THE PRIMARY SOURCE

The Journal of Conservative Thought at Tufts University sm

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October 31, 1996



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FROM THE EDITOR

Bob Dole para Presidente? A few days ago I received my New York absentee ballot, and to my surprise, it relays information in both English and Spanish. Puzzled, I then examined my voter registration card and the accompanying instructions which appear in Chinese, Spanish, and English. Reading on I noticed that "you may be assisted in the voting machine by any person of your choice... if you do not speak English and need an interpreter." Unquestionably one should not be able to acquire a voter IDlet alone vote— if he requires such assistance, especially considering that only US citizens are entitled to vote. Moreover, someone who does not speak English can hardly make an informed decision behind the curtain.

Unfortunately, New York Representative Peter King's "English only" legislation, which would have put an end to such absurdity, never made it through Congress. Today, in addition to driver's license examinations, officials conduct naturalization ceremonies in languages other than English. A rudimentary grasp of English is no longer necessary to become a citizen and being a citizen is no longer necessary to vote, mostly due to the passage of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, ostensibly passed to increase legitimate participation in the electoral process. Benignly nicknamed the Motor Voter Bill, this legislation renders anyone visiting a welfare or unemployment office or anyone obtaining a license at the DMV eligible to register. Because a government social-subsidy recipient and an applicant for a driver's license must show ID to receive benefits or a license, voter registration clerks assume that anyone in the building has the proper identification and therefore enlist anyone who applies into the voting ranks.

Additionally, the law enables prospective voters to join the rolls by mail, thus providing no opportunity for personal verification. The federal government also allows independent groups to register people without obtaining any

ID, rendering the federal requirement of citizenship irrelevant. Writing in National Review, Executive Director of the non-profit Fair Elections research group Karen Saranita notes that one such coalition registered 3,000 new voters in the 39th Assembly District in California. Many of these registrations were fraudulent and a random sample of ten percent of them showed that many were not citizens. Other California data she mentions certify that some registered voters seem to live in vacant lots and still others are actually cats and dogs.

When I registered to vote, I gave the clipboard-toting attendee only my name, address, and party affiliation. I presented not a single piece of positive identification and surely could have done so multiple times. Oddly, as Saranita points out, the government activity which demands the most responsibility is the only one which requires no identification.

Not only does the motor-voter law contradict the Tenth Amendment by federally mandating how states must run their welfare agencies and DMVs, but it will also result in mass voter fraud. Most groups conducting registration drives are special interests or party affiliates who deliberately try to sign up individuals, eligible or not, whose votes would benefit their cause. With its Citizenship USA program accelerating the naturalization process, even the White House is guilty of this offense. Shamelessly, President Clinton sends a "welcome" letter to newly naturalized registered voters. Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform remarked, "When you go to the polling booth and the only name you know is 'Clinton,' guess which lever you pull?" Furthermore, Vice President Gore hailed the mass naturalization and admitted that it will prove crucial to the President's re-election in key states with high immigration, such as California, Florida, and Texas.

Hopefully, come November 5th the most qualified candidate will garner the most votes from US residents— and their pets. —JS

THE PRIMARY SOURCE

THE JOURNAL OF CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT AT THETS UNIVERSITY

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FOOL ON THE $HILL^{\infty}$

tust when you thought the sensitivity crowd had finished that Islothful crawl under a rock, another clown waxes nostalgic memories of censorship glories past to claim the first "Fool on

the Hill" honor of the year. Tufts abandoned its speech code policies in 1989, but some power-lusting social climbers still think they can exploit the hypersensitive bawlings of the left to achieve fifteen minutes of stardom in The Tufts Daily and on the lips of Jumbos so preoccupied with campus minutiae that they have no brain cells left to process the goings-on in the real world.

Enter David Rosenberg, freshman Senator and defender of the faith. Combine this joker with a full house of Senate bureaucrats, and whining leftist love-ins trump any legitimate functions the Senate might still have in its hand. Rosenberg's ace-up-the-sleeve? An "offensive" article in *The Zamboni*, of all places, the one venue left on campus for material that is neither serious nor funny.

At the self-important Sunday night Senate snorea-thon, the Clown Prince of the TCU suggested that the asinine assembly have a feelings discussion about the article. Instead of silencing the unruly court jester, Queen of Hearts Andi Friedman encouraged all of her subjects to offer their sentiments on the matter, or so *The Daily* reported. Eager to please her majesty, one sycophantic senator swooned and recommended that the Senate release a letter to the campus publications about the batty situation, surely to the delight of ranting Rosenberg.

> The TCU wild card claims he was merely a "messenger." In a letter to *The Daily* supposedly aimed at clarifying his foolhardy actions, he failed to present his stance; he only stated that he was sharing the gripes of the student body with the Senate. But why is David, the self-proclaimed Tuftonian herald, afraid of taking a position when the chips are down? Perhaps the wannabe TCU

kingpin has already learned that a politician need not have convictions as long as he

claims to be of the people. Or maybe he's just not a gamblin' man.

And if it is up to each Tufts student to call this one as the whining waffler claims, then why must the Senate waste time discussing the issue, especially if it is in the pursuit of dictating a position for the rest of us to

hold? In the end this deal amounts to little more than noxious laughing gas. And though the Senate would like to up the ante, the most these powermongers can do is bluff. Double or nothing, the whole game will fold. Hopefully, this one-eyed jack will see things more clearly in the future. But don't place any bets.

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Commentary

A Call for Quotas?

"We've never been given a [racial] quota to fill," declared David Garman, economics department chair. Meanwhile, Pan-African Alliance radical Aliguma Kabadaki called on Tufts to establish a quota to increase black student enrollment to ten percent in five years. A quota? Perish the thought. Tufts's own full-time professional affirmative-action guru, Michael Powell, wants to "disabuse [people of] the notion that affirmative action means quotas." This while University policy invites staff to "make special efforts to seek out women and people of color," and President DiBiaggio praises campus diversity as an end in itself. Out-of-control racial and gender preferences currently force deans and department chairs to waste endless hours of productivity tallying numbers, totals, percentages, and averages to determine just how far Tufts has traveled on the road to a racially polarized society.

Nevertheless, Tufts's more-than-accommodating efforts are not enough for Pan-African Alliance members who recently submitted a laundry list of demands to the University in the form of a Senate resolution. Besides the proposed quota, the fanatics crave more funding for the African-American Center, more blackrelated books in Tisch Library, and more black studies courses. These demands are not serious requests worthy of debate or

consideration, and whether or not Tufts honors them will not fundamentally change policy. They are simply poor attempts to force the University to continue pandering to the culture victimology it helped create.

Kabadaki blames black students' estrangement on a culturally and socially hostile campus. But the cold reality is that Tufts has done more to appease cultural groups than any reasonable person has a right to expect. That black students feel disillusioned with campus culture only demonstrates that efforts to cast mi-

nority groups as victims further segregate them from mainstream society. For Tufts to become a truly tolerant campus that treats students and faculty according to the content of their character instead of the color of their skin, it must address everybody according to the individual traits relevant to the University's true mission: enriching the campus' academic and intellectual tradition. Hopefully, it is not too late.

A Terrible Thing to Waste

As if one needs further evidence that more government spending has no positive bearing on academic performance, Massachusetts's new Board of Education chairman, John Silber, announced that students have fallen well below state standards despite 1993's ballyhooed Education Reform Act. Three years and a hefty \$600 million after passage of the program, 75% of students tested demonstrate poor communication and critical thinking skills— the two areas targeted for improvement.

The Commonwealth administered the exam to 200,000 students enrolled in the fourth, eighth, and tenth grades. Skills declined in both the fourth and eighth grades and in the tenth, the percentage of students with adequate skills increased only marginally. Silber's findings bode ill for those hoping to receive a diploma after the year 2000, as Massachusetts will soon implement a universal graduation exam. Given current results in math, reading, science, and social studies curricula, less than 60% of future seniors will likely pass.

Massachusetts launched the sweeping reform to improve the state's quality of education. But good intentions, without the components of a well-grounded school system, amount to little. Ultimately, parental involvement, encouragement of competition, and reward for individual achievement yield motivation and accelerated performance. The Education Reform Act offered no elements of this successful formula, instead discouraging hard work with empty provisions such as outcome-based education. Sadly, it took poor test results and millions wasted to discredit this state-sponsored approach to a home-grown crisis. Parents, students, and teachers should learn a valuable lesson from this failed experiment in poor educational practices and financial mismanagement.



Dole Deserves to Lose

Bob Dole wants your vote, but he has done little to earn it. In fact, the tragedy of 1996 is that Republicans managed to nominate someone who could actually lose to Bill Clinton. From its slow start to its disappointing finish, the Dole campaign has been utterly mismanaged, squandering day-to-day chances for electoral advancement, and unnecessarily disregarding opportunities to expose gross inadequacies in the current Administration.

Although he constantly reminds the public of his fine health, the fits and starts of his lethargic campaign probably reflect a lack of energy and vigor. Every time Dole made a major new decision, such as his Senate resignation, the Kemp announcement, and the convention coronation, he wasted chances to solidify poll bounces by taking time off (he took a three-day break less than a week after San Diego), thereby failing to capitalize on the events. Similarly, two weeks before the first debate he casted Clinton as a closet liberal then, rather than hammering home a message which polls indicated voters liked, Dole took time off at his Florida home to prepare.

Republicans won the 1994 election by revealing the President as a dishonest supporter of massive government bureaucracies who would rather hob-nob with Hollywood elites than do his job. By failing to highlight incessant policy flip-flop and point out the deceit which characterizes the Clinton agenda, Dole '96 has thoroughly failed in its duty to tell the truth about "Slick Willie." Furthermore, only attacking the President's integrity in the waning days of October indicates that Dole has employed that tactic in desperation. Questioning Clinton's public character should have been central to the early stages of the campaign— Republicans should have used the time after their candidate secured the nomination to remind America that it once distrusted the Chief Executive and that he has done nothing to regain voter confidence.

After allowing him to use the political machine to steal the nomination from strong challengers and failing to force Bob "Mr. Nice-Guy" Dole to impugn a vulnerable incumbent, Republicans and their nominee do not deserve to occupy the White House.

The Sinister Minister

One year after Louis Farrakhan led the Million Man March on Washington, DC, the Muslim minister rallied a crowd of 40,000 for an anniversary gathering at United Nations headquarters. The event, touted as the "World Day of Atonement," was ostensibly designed to urge governments to apologize for promoting violence, war, and slavery. But the black leader's anti-American rhetoric and praise of terrorist, antidemocratic nations suggests the more appropriate title, the "World Day of Hypocrisy."

Farrakhan vowed to appeal to the UN for an investigation of the US government's "genocidal" practices against blacks. He referred to unfounded reports linking the CIA with the deliberate sale of crack cocaine in black communities, announcing his intention to launch a class-action lawsuit against the American government on behalf of those "victimized" by drug abuse. While Farrakhan alleged White House involvement in the scheme, he offered no proof whatsoever to substantiate this rumor. Blaming the American government for a group's high drug-abuse rate is no way for the minister to instill the virtue of individual accountability in his followers. And his eagerness to undermine the US government over a crackpot conspiracy myth reveals much about his true allegiances.

Hailing Libyan terrorist-dictator Moammar Khadafy as a "freedom fighter," Farrakhan declared that "terrorism, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder." The separatist leader vowed to accept the billion-dollar gift Khadafy offered him despite US opposition and urged other governments to donate funds of their own. Meanwhile, the Justice Department is investigating Farrakhan's ties to Cuba where he has recently embarked on suspicious visits. The black leader assailed the US again, this time for imposing sanctions on Castro's dictatorship, as well as those in Nigeria and Iraq.

The "World Day of Hypocrisy" issued a call for governments to atone for violence, slavery, and war, but quickly devolved into a celebration of regimes that routinely and flagrantly practice wholesale massacre and genocide, at whose hands countless American freedom fighters— black and white alike— have lost their lives. Ironically, Farrakhan repeatedly singles out and condemns the United States, the only nation in the world that would grant him the freedom to express disloyal and seditious sentiments. But the misguided minister should beware—treason, like terrorism, is never in the eye of the beholder.

Follow the Money

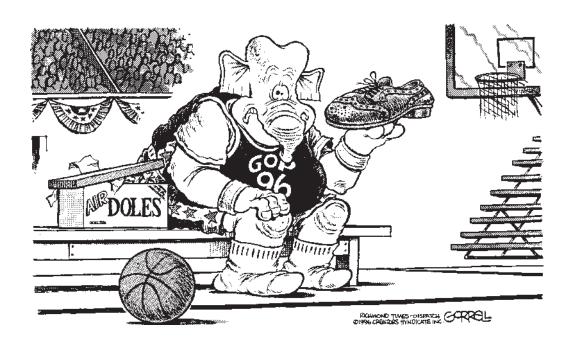
The Clintons have made careers of mocking the United States's justice system. Accordingly, reports of campaign finance abuses by the White House and the Democratic National Committee come as no surprise. Current laws stipulate that it is illegal to accept donations from foreign nationals. But the DNC and the White House did not let legal impropriety prevent collection of \$140,000 from Asian businessmen using a Buddhist temple as a prop, and \$325,000 from Yogesh Gandhi, a tax evader with ties to Indian business lobbyists. And Democrats graciously accepted \$425,000 donation from the Indonesia-based Lippo Group. The son of that conglomerate's controller coincidentally heads up a Little Rock bank, and plays an influential role in US-Indonesian relations.

Top Democrats bowed to Taiwanese interests after vacationing on an all-expenses paid trip to that Asian country. Upon request, the DNC inserted language into its platform pledging support for US deployment of two aircraft carriers in the Taiwan straits during a dispute with China. Immediately following this decision, a former administration official reportedly rejoiced over the party's receiving \$15 million in Taiwanese contributions.

Coming from the candidate and the party that campaigned in 1992 on a promise to close the revolving door in Washington with legislation cracking down on foreign lobbyists, Clinton's decision to accept money intended to influence US policy toward Taiwan and Indonesian corporate interests is as hypocritical as it is illegal. This latest series of campaign finance abuses once again proves the President's readiness to put US interests on the line for the sake of holding onto the White House.

Fortnight in Review –

Comedy is allied to Justice. -Aristophanes



Criminal Suits

Ananda Gupta

ecently, an array of high-profile trials Khave stirred public interest in criminal justice. The OJ Simpson trial, called either a triumph or a travesty by various commentators, epitomized what some saw as the problems of the criminal justice system in California. Additionally, various reforms taken in different states (notably, the "three strikes and you're out" law, also begun in California) facilitate 'law and order' and 'tough on crime' rhetoric, but none of them tackle the true problems in the system. The lip service only masks the harsh reality that American criminal justice currently fails the people it purports to serve—the victims of crime and their communities. It will continue to be ineffective as long as the state maintains its monopoly over the criminaljustice process and offers victims ludicrous or non-existent incentives to aid its cause.

Crimes Against The People

Normally, one would expect to hear the phrase "crime against the people" as part of Marxist rhetoric. Yet one sees it in every criminal case title: The State of California vs. O. J. Simpson.. The state government usurps the role of victim, calling itself the injured party and relegating Nicole Brown Simpson's ghost to the witness stand.

Former Indiana District Attorney Randy Barnett argues that the US's poor conviction rate results partially from insufficient victim incentives. If the only benefit a victim receives from his injurer's conviction is personal satisfaction, then only victims who place a high premium on revenge

will fully cooperate with law enforcement authorities. Cash reparations or another form of restitution would encourage more victims to help pursue and convict criminals.

Furthermore, that the state can cast itself as a crime victim allows it to prosecute crimes which hurt no one. In that

case, the state moves from crime victim to nanny in a swift but subtle stroke. It makes a collectivist claim that some activity (like gambling) hurts 'society' but not any specific individual and then asserts its right to

prosecute on the basis that it represents 'society.' Accordingly, prisons fill up with 'criminals against society' while genuine criminals those who have hurt specific individuals—go free to make space for them.

deals with its caseload much better simply because it more closely approximates a private system. Nineteen out of twenty tort cases do not go to trial; most disputants settle out of court. Plea bargaining, on the

Cash reparations or another form of restitution would encourage more victims to help pursue and convict criminals.

Playing Monopoly with Crime

Barnett observes that "if we set out deliberately to design a system that encouraged criminal conduct and nurtured hardened career criminals, we could hardly do a better job." The claim seems wellfounded, considering that over 70% of people released from prison are later rearrested. Prisons serve as veritable universities for lawbreakers, offering them opportunities to learn crime as a trade. Moreover, drug laws artificially inflate the street price of narcotics, encouraging addicts to turn to property crime to support their habits. The black market in gambling, prostitution, or even something as innocuous as

> cigars provides tremendous bounty to those willing to pay the necessary bribes and run the risk of arrest. Police department budgets often depend on arrest or conviction rates, which discourages actual crime prevention. Finally, since total deprivation of liberty comprises the only possible punishment

for criminals by statute, the common law leads to a strong criterion for a finding of guilt: "beyond a reasonable doubt." That, of course, lessens the risk involved in committing any crime.

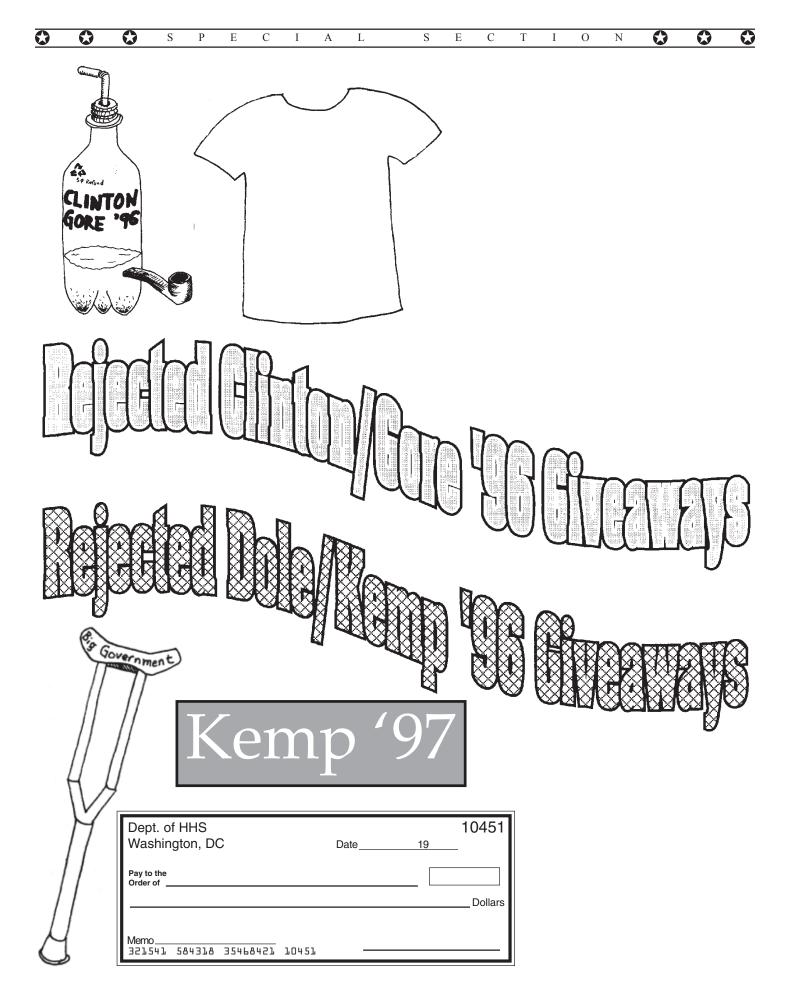
Most of those concerns would vanish by supplanting criminal law with the tort system. The tort system, despite its flaws, other hand, eases the turnover in criminal dockets but gives nothing to the victim who often feels aggravated that a prosecutor would give up so easily after he eagerly cooperated. Also, juries would no longer need the stringent "reasonable doubt" criterion, since they would hand down variable damages instead of prison time; the tort system uses "the preponderance of the evidence" instead. Finally, real punitive damages might replace jail if a crime were particularly brutal or if the criminal was tremendously wealthy.

Another reason to eliminate criminal law altogether deals with removing political influence from the equation. Prosecutors, many of whom harbor higher political ambitions, dismiss, plea-bargain, or delegate cases with little political significance. Racially charged trials disrupt social fabric when ruthless district attorneys eager to make names for themselves inflame the public, and defense attorneys respond in kind. Inevitably, the criminal himself escapes trial as some social practice or institution enters the jury's vision instead. Conversely, plaintiffs' attorneys in tort cases rarely take cases to accumulate political mileage.

Ironically, however, tort cases initiated by pure self-interest have produced tremendous social change. The Lindbergh and Simpson trials, for all of their hype, turned out utterly inconsequential (except for fat book contracts). But certain tort cases— Roe v. Wade, Regents v. Bakke,

> Please see, "Criminal," continued on page 16.









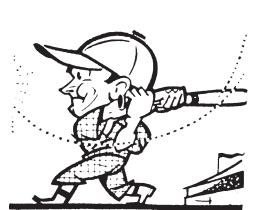
Clinton tries on another of his many political masks. Liberal today...



"Bob Dole leaned on a wall, Bob Dole had a great fall."



"Bob Dole likes to keep Jack Kemp right where Bob Dole likes him."



"Bob Dole likes the Dodgers in the Series. Yup Bob Dole rootin' for the Brooklyn Dodgers."



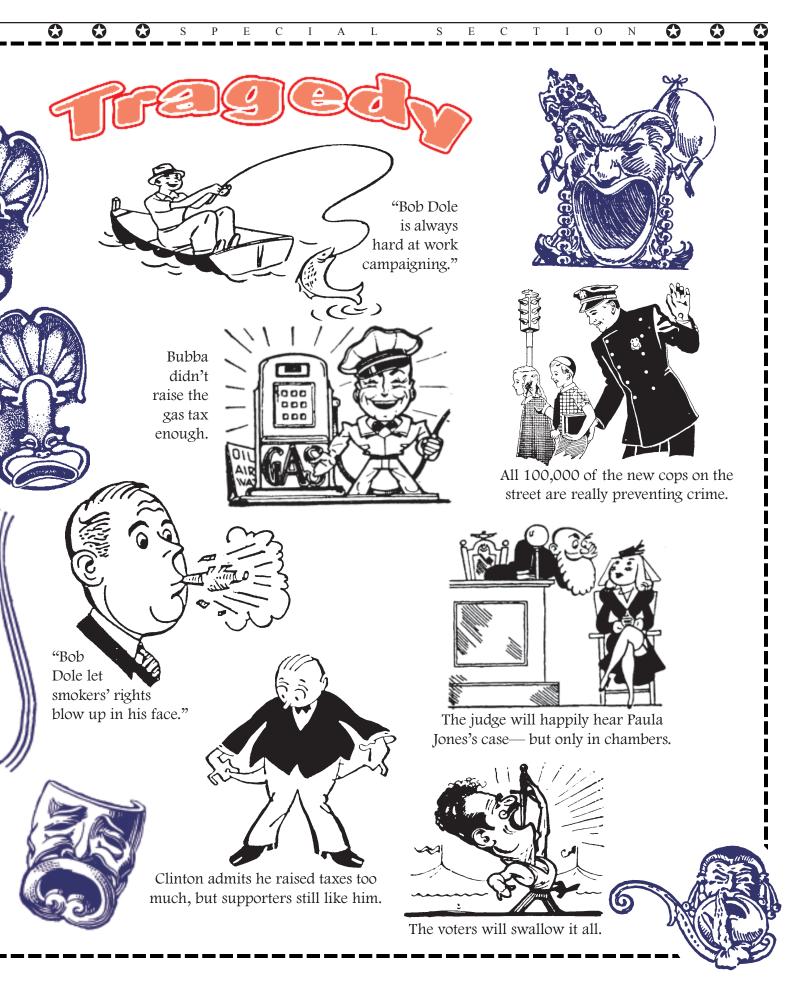
Hillary gets in touch with her inner Eleanor.

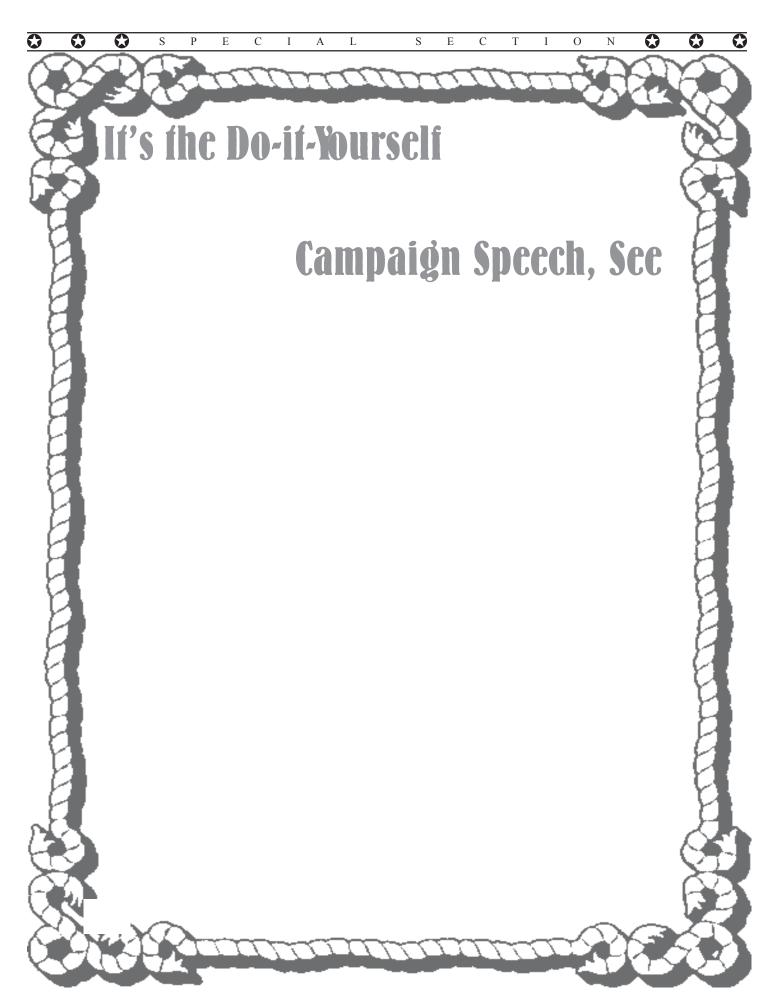


Dick does some fancy footwork to keep another scandal off the President.









Higher Intelligence

Keith Levenberg

7 hen Congress debated the Civil Rights Act of 1964, supporter Hubert Humphrey promised to eat the Congressional Record for dinner if the law ever led to quotas, reverse discrimination, or preferences for the unqualified. Unfortunately, the Senator died before he had to dine on bureaucracy a la carte. Had he survived to witness the Americans with Disabilities Act, he would certainly have requested extra seasoning. Whereas most racial preferences result from court rulings perverting the original meaning of the Civil Rights Act, the ADA requires institutions to accept the unqualified. Employers must now welcome individuals whose handicap prevents them from performing all but the most essential functions of their position with the same fervor as those who transcend the minimal requirements and excel at tasks beyond the call of duty. The ultimate goal seems to be a society where competence is no longer a prerequisite for success. With this in mind, exploring other forms of ability-based discrimination seems in order.

Society has done much to equalize opportunity for individuals suffering from physical disabilities and some forms of mental disability. However, many mental disabilities ignored by present anti-discrimi-

nation laws represent a far more insurmountable barrier to achievement than the paltry number of conditions covered by the ADA. For centuries, intolerant and elitist individuals damaged the self-esteem of the unintelligent with epithets like "moron," "idiot," "dullard," "fool," "imbecile," "half-wit," and "dolt." The long-term impact of such bigotry remains difficult to measure, but it undeniably continues to hinder Special-Americans' achievements. Short of a nationalization of the entire economy,

there exists little evidence that the "free" market will ever abandon the social and economic stigmas oppressing the cognitively challenged.

All the available evidence leads to one conclusion: the free market does not provide individuals of low intelligence with a level of economic security that even approaches that currently enjoyed by the aggregate society. Employment distribution is polarized according to intelligence lev-

els. In 1989, for example, 64% of unemployed men not otherwise physically disabled scored in the lowest 20% on intelligence tests; only five percent of the jobless pool scored in the top 20%. Moreover, the length of unemployment bears simi-

lar inequities. Bell Curve authors Charles Murray and Richard J. Herrnstein report, "The general principle is that the longer the period of unemployment, the more prevalent is low IQ. Short-term unemployment is not conspicuously characterized by low IQ; long-term unemployment is." Clearly society would not tolerate such blatant discrimination against any other minority group. Such data should surprise no one given that employers cherish the stereotype that intelligence closely correlates to general competence.

Quite simply, the United States treats cognitively challenged individuals like second-class citizens, this in the nation that prided itself on the noble principle that "all

THE LIBERALS IDEA OF "LEVELING" THE PLAYING FIELD IN THE MARKET PLACE

men are created equal." Although many state programs purport to help the cerebrally challenged achieve in a society united against them, most concern themselves only with unintelligent children, abandoning them when they reach adulthood, the stage at which they need the help most. To restore the American Dream for individuals mentally prevented from pursuing it for themselves, the state must pursue a variety of affirmative actions.

Quite simply, the United States treats cognitively challenged individuals like second class citizens, this in the nation that prides itself on the noble principle that "all men are created equal."

> Many otherwise sensible liberals oppose the reforms necessary to elevate the cognitively challenged because they feel that labeling an individual as such would damage her/his self-esteem. However, a tolerant society would recognize this argument as one informed by the same mindism as its opponents. Nobody should have to fear admitting unintelligence; a society that truly recognized equality would treat that disability no differently than any other relevant characteristic like race, gender, or Vietnamera veterans status. Efforts to make unintelligence a condition worthy of shame only drive the cognitively challenged silent majority even further into the closet, and an enlightened society must condemn such ini-

> > tiatives accordingly.

By not including individuals with low cognitive ability among the disabled, the Americans with Disabilities Act fails in its mission to insure equality of opportunity to persyns suffering from impairment "that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of an individual." The origin of the disadvantage ought not be relevant, or, as Tufts's own Professor Norman Daniels points out, "It is the impairment of opportunity that matters, not whether its etiology lies in mental rather than physical

disease or disability." Unintelligence should not garner different treatment than that accorded other forms of impairment.

In the twentieth century, during which

Please see, "ADA," continued on the next page.

"ADA," continued from the previous page.

even the most ardently capitalist nations accepted the need to redistribute wealth, the statement that the unintelligent have a right to economic sustenance should remain uncontroversial and, for the most part, uncontested. However, like the physically disabled, the cognitively challenged suffer from unique extenuating conditions that entitle them to more than simple cash subsidies. Modern progressive philosophers, notably Dr. John Rawls, have concluded that governments in stable societies must insure an equitable distribution not only of material goods but of emotional goods, including self-esteem. Cash supplements are wholly insufficient to guarantee a mentally disabled individual self-respect; only economic self-sufficiency can do that. Therefore, the government should use any means in its power to make the cognitively challenged self-sufficient.

Affirmative-action programs already support African-Americans, Hispanics, Native-Americans, homosexuals, the physically disabled, and womyn. However, this covers only three-quarters of American society. Ideally, preferential treatment would protect everybody except intelligent

white males. If the government extended affirmative action to the unintelligent, more cognitively challenged men and womyn could derive self-respect from job-related self-sufficiency. And, clearly, economic independence can only manifest itself with the proper amount of public assistance.

Consider the fictional case of Mary, a clinically unintelligent womyn applying for a job in a pool of fifty more qualified competitors. The employer already affords Mary preferential treatment because she is female, lesbian, African-American, and wheelchair-bound, but her mental handicap causes the employer to hire a more intelligent disabled lesbian African-American womyn. Why should the government permit this form of discrimination while quashing others?

Opponents of the cognitively challenged's special right to work frequently cite gains in economic productivity that employers can realize by discriminating based on intelligence. For example, the employer in Mary's story with fifty prospective employees to choose from can boost the new employee's productivity by 125% by hiring from the top down based on intelligence tests. However, this argument proves the inherent faults of capitalism. That employers can profit is no argument in favor of discrimination; it merely per-

petuates the capitalist myths that business enterprises should benefit the owner instead of the workers. Discrimination is wrong in all circumstances, whether a white discriminates against a black or a rational employer discriminates against an incompetent applicant. Both forms of discrimination violate the marginalized individual's natural right to self-esteem, and society must condemn both equally.

The importance of individual self-respect as a fundamental social asset provokes little disagreement across the political spectrum. Societies that instill selfresentment in the masses by failing to emphasize the equally enriching potential of every citizen's contributions, regardless of his natural endowments, are destined for economic, cultural, and moral deterioration. However, self-respect obviously cannot originate from the self; such blessings can descend only from a central authority assigning a maximally beneficial socioeconomic niche to every single citizen. The benevolent government must direct all social engineering towards the ultimate public goal of bestowing emotional and material rewards equally on all persyns, regardless of ability or virtue.

> Mr. Levenberg is a sophomore majoring in Philosophy.

"Criminal," continued from page 10.

Brown v. Board of Education - made history. Locating and securing restitution for the victim, while maintaining criminals' rights, ought to remain the highest priority of criminal justice. Politics should never play a part.

Fewer victimless crimes hitting the courts while more criminals pay damages because of the lighter requirement for juries to find against them would yield an uncertain effect on prison populations. One would need to know exactly how many "not guilty" verdicts resulted only because of the "reasonable doubt" requirement to make even an educated guess. But the question might very well become moot because prisons themselves would undergo a radical change of purpose. Currently, prisons only encourage inmates to continue their lives of crime; released felons enter an unfamiliar world without having faced any incentives to self-improve. If restitution to the victim became a punishment, inmates would have a very clear incentive to develop skills; skills improve productivity, productivity improves wages, and higher wages mean quicker payment of damages, and, ultimately, freedom.

Additionally, the private sector may introduce its own alternative to prisons. Convicted felons may want to increase their debt in order to fund better conditions, training programs, and the like. Moreover, private prisons would enjoy a stronger incentive to uphold security, since an escape would probably yield a lawsuit from the original victim.

Many politicians have recently proposed measures to reform the tort system, including caps on punitive damages. Such changes would spawn a new debate about whether criminal justice should focus on retribution against criminals or restitution towards victims. Many libertarians reject retribution as irrational and prone to government abuse, while some stand by it as an appropriate response to rights violations. Since punitive-damage caps limit the ability of juries to impose damages above and beyond simple compensation, those who favor retribution generally oppose them.

Moreover, if all individuals who suffer the true costs of the criminal's actions do not sue, one can find a clear rationale to oppose caps in punitive damages; the court must hold the accused accountable for all the costs he imposed on others. Nevertheless, how one feels about tort reform ought to make little difference when considering whether or not to abolish the current criminal law system, a bloated bureaucracy that clearly fails in all of its goals.

The effects of adverse incentives and extremely imperfect competition manifest themselves more clearly in the criminaljustice issue than in many other cases. Yet most reformers call only for more prisons and tougher sentencing, superficial measures that accomplish nothing in the long run. Abolishing criminal law will not eliminate crime, but it just may isolate and rehabilitate genuine criminals. Its time has come.

> Mr. Gupta is a junior majoring in Economics and Philosophy.

Lying for Votes

Ian Popick

The most recent edition of Editorial Humor features an amusing, if leftist, political cartoon that details "How to drive a Republican crazy" wherein a Democrat tries to defend President Clinton's co-opting of conservative values. And while many

liberals agree that Clinton's persona resembles that of a weasel, they frequently cite positive economic indicators, low interest rates, dubious claims to 10 million "new" jobs, and the fact that the apocalypse did not come in the first term as reasons enough to re-elect Slick Willy. When asked if a president is more than just

the bills he signs or vetoes, if he stands as symbol of the nation, they answer firmly in the negative. And though few conservatives would ever vote for Clinton, their anger has partially abated largely because, in this election year, he has adopted (or so he claims) much of the Republican agenda. Yet, the President must play the role of First Citizen, and this executive's pandering and philandering reflect poorly on all Americans. When the President flat-out lies for political gain, all people have reason to suspect his ability to define America as an upstanding nation.

The most recent example of a Clintonian impropriety concerns a cam-

paign radio advertisement that defends him against Dole's morality attacks. The ad, aired only on Christian radio stations, laughably painted Clinton as a defender of conservative values. The narrator claimed that "President Clinton wants a complete ban on late-term abortions, except when the mother's life is in danger or faces severe health risks" and emphasized that "the President signed the Defense

of Marriage Act," in hopes of hoodwinking religious conservatives into voting for the Democratic ticket.

The narrator does not, however, report that Clinton vetoed a bill banning those late-term abortions he supposedly abhors and allows the definition of "severe health risks" to include mental trauma and other obtuse conditions. Critical listeners do not even have to read between the lines of Clinton's rhetoric, for in the ad itself the President shows his phony devotion to Christian ideals: "The inability to have another child" constitutes a severe health

Gays constitute a stable electoral base for Clinton, one he will not relinguish, especially when they place \$3.5 million in his coffers.

risk worthy of exemption from anti-abortion law. Now, there may be a truly decent excuse for a late-term abortion (such as when the fetus actually jeopardizes the mother's life), but to condone puncturing an eight month old fetus's skull with scissors for the sake of an embryo that has yet to be conceived is asinine.

Nevertheless, the abortion lies caused much smaller problems for Clinton than his supposed support for the Defense of Marriage Act. Maybe he does define a marriage as the bond between a man and a woman, but he clearly does not care very much about the issue as long as he garners voter support. The spot touts him as a guardian



against sexual deviancy, but, unlike other signings wherein he invited affected citizens to the Rose Garden, Slick Willy penned the Defense of Marriage Act at 12:50 a.m. on a Sunday so as to avoid press coverage. Additionally, the commercial conveniently neglects that his Administration chided Congress for producing a "gay-baiting"

bill. Moreover, when ACT-UP and other groups protested, the campaign quickly dropped reference to the Defense of Marriage Act in new radio messages which focus on the abortion bill and attack Bob Dole for resorting to "untruths."

> The fact remains that gays constitute a stable electoral base for Clinton, one he will not relinquish, especially when they place \$3.5 million in his campaign coffers as they did in 1992. After all, the government gave the gay community a nice return on its investment, including the appointment of over 100 open

gays to senior posts, endorsement of legislation adding "sexual orientation" to civil rights employment laws, creation of a "White House liaison to homosexuals," and celebration of "Gay Pride" with taxpayer funds from the Department of Transportation. The rescript of the upsetting ad is only a small concession.

Of course, the new spot offends Christian sensibilities even more than the canceled one. The voice-over opens with the declaration that "There is a value we all teach our children and practice ourselves: telling the truth. Unfortunately Bob Dole has resorted to untruths." But Dole did not twist Clinton's arm to force the abortion-

> bill veto, and Dole did not parade for homosexuals before signing a (veto-proof) anti-gay bill. Most of the country knows the falsity of these assertions about Senator Dole, but candidate Clinton has blatantly lied to sway the uninformed voter, not to mention avoid innumerable embarrassing scandals. And the assertion that "we all practice... telling the truth" serves only to obfuscate the evidence in a disingenuous attempt to win ac-

claim. Ultimately these revelations enable Senator Dole to make even harsher assaults on Clinton's public character; at least he would be telling the truth.

Mr. Popick is a sophomore majoring in Political Science.

THE SOURCE Goes Back to the Basics-

A Symposium

The answers to modern day dilemmas have already been found. Sourcers past and present examine seven of conservatism's most poignant works, all of which have tremendous insight into some of today's most pressing problems.

Ted Levinson:

Democracy in America by Alexis de Toqueville Harper Collins, 1988, 952 pp, \$17.99

I f you have a knack for picking winning basket-ball teams the day before the game, you can enjoy fame on ESPN and fortune in Las Vegas. If you can forecast up and coming companies a fiscal quarter before the competition, you can enjoy fame on CNN and fortune on Wall Street. However, if you can predict the modern battle between liberty and equality, the challenge of preserving individualism within a democracy, and the rise of big government one hundred years ahead, you can only be Alexis de Tocqueville, author of Democracy in America.

Democracy in America is the type of book that lends itself well to an abridged version. The first part, which discusses US geography and the outdated ins and outs of American government, lost its value with the second printing. On the other hand, the second part of Democracy in America is a brilliant and prescient

> look at American democracy. One passage, entitled "What Sort of Despotism Democratic Nations Have to Fear" in Book IV, Chapter 6 is particularly poignant. It identifies an "immense and tutelary" government as the greatest

threat to preserving liberty in America.

De Tocqueville's prediction calls for a power that is "absolute, minute, regular, provident, and mild." Created through the democratic process, this gov-

ernment strives to keep the citizens content. It achieves this end by stultifying individuality and rendering man's free will unnecessary. The result is a citizenry "reduced to be nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd."

The genius of de Tocqueville is manifest when he lists the ways this tyrannical government evolves from servant to master of the public. "...it provides for their security [medicare], foresees and supplies their necessities [welfare], facilitates their pleasures [NEA, parks, museums], manages their principal concerns [social security], directs their industry [EPA, OSHA, Department of Labor], regulates the descent of property, and subdivides their inheritances [inheritance taxes]...." De Tocqueville admits that this form of despotism is so foreign to the political world of the 1830s that he cannot even assign this political force a name. Nowadays this entity is ensconced in American life; it is called big government.

It is remarkable that de Tocqueville could predict the development of American government and society with such precision. But to simply acknowledge his foresight is to miss the crux of his

> argument. Tyranny doesn't require a generalissimo in fatigues. Man's inclination to be led combined with his love of equality can foster tyranny even in America.

And it has.

•Mr. Levinson, A'93 and Editor for Fall 1992, now lives and works in New York City.

Chris Weinkopf: 1984 by George Orwell Signet Classic, 1949, 267 pp, \$5.95

cedom," writes Winston Smith, the protagonist of George Orwell's 1984, "is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. From that, all else follows." But in Oceania, the horrific utopia in which 1984 takes place, no such right exists. Two plus two can equal four; they also equal five, or three, or whatever worth the party assigns them. The numerical value fluctuates, but the sum is constant, as determined by the party, subject to revision.

Confused? It's called doublethink, the "power of holding two contradictory beliefs simultaneously in one's mind and accepting both of them." The phenomenon is not unique to Oceania; our President calls for socialized medicine in one breath and the end of big government in the next. He is probably just dishonest, but many of the millions who support him have no doubt accepted his claim that two plus two equal five. In 1984, as in 1996, such selfdeception is the vehicle of statism. Government faces no accountability because it can always amend reality to serve society's "best interests," which conveniently coincide with expanding the powers of the ruling elite. Orwell's most poignant observation is that relativism is the bridegroom of tyranny; and social engineering, far from delivering the liberation its champions promise, is merely another form of coercion.

He assesses bluntly the nature of government, with great accuracy. Oceania does not exist to protect the happiness and safety of its people from exploitation in a freer world, but to sate its sovereigns' taste for unlimited power. Those who find their purpose in governing derive pleasure from exerting their will on

others. As O'Brien, Winston Smith's interrogator, notes, "One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution; one makes a revolution in order to make the

dictatorship." Collectivism grants them a sense of immortality; if they cannot escape death, their regime will.

But even collectivism has its limits—immortality is no fun if everyone enjoys it— so the anointed deny their subjects the traditional avenues for attaining an afterlife. The party prohibits religion, forbids courtship and loving marriage, and decimates families by turning siblings and children into government informants. This



Conservative Classics Revisited

The Editors

leveling takes care of all competing interests; citizens can only subsist by subjugating

themselves to the glorification of the state. Everyone else is captured, tortured, converted, killed, and then erased from the historical record.

George Orwell's conception of the future is "a boot stamping on a human face—

forever." It need not be that way, as Orwell himself must have realized, or he wouldn't have wasted his time writing this cautionary tale. But cautionary tales are only effective if people read them, and take them to heart.

•Mr. Weinkopf, 'A95 and Editor from Spring 1993 to Spring 1994, is Editor of National Review On-Line.

Steve Seltzer:

The Closing of the American Mind by Allan Bloom Simon & Schuster, 1987, 392 pp, \$10.95

fter publishing a book, the typical academic will swoon with delight if so much as a handful of his colleagues bother to glance at his work. The truly fortunate scholar-writer will see his

piece cited in another largely unnoticed article authored by a department peer. But then, in exceptional instances, a professor such as Allan Bloom will dominate the best-seller lists with a book like The Closing of the American Mind.

In his condemnation of higher education, the late political philosopher discusses the academy's failure to produce students who can enhance America's social, political, moral, and intellectual values. Bloom laments that students no longer discriminate among competing claims, search for objective truths, or distinguish between

right and wrong. Instead, they openly accept even the most preposterous ideas, beliefs, and values because "The point is not to correct the mistakes and really be right; rather it is not to think you are right at all."

In all candor, critics and writers assaulted relativism long before Allan Bloom ever did. The Closing of the American Mind's most significant and enduring contribution to conservative thought, though, lies in its assertion that the education establishment has erred by rejecting the traditional understanding of American culture. The recognition and acceptance of man's natural rights and freedoms forged a basis of unity that transcended racial, religious, class, and ethnic differences. America, Bloom argues, can begin to cure many of its cultural ills by acknowledging that the fundamental principles which constitute our national identity are indeed right, good, and true.

Bloom, then, set the intellectual standard for modern conservatism's defense of American civic culture. Bill Bennett, Linda Chavez, Dinesh D'Souza, and their unlikely liberal ally

Arthur Schlesinger have all used Bloom's central idea to formulate their own convincing arguments against multiculturalism and cultural relativism. And Bloom's unpopularity in academic circles further demonstrates the lasting impact of his powerful text.

Perhaps more importantly, The Closing of the American Mind reminds us all that conservatism is a mainstream ideology. By embracing the virtuous underpinnings of the American identity, Bloom disproves the contemporary equation of conservatism with extremism— well before Bill Clinton and the liberal establishment leveled those charges at Newt Gingrich and Rush Limbaugh. The true radicals are those who deny the inherent integrity of the American political tradition.

In fact, liberals ironically support a number of their positions by manipulating the political and cultural values advocated by Bloom and his conservative counterparts. The very same backers of the notion that America has no worthwhile unifying culture generally support such programs as affirmative action. These individuals frequently argue that documents like the Constitution and Declaration of Independence demand the equal treatment of all people. Humorously, they appeal to an American culture that they refuse to admit exists. Thankfully, more people are not so "open-minded."

•Mr. Seltzer, A'96 and Editor from Fall 1994 to Spring 1995, is now a student at The George Washington University Law School.

Colin Delaney:

The Clouds by Aristophanes

Arrowsmith trans., Meridian Books, 1994, 144pp, \$10.95

wenty-five hundred years ago ancient Greece underwent revolutionary changes that redirected the course of Western History, as democracy's forerunner took hold and philosophers established the methods of academic investigation still in use today. In response to the latter,

the comedic playwright Aristophanes composed The Clouds, a timeless story about a humble farmer (Strepsiades) beset with debts by his horse-loving prodigal son (Pheidippides). It proceeds into a debate between old-fashioned Philosophy and Socrates's new-fangled Sophistry— deceptively subtle reasoning intended to win arguments by manipulating

words and thoughts to one's own ends.

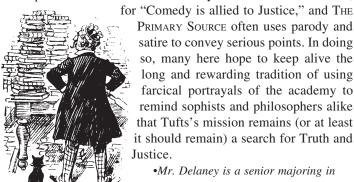
Hoping to dishonestly rid himself of debt, Strepsiades first pleads with the skeptical waistrel to enroll in Socrates's Thinkery. Extolling the wonders of the school, the old man relates to his son that "they teach two kinds of Logic. One of them is called Philosophical, or Moral, Logic—whatever that may be. The other one is called Sophistic, or Socratic, Logic. Now if you could learn this second

Logic, I wouldn't have to pay a penny of all those debts you've saddled me with." When Pheidippides resists, the penniless old man checks himself into the Thinkery, asking Socrates for "instruction in your second Logic— the get-away-without-paying argument." Socrates lets him in, and Strepsiades puts himself at sophistry's mercy, throwing off the Gods in favor of The Clouds, telling them to "Do any damn thing you've a mind to." Unfortunately he fails out—the old farmer cannot learn new tricks—so he again implores Pheidippides to enroll, saying "Remember, Socrates: I want him able to make an utter mockery of the truth."

Finally at the Thinkery, the prodigal son witnesses a debate between the two logics. And though Philosophy argues for Truth and Justice, Sophistry retorts with: "I'll disarm and defeat you, friend. Your Justice doesn't exist." When the discussion concludes, of course, Sophistry has used dishonest rhetoric to defeat sound reason, and invites Pheidippides to "follow me, my boy, and obey your nature to the full; romp, play, and laugh without a scruple in the world." Upon graduation, The Clouds (the chorus) offer the ominous warning that "this poor man's Socrates must learn his lesson, CRIME

DOES NOT PAY. Dishonesty comes home to roost." And just as cheaters never prosper, Sophistry returns to haunt Strepsiades when his son uses it to justify the corporal whipping of both father and mother.

The sad truth, of course, holds that this play applies to the modern thinkery as much as it did the ancient. Relativists now dominate universities, telling sons (and daughters) that all things are relative and that Truth in the absolute sense does not exist some academics actually in the ridiculous research Aristophanes charicatures, such as watching pigeons watch television. And plenty of students use "a combination of science and legerdemain" to score A's in laughable courses. The broader relevance of Aristophanes's work in modern society hits even closer to home,



•Mr. Delaney is a senior majoring in Classics, History, and Political Science.

Jessica Schupak: The Conscience of a Conservative by Barry Goldwater Regnery Gateway, 1960, 117 pp. \$9.95

he most valuable words from The Conscience of a Conserva-**1** *tive* are not about taxes, welfare, education, or even what was once the "Soviet Menace," although Goldwater aptly tackles these issues. The fundamental lessons from the "Conservative Bible" are more basic; they are about the individual.

Goldwater begins the book by criticizing prominent conservative apologists: Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon. "I am a conservative when it comes to economic problems but liberal

when it comes to human problems," Goldwater quotes Ike. To qualify his ideological alliance in such a fashion, as the former Arizona Senator illustrates, implies that conservatism can serve only as an economic tool and is incapable of addressing real life scenarios. Quite the contrary, the individual and his natural rights constitute the core concerns of conservatism.

"Man's most sacred possession is his individual soul," writes Goldwater. He is responsible for his own develop-

importance.

ment and actions, for the good of both himself and society. In an age in which people place personal convenience over duty, hide from the consequences of their behavior, and increasingly relinquish control over their destinies to the state, Goldwater's message is of paramount

Goldwater powerfully chronicles how political power's "appetite grows with eating." "Throughout history," Goldwater asserts "government has proved to be the chief instrument for thwarting man's liberty." Politicians, however, rape individuals of their freedom not through false pretense, but kept promises. People are lured by legislators' seemingly benevolent paternalism because in so doing, they relieve themselves of responsibility. Once individuals realize they have lost control over many significant aspects of their lives, they sadly put off the recapture of freedom for another day. Losing sight of how valuable freedom is, they feed the political power pit rendering it easier for the state to encroach on individual liberty.

Goldwater devotes many pages to explaining how the federal government has failed to honor the Tenth Amendment. Beltway bureaucrats regard the Constitution merely as a guideline "to be heeded or ignored depending how it fits the plans of contemporary federal officials." Ignoring that the states' rights amendment recognizes that the most qualified individuals to deal with local problems are those whom it directly effects, Washington continues to abandon the American principle of limited government. As Goldwater notes, federal aid does not come free. Rather, the IRS forces taxpayers to contribute money from their pockets granting no say on what it is spent. Their public investment is then returned "minus a broker's fee taken by the federal bureaucracy." This is an irrecoverable loss not only in wealth, as the Desert Senator reminds us, but also in "priceless liberty."

Paying lip service to states' rights is not exclusive to Democrats, Republicans are culpable as well. While Bob Dole, for example, frequently boasts of how he keeps a copy of the Tenth Amendment in his pocket, he supports statist federally sponsored programs that deny states their rightful jurisdiction and strip individuals of their liberty. Most notably, the Kansan espouses his

reverence for social security which requires people to postpone consumption assuming that they are too irresponsible and foolish to plan for their own futures. Americans must accept the challenge of preserving liberty and keeping "political power within its proper bounds."

•Miss Schupak is a junior majoring in History.

Ananda Gupta:

Friedrich A. Hayek by *The Road to Serfdom* University of Chicago Press, 1944, 274pp, \$9.86

The Road to Serfdom, Friedrich Hayek's philosophical critique of democratic socialism, was attacked by critics as "malicious and disingenuous" in its day. Yet its charity to its opponents knows few bounds, as Hayek constantly distinguishes humane, idealistic proponents of collectivism from monsters like Stalin. The idealists might well chafe at that charity, though, because Hayek's vision attacks what they hold most dear— the idea of socialism, not its reality.

The reality of socialism, of course, manifests itself even today. But intellectuals still maintain that it would work "in theory." Hayek dispels that notion, along with many others, in *The Road to Serfdom*. He brilliantly demonstrates how undermining custom and the rule of law in search of immediate outcomes, socially desirable or not, opens a door for authoritarian rule. In a society without incentives, which is what socialism implicitly espouses, government power must come to bear on each individual, to keep him in lockstep with the ruling group's will. As Thomas Sowell represents it, power in the Soviet Union

ending up in Stalin's hands was inevitable. Equally inevitable was the system's collapse after some years of non-Stalinist rule. When the government becomes even the tiniest bit shy about using coercion, socialism's reality quickly diverges from the shining, altruistic ideal that its proponents in this country tearfully envision.

So, according to Hayek, every degree and measure of government control over the

economy constitutes a step, large or small, on the road to serfdom. Bill Clinton may rail against "drive-by deliveries," and pass laws against them. People may applaud. But eventually someone else, unafraid to follow that path to its extreme, will exploit the undermining of the free market, well-intentioned as it was, and finally arrive at serfdom for everyone. The neo-Nietzschean maxim that "to desire an end is to desire the means

necessary to attain it" seems chilling in isolation, but

socialists everywhere

tacitly accept it. Emphasis on results does

tragedy only when those in power display a Herculean level of self-control. Unfortunately, power attracts excess, as history has shown time and time again.

Hayek's other main point, that all totalitarian systems share a bond of kinship in collectivism, therefore applies to socialists as well. Since they deny that socialism need entail totalitarian government, they blindly divorce themselves from their not-solong-lost ideological family: fascism and Stalinism. But Hayek, as above, shows that socialism must lead to totalitarian rule. When it finally does, it becomes indistinguishable from exactly what makes its idealistic adherents cringe.

Serfdom's insights retain consequence today. Hayek's vision of a free society, not headed for poverty and strife, can only reach reality if we recognize government expansion for what it is—a gradual meandering towards a police-state nightmare, midnight raids, and concentration camps.

•Mr. Gupta is a junior majoring in Philosophy.

Keith Levenberg
The Fountainhead by Ayn Rand
Signet Books, 1943, 704 pp, \$7.99.

he age of the skyscraper is gone," pronounces Gail Wynand, a character in Rand's

novel. "This is the age of the housing project. Which is always a prelude to the age of the cave." The Fountainhead devotes itself to a thesis so revolutionary that it contradicts thousands of years of ethical traditions and attacks the fundamental errors of worldly society: that a man with integrity lives and works for his own benefit, not for the benefit of others; that to depend on the products of others for sustenance is parasitical and immoral; that self-reliant creators produced all of the great achievements in human history and that altruism plunges society into the gutter. In short,

that man's ego is the fountainhead of human progress.

Ayn Rand's view of the world is not very common today. Modern societies, based on altruism, no longer recognize a man's right to the fruits of his labor. Such collectivist ethics hold that a man that keeps what he earns is selfish and contemptible, a greedy

creature guilty of the highest crime against society: having the audacity to resist slavery. In one of the most

memorable soliloquies of *The Fountainhead*, the insanely villainous Ellsworth Toohey warns, "Just listen to any prophet and if you hear him speak of sacrifice, run. Run faster than from a plague. It stands to reason that where there's sacrifice, there's someone collecting sacrificial offerings. Where there's service, there's someone being served. The man who speaks to you of sacrifice speaks of slaves and masters. And intends to be the master."

Reading *The Fountainhead* makes one vividly aware of the subtle but acute buzzwords used by the left and right alike to subordinate man's free will and to turn productive members of society into sacrificial animals. When Bill Clinton tells us that "we

must sacrifice" and describes taxes as "contributions" to some greater good, one can hear the ghost of Ellsworth Monkton Toohey mulling about inside his brain. As long as sacrifice is considered virtuous, tyrants will continue to rule the human spirit. As long as self-indulgence is regarded as sinful, Ayn Rand's books will remain the most subversive words ever written.

•Mr. Levenberg is a sophomore majoring in Philosophy.



X Marks the Spot

Colin Delaney

—the generation long known for nothing in particular— has finally found its self-defining common ground, and X marks the past. Almost every other generation rallied around a mission, from winning the war to revolutionizing society, that defined the point in the future to which young people would lead their nation. As the evidence now suggests, however, Generation X seeks to shape its future by reanointing the values of the past.

An article in the most recent copy of Newsweek defined the style of Generation X: in uncommon numbers, twenty-somethings prefer single-malt scotches, expensive cigars, afternoon rounds of golf, salon haircuts, all-night card games, and bigband music. In short, "the good old days." Of course, the article failed to connect these elements and realize their meaning this generation's revolt against its elders demands a reversion to the fashions and values of their elders' elders. In fact, the thread common to seventies babies has become reverence for the cultures of the 1950s and 1920s, just as they wish for the prosperity known during childhood in the 1980s.

The experiences of Xers' grandparents, the New Deal "ending" the Great Depression and the GI Bill coinciding with prosperity in the 1950s, convinced them that the government could solve problems. Babyboomers, having learned this from their parents and heard the promise of a "Great Society" built on federal poverty programs, also rely on the state to provide many staples of life, protection against harmful food and drugs and insurance when a rainswollen river floods their homes among them.

But the mortgage has finally come due— to the tune of \$5 trillion i n national debt and an economy that cannot grow much faster than three percent annually. Skepticism about state power now runs rampant, as twentysomethings' extremely low voter turnout attests. Polls have found that more Gen-Xers (46%) believe in UFOs than expect Social Security

to provide a comfortable retirement (28%), and a majority (53%) expect the soap General Hospital to live longer than Medicare. Cynicism, especially about the improper use of the money disappearing from already small X paychecks, reflects broad distrust of a government run by "candidates for sale," as Newsweek called them.

The trends young people follow today do, however, disprove an assumption popular in media dominated by aging boomers. Many outlets report, as CNN did, a growing distrust in the government and institutions of America— meaning both

public and private entities. But the popularity of country-club style golf, expensive vices like the Glenlivet and Dunhill cigars, the exclusivist lounge-lizard social scene, and swing music reminiscent of black-tie ballrooms, evince an affinity for the stratified society of yesteryear. The desire to recreate Men's Clubs and the like may come from a backlash against feminism but



not only costly but also unjust. Hence the generation raised in the era of upwardmobility and finally achieving the dream of a meritocracy, as irrational discrimination in the private- and now the public-sector comes to an end, seeks ways to recognize and reward the fruits of hard labor on an increasingly level playing field. Xers have created social groups wherein the requirements for entrance go no further than likeness of interest and character— barriers created by class and race have thankfully deteriorated.

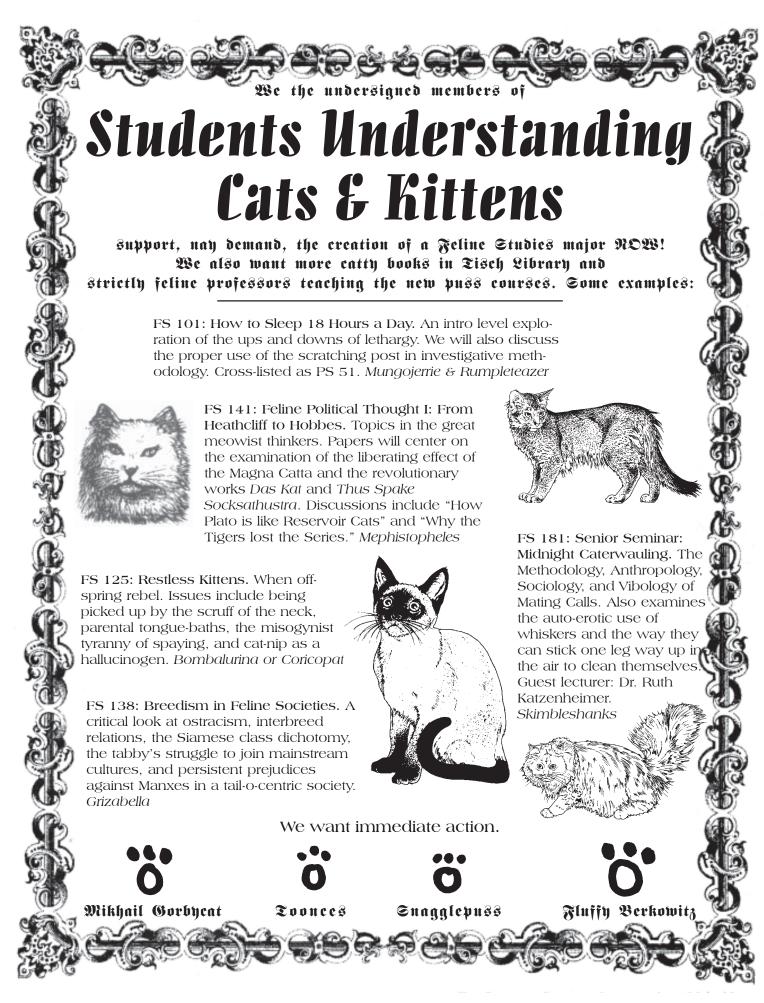
The concurrence of the generational shift away from government and toward self-created equal-opportunity social sets

The thread common to seventies babies has become reverence for the cultures of the 1950s and 1920s, just as they wish for the prosperity known during childhood in the 1980s.

> mirrors greater popularity of conservative values. The generation most-aborted and most-often raised by a single parent frequently chooses long-term monogamous relationships, as a *Playboy* survey found. Moreover, the prominence of revolutionary social movements on campus has dropped precipitously; the increasing influence of conservative students- The PRIMARY Source has counterparts at nearly every major college— indicates the attention paid to classical-liberal ideology by Generation X.

> Thus, as Xers muddle through the college years in hopes of finding a world better than the one their parents enjoyed, they try to re-establish the social institutions and mores of previous generations. For in a society based on personal responsibility, self-help, and equality of opportunity, rather than a misguided belief that the state can create equality of outcomes, they hope to find the tools to build a future that knows no bounds. The object of generational outrage has changed; it now includes the government acting in loco parentis and university administrators enforcing politically correct sensitivity. So for those wishing to rebel, grab a Scotch, light a hand-rolled cigar, turn up "In the Mood," and think of the past, when men were men and men could do stuff like that. Cheers.

Mr. Delaney is a senior majoring in small-batch bourbons (a nod to America), Dunhill cigars, and Glen Miller.



THE PRIMARY SOURCE Mayer Campus Center Tufts University Medford, MA 02155

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NOTABLE AND QUOTABLE

IRS HUMOR EXAMPLE A: A lawyer, a doctor and a priest were marooned on a desert island. So we confiscated their homes.

IRS HUMOR EXAMPLE B: What do you get when you cross Zsa Zsa Gabor with a kangaroo? I don't know, but let's confiscate its home.

—Dave Barry

Fantasy, abandoned by reason, produces impossible monsters; united with it, she is the mother of the arts and the origin of marvels.

-Francisco Goya

Freedom comes from human beings, rather than from laws and institutions.

—Clarence Darrow

How do you explain school to a higher intelligence?
—Elliot, ET

The first sign of maturity is the discovery that the volume knob also turns to the left.

-Anonymous

Iamagainst all hobbies. I have been against ever since I figured out that nothing I ever do is considered a hobby. All my life I have had to fill outforms that ask about hobbies. I always wanted to write down "reading", but reading is not a hobby. If you collect books, that is a hobby. If you actually read them, it is not. If you happen to watch a butterfly in a field, that is not a hobby. If you put a pin through its little heart, that is a hobby.

-Richard Cohen

To be sure of hitting the target, shoot first and, whatever you hit, call it the target.

-Ashleigh Brilliant

Under any conditions, anywhere, whatever you are doing, there is some ordinance under which you can be booked.

-Robert D. Sprecht

What is a "moderate Iranian," anyway? Someone who takes hostages but doesn't eat them?

—Mark Russell

I can't give you brains, but I can give you a diploma.

—The Wizard of Oz

Not love of self, but hatred of self, is at the root of the troubles that afflict the world.

—Eric Hoffer

He was so dumb that he couldn't tell you which way an elevator was going if you gave him three guesses.

-Anonymous

See in college how we thwart the natural love of learning by leaving the natural method of teaching what each wishes to learn, and insisting that you shall learn what you have no taste or capacity for. The college, which should be a place of delightful labor, is made odious and unhealthy, and the young men are tempted to frivolous amusements to rally their jaded spirits. I would have the studies elective. Scholarship is to be created not by compulsion, but by awakening a pure interest in knowledge.

-Ralph Waldo Emerson

For here we are not a fraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it.

—Thomas Jefferson

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.

—James Madison

Utility is when you have one telephone, luxury is when you have two, opulence is when you have three—and paradise is when you have none.

-Doug Larson

Truth has always been found to promote the best interests of mankind.

—PercyByssheShelley

To believe with certainty we must begin to doubt.
—Stanislaus

In America everybody is of the opinion that he has no social superiors, since all men are equal, but he does not admit that he has no social inferiors, for, from the time of Jefferson onward, the doctrine that all men are equal applies only upwards, not downwards.

-Bertrand Russell

Instead of giving money to found colleges to promote learning, why don't they pass a constitutional amendment prohibiting anybody from learning anything? If it works as good as the Prohibition one did, why, in five years we would have the smartest race of people on earth.

-Will Rogers

To understand your government, don't begin by reading the Constitution. It conveys precious little of the flavor of today's statecraft. Instead, read selected portions of the Washington telephone directory containing listings for all the organizations with titles beginning with the word "National."

—George Will

The first ingredient in conversation is truth, the next, good sense, the third, good humor, and the fourth, wit.

—Sir William Temple

The function of socialism is to raise suffering to a higher level.

—Norman Mailer

If at first you don't succeed, try, try, again. Then quit, no use being a damn fool about things.

—W. C. Fields

Victory goes to the candidate with the most accumulated or contributed wealth who has the financial sources to convince the middle class and poor that he will be on their side.

-Mark B. Cohen

To comprehend a man's life, it is necessary to know not merely what he does but also what he purposely leaves undone. There is a limit to the work that can be got out of a human body or a human brain, and he is a wise man who wastes no energy on pursuits for which he is not fitted; and he is still wiser who, among the things that he can do well, chooses and resolutely follows the best.

-William Gladstone

If I traveled to the end of the rainbow As Dame Fortune did intend, Murphy would be there to tell me The pot's at the other end.

-Bert Whitney