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## The Portland Spectator, Summer 2003

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GRAND THEFT AUTO • SADDAM'S DIARY • RUSSEL KIRK

# The Portland Spectator

SUMMER 2003

## The Classics Aisle

*When movies were by and for grown-ups*

# MISSION STATEMENT

The purpose of the Portland Spectator is to provide the students, faculty, and staff with the alternative viewpoint to the left-wing mentality forced upon all at Portland State University. The Portland Spectator is concerned with the defense and advancement of the ideals under which our great Republic was founded. Our viewpoint originates from the following principles:

*Individual Liberty*

*Limited Government*

*Free Market Economy and Free Trade*

*The Rule of Law*

The Portland Spectator is published by the Portland State University Publication Board; and is staffed solely by volunteer editors and writers. The Portland Spectator is funded through incidental student fees, advertisement revenue, and private donations. Our aim is to show that a conservative philosophy is the proper way to approach issues of common concern. In general the staff of the Portland Spectator share beliefs in the following:

- We believe that the academic environment should become again an open forum, where there is a chance for rational and prudent arguments to be heard. The current environment of political correctness, political fundamentalism and mob mentality stifle genuine political debate.
- We support high academic standards.
- We believe that each student should be judged solely on his/her merits.
- We oppose the special or preferential treatment of any one person or group.
- We believe in an open, fair and small student government.
- We believe that equal treatment yields inequality inherent in our human nature.
- We oppose unequal treatment in order to yield equality, for this violates any principle of justice that can maintain a free and civilized society.
- We oppose the welfare state that either benefits individuals, groups or corporations. The welfare state in the long run creates more poverty, dependency, social and economic decline.
- We believe in Capitalism, and that the sole role of government in economic matters is to provide the institutional arrangements that allow capitalism to flourish.
- We do not hate the rich; we do not idolize the poor.
- We believe in an activist U.S. foreign policy that seeks to promote and establish freedom, political and economic, all around the world.
- We believe, most importantly, in the necessity of patriotic duty consistent with the preservation and advancement of our Republic.

**The  
Portland  
Spectator**

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The Portland Spectator is published by the Student Publication Board of PSU. All signed essays and commentaries herein represent the opinions of the writers and not necessarily the opinions of the magazine or its staff.

The Portland Spectator accepts letters to the editor and commentaries from students, faculty and staff at the Portland State University. Please limit your letters to 300 words.

We reserve the right to edit material we find obscene, libelous, inappropriate or lengthy. We are not obliged to print anything that does not suit us. Unsolicited material will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Submission constitutes testimony as to the accuracy.

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### World Exclusive

## From Saddam Hussein's Diary



Many are looking for weapons of mass destruction, others for oil and some others for the stolen museum items. The Portland Spectator searched for and found Saddam's personal diary.

All you wanted to know about the inner Saddam is here.

By Napoleon Linardatos  
Page 14



# PARENTHESIS

## Good news for children

Following the Senate, the House of Representatives voted to ban the horrendous procedure of partial birth abortion. The vote was 282 to 139. Congress has voted for the ban twice before but it was vetoed by President Clinton. This time President Bush has said that he will sign the bill.

"In a partial-birth abortion, the abortionist pulls a living baby feet-first out of the womb and into the birth canal (vagina), except for the head, which the abortionist purposely keeps lodged just inside the cervix (the opening to the womb). The abortionist punctures the base of the baby's skull with a surgical instrument, such as a long surgical scissors or a pointed hollow metal tube called a trochar.

He then inserts a catheter (tube) into the wound, and removes the baby's brain with a powerful suction machine. This causes the skull to collapse, after which the abortionist completes the delivery of the now-dead baby."

## Teen disarmament

Ohio-Kevin Long, a first-grader, took a plastic butter knife from the school lunchroom and put it in his backpack to bring home. This was apparently a violation of the school's ban on weapons. The 6-year-old has been suspended and is facing the possibility of expulsion.

If the school board upholds the suspension, Kevin's parents plan to file charges against the school for providing weapons to minors.

## Granny in the Clink

Francisco Santana owes money to his ex-wife. But because the man is nowhere to be found, a Brazilian court has decided that his 72-year old-mother Maria Mendes Santana is liable for the payment.

Because she is unable to pay, the court sentenced the woman to spend 30 days in jail. When interviewed she exclaimed, "I really can't believe I am going to prison for something I have no control of."

## A CLEVER TAX-CUT



Economics is a science of single instances, hence it is hardly a science. So how much the president's most recent tax cuts will stimulate the economy is conjectural, a conjecture being a guess by a PhD. The Los Angeles Times, using Commerce Department figures, says the economy may be expanded "by somewhere between the annual output of North Dakota, the smallest of the states in economic terms, and Nevada, which ranks 31st," or by the equivalent of "adding another Sears, Roebuck & Co. and Dell Computer Corp."

But as a stimulus to the president's political stock and conservatives' aspirations, the latest tax cuts, signed Wednesday, will be doubly successful. They will make it more difficult for a Democrat to win the presidency. And should one win, the cuts will make it more difficult to use the presidency for Democratic purposes.

- George Will, *The Washington Post*, June 1 2003

## A HOLLOW MATRIX



The movie has the portentous hollowiness of so much bad sci-fi, in which the world is always about to end, but nothing else much matters, or makes any sense. The original, with its touch of the uncanny, has a special appeal for techno-geek teen-agers and perhaps for certain intellectuals who feel trapped in a corporate-controlled culture that they are powerless to fight.

Instead, they turn themselves into hip theoreticians of simulated reality, an idea no more interesting than the gaga psychedelic fantasies of the sixties era. It's an unpleasant irony that the artistic value of "The Matrix" has been crushed by exactly the franchise-making mentality that admirers of the original hate the most.

- David Denby, *The New Yorker*, June 3 2003

## THE MYTH OF MEDIA CONCENTRATION



Despite many mergers in the media industry in recent years, Americans today actually enjoy more diversity and competition in the media than at any other time in history, thanks to cable TV, Internet, the licensing of new broadcast stations and other factors.

Rather than media monopolies, consumers face a bewildering and unprecedented amount of choice. Instead, the real danger to Americans is that outdated and unnecessary FCC restrictions will limit

improvements in media markets and technologies, limiting the benefits that they can provide.

- James Gattuso, *Heritage Foundation Research*, May 29 2003

## Double standards

In the state of Oregon, suspected terrorists are innocent until proven guilty. If you are a police officer however, and risk your life every day to protect hundreds of thousands of people around you, you may not be so lucky.

"Civil rights" groups have called for the resignation of a Portland police officer after he was involved in a fatal shooting. Apparently, the right to a trial before judgment is not a civil right in the case of police officers.

## No, we've had enough, really

OSPIRG has recently raised its annoyance level to code red, preparing for maximum irrelevance. The group held a forum on education reform in the park blocks.

On the panel were... eight people who agreed with each other. The sound of the choir was marvelous. As the event continued, the harmony of the carefully conducted orchestra made for a very relaxing afternoon – free of conflict or dispute.

## Thanks Ted

Some Portlanders are angry with Governor Kulongoski. After his environmental, pro-choice based campaign, many are wondering: where's the radical we elected? Kulongoski did not begin a progressive statewide crusade against capitalism.

The Portland Spectator would like to thank Governor Kulongoski for his consistent support of the war on terrorism as well.

## Correction

In our May editorial titled "The Expensive Habits of Multnomah County" we said: The new tax would effectively cost average earning families \$981 annually..." One reader rightly noticed that "I think the figure should be \$981 for the three year period. I had an adjusted federal gross income in excess of \$80,000. I have computed my annual Multnomah County tax to be \$399 per year. As I understand it, take your Oregon state taxable income, and subtract \$1500 if single, \$5000 if filing a joint return, and multiply by .0125."

# The 2003 Spectator Awards

## The Excellent Public Service Award



Goes to Tracy Earll, chair of the Student Fee Committee (SFC). For the first time in recent memory someone had the guts to stand up to the special interests of PSU - and all that just before an election. PSU has an abysmal turnout in the elections and that gives the special interest group huge power. But Tracy Earll and the rest of the SFC fought on.

Earll also ended the practice of rubber-stamp allocation of student money. Additionally, in a year of astounding increases in costs she managed a zero increase in student fees. Three true things about Earll: Admirable courage, excellent management skills, strong bond with Dr. Pepper.

## The Nixon/Carter Award



Goes to Kristin Wallace, ex-president of the student government. We wanted to have the Nixon and Carter awards separate, one for lack of ethics the other for sheer incompetence, but the case of Wallace gave us the opportunity to combine them. Wallace's career started with an illegal fundraiser and ended with the resignation of her vice president (the highlight of her presidency).

Her only 'accomplishment' was her strong support for special interest groups. Two true things about Wallace: no ethics, no shame.

## The Silent Revolution Award



Goes to Nathan Pawlicki, senate member, E&CR member and Spectator contributor. Till recently only known for putting caffeine to sleep with his voice. But then it came to him: government should follow the law. Before you knew it, a revolution took place in student government where at least some laws were observed. We don't know how long the trend will last, but we enjoyed the ride nevertheless. Four true things

about Pawlicki: Al Gore's charm, a voice as passionate as Joe Lieberman's, faith in the rule of law, late on deadlines.

## The Feisty Woman Award



Goes to Annie Stewart, chair of the Evaluation & Constitution Review committee (E&CR.) Stewart as a member of the E&CR and later on, as chair, participated in making all the important decisions that brought things upside down. Some times notably wrong, some other times notably right, Stewart is a "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma."

Three true things about Stewart: passionate, opinionated, and absolutely hot in black.

# EDITORIAL

## *The Future of the PSU Graduate*

Near PSU, on sixth and Harrison, there is a McDonalds. PSU graduates will be welcome to file an application for employment there. If the recent economic trends continue it might be the only place where you could get a job.

According to the 2002 Business Census and Survey last year had only terrible news for downtown Portland. Nearly 5,000 jobs were lost, in sectors like Information (-890), finance and insurance (-912) and professional, scientific and technical services (-889). Of course, there was growth in one area: Accommodation and food services (+321). Apparently, the only sector that's doing well in Portland is the fast food sector. Who knows, if the trend continues for a little longer we might become the fast-food capital of the world.

This is where the policies of tax & spend have lead. The recent tax increase, allegedly temporary, in Multnomah County is supposed to be for the schools. A closer look though proves something else: it's for the teacher's union. All in order to finance a system of exorbitant benefits, a system unaccountable to the parents, a system that so often fails the children.

The State of Oregon spends between 15-20% more than the average US State with the same demographics. During the roaring 90s the State of Oregon spent every single penny it could creating a myriad new government programs. At the same time, spending on higher education went down as a percentage of the overall budget. Oregon's political class focused instead on creating and pampering new entitlement programs. Consider what will happen if in every boom, we create new government programs, then in every recession we keep financing

them through tax increases. Decade after decade more of what Oregonians earn will go to the government.

Of course no one talks about what happened in the 90s. It's not politically convenient. Instead politicians, with the help of the media, scare the voters into acceptance of a behemoth state by threatening cuts in essential services.

At the same time rampant over-regulation contributes more to the stifling of the economy. The irrational anti-automobile policies and land use policies have made our housing market the 5th most expensive in the nation, and the home ownership rate the 41st lowest, quite an achievement.

Oregon increasingly becomes an unwelcome place for middle and low income households. Policies that are supposedly for those people have negative consequences to those most in need. A wealthy person can do just fine even if unemployment

is high, even if the economy is stagnant, even if the housing market is very expensive. It's not the same for the average person out there. And it's not the same for the PSU graduate coming out of college and looking for a job that's not there.

What creates jobs and opportunity is not command and control economics espoused by Oregon's political class and media. It's an economy that rewards people's hard work, innovation and risk taking, not Salem lobbying.

Oregon can do much better, and it can do much better for everybody. But first there must be the political courage to battle vested interests that have put Oregon in a state of political, economic and cultural decline.

### Apply Here



#### Downtown Employment 2001-2002

Finance and Insurance	-1,277
Information	-890
Professional, scientific and technical services	-889
Transportation and warehousing	-1,227
Retail Trade	-513
Accommodation and food services	+321

Source: 2002 Downtown Business Census and Survey

## *Continuing Education Brings Michael Moore*

The liberal New Yorker says "Moore, as always, is less a reliable or coherent thinker than a left-wing joker with a camera". Another liberal magazine, The New Republic, says "His award-winning documentary about America's culture of guns and violence was riddled with errors and misrepresentations."

And the leftist Dissent goes much further: "His political criticism signals problems faced by the left more generally: marginalization, a tendency to seek the purity of confrontation rather than to work for long-term political solutions, a cynicism about the possibilities of politics today, and questionable political judgments. Moore exhibits all these weaknesses. Unfortunately, an effective left cannot draw energy or inspiration from a deeply cynical view of politics that blurs entertainment and argument. Moore takes shortcuts when it comes to politics. He entertains, but he doesn't always do much more."

The Program of Continuing Education has a different opinion though. They have decided to bring Michael Moore to Portland. For those who don't know the Program of Continuing Education "is a department within the School of Extended Studies at Portland State University that provides quality education that supports the professional growth of PreK-16 educators, trainers, and human service professionals."

Now the force-feeding of certain politics by many departments is well known. The question here is why the Program of Continuing Education went so low in its selection? We understand Mr. Moore's popularity with certain segments of the public eager to consume entertainment wrapped in vitriolic/fictitious assertions. But an academic department, especially one that seeks to educate educators, should be able to avoid the lures of popular entertainment.

# Threatening the tuition plateau

*Making a serious problem even worse.* By JUSTIN MYERS

THE tuition plateau has come under attack. Not because there is anything inherently unfair about the policy, but because it stands between the administration and an easy answer to our 'budget crisis'.

'Plateau' is the term used to describe the flat-rate tuition cost for students taking 12-18 credits for undergraduates, and 9-16 credits for graduate students.

Removing this plateau would mean that tuition would be linked directly to the amount of credits being taken. Due to the details of the plan proposed by the Office of Financial and Administration, which lowers the cost per credit by a measly two dollars, the proponents of the tuition plateau removal claim that tuition is being reduced for the majority of Portland State University students.

Cathy Dyck and other administrators say that the majority of undergraduates do not take advantage of the tuition plateau. The statistic they provide is that two-thirds of the students take twelve credits or less. The argument, then, is that these students are subsidizing the remaining one-third of the students who are taking thirteen credits or more.

Removing the tuition plateau is thus touted as necessary to lift the burden of cost from the shoulders of the part-time students. These students could look to save up to twenty-four dollars per term. Students who are taking sixteen credits, the course load normally expected to be taken in order for most individuals to graduate within four years, would be forced to pay an extra \$328 each term. The enrollment numbers for Spring, 2003 show that 37% of undergraduates are taking course loads on the plateau, and 62% of undergraduates are enrolled full time. Little information is provided about the course loads students take during their entire college career. An important statistic that would help

inform the final decision is being overlooked; What percentage of students utilize that plateau at some point in their college career? The answer is undoubtedly more than the amount which does during any one term.

The plateau is vital for students who are attending Portland State University full

higher education's importance at the state level has been on the decline over the past few years. This budget crunch is a direct result of Oregon's poor spending practices. Since 1990 the percent of the state budget going to higher education has dropped from around 11%, to barely 7%.

The administration may be pressed to find new sources of revenue to maintain services at PSU, but they do a disservice to the university community by arguing that their motives for recommending the plateau removal are based entirely on a deep concern over the 'unfairness' of the plateau. The proposal is rife with empty claims and pitiful offerings.

And if the fiscal situation should improve, what then? How easy do you think it would be for a university that has grown dependent on a per-credit tuition system to let go and re-establish a plateau? People need

to recognize that the university may have to endure difficult and lean times for now without condemning the students of the future to bear the burden of our current problems.

If Portland State University is truly interested in becoming a powerful and respected school it needs to stay away from the community college image. PSU does play an important role in the city as an embedded center for the service of the urban community, and students here use the school differently than students on massive campuses away from city centers. But we can not allow the fact that many students do not live on campus modify the atmosphere of education here to a drive through, which is at the heart of the plateau removal. ■



time. The ability to take varying course loads over the course of a year gives students an important ingredient for success.

Also, many students are dedicated workers intent on getting the most from their college experience. Punishing the students who work the hardest by increasing their tuition by as much as 46% (for undergrads taking 18 credits) does not respect their efforts.

Fortunately, there are rumors that the budget and priorities committee decided not to recommend the removal of the plateau.

The decision makers at Portland State University need to listen to the committee and not allow PSU to become oppressive to students who want to push themselves in their education. It is true that we're in a budget crunch, but making it more difficult to attend school is not the answer.

It needs to be remembered that PSU is not in this situation because of the plateau. We're in this situation because

# Grand Theft Paranoia

***Why violent video games are not a problem.* BY BRIAN DANIELSON**

SINCE the dawn of the video game console in the 1970s, America's youth have been glued to televisions across the country to engorge themselves in entertaining titles ranging from the ultra-simplistic Pong and action-packed bloodbaths like Quake and Doom to more realistic sports games like Madden NFL. In this paper, I am going to examine how the video game marketplace is saturated with ultra-violent video games and whether the existing video game rating system does an adequate job identifying the amount of violence in a particular video game.

If one were to go out and purchase a video game today, there are really only five different genres to choose from: First Person Shooter (FPS for short, examples being Doom or Quake series), Sports (example being Madden NFL Football), Real Time Strategy (RTS for short, example being Command & Conquer, Age of Empires), Sci-Fi (example being Final Fantasy Series) and Action (wide variety, inclusive of both FPS and sports, example being Grand Theft Auto).

As the name suggests, the First Person Shooter genre essentially puts the player in the shoes of a character, usually some sort of hero or action figure, and the point is to obliterate everything that moves. Some times there is a plot or mission, other times it is simple "Deathmatch" where the person with the highest number of kills wins. The very first three-dimensional game was in fact a First Person Shooter. Developed by id Software, Wolfenstein 3D featured a hero in Nazi Germany going through camps and killing Nazi soldiers. As technology has progressed and the ongoing "realism war" between consoles like the XBOX and Playstation 2 and the PC, these violent games have transitioned from being blocky and cartoon-like to having fluid, life-like weapons, bodies and even bloody mist when someone is blown up by a rocket launcher or implodes from the BFG in the game Quake III: Arena.

Video games have in fact, become so

realistic in recent years that the United States Military uses them for desensitization and combat simulation among recruits (US Department of Defense). The military describes the purpose being to teach cooperation and listening skills as well as quick decision making.

To illustrate how realistically violent games have become, in Wolfenstein 3D



when a character dies, they basically flash and then they are seen lying on the ground. There are no blood splatters or puddles of blood with body parts, also known as "gibs" floating in them. The first game to introduce realistic death sequences was Activision's Soldier of Fortune. According to Activision, there are twenty six different ways for a character to die. These animated death sequences range from a shotgun wound severing a limb to a pistol shot to the groin, having the character jump around holding himself, emitting bloodcurdling screams and groans.

Not only have the death sequences become realistic, but the weapons and weapon impact also has a disturbing realism. In the PC game/combat simulator Project IGI, the weapon sounds are taken from the actual weapons. Codemasters, the developer of Project IGI went overseas where weapons restrictions aren't as stringent as they are in the United States and obtained quite an arsenal to use in their game. Featuring a number of pistols like the H&K 45 caliber pistol to the M16 and AK47 assault rifles, Codemasters recorded and duplicated the sounds near perfect. Even from a double-tap pistol shot

to a gatling gun spraying forty rounds a second, the sounds are accurate and realistic. With such accuracy on the weapon sounds, the look of the weapon must be accurate too. Guns now have reflective brass shells ejecting when fired along with the explosive light and sometimes when fire is emitted from the tip of an assault rifle, it is always present and always in great detail. With such accuracy on weapons detail video game coders also have to add in realism as far as the impact of the weapon. In the FPS game Quake III: Arena, a thick mist of blood spews from a character when hit by a bullet. In both iterations of FPS game Soldier of Fortune, characters are dismembered by shotgun shots while gibbs soar through the bloody air. The game Unreal Tournament also features a "head shot" bonus, where if a foe is shot in the head with certain weapons, the opponent instantly dies and a booming voice echoes "Head Shot!"

With such shocking realism in current games and the expectation of more to come as PC and game console hardware progresses, many are wondering how these ultra-violent video games affect society as well as what game developers and the retail establishments that sell them are doing to make sure children are not purchasing these games.

Similar to feature films, video games are also regulated by rating systems. The ESRB or Electronic Software Ratings Board oversees these ratings and determines what rating every game on the market will receive. After numerous revisions in the past few years, the ESRB has setup a system of six ratings. These ratings include Early Childhood (edutainment titles), Everyone (generally sports titles or adventure titles like Mario and Sonic the Hedgehog), Teen (lesser violent games like Command & Conquer or Age of Empires), Mature (ultra-violent games like the Grand Theft Auto series, Quake, Doom and Soldier of Fortune) and Adults Only (usually sexually oriented games with provocative nudity (such as the appropriately titled BMX-XXX).

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Medical studies have shown that even limited exposure to images of Ronald Reagan can cause itching, hives, and swelling of the lips and face in university professors. Testicular pain has also been reported.

The Portland Spectator takes great care in order to protect our educators and administrators from images that could disturb their psychological and physical well-being. The safety of all members of our intellectually homogenous community is of primary concern.

The  
**Portland**  
Spectator

Dear Professor, tear down this wall

# The Field of Economic Dreams

*Bringing major league baseball to Portland.* BY MATT ROEHR AND KURT T. WEBER

PORTLAND, Washington, DC and Northern Virginia are competing to get the Montreal Expos. In the process, Oregonians should remember: a baseball team is a private business. As a private business, a team should build its own facilities. Raymond J. Keating highlights, prior to 1953 every ballpark built specifically for Major League Baseball was funded 100 percent with private dollars. Stadiums and arenas have since been privately built as well.

Keating, chief economist for the Small Business Survival Committee, notes, "The private sector gave us such gems as Detroit's Tiger Stadium, Boston's Fenway Park, the Bronx's Yankee Stadium, Brooklyn's Ebbets Field, Philadelphia's Shibe Park, and Chicago's Wrigley Field, to name just a few." (Multnomah Stadium in Portland, now called PGE Park, was privately built in 1926.)

In the 1990s, "Toronto's Air Canada Centre, Atlanta's Turner Field, Montreal's Molson Centre, Vancouver's General Motors Palace and Chicago's United Center were built with either no or small government subsidies," Keating reports. More recently, new arenas in Columbus (Ohio), Los Angeles, and Denver have been financed with little or no government aid. After voters rejected four separate proposals for a new taxpayer subsidized stadium, the San Francisco Giants moved into Pacific Bell Park, with 96 percent of the costs covered by private financing.

Unfortunately, numerous local officials and legislators have embraced corporate welfare to build a ballpark as Expo bait. Oregon House Bill 3606 would subsidize the construction of a Major League

Baseball (MLB) stadium in Portland. HB3606 would allow income taxes from player and executive salaries to back \$150 million in bonds to help pay for construction costs.

However, \$150 million won't buy much. Pacific Bell Park's price tag ran \$354 mil-



lion, and Seattle's Safeco Field nearly \$520 million after cost overruns. Costs escalate to meet MLB requirements, city wish lists, the Americans with Disabilities Act, environmentalists' demands, and so forth. If Portland were granted a franchise, baseball proponents would probably push to build a state-of-the-art stadium, and the final cost would skyrocket significantly. Retractable roofs don't come cheap. Who will pay for that? Taxpayers will.

The City's report to MLB, Portland at the Plate, provides a "preliminary list of local financing options the City of

Portland will be evaluating for stadium financing." Among the options: tax increment financing, hotel and car rental taxes, parking revenue bonds, a special assessment district, a local improvement district, and targeted increases in business license fees. These won't require voter approval. The report lists possible "Financial Tools" that would require voter approval: a general obligation property tax, an amusement tax, and a food and beverage tax.

Keating examined the public financing of professional sports facilities in a Cato Institute report Sports Pork: The Costly Relationship between Major League Sports and Government. In a related Washington Post article he pointed out, "almost all sports-happy politicians justify subsidies by claiming that stadiums and arenas are economic engines, and they point to supporting reports from hired-gun consultants that amount to the worst kind of economic guesswork."

Roger G. Noll, a Stanford University economics professor and co-author of Sports, Jobs and Taxes: The Economic Impact of Sports Stadiums, concurs. He wrote in a New York Times commentary, "Independent studies of sports facilities invariably conclude that they provide no significant economic benefits.... And because a team has relatively few (but very highly paid) employees, it usually causes over-all employment in a city to fall because it can drive other entertainment businesses to cut back or close."

These cut backs or closures can be the result of what economists call the "substitution effect," which many consultants ignore when attempting to sell tax-

*continued on page 25*

If Portland were granted a franchise, baseball proponents would probably push to build a state-of-the-art stadium, and the final cost would skyrocket significantly. Retractable roofs don't come cheap. Who will pay for that? Taxpayers will.

## ► PUBLIC POLICY

# Propaganda: The Anti-Drug

*The hypocrisy of the war on drugs* • BY JOEY COON

IN one of several ads purchased by the Office of National Drug Control Policy, we are told that the drug trade finances “groups that commit violent crimes.” To discourage young people from consuming drugs, the ads explain that if one buys drugs the money “goes to people responsible for murder, bribery, intimidation and torture.” Some ads broadcast shortly after the attacks of September 11, explicitly connect recreational drug use with terrorism. This view, however, is dishonest. The government’s drug policy in this country is the driving force in encouraging criminal activity and funding terrorism.

There is no dispute that the sale of illicit drugs benefits criminals and extremist organizations. The Office of National Drug Policy is correct when it states that “drugs form an important part of the financial infrastructure of terror networks.” But the important question is not whether drugs create large revenue for criminal elements, but why.

The reason that the sale of narcotics is so lucrative is because they are illegal. In essence, the “war on drugs” inflates prices by increasing the risk to those who are active in the trade. In a December 2001 issue of Reason Magazine, Jacob Sullum states that the “risk premium means that cocaine and heroin sell for 20 to 40 times as much as they otherwise would.” The prohibition of narcotics is similar to alcohol prohibition of the 1930s. Banning the production and consumption of alcohol did not actually eliminate alcohol, but instead created an opportunity for organized crime to establish a foothold by offering them a new occupation. Government drug policies have created the same effects only to a much grander scale.

By banning a product that people want, the “war on drugs” encourages criminals to capitalize on the large revenue associated with the risk. There are no legal

means for drug users and sellers to seek recompense for fraud or theft. You can’t dial 9-1-1 when someone has stolen your supply of crack or take a dealer to civil court for breaking a contract. Violence becomes an accepted business practice in an industry at odds with law enforce-

ment and the civil and criminal judicial system. The “war on drugs” is no different. Every dollar that is spent to infiltrate a drug cartel is a dollar that could have been used to infiltrate a terrorist organization. By prosecuting and imprisoning peaceful drug users we are spending tens of billions of dollars annually. These resources could be used to better protect American citizens had they been directed toward the legitimate end of reducing violent crime and curbing terrorist activity.

To say that drug users are responsible for the violent crime and terrorism is fraudulent. It is not the nature of illicit substances that lead criminals to the drug trade, it is the enormous profits that can be attained because of the risk in participating in illegal activity. As Patrick Stevens of the Objectivist Center writes, “if the government made chocolate illegal, then buying a candy bar would probably ‘support terrorism’.” That is the nature of a black market.

The American public should be outraged that the government’s actions are jeopardizing the safety of ordinary people. We should be outraged that our liberties are being cast aside and that the lives of peaceful individuals, who have not infringed on the rights of anyone, are being destroyed. Instead of repealing laws that have proven ineffective time and time again,

the government uses taxpayer dollars to create propaganda that blames honest Americans for the problems perpetuated by the state.

While drug use can destroy lives, it does not compare to the wreckage caused by the “war on drugs.” In this case, the supposed treatment is more damaging than the illness it professes to cure. ■



ment and the civil and criminal judicial system.

Aside from inflating the profits of the drug trade, government policy diverts vital money away from prevention of more immediate threats. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies have a fixed amount of resources (though they might think the amount of money they can take from taxpayer pockets is infinite, I assure you it is fixed as well). Every dollar that is spent on one area, is

# The Right Against the War

*The forgotten anti-war activists.* BY MICHAEL KING

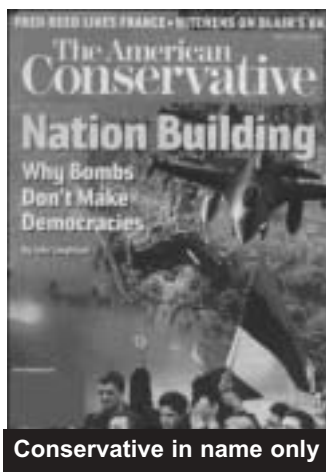
SEEMINGLY forgotten in the debate after September 11, and during the months leading up to Operation Iraqi Freedom, was the vigorous dissent from certain quarters of the right. While only on the fringes, it shows that, the further right you go on the traditional political spectrum, pretty soon you come back around to the extreme left. Usually, such views spring from what are known as "paleoconservatives," commonly identified with followers of Pat Buchanan, but certainly not limited to them. Also, (and I know that they will hate me for doing this) there is a significant crossover element with libertarians, whom I for this purpose do consider part of the right, though they are not strictly speaking conservatives.

What unites these seemingly disparate groups—which range from respected libertarian think tanks to Buchanan's faux conservative magazine *The American Conservative*—is a distinctly isolationist view of American foreign policy. While conservatives of all types have a healthy distrust of international organizations, in this case that distrust is carried even further—essentially a distrust of any overseas American military presence of any kind. With this in mind, one may legitimately ask how Buchanan's view of the world is any different than that represented in the *New York Times* or the Democratic Party.

While Buchanan would have different root causes for believing for what he does, ultimately he and his followers end up having more in common with France, the U.N. and Hans Blix (admittedly not a link that many conservatives would relish).

Another factor that influences things, but admittedly more so for paleos, is an intense hatred of Israel, either implicit or expressed with overt anti-semitism. For example, the term "neoconservative" has been gratuitously thrown around recently, to refer to pretty much any supporter of the war with Iraq, many of whom happen to be pro-Israel. Richard Perle, when he was on NBC's *Meet the Press* in February, was asked point blank

by moderator Tim Russert "Can you assure American viewers ...that we're in this situation against Saddam Hussein and his removal for American security interests? And what would be the link in terms of Israel?" Ah, Jewish conspiracy time! If uttered by Buchanan or anyone claiming to be a conservative, the media



would be all over them, bringing charges of anti-semitism. Instead, it is interesting to see a respected mainstream media personality, such as Russert, ask such a question, and not get hammered for it. Yet another example of how the extreme left and right come together. Of course, the strongly Roman Catholic Buchanan had no trouble endorsing the use of the U.S. Navy to protect Croatia against Serbian attack in 1991—quite a double standard. One may ask why, if Buchanan thinks that Croatia was an outpost of Western Civilization to be defended, why not the Orthodox Christian Serbs, moderate Bosnian and Albanian Muslims, or (gasp!) Israel, truly a bastion of civilization in the Middle East.

While neoconservative does have a legitimate use to refer to certain types of conservatives, lately it has devolved into a smear, led by people who quite often have no idea of the original etymology of the word. Originally it referred to disaffected liberals in the 60s and 70s, who moved to the right after seeing the disastrous effects of the Great Society, and the Western retreat from Communism dur-

ing the 1970s. While many (but certainly not all) neo-cons were Jews, they tried very hard to assimilate themselves into mainstream conservatism. Indeed, Norman Podhertz, commonly considered one of the founders of the movement, several years ago wrote an essay called "Neoconservatism: A Eulogy" in *Commentary* magazine. Indiscriminate use of calling opponents neocons has only debased the utility of the word, muddying the waters of comprehension—what Orwell warned about in his essay "Politics and the English Language."

Not surprising, much of the invective spewed by paleos against Israel devolves into conspiracy and paranoia. Justin Raimondo, the Internet journalist who was a groupie of Buchanan's in the Reform Party, claimed in December of 2001 "that the Israelis had some significant foreknowledge and involvement in the events preceding 9/11 seems beyond dispute." In essence, paleos and their fellow travelers on the right wish to freeze American society as it was circa 1910—or even before. To them, WW1 was an egregious mistake for America to enter (I disagree, but it is legitimately debatable) and even WW2, the only American war in this century to be endorsed fully by liberals, should have been avoided.

It is almost pointless debating these topics with those who think FDR was involved in a conspiracy to get the U.S. involved in World War 2, or that the Republican Party went downhill after Robert Taft. Only the more grave challenge of communism helped keep them a part of the conservative movement. When the Cold War ended, they went back to their old views, and what a time to do it in—who can say that the decade of the X-Files wasn't a fertile field for curmudgeonly conspiracy theorists.

The birth of modern American Conservatism usually dates from the 1950s. One of the founders, William F. Buckley of *National Review* fame, helped legitimize conservatism by getting rid of its seedy underbelly—extremists like the

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# The Jayson Blair Affair

*Unwitting tribune of racial hope.* By HOLMAN W. JENKINS JR.

THANKS to wayward reporter Jayson Blair, for once we have a controversy involving race in which no one is leveling charges of racism. The controversy over Mr. Blair's fabrications at the New York Times is not even about affirmative action, except on the surface. Instead, the controversy is about something that we've long needed a controversy about: racial neuroticism.

Mr. Blair, to recap, is the young reporter recently resigned from the Times who had been found to have been faking his whereabouts and cribbing from competing publications to make his reporting seem more impressive than it was. Why couldn't the Times tell it had a con man in its midst? Had the paper's nearly gothic hang-up about race affected not just news judgment but personnel policy?

One should perhaps hesitate to psychoanalyze an institution, but the Times pours out tens of thousands of words a day, and like any of us, reveals itself in what it chooses to say and not to say. And the Times is so mystified by the subject of race that it has repeatedly fallen into the kind of bloopers that make journalists cringe, namely getting the story wrong.

Which great paper of record was giddy to report that a ranking Texaco executive had used the word "nigger" and disparaged African-American colleagues as "black jelly beans?" Except the attribution wasn't true: The Times had relied on the word of trial lawyers who stood to make millions from a racial suit. A careful examination of the secretly taped conversation showed that the offending word was "Nicholas" and "jelly bean" was an approved metaphor used by Texaco's own outside diversity trainer.

Next we had a story based on yet another trial-lawyer study showing that car dealers were twice as likely to charge a "dealer markup" on the financing rate to black car purchasers. Wait. So car dealers are leaving money on the table in

dealings with 88% of car buyers who aren't black? The study completely failed to ask whether dealers were making extraordinary profits at the expense of black customers -- or merely negotiating higher finance charges in order to make an otherwise unprofitable sale profitable.



We won't go into the church-burning mythology of 1996 or the farcical campaign to draft Tiger Woods into a crusade to get women admitted to the Augusta National Golf Club. The problem here is obvious. The Times can't find enough authentic racist behavior to suit it so the paper has to resort to dubious statistical and other means to create the story it's looking for.

The Blair problem might have been treated as run-of-the-mill employee fraud, compounded by management falling in love with one of its proteges, as management is wont to do. But after denying for days that race was a factor, editor Howell Raines was obliged to give the world what the Times itself had conditioned the world to want: a racial explanation. "I believe in aggressively providing hiring and career opportunities for minorities," he was reported in the Times itself as saying. "You have a right to ask if I, as a white man from Alabama, with those convictions, gave him one chance too many. When I look into my heart for the truth of that, the answer is yes."

Good grief. Not even the most ardent definition of affirmative action requires weaving an illusion of success around someone who is visibly screwing up. The Times should wish that misplaced solicitude for a failing colleague is all that was going on here.

Mr. Blair, after all, was not just any reporter but on a fast track to the top, assigned to the biggest story in America at the time (the D.C. sniper case) and repeatedly promoted on the front page despite a mid-level editor who had warned pre-emptorily that he couldn't be trusted. One can only wonder if editors had been similarly ignored or kept their mouths shut rather than object to front-page stories that found racism in the innocent conversations of Texaco executives or in the routine profit-seeking of auto dealers.

These earlier pieces, it's important to understand, were written by reporters of much greater reputation and experience than Mr. Blair. The Times, we make so bold as to suggest, has become a primary propagator of racial neurosis, second only to the courts. Yes, we have a race problem in this country -- historically rooted, socially perpetuated. But let's remember that it's experienced by most people not as actual racial hatred but as a needless burden of mistrust between people of goodwill.

Take whatever percentage of the American population you assume to be genuinely against racism -- 90%, 95%, whatever. They still have the problem of not knowing but thinking they know what's in their fellow Americans' heads. Blacks and whites readily misinterpret each other, seeing condescension, suspicion or resentment in innocent acts as well as in acts whose biggest mistake is trying too hard to be innocent of prejudice.

This is basically the eternal problem of

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# FICTION

## From Saddam Hussein's Diary

BY NAPOLEON LINARDATOS

*April 3*

The most entertaining thing is to watch Bush Jr. talking. I just saw another speech of his today. Freedom this and freedom that, freedom here and freedom there. Blah, blah, blah...

Texans wouldn't know freedom if it came on a pickup truck with zero percent finance.

The important thing with Bush's speeches is not what he'll say next, but if he'll be able to say anything at all. Every time he jumps from one word to another he takes a great leap into the unknown and you can see the anxiety painted all over his face.

Amerikans have no problem with all that. They treat him like their little child. Watching him taking his first steps, getting hooked on phonics and what have you. Crazy stuff.

*April 4*

I had to make another tape today. Sitting at the head of table in uniform and surrounded by other uniforms. Another tape to reassure the public. Another tape to present the public Saddam, decisive, tough, hardheaded and ready for everything.

At other times, encircled by a crowd, holding a rifle, I'll start shooting at the sky while I watch the crowd, as if by accident I try to gun down a bird that happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. How stupid.

I am just sick and tired of this game. I want to be me again, a person with feelings, not just a uniform. For three decades now I have given Iraq every last little bit of me. I can't take it anymore.

Often, at the end of some public event I'll run like a crazy goat back to my bed-

room. I'll sink my head in the pillow and I'll cry till my eyes are dry. It is at this moment, half asleep and half awake, that I dream myself as a little pink butterfly, flying from flower to flower without cares and responsibilities, without a public role to perform.

*Forever free*

*Forever flying*

*Forever little pink butterfly*



*April 6*

The treatment that I get from the western media is absolutely horrendous. Every time I make a speech there is a concentrated and persistent effort to distract the public from my message with questions about doubles and what have you. They are scared to allow their people listen to what I have to say. It's obvious, that if that were to happen so many myths created about me would come crashing down like paper towers.

I am particularly irritated today because we spent so much time on the speech. It started so beautifully - with the juxtaposition of deconstructed signifiers in "You damned, wicked, little degenerate disgusting puppets of Zionist imperialism..."

Anyway, all our efforts were in vain since the focus was on my moustache, the thickness of my glasses, the piece of cloth behind me, and the surrounding flora. The western media obsession with form over substance is disgusting and a threat to international peace.

*April 9*

It's been very depressing to watch television today. It's painful for a man like me who has given so much to the arts to see the philistine hordes ransack Baghdad. For the western media it was a great day. Having Iraqis go around and destroy my statues and pictures made good TV, and much better propaganda. Perhaps someone will say that I am upset because these statues and pictures are depicting me. This is totally untrue.

For the past thirty years there has been a titanic effort in Iraq to revitalize the arts. There have been a few times in the history of the mankind (Pericles' Athens, Renaissance Italy) that the arts saw such growth. When I became president it was Iraq's turn. Every Iraqi walking down the street could be a witness of an age of grand artistic creativity.

Now as the dirty Amerikan hands desecrate the Iraqi body politic I know that this age is gone. Probably, they'll turn Iraq into a Texas, a state where the highest artistic moment comes the day before Halloween when thousands of pumpkins are carved into really amusing shapes. Shame. ●

# BOOKS & ARTS

## The Making of a Caricature

*The CBS failure to portray Hitler.* REVIEWED BY JANET ROGERS

I knew there was something familiar about the CBS "TV-Movie-Event," "Hitler: The Rise of Evil." This aired on May 18 and 20. The caricature of Hitler was like the caricatures of Jews made by the Nazis; both crazed by their unnatural, pathological drives. Though the movie was dull and cliché-ridden, the underlying message was clear: the Nazi regime and the Bush administration are frighteningly similar (as if this hasn't been the latest fad.)

This was a simple, connect-the-dots presentation, touching briefly on selected events and incorporating stock characters who represent stereotypes: the upper class who support Hitler, the brave opposition who are silenced, the Jews who are persecuted, and the women who are abused. Aspects of Hitler's life and times that couldn't be compared with George Bush were omitted. Like the Nazis, who didn't go in much for psychology, preferring mind control through propagandistic repetition of stereotypes and slogans, this movie never went into the more interesting or enigmatic aspects of Hitler's character.

The short introduction shows young Hitler being abused and abusive, which is too easy to point to, especially in hindsight, as a reason for his pathology. It doesn't seem like Hitler would have stood out from other young Germans who suffered trauma during World War I, so the inclusion of scenes of Hitler at the front left little impression, except for that of him abusing a dog. A major problem with the movie was that the actor playing Hitler didn't look anything like Hitler. Though Hitler's eyes were described by some of his contemporaries as being "blue and piercing," in the movie his eyes were neither blue nor

piercing, but frequently wide and buggy, giving the appearance of a manic, paranoid cartoon character, an insane puppet, really de trop.

Like portrayals of George Bush, Hitler was somehow simultaneously an evil genius plotting to conquer the world, and a stupid, provincial clown. Given these two options, we are able to apply either image to a situation, making it



fit. Most people don't even know or care about Hitler now, except to conveniently invoke his name. They can pull it like an image from a fear file to create postmodern propaganda. However, this movie didn't succeed in portraying Hitler as a puppet, because by intending to lead viewers to expect a totalitarian outcome, the writers must not have taken into consideration the fact that such governments are not ruled by puppets.

The movie did nothing to explain why so many Germans followed Hitler.

It portrayed him as manic from his early life, when in fact his earlier speeches had a mesmerizing quality, and his voice was not harsh and strident, as it was later. Nothing was shown of his rhetorical style and control of his audience, which

would have given a better impression of the depth of his hatred for the Jews; in postmodern fashion, all that is needed is application and repetition of a word to substitute for content, in this case the word "Jews" was repeatedly emphasized to make the point. Of course Hitler used propaganda and manipulation in this way, but in such a simplistic analysis it seems acceptable to use trigger words to induce reactions in audiences.

At the end of the movie, there was a list of groups the Nazis targeted for persecution and elimination, including "dissidents." Among these groups, there was no mention of Christian dissidents and activists, who were among the victims. After the Reichstag fire, Hitler spoke and placed blame on terrorists, not communists, as he did in real life. These subtle cues are there to be picked up for those relating it to the present day. It would be great, if for once, producers would give the audience credit for having some intelligence

and reason and ask more provocative questions. Ideally, this movie should have been preceded by one about Weimar Germany, which could have given many more clues as to why Hitler was able to gain power. There was a very tame and abbreviated portrayal of cabaret life, token scenes which served as a sort of barometer for changes in the political climate. For a much better explication of this, I recommend the German film, "Gripsholm," which depicts the intellectual, political, and personal milieu of the cabaret and how it became like shifting sand in the early 1930's. The TV-movie made Ernst Hanfstaengl one of the main characters, and he did provide some guidance and

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# The Classics Aisle

*When movies were by and for grown-ups*

BY S. J. CAMPBELL

For most, hearing 'Casablanca' makes them think of a black and white film starring Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman, not an actual place. Since making the film in 1943, the flickering images of Rick's Café Americain and prop driven aeroplanes have had more reality to the world audience than an actual foreign city populated by real people. We may not know that a synchronized suicide terror attack by Islamic extremists killed people there a short while ago, but all of us know that "this could\*\*\* be the beginning of a beautiful friendship." But looking back over the last sixty years of movies, Casablanca has become not only symbolic of a particular era of American film, but paradigmatic of a major shift in American taste. The shift away from the adult, and toward the culture of the child.

Watching Casablanca today is something like getting a transmission from another world. If we were evaluating the two different worlds from which these movies have come: one of the shadowy black and whites of early Hollywood, and the other of the shimmering hyperreal color of the Hollywood of today, we might get the impression that the world of contemporary America is organized along the lines of the future seen in Logan's run. In movie after movie, it seems that everyone who ever approached the age of thirty was told to report to the regeneration room, never

to be heard from again. But while there is a strong element of this in physical reality, and the bodies up on screen are of an increasingly younger age, the most grievous effect of this change in taste is seen not in wrinkle lines, but rather in terms of mentality.

Bogart, he was a man. And I don't mean that in some 'reinforcing classic behavior and image paradigms in gender roles in American society' kind of way, and neither am I being nostalgic for brutal, emotionless masculinity of the days of yore. What I mean is, that Bogart, in every film of his that I have seen, was a man. A grown up, psychologically developed, lifetime of history in the world, man. Unlike the films of today, when one picks one of these relic films like Casablanca off the shelf at the video store, they will receive an astonishing impression: the world of the black and white past was peopled by complete, grown up, and consequently real characters. Characters of substance, of maturity and consequence. And Rick, Bogart's character in Casablanca, is perhaps the last and most well known of these ancient Hollywood men.

Ever since the rise of audience targeted marketing in America this day has been coming. When we gave America's children the dollar, and the ability to spend it, the capitalism of art has responded and given this new, exciting, and wealthy population something to consume. Not only did Hollywood respond

by making movies for them, but since their age bracket has fewer responsibilities and therefore more disposable income, the majority of movies are directed toward them. The consequence of this is that the scripts that are picked up by the studios are geared for the experiential, and intellectual simpleton.

Our movies are about kids, young adults, all the way up to, (dare we even say it?) thirty years of age. They do the things that kids do: go out into the world, experience adventure, fall in love, have bad romances, break it off, in other words, the whole hill of beans. All of these adventures we package inside baby faced actors like Leonardo Dicaprio, and have done with it. The mass audience is happy because they see themselves on screen, and can not only relate to the tribulations of the young, but be encouraged by them, inspired by the sexiness of their own youthfulness. The problem is, these children, and yes, their youthful adventures, are agonizingly boring.

Let's be honest: watching kids in a sandbox for two hours doesn't entertain us. If it did, people would pay parents 8 bucks an hour to baby sit their kids. But they don't. In fact, they have to be paid themselves to watch. The fact is that children are endlessly boring. They're tiring. They're exasperating. They might have a lot going for them on the sentimental front, but all the reasons we have to love and cherish children –



Unlike the films of today, when one picks one of these relic films like *Casablanca* off the shelf at the video store, they will receive an astonishing impression: the world of the black and white past was peopled by complete, grown up, and consequently real characters. Characters of substance, of maturity and consequence. And Rick, Bogart's character in *Casablanca*, is perhaps the last and most well known of these ancient Hollywood men.

their potential, their innocence, their whole lives ahead of them – are the very reasons that these same children make such bad subjects for art. And yet, this is what we see over and over again in the popular movies of our day.

The problem is that it's simply impossible to care. Watching a twenty three year old, seventeen year old, twenty seven year old up on the silver screen going through the throes of some agonizing new love, however starcrossed, can't engage us the way a movie about an adult can. The reason is simple: Not only are these shallow, psychologically undeveloped people, but quite frankly, if they make bad choices, if they get knocked around a bit, who cares? They're young, with strength and vigor enough to recover a hundred times over.

The same tragedy played on an adult might cause the character to lose something unrecoverable. For an adult being dealt badly in love, the effects may be lifelong. At twenty, Leonardo DiCaprio will find another pretty face, at mid fifties, Bogart may not. For the young, it is a story full of sound and fury, full of strutting and fretting, all of it signifying nothing. This is the rub, and even Shakespeare had to kill his starcrossed kids in order to make them interesting.

The fact is that for the young, nothing is at stake. There is no consequence to their actions, and the consequence thereof is that the ability to witness something about our humanity is stunted. So we see cheap, shallow characters that get away with being cheap and shallow because they are young. But this is much more than a property of birthdate.

There are, of course, actors and actresses who frequent the screen in movies who are over the age of thirty. We know this because they were in movies twenty years ago, in similar roles. For these people, the scenario changes only slightly, and the psychology absolutely none. Even if the characters are not actually tots in the sandbox, intellectually, emotionally, psychologically and spiritually the difference is indistinguishable.

In our contemporary movies people are thrown, naked souls, up onto the screen. Even when they're married, with children even, they are flat, historyless creatures beginning their entire existence right before our eyes, when the film starts to flicker. Take the example of *Sleepless in Seattle*. The plotline is still the same as all the other adolescent love stories: character must fall in love. Characters must be together. Tom Hanks has gotten older, and he can't be

placed in movies like *Big* convincingly anymore, but if we give him a young kid and a place to live, then can play the same youthful character as before with impunity. Fall in love, be together, live happily ever after. Period. This is still the plotline of a teenager, and there are just as few consequences. And the audience scoffs, and the audience laughs, and the audience remains unsatisfied. Like a lightning storm, it's nice for the eye, but it doesn't let us know about our anything about ourselves, doesn't change us in any meaningful way.

Because it's not about us. We are human beings with histories, living in the world. We've gotten too old, too committed to our lives, our communities and friends and families (or not) to be the hero of some ridiculous adventure tale. We are people dealing every day with the consequences of our actions, and if we fuck up, it's the kids who go hungry, it's the home that gets taken by the bank. And we don't have time to fix it.

We know that it's too late, that we're too old to start over now, and that gives meaning to our actions. Without this kind of context, actions are empty, and

*continued next page*

## The Classics Aisle *Continued from page 17*

in order to make an audience feel something, you have to cheat. Today, our movies cheat like Shakespeare. They use death instead of drama.

The whole of *Casablanca* revolves around a man who has to make a decision. Give the letters of transit, or not. On the surface, it fits in nicely with other contemporary movies. It's the story of a self pitying egoist who drinks away his troubles like a petulant brat.

If it were Leonardo DiCaprio in his place, any decision would do. Ingrid Bergman could stay with Bogart in the end, they could run away, or, if she were to leave, they could hope to find one another again, some time after the war was over. But Bogart's Rick is an adult. He doesn't have that extra twenty five years.

These are characters up against their last chance, not only for each other, but possibly for anything. It is a decision for all time. For this character, his decision is the mature one, acting in spite of his adolescent feelings. For him there is the choice of regaining everything that was lost, everything that has haunted him, and then, in the face of this, he makes a moral decision.

It is true, the locale may be more exotic than what we're used to, and maybe there isn't a literal war next door, but the fact remains that for these characters, as for every adult, there is cost to any decision made. It is this cost that makes great art. Unlike recent movies

like *Shindler's List*, these movie makers didn't need to kill six million Jews on screen to imbue their film with gravity – or, for that matter, show Africans drown over the side of a ship or watch a knife pushed slowly into a soldier's chest. Just a man and a decision. And



at its core, this is what art is about.

Now whether or not these images from the two different worlds accurately represent the way they authentically differ is up to debate. It might be that history has winnowed down the bulk of their movies to the fifty or so on the 'classics' shelf at the video store, and that the rest were about the pointless tribulations of kids.

But one can't help getting the feeling, walking down the long aisles of our contemporary inanity, that turning onto that aisle of classics, where men are men and not simplified to boys, and women were women, and not dumbed down into girls, is like a refuge of the mature. Where men will choose against their own happiness, and women will get on

the plane. They will make these decisions because they are the right ones, and they will make us all feel good about humanity in the process. Make us feel not just their suffering, but that there is something worth suffering for.

That life is more than one dumb ado-

lescent love story after another, more complex, more beautiful. More important. For in these movies, there are people, grown up and complex, like you and me. In these movies, for these characters, there is something at stake. For them, there is something to be lost, and therefore, something to be learned. It is only in this context can a movie transcend to art.

It is a tale told by an idiot, and one full of sound and fury, only this time, it is one not signi-

fying nothing.

Maybe not today, maybe not tomorrow, but someday soon, and for the rest of our lives we'll regret turning our heroes into children, into sham human beings with nothing to teach us. But if that day ever comes, keep your chin up, and remember: We'll always have the classics aisle.

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# First Things First

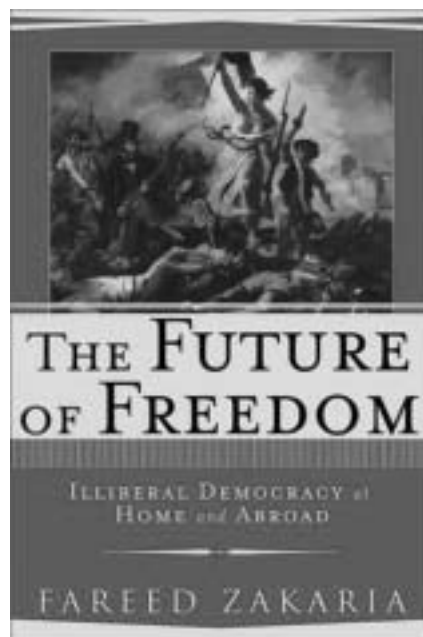
*A synopsis of *The Future of Freedom*.* BY MATEUSZ PERKOWSKI

Contrary to popular belief, democracy is not the same thing as utopia. In some cases, it is actually quite the opposite. Due to the incredible success of the democratic system in the United States, it has become the most popular structure of government in existence. But in the euphoria of bringing 'power to the people,' nation-states around the world have often neglected the sobering reality that an effective democracy requires much more than slapping together a few elections. The development of a successful democracy involves a number of complex elements, including protection of individual rights, limited government, separation of powers, and freedom of speech – a combination otherwise known as constitutional liberalism.

In his new book, *The Future of Freedom*, political analyst Fareed Zakaria argues that these factors must be firmly in place before democracy can work. In the United States, our constitutional rights have become so ingrained into the system of government that we often confuse democracy with liberty. History has shown, however, that the two can be dramatically different.

As Zakaria points out, the freedoms we enjoy as Americans are attributed more to constitutional liberalism than to democracy. Indeed, majority rule has occasionally led to some of civilization's saddest blunders – from the execution of Socrates, to the rise of Hitler, right up to the election of tyrants in today's world. Even in the U.S., elections have sometimes hindered freedom: "slavery and segregation were entrenched in the American South through the democratic system ... In the end, slavery died not because it was lost in a vote but because the forces of the North crushed the South." The tyranny of the majority is

what Zakaria calls "illiberal democracy" – and it is becoming insidiously popular in nations experimenting with the democratic system. In fact, *The Future of Freedom* shows that new democracies around the world are increasingly leaning toward illiberal government. This



can have grim consequences, such as ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia, or a return to dictatorship, as we have seen in Venezuela.

As a Harvard-educated historian, Fareed Zakaria is very skillful in his narration of democracy's progress throughout human history. He follows it from its early sprouts in ancient Greece and Rome to its bloom in the New English colonies. As politically incorrect as it may be, Zakaria contends that the West was the first to conceive of democracy, and that Western civilization has been, for the most part, the most successful in implementing it. The author does not ascribe this to any inherent superiority in European culture, but he does insist that several interconnected circum-

stances – historical, cultural, economic, and even geographical – achieved equilibrium in the West, allowing the democratic system to flourish. Basically, democratic constitutional liberalism has had time to grow and consolidate itself in the West; it is a system that had been cultivated in the collective subconscious for centuries. Of course, democracy's connection to Europe and America doesn't mean that they are unique cases. After all, the "twisted path" to liberal democracy was extremely tedious in many Western countries (monarchy and fascism were huge obstacles.) Yet in east-Asian states such as Japan and South Korea, liberal democracy has triumphed after only a few decades, which shows that it is by no means a system of government confined to the West.

One of the reasons for these countries' success is simply financial. Studies have shown that there is a direct link between the degree of individual wealth within a nation and the stability of its democratic government. While political leadership is vital to a successful government, economic conditions must be at least somewhat decent in order for good leaders to establish authority. And the most efficient method to achieve financial strength is free-market capitalism.

Though it may disturb budding socialists here at PSU, capitalism has repeatedly proved itself to be the only economic system conducive to freedom and democracy – "for liberal democracy the best economic growth is capitalist growth." Capitalism puts power in the hands of business owners, thereby restricting the influence of the state and the church. Also, the capitalist tax system makes both the people and the government more accountable to one another – as the revolutionary saying goes,

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# The Conservative Mind

*A synopsis of Russell Kirk's masterpiece.* BY SHAHRIYAR SMITH

Conservatism, in the classical sense, differs sharply from conservatism in the modern sense. Modern conservatism is comprised of many different philosophies. Classical liberals are now called conservatives, while classical conservatives bear the same label. The two philosophies, which today occupy space together under an ambiguous heading of modern "conservatism," are actually bitter enemies.

Conservatism and liberalism have been at war for over two centuries, since the French Revolution of 1789. Edmund Burke, publishing his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, became the father of conservatism. Since Burke, a broad range of thinkers have contributed to the cause of conservatism, establishing a tradition bound not by an ideology, but by an attitude, a disposition.

The *Conservative Mind* is an explication of conservatism in the classical sense. Conservatism is "neither a religion nor an ideology. ...conservatism is the negation of ideology: it is a state of mind, a type of character, a way of looking at the civil social order. ...the diversity of ways in which conservative views may find expression is itself proof that conservatism is no fixed ideology," Kirk says. "To review conservative ideas, examining their validity for this perplexed age, is the purpose of this book, which does not pretend to be a history of conservative parties. This study is a prolonged essay in definition. What is the essence of British and American conservatism? What system of ideas, common to England and the United States, has sustained men of conservative instincts in their resistance against radical theories and social transformation ever since the beginning of the French Revolution?"

Beginning with Edmund Burke, Kirk proceeds to analyze and identify the

common spirit of conservatism between historical figures that are seldom associated. David Hume, John Adams, John C. Calhoun, Benjamin Disraeli, Fenimore Cooper, George Santayana, T.S. Eliot, even the poets Frost and Kipling are all tied together by this common disposition. The spirit of con-



servatism is illuminated as the commonalities between different contexts and philosophies become clear.

Kirk is concerned with the revival of true community, which "is a world away from collectivism. Real community is governed by love and charity, not by compulsion. Through churches, voluntary associations, local governments, and a variety of institutions, conservatives strive to keep community healthy. Conservatives are not selfish, but public-spirited. They know that collectivism means the end of real community, substituting uniformity for variety and force for willing cooperation," Kirk writes. "For Marx, the end of human endeavor was absolute equality of condition. He was under no illusion as to equality in a hypothetical state of nature: equality had never before existed in society, he knew; he sneered at all concepts of natural right. Equality

would be no restoration, but a creation. Men are not equal by nature; the socialist must level them by legislation and economic device. 'In order to establish equality, we must first establish inequality' – is this not the most significant sentence in Capital? The clever, the strong, the industrious, the virtuous, must be compelled to serve the weak and stupid and slack and vicious; nature must submit to the socialist art, so that an Idea may be vindicated." Collectivism is the antithesis of true community.

In a true community, the basic social unit is the autonomous group, not the individual. Along with Robert Nisbet, Kirk advocates: "The old laissez-faire was founded upon a misapprehension of human nature, an exaltation of individuality (in private character often a virtue) to the condition of a political dogma, which destroyed the spirit of community and reduced men to so many equipollent atoms of humanity, without sense of brotherhood or of purpose. And this old laissez-faire, when confronted with the brute force of the masses and the intricate machine of collectivism, necessarily collapsed because it had no communal force behind it; the individual stood defenseless before the commissar." A laissez-faire based upon the autonomous group, "the family, the local community, the trade union, the church, the college, the profession ...will seek not unity, not centralization, not power over masses of people, but rather diversity of culture, plurality of association, and division of responsibilities." Classical liberalism and collectivism are both dangers to true community – the one stressing atomistic individualism, the other insisting upon uniform equality of condition.

On the conservative view, society is not a machine with separate individual

parts, but a spiritual, organic entity. Conservatives view society as a community of souls where the living, the dead, and those to be born are bound to one another in a continuity of existence. "We have a moral debt to our ancestors, who bestowed upon us our civilization, and a moral obligation to the generations who will come after us." We are standing on the shoulders of our ancestors; ideas such as justice and freedom are products of "a long social experience, the result of centuries of trial and reflection and sacrifice." Man does not exist for his own sake. Society is not built upon the simple gratification of desire and appetite. It is built upon a continuity linking generation to generation, without which life is meaningless. When this continuity is broken, a "mass of individuals without real community" emerges - a "Lonely Crowd." They are "aware that they matter to no one, and often convinced that nothing else matters." "In reaction ... the confused and resentful masses incline toward any fanaticism that promises to assuage their loneliness - the Communist or Fascist parties, the lunatic dissidence of dissent, the totalist state with its delusions." Society is a community of souls, linked from generation to generation by knowledge, respect, duty, and responsibility.

Within true community exists an enduring moral order. Not one imposed out of some preexisting, oppressive hierarchy. Rather, it is within order that freedom, justice and virtue endure. As Kirk says, liberty is a "liberty connected with order: that not only exists along with order and virtue, but cannot exist without them." Absolute freedom is held by classical liberalism to be a good in and of itself. But this is utopianism. Freedom means the freedom to choose right or wrong. Total freedom means anarchy. It is within a moral order, a harmony, a strong sense of right and wrong that liberty and justice do not simply exist, but endure. It is within order that true community exists.

"It has been said by liberal intellectu-

als that the conservative believes all social questions, at heart, to be questions of private morality. Properly understood, this statement is quite true. A society in which men and women are governed by belief in an enduring moral order, by a strong sense of right and wrong, by personal convictions about justice and honor, will be a good society - whatever political machinery it may utilize; while a society in which men and women are morally adrift, ignorant of norms, and intent chiefly upon gratifica-



tion of appetites, will be a bad society - no matter how many people vote and no matter how liberal its formal constitution may be." There are no simple abstract formulas for the world.

Conservatives reconcile themselves with the world as it exists. Conservatism is pragmatic. The conservative looks at the world and says with Kirk: "[w]e cannot make a heaven on earth, though we may make a hell. We are all creatures of mingled good and evil; and, good institutions neglected and ancient moral principles ignored, the evil in us tends to predominate." "Man being imperfect, no perfect social order ever can be created. Because of human restlessness, mankind would grow rebellious under any utopian domination, and would break out once more in violent discontent - or else expire in boredom. To seek for utopia is to end in disaster, the conservative says: we are not made for perfect things. All that we can

expect is a tolerably ordered, just, and free society, in which some evils, maladjustments, and suffering will continue to lurk. By proper attention to prudent reform we may preserve and improve this tolerable order. But if the old institutional and moral safeguards of a nation are neglected, then the anarchic impulse of humankind breaks loose: 'the ceremony of innocence is drowned.' The ideologues who promise the perfection of man and society have converted a great part of the twentieth-century into a terrestrial hell."

Conservatism seeks to preserve the best in us, in society, but it is not allergic to change. It is through prudent reform, as opposed to radical change, that society progresses. A conservative is someone who "endeavors to conserve the best in our traditions and our institutions, reconciling that best with necessary reform from time to time." Reform is born out of necessity. Prudent reform occurs cautiously with the future in mind, judging by "probable long-run consequences, not merely by temporary advantage or popularity. Liberals and radicals, the conservative says, are imprudent: for they dash at their objectives without giving much heed to the risk of new abuses worse than the evils they hope to sweep away... The conservative declares that he acts only after sufficient reflection, having weighed the consequences. Sudden and slashing reforms are as perilous as sudden and slashing surgery."

"If humanity is to conserve the elements in civilization that make life worth living, some coherent body of ideas must resist the leveling and destructive impulse of fanatic revolutionaries." "[A] historic continuity of experience, says the conservative, offers a guide to policy far better than the abstract designs of coffee-house philosophers." Since 1789, liberalism has been triumphant, yet succumbed to its own absurdities. "Conservatives have been routed, although not conquered... conservative convictions have maintained a

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## First Things First *Continued from page 19*

"no taxation without representation." Herein lies the Middle East's problem. Zakaria dismisses speculation about Islamic tendencies toward authoritarianism – in his view, the dismal situation in most Middle Eastern nations is caused by their overwhelming reliance on oil. He reminds us that the Arab lands were home to the earliest and most advanced civilizations in the world, and even forty or fifty years ago, many Middle-Eastern countries seemed very promising. But the glowing future was just an illusion.

The progressive-minded governments quickly degenerated into tyrannical dictatorships, simply because rulers had little responsibility toward their constituents – they could just amass armies and palaces from oil funds rather than taxes. Arabic regimes don't have to be concerned with a thriving economy, since they do not depend on their citizens to generate wealth. Zakaria writes, "Easy money means little economic or political modernization ... History shows that a government's need to tax its people forces it to become more responsive and representative if its people." Therefore, Islamic fundamentalism is largely the reaction of the populace against decadent, Western-influenced rulers. The Arab world sees the West and its godless governmental institutions as the cause of their plight, since "each path followed – socialism, secularism, nationalism – has turned into a dead end." Middle-Eastern rulers, in turn, fear the power of the fundamentalist Islamic revolution, and tend to yield to the momentum of the radical movement; by avoiding confrontation, they seek to preserve and legitimize their own unstable authority. (The Saudi Royal Family is a prime example of this dynamic.)

The *Future of Freedom* offers an exceptionally objective perspective on Muslim rage and terrorism. The typical right-wing reaction – 'they hate us because we're free' – is just as simplistic and irra-

tional as the typical left-wing reaction – 'they hate us because we're oppressing them.' Zakaria refuses to give in to any political propaganda or rhetoric: he looks at the phenomenon itself, rather than attempting to fit the phenomenon into his own system of values.

The Middle East is having a hard time adjusting to globalization; modernity is often regarded as a threat to Arabic reli-



Fareed Zakaria

gion and national traditions. This turbulence is aggravated by the region's "massive youth bulge" – a disproportionate percentage of the population consists of people 25 or younger. (Historically, nations with an irregularly large amount of youth have consistently been prone to upheaval and violence.) Add to this the Arab humiliation over Israel's military success, and you have a lethal mix of fear, wounded pride, and a population composed of combustible youth – the perfect 'breeding ground' for terrorists.

It is obviously in the United States' best interest to curtail radical Islamic anti-Americanism – not only through military action, but also by helping the Middle East become a genuinely free and prosperous region. There is an excellent opportunity of doing that in Iraq right now, but the U.S. also runs the risk of being too hasty or overbearing. Although the process will be long and complicated, the basic guidelines are simple: de-emphasize dependence on oil, strengthen the free market system, create a balanced and operational constitu-

tion, and above all, don't rush elections. Realistically, though, there is only so much that the U.S. can do without appearing to manipulate the Iraqi government – the success of liberal democracy in Iraq depends primarily upon the Iraqi people.

While much of *The Future of Freedom* is devoted to the rest of the world's problems with self-government, in the last portion of the book, the author turns to the negative effects of democracy upon the United States. Zakaria is unapologetic for this seemingly heretical and unpatriotic standpoint – he believes that the decentralization of power in the U.S. government since the 1960's has led to the current domination of factions, lobbies, and interest groups, resulting in a steady decline of the government's credibility. Also, democratization has often led to the 'marketization' of American culture, causing long-standing cultural values to be replaced with ploys for popularity (i.e. 'reality television').

Zakaria's advice for America is much the same as it is for the rest of the planet: put your trust in delegation. The current obsession with polls and referendums has left politicians doing little more than pandering to the public, rather than leading it.

Government should return to a system where the power of the people is put in check along with other governing institutions – instead of treating the whim of the people as the will of God.

The outlook for democracy is still positive, according to Zakaria, as long as it is regulated and controlled. But if allowed to run rampant, as it often is, majority government may discredit itself and lead to totalitarianism or anarchy. For the good of constitutional liberalism, the rule of law and individual rights must be a priority even if democracy is thereby restricted – the future of freedom depends on it. ●

# EDITOR'S REPORT

## A Right-Wing Conspiracy is Born

*The Portland Spectator Fall 2001 - Spring 2003.* BY NAPOLEON LINARDATOS

I should clarify from the beginning that neither the president, the FBI, the CIA nor any other government played any role in the founding and funding of the Spectator (unless you count a brief encounter with Dick Cheney). The same should be said about multinational corporations and what have you. As surprising as it may sound to some on campus, there are people out there who believe in different ideas; not for personal but because, as we state in our mission statement: individual liberty, limited government, free market economy and free trade, the rule of law will produce a better society.

We were not born with a specific ideological disposition. Sometime ago I was an orthodox Marxist. My personal slippery slope to the abyss of conservatism started with my conversion from an orthodox Marxist into a Trotskyist, then socialist, then social democrat, then new democrat, till I ended up where I am today. Joey Coon, the new editor-in-chief, voted for Ralph Nader in the last presidential elections. Not to make a joke of it, but he really believed in Nader's positions. (I was for Bill Bradley) In the Spectator, we paraphrase Churchill's saying about age and politics: If you are 20 and you are not liberal you have no heart; two years later, if you are not conservative you have no brains.

If I am not mistaken, Churchill used the ages of 20 and 50. Being in the modern university probably had a lot to do with our speedy conversion. In our first editorial we stated that "These days many things happen in campuses across America, indefensible things, which are defended in the name of high-sounding words. Diversity, inclusion, justice, compassion and so on, are used to hide divisive and disastrous policies. Beneath the cloud of this rhetoric, one would find a very persistent and partisan effort to exclude ideas that really challenge the fundamental beliefs of the educational establishment."

The Spectator's mission has been to

bring ideas to campus that are excluded in the academy and mainstream media. When I came to PSU just a few weeks after September 11th I was disturbed by the conspicuous anti-conservatism of both the Vanguard and the Rearguard. Sometimes it was just plain anti-Americanism. Although the Rearguard was fulfilling its



mission, the Vanguard had no excuse to not have even a single conservative columnist. So mid-October I sent an email to Matthew Hebebrand, chairman of the College Republicans. I was very hesitant. From my experience with the College Democrats at the University of Oregon, party groups on campus tend to be very bureaucratic, timid and conventional in their approach to campus activism.

On the other hand the College Republicans were the only group on campus where I could find people to set up a conservative journal. In my email to Hebebrand I said, "I don't know if there is a conservative/libertarian student publication at PSU. To my knowledge there is none. I could find financiers to cover the costs of the publication. For advise about technical stuff and otherwise we could turn to the

Oregon commentator people. So the only major question is if there are people who would like to work on that. Since you are with the college republicans you could inquire if anyone is interested. A student conservative/libertarian magazine could have a significant impact. We would be the only alternative source of information. For students

it is much easier to pick up a free magazine than to come to a college republicans meeting. And since the magazine will be completely independent of college republicans or any other political party, we can express ourselves freely."

Shortly after, I drafted a business plan and Tom McShane created a web forum where we would discuss ideas and the progress of the tasks each one had to undertake. The forum was titled VRWC, standing for Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy. Myself, Nathan Sackett and Shahriyar Smith contacted Jud Randall of the Publications Board of PSU some time later. After many meetings with the Publication Board and the Student Fee Committee the first issue came out on the February 2002. Since then we have published another 13 issues, participated in three debates and brought to campus two speakers.

In all this time he had our good and bad moments. But for all of us who had a greater involvement with the Spectator I think this one year and a half has been a different experience altogether. A sense that we are involved in something greater than ourselves, fighting forces much stronger than we are but winning nevertheless. A sense of being a small part of a tacit revolution that hopefully will transform American politics for decades to come. Good times.



## Grand Theft Paranoia *Continued from page 8*

The Rating Pending symbol is to be used for advertisements of not yet released games where the ESRB has not been able to establish the appropriate final rating. Statistically, according to the Senate Committee on Government Affairs, over sixty percent of video game players are above the age of 18 and barely over half are male. The argument that teenage boys are the primary users of video games is inaccurate. Second, those against violent video games claim that a majority of video games are violent. This is again inaccurate, as seventy percent of video games sold are rated "E for Everyone" and only nine percent carry a

rating of mature. Opponents also neglect to mention eight out of every ten games sold are purchased by adults and games typically cost anywhere from forty to sixty dollars so children do not always have the easiest amount of access. Since the voluntary use of the ESRB's rating system six years ago, the video game industry in collaboration with the ESRB has been described by the Federal Trade Commission as "the most comprehensive rating system of any it has studied". There are anomalies though and the system isn't always perfect. Perhaps the most violent video game series of all time, Grand Theft Auto, continues to top

the charts each time the latest version is released and continues to get banned in countries worldwide. The biggest issue with the Grand Theft Auto series is that the sole purpose of the game is to commit horrific crimes. In the latest version, Grand Theft Auto: Vice City, characters can find prostitutes and "visit" them. During a "visit" with a prostitute in these games, the player's life is increased while the money supply is drained while the car they are in rocks back and forth while moans are emitted through the play entertainment system. After the prosti-

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## The Right Against the War *Continued from page 12*

John Birch Society, who gave the Republican Party such a bad reputation. What is needed now is a modern-day house cleaning. After September 11, those who have been so audaciously anti-American and anti-Israeli on the

right should no longer have the privilege of being represented under the banner of mainstream conservatism. While we on the right should -as Russell Kirk pointed out- have "an affection for the proliferating variety and mystery of human exis-

tence," such variety of thought should not be allowed under our (conservative) roof-not just because of the electoral disaster such an accommodation would bring, but out of first principles. Let us say good riddance, and move on. ■

## The Jayson Blair Affair *Continued from page 13*

human dumbness and distrust. Using the world's most formidable newspaper to level charges of racism at whole sectors of the economy based on flimsy evidence doesn't necessarily help.

At a staff meeting on the Blair fiasco, employees reportedly belabored management not about whether racial favoritism played a role -- but about

whether people in charge know what they're doing. Exactly: Acres of research on employee satisfaction have accumulated down the years to show that more than pay and promotions and luscious bennies, what makes for a happy organization is confidence that higher-ups are making good decisions.

This doesn't mean being a sweetheart of

a guy or going out of your way to exhibit social and political virtues fundamentally unrelated to the job. It means seeing things as they are and acting effectively. Newspapering is a business where that skill should be especially cherished. ■

Holman W. Jenkins Jr. is a member of the editorial board of The Wall Street Journal where this article was first published.

## The Making of a Caricature *Continued from page 15*

ideas for Hitler, but he was bland compared to the real-life libertine "Putzi" Hanfstaengl. He, like most other aspects of the movie, seemed drained of color.

If the producers were aiming for an "it could happen here!" response, they could have portrayed the human side of Hitler, perhaps the vegetarian, animal-loving, gun-controlling Hitler, which

would have been more chilling. But we were given the usual flashes of swastikas and exaggerated drama. This amounted to a string of familiar images.

Even some of the background music sounded like a reworking of Beethoven's Piano Concerto no.5, "Emperor." Network television should be a place to freely express opinions, but to use it as a stage to put across political insinuations

seems desperate and self-serving. It also edges on racism by purporting to explain how Hitler was able to control the Germans, but never really doing so. It seems like time to stop singling out the Germans for their susceptibility, to learn instead of making tenuous and irrelevant connections. ●

# The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter.

*Sir Winston Churchill*

Join the Spectator and guide the masses in the right direction

**portlandspectator@hotmail.com**

## The Conservative Mind *Continued from page 21*

political and intellectual continuity for two centuries, while the radical parties that detested tradition have dissolved successively, adhering to no common principal among them except hostility to whatever is established.”

While beaten, a tradition of conservatism still endures - but must respond to the change necessity demands: “Mere unthinking negative opposition to the current of events, clutching in despair at

what we still retain will not suffice in this age. A conservatism of instinct must be reinforced by a conservatism of thought and imagination.” Kirk saw the conservative as a poet; one who not only fights against, but for, something – a spiritual and political warrior. “Nothing is but thinking makes it so. If men of affairs can rise to the summons of the poets, the norms of culture and politics may endure despite the follies of the

time. The individual is foolish, but the species is wise; and so the thinking conservative appeals to what Chesterton called ‘the democracy of the dead.’ Against the hubris of the ruthless innovator, the conservative of imagination pronounces cupid’s curse: They that do change old love for new, pray gods they change for worse.” ●

## Field of Economic Dreams *Continued from page 10*

payer-funded stadium elixir. In essence, the substitution effect is “we can do this or that, but not both.” In sum, people who would attend a baseball game in Portland would have less money to spend on other local and regional goods and services—fewer movies, trips to the beach, skiing and so forth.

More realistic economic analyses examine actual changes in the economy resulting from the presence of stadiums, arenas, and sports teams. Keating warns, the results of such studies “show no positive economic impact from pro-

fessional sports—or a possible negative effect.” Sports economist Robert Baade studied 48 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) over a 30-year period. Baade found, “of the 32 MSAs where there was a change in the number of sports teams, 30 MSAs showed no significant relationship between the presence of the teams and real, trend-adjusted, per-capita personal income growth.”

Proponents of Major League Baseball in Portland claim there is broad-based support for, and many benefits to be gained from, such a venture. Great! Propo-

nents should thus be able to easily corral the private money of private investors to build a private stadium to show how right they are. ■

-Matt Roehr, CFA, is an associate of Cascade Policy Institute, and a principal at Northwest Investment Counselors, LLC in Lake Oswego. Kurt T. Weber is vicepresident of Cascade Policy Institute, a Portland, Oregon think tank.

## Grand Theft Paranoia *Continued from page 24*

tute is done, the player can proceed to kill the prostitute (weapons of choice are either a bat or chainsaw) and get the spent money back.

Video games are not going to go away anytime soon. It is said one in three American households own a Playstation 2 and add in the computer and products from Nintendo and Microsoft, most Americans have access to video games in

one way or another. Playing violent video games does not cause aggression and as technology progresses, so will the level of violence and the realism found in games. All parents need to do is be a little bit more responsible and proactive and if their kid is nine years old and has a Mature rated game on their Christmas or Birthday list, the parent may do their job and question what is in the best

interest of the child. Basically, as video games become ever more realistic and popular, parents need to be much more proactive and responsible in raising their children and atrocities like Columbine may be prevented or at least not blamed on entertainment like Quake and Grand Theft Auto. ■

# LETTERS

## Spectator's absurdities, hypocrisy and wealthy neoconservative connections

To The Editor:

As a practitioner of Robert Anton Wilson's philosophy that one should seek information from outside one's "reality tunnel," or belief system, in order to keep one intellectually honest, I appreciate your showcase of conservative thought as made possible by the Scaife, Coors etc. largesse called The College Network. The left-for-left's sake "ANTI!" crowd deserves a good ribbing and an active counter point. That said you May 2003 issue of The Portland Spectator contained numerous absurdities and plain hypocrisy that I feel demanded this letter.

Right-wing journalism (most of it funded by Mr. Mellon-Scaife) tense to simplify issues by identifying various sacred cows: patriotism, capitalism the traditional family and the general American Way (whatever that means); and the attacks the supposed, but non-existent, "left" consensus that shockingly doesn't adhere to these apple pie virtues. Mr. Linardatos' essay "Politics and Activism at PSU" admonishes PSU's general education courses for including Stephanie Coontz's "The Way We Really Are," Barbara Ehrenreich's "Nickel and Dimed" and "The Study for Ecological Democracy." (No author listed) Coontz's book is bad because it talks about the new reality of single-parent and homosexual families. Ehrenreich's point of view is illegitimate because she is a "political essayist, social critic and ... a socialist." "Ecological Democracy" is a no no because a reviewer said that the book claims the problem with

the environment is capitalism and there should be less of it. Linardatos offers no criticism of the methodology behind any of these tomes nor any argument against their conclusions, they are merely wrong for defying his sacred cows of capitalism and the traditional family. Is this not the same knee-jerk thinking that he accuses the "left" of demonstrating? Moreover, to my ears, this sounds an awful lot like the victimized whining that your page six editorial accuses the "left" of participating in.

Speaking of which, that editorial was an archetype of another right-wing intellectual fallacy: literal-mindedness. Indeed, the government is not actively censoring its citizens. However, publicly chastising Bill Maher and having Bush's corporate sponsors suggest that people should not buy Dixie Chick's paraphernalia indicates that there is a price to be paid by people who say things that are not "patriotic;" patriotism being defined not as "love of one's country" but agreement with Bush's foreign policy. Your laughing at "the culture of fear" is further undermined by Sean H. Boggs' juvenile, semi-coherent diatribe towards the Dixie Chicks in which he writes "This whole freedom of speech thing has gone too far. We cannot allow people to say whatever they feel and whatever time they feel it. (sic) We should not have the right to say anything." It's hard to tell if he is being ironic, because the only point he makes in his piece is the Dixie Chicks suck. However, if Mr. Boggs truly doesn't like the

"whole freedom of speech thing" I suggest he buy a one-way ticket to Singapore and enjoy trying to write obscenity laden drivel about pop culture from there.

Your magazine did have some strong points. I am glad to see that you are not so wedded to the Republican Party as to not goose Rick Santorum for his homophobic blather. Your piece on the "Becoming a Nation" exhibit at the Portland Art Museum was perfect and a grand slap at the foolish, me gotsta' protest, left. As a man with a BA in American History, I am anxious to see it.

Your involvement in a Scaife-funded neocon journalism group is a gilded choice. Ahead of you are tremendous riches, the likes of which few leftists could ever attain, as you feed from the trough of numerous right-wing think tanks. So long as you continue to "ditto" the party-line you will have no problem having an easy entrée into the "mainstream media," dominated as it is by right wing interests. Before jumping from college and into your pot of gold I suggest that you try to "keep it real" and take a gander at something outside of your reality tunnel. "Blinded by the Right," by David Brock is an excellent choice. Even better, try "Prometheus Rising" by Robert Anton Wilson, himself.

Sincerely,

Daniel J. Spear

P.S. Don't try to pigeonhole me. I am not the fist-waving leftist stereotype you probably have in your head.

## Wish You Were There

I was recently at PSU and picked up a bunch of mags and papers to see what was going on. To my shock I noticed your publication was conservative. It is a great publication and very well written and edited.

I graduated from PSU in 1972. I was chairman of students for a democratic society during my 4 years there and was an

organizer/participant of the student strike in May, 1970, which ended in the park blocks riot. I was also chairman of the university speaker's committee during most of the 4 years and brought in no end of left wing speakers. I then moved to Chicago to organize the masses. Needless to say I have become libertarian-conservative as

the years have gone on.

Too bad a publication like yours wasn't around when I was there. Of course it was a different time and different issues. How often does your magazine come out? Keep up the good work.

Doug Nelson

## Good Work

Dear Editor,

I am not a conservative nor a liberal. I am someone interested in the truth and have longed for many years for a newspaper or magazine that would hold to some moral and ethical values.

I recently picked up a copy of your May 2003 issue while waiting for my girlfriend to meet me after her "Globalization" evening class.

I was deeply impressed at the thought and care that went into producing your magazine, a magazine that has been so desperately needed on the ultraliberal PSU campus as well as in Portland in general.

I am tired of the pseudo-intellectual "Chomsky worshiping" liberal bias so pervasive in Portland stemming from publicly funded campus organizations and their inherently Marxist advisors.

I am tired of these groups not being held

accountable for their events, words and actions by both the student media, PSU staff or the City of Portland.

Hopefully your magazine will continue to be a shining, balanced and honest star in the clouded and muddled sky of lies, misdirection and left leaning bias, so obvious in Portland's "indie" media.

Best wishes,

Kyle Aarons

# HEALTHY BODY SICK MIND

BY SEAN H. BOGGS

## Summer Time

**Well, school is almost out you educated fucks, and you know what that means...**

...you do know what that means, right? Well, fuck, neither do I. I guess we are just gonna have to wing it from here on out. Let's party, and I mean party with a capital PAR.

I'm gonna get so wasted man on so much shit it is gonna be great. I am gonna smoke some weed, drink some vodka and then try to shove the end of a rake up my ass. Oh, it's gonna be good.

I cannot wait until summer hits man.

I am gonna swim, and get girls to fuck me and then ditch them in my great attempt at seeming cool to my friends and become a player to my peers. I am gonna get so fucking tan I'll be ethnic. I am gonna dye my hair blonde because it is the only way to have fun and then I am gonna get a tribal tattoo somewhere on my arms to show people that not only I am a white suburban mommy's boy, but we live in a tribe too.

I cannot wait to shave and wax my entire fucking body so that I will look extra sexy when I am naked and nobody else is around.

I cannot wait to go to work and impress all the femininas. I will strut my shit and make them buy me dinner. And then I will bring them home and fuck them so hard they'll be worried that I am pregnant, oh it is gonna be good.

I'm gonna get so drunk on drugs and so high on beer that I will think that I am a magical ninja from outer space who will destroy anything that moves with my magic shoe laces and then I will eat anything that starts with the letters L or B and then fly off to my enchanted moun-

tain where I will discuss David Lunch movies and drink coffee with a whole bunch of other fuckers like me while we are all wearing black.

Summer only comes once a year moth-



erfucker.

I ain't wasting it this year.

I am gonna fix my car up and drive down Sunset at speeds up to and including 140 miles per fucking hour. I will run from the cops and I will stash my crack and I will jump some fences and end up on Cops.

I ain't gonna study anything or even read a fucking magazine. School is over with bitch and I am gonna make damn well sure that my brain will forget everything that I paid money for to learn.

I will protest anything with the words "George Bush" in them. I will be against anything that is against what I am against. I will give bums spare change and maybe help an old woman cross the street. I will do my part for society even

if society is bullshit. I am raging against the man unless that man gives me some fucking weed.

I will ignore what my parents have to say about my lifestyle because they are way too controlling. I hate my fucking parents even if they are paying for my college education and/or rent.

I will buy a lizard and name it "Marijuana" so that I will always have something to laugh at. I will invite friends over and we will shoot some shit and chase the lizard around with a fishing pole and some peanuts.

I am gonna sit in one spot for three consecutive days and just jerk off until I pass out.

I am gonna buy a shitload of porn and learn new and freaky things to do to a woman and to myself. I will sell my body for drugs and strip my clothes off for even more.

I will watch the time pass while using a beer bong in a hot tub. I will sneak into movies and yell "fire" every time there is a joke. I will smoke some coke while telling my boss to fuck off and then burn his fucking house down and piss on the ashes.

I will try to seduce a 14-year old whom I think is at least 20, but will quickly learn my lesson when I unbuckle her pants and find out that she has a fucking dick and I get chased out of his house by his mother.

Oh, man. I am gonna get so trashed and fucked up that I will have wished that I actually passed my classes last term so that I didn't have to go to fucking summer school. Damn. ■

"All the News  
That We Make Up"

# The New York Times

**National Edition**  
Oregon: Cloudy, sunny  
with showers and partly  
rainy but sunny in ten  
minute intervals.

MONDAY, JULY 24, 2003

## NEW TAX-CUT TO STARVE ELDERLY, WOMEN, CHILDREN AND PEOPLE OF COLOR

Wealthy, white, heterosexual males  
to benefit the most

By HOWELL RAINES

In a moment of unparalleled meanness and gross greed the U.S. Congress passed the most devastating tax cuts in the history of mankind. According to the non-partisan Progressive Research Institute (located in downtown San Francisco overlooking green pastures and tobacco fields and just a few blocks from the Empire State Building) millions of women, elderly, children and people of color will starve to death. Many see a neo-conservative plot behind the recent tax-cuts. Already in a 1998 issue of the Weekly Standard Paul Wolfowitz speculated that tax-cuts would "liberate the economy from a possible downturn."

Democratic candidates for the presidency found the tax-cuts appalling. Dennis Kucinich said that the tax-cuts prove his case for "immediate socialism" while Joe Lieberman said that the tax-cuts ruined his Sabbath. John Kerry said they are "un sentier très dangereux" and then added "ils sont contre une certaine idée de l'Amérique."

## NEW STUDY SHOWS HIGH CORRELATION OF CANCER AND CONSERVATIVE IDEAS

*Re-education camps a way to better health*

By JAYSON BLAIR

A new study by the non-partisan Progressive Research Institute (PRI) proves that people with conservative ideas are 68 percent more likely to suffer from cancer. The PRI, which is based in San Francisco, published the study in the June

issue of Revolution. The offices of PRI, located in downtown San Francisco overlooking green pastures and tobacco fields and just a few blocks from the Empire State Building serve as the intellectual bastion of the *continued page 24*

## French President admonishes the United States on tape for role in international affairs

By GERALD BOYD

In a tape that mysteriously surfaced in the offices of the Al Jazeera Network, French president Jacques Chirac declared a "fatwa culturel" against the United States.

No one yet has verified if the tape is a genuine one. Nevertheless, the timing appears critical when the powers of Civilisation européenne prepare against the "McDonalds' hordes"



## HELP WANTED

Do you think that the Amazon is too big and too green? Do you think that the growing gap between rich and poor is a positive trend? Would you use liberation as a pretext for spilling blood for oil? If the answer to all of these questions is yes, then you are exactly what we are looking for. Apply online at: [portlandspectator.com](http://portlandspectator.com)

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