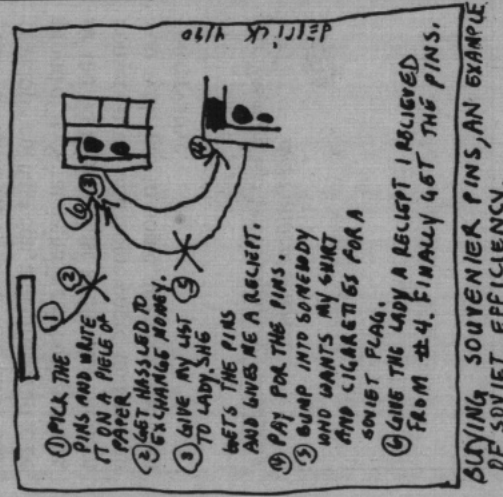
A CHUCK CRUIZ!
BY DERRICK WHO WENT ON THE
SPACEBRIDGE PROGRAM
DURING SPRING BREAK.



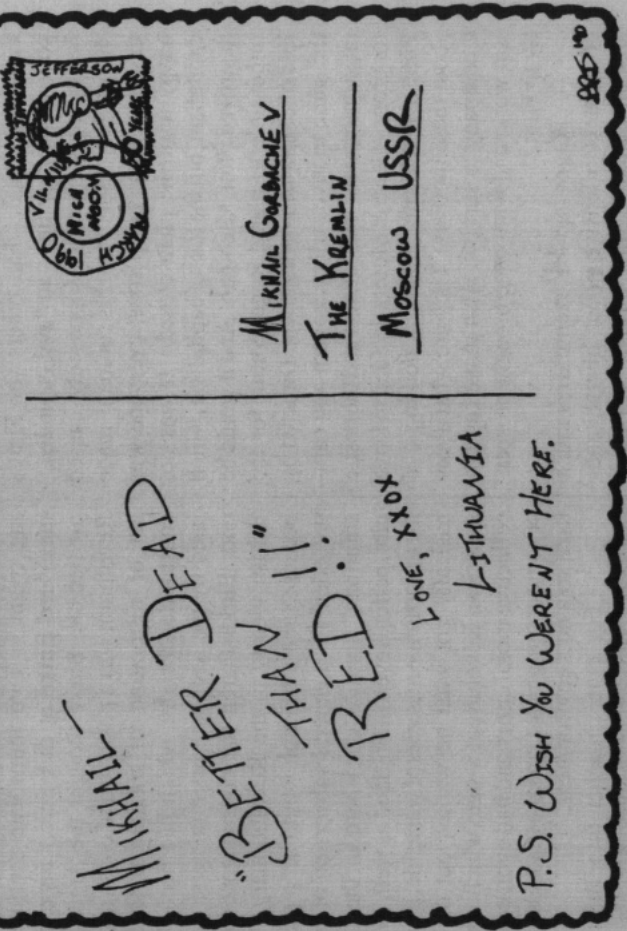
DERRICK VINO



WHAT I SAW IN THE STORES AND SUPER-MARKET.
DERRICK VINO



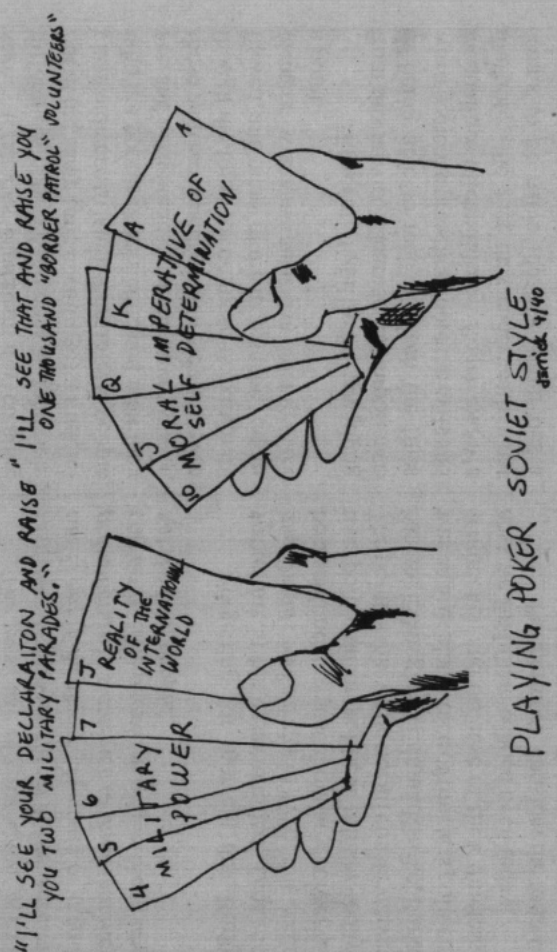
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DERRICK VINO

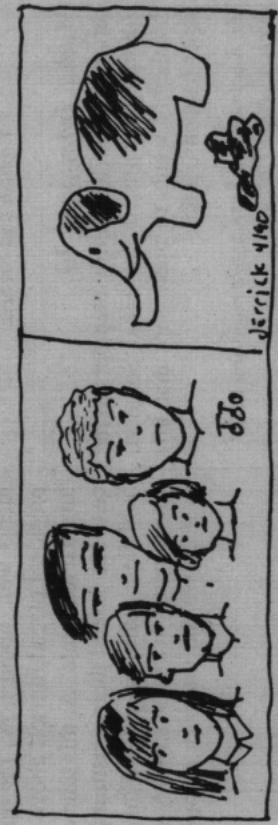
MIKHAIL -
"BETTER DEAD
THAN!!"
RED!
LOVE, XXOX
LITHUANIA
P.S. WISH YOU WEREN'T HERE.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
THE KREMLIN
MOSCOW USSR



"I'LL SEE YOUR DECLARATION AND RAISE " I'LL SEE THAT AND RAISE YOU
YOU TWO MILITARY PARADES."

PLAYING POKER SOVIET STYLE
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DERRICK VINO

WHAT MY SOVIET FRIENDS THINK OF PERESTROIKA

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NOTABLE AND QUOTABLE

No arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women.

-Ronald Reagan

It is not enough to succeed, others must fail

-Gore Vidal

The salvation of this human world rests nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness, and in human responsibility.

-Vaclav Havel

I wish Karl would spend more time accumulating capital, instead of just writing about it.

-Karl Marx's mother

Having Known sin at Hiroshima, Physics was bound to run into advertising sooner or later.

-Russell Seitz on Nuclear Winter

We are bearing true witness to the faith that is in us-- simple faith in the freedom of democracy in the world. It is the kind of faith for which we have fought before, for the existence of which we are ready to fight again.

-Franklin D. Roosevelt

The reason that you find persons before the doors of abortion clinics is because of the programmed extermination of human life which occurs there. It is a crime against humanity, whether the legal system meets or fails to meet its duty and justice to protect life

-Cardinal Bernard Law

Grandkids. All of that. Very important.

-George Bush, on the significance of the Malta summit.

I would rather model harmonica holders than discuss Aztec Anthropology.

-Bob Dylan

The cold war isn't over. It's only half-time.

-A Tuft's student who doesn't want his name to appear in the Primary Source.

Intellectuals: effete pawns aspiring to the heroic knights; they do little but talk of overthrowing the military-industrial complex to which all of them are happily enslaved.

-Bernard Rosenberg

I want to destroy the Senate.

-Stu Rosenberg

Stu Rosenberg has a small but deranged following.

-Ross Ginsberg

Liberalism is a timorous creed that can not suffer the voice of opposition. Its tenets because they are held as a religious faith, cannot be subject to questioning, much less contradiction.

-Thomas Fleming

I can remember back when a liberal was one who was generous with his own money.

-Will Rogers

God grants liberty to those who live in it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.

-Daniel Webster

The enemy of freedom is unrestrained power, and the champions of freedom will fight against the concentration of power wherever they find it.

-Barry Goldwater

I hated the whole togetherness, peace and love thing. It was conceited, flabby, suffocating-- and didn't mean what it said.

-David Bowie, on the 60's

The only miracle brought on by thirty years of Castro communism is a shortage of sugar in Cuba.

-William F. Buckley Jr.

The vandals are at the gate. We have a fascist security state running this country... Orwell did happen. But it is so subtle that no one noticed. If I were George Bush, I'd shoot myself. Existentially, there's no hope. His soul is dead.

-Oliver Stone

The more I know of other educational institutions, and in the last fifteen years I have become acquainted with the greatest in this country, and many of the greatest in the Old World, the better satisfied I am with our own.

-Elmer Capen, the President of Tufts (1903)

It's a socialist idea that making profits is a vice. I consider the real vice making losses.

-Winston Churchill

I carry the college with me day and night.

-Austin Barclay Fletcher

The Final measure of any university's achievements are the intellectual achievement of its alumni, and their recognition of the role the university played in their accomplishments.

-Burton C. Hallowell

If people would dare to speak to one another unreservedly, there would be a good deal less sorrow in the world a hundred years hence.

-Samuel Butler

Laziness travels so slowly that poverty soon overtakes him.

-Benjamin Franklin

Marxism is the opiate of the bourgeoisie. American intellectuals are still infatuated with it, while the Europeans have rather outgrown it.

-Vincent Starzinger

To be astonished by Nicaragua's election, you had to ignore the experience of the past year in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: Each time a population was given a chance to vote freely for or against the Marxist in power, the people threw the bums out.

-Jim Hoagland

I cannot explain it, I cannot explain. And I say this as a social scientist.

-a weeping Sandanista fellow traveller

If Hitler invaded hell, I should make at least a favorable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons

-Winston Churchill