

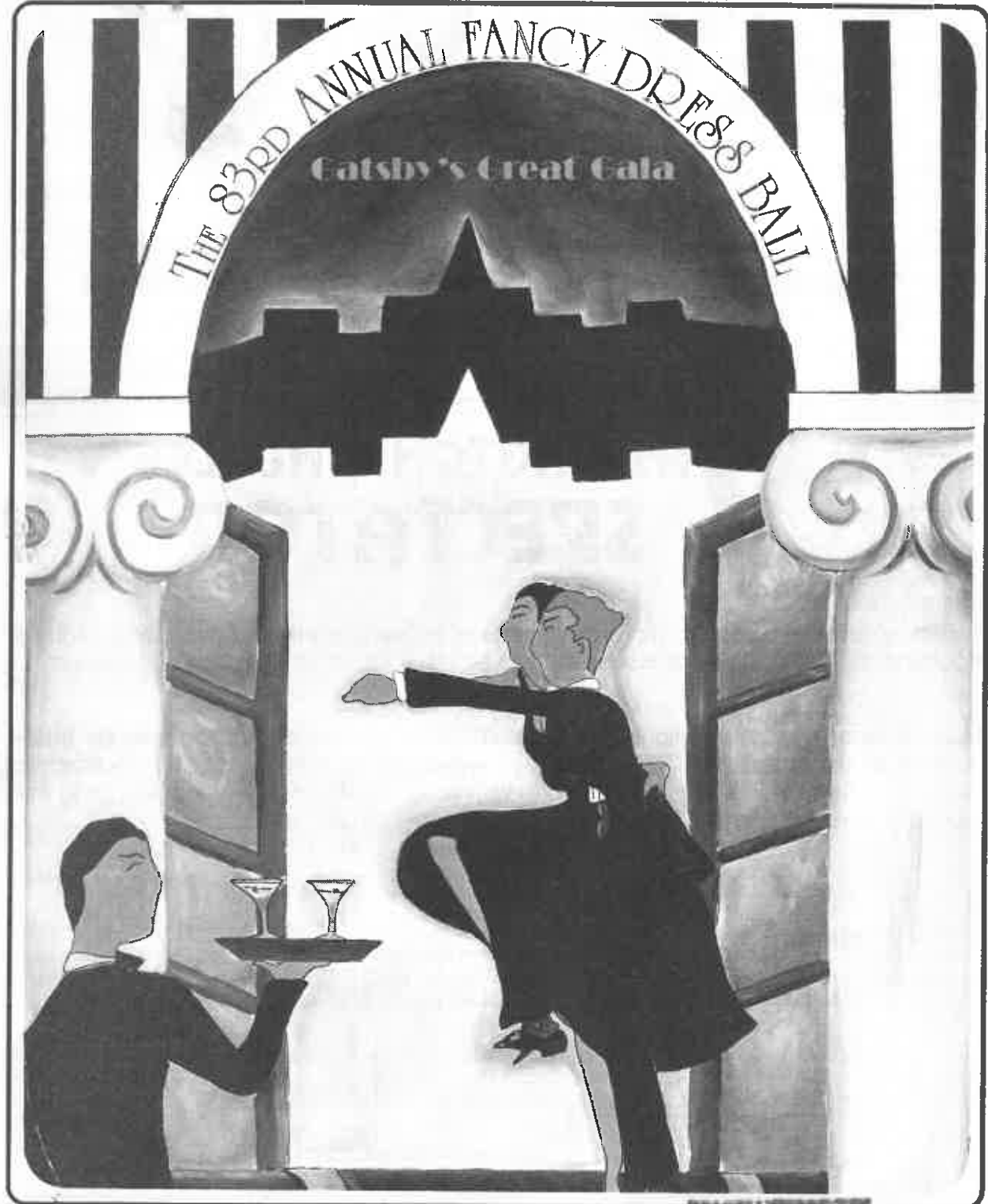
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March 1990 Volume 1, Issue 5



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WASHINGTON AND LEE SPECTATOR

March 1990

The W&L Student Journal of Fact and Opinion

Vol. 1, No. 5

FANCY DRESS ISSUE

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

An Alumnus on Student Apathy

To the Editors:

A recent editorial in a local newspaper described a fundamental problem throughout America today - the prevalent and increasing apathy toward politics and world and national events on behalf of the younger generation of Americans. The article concluded that the root of the problem derives from the lack of interest in politics and current events in the home during the 1980's. In other words, parents have not instilled in their children a desire to understand and question the events which shape the world in which we live.

In contemplating the content of this article, I was able to understand and, to an extent, agree with the arguments and conclusion presented by the author. More importantly, I drew a parallel to the recent *Spectator* article concerning the CRC and the curtailment of free speech at W&L.

Events at W&L over the past several years have, at times, filled me with anger and resentment. This is true for some University changes to which I have eventually become accustomed (*i.e.*, coeducation). Other policy changes, however, will forever be impossible for me to support. Specifically, I am referring to the deeply ingrained tradition of student self-government.

To an extent, I viewed the advent of "administrative government by committee" as practically inevitable for several reasons including: (1) President Wilson's track record and his position on numerous issues regarding University life which have resulted in drastic changes at W&L since he assumed office; (2) the hard-lined, defensive, and paranoid personalities of relatively new administrators; and most importantly (3) the disappointingly high level of student apathy regarding self-government.

This third point enables me to draw the comparison with the beforementioned editorial. Disinterest in political and current events in the macro arena has filtered down to the micro level - on the W&L campus. Whatever the causes of this apathy may be, the fact that relatively few students are sincerely and deeply interested in campus events cannot be contradicted. It seems to me that this lack of student interest in campus issues has enabled the administration to begin taking control from the student-run governmental bodies. In short, student apathy has facilitated efforts on behalf of the new players in the Administration to gain this control. The administration, as relatively permanent fixtures at the University, has capitalized on the vulnerability of W&L and its traditions which has largely been the result of an apathy ridden student body.

I find myself unable to answer several questions that come to mind at this time. Questions such as: What can be done to reverse some changes that have occurred thus far? and, How much further will this deterioration of student government continue? I can only hope that the answer to the latter is not revealed to me when I read a headline in the Ring-tum Phi proclaiming "Wilson, Elrod, and Schroer-Lamont Appointed to EC Big 3 Positions".

Brandt Surgner '87

Architecture : Another View

Realistically speaking, we contend that several buildings on campus are not the "egregious crimes" George Nomikos makes them out to be in his last article. He laments that the "rules of good architecture" have been ruthlessly violated at W&L and surmises that this aesthetic tragedy is the product of a corrupt breed of architects who, armed with their heinous modernized concepts, set out to "destroy the visual harmony" of the campus and "brainwash" society into abandoning established traditions. In reality, any architect will tell you (did you even bother to ask one, Mr. Nomikos?) that planning a building is not just a step-by-step formula geared to meet Architectural Rules #1, 2, and 3. Two crucial factors are the *function* of the building and the *funds* available to cover the costs of construction. Consider the problem of the library: it needed large enough dimensions to contain 130,000 volumes, yet the awkward slope of the site and the constraints of the budget created a situation that wouldn't readily accommodate a brick-and-columns solution. The library we have was created with function in mind, and few would argue that it not only functions well but conforms sufficiently to its hillside location, if not exactly to its Greek Revival counterparts. The key to architectural harmony and unity does not lie in slapping a portico and columns onto every facade on campus.

Continued on page 16



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GENERAL OPINION

A Tale of Two Quotes

Under the category of Expenses and Financial Aid in the Washington and Lee catalog is the proverbial clause: "The University does not discriminate in its financial assistance policy because of race, color, sex, religion, national or ethnic origin of its applicants." Yet, in another Admissions Office publication are the diametrically opposing words: "minority students applying for financial assistance receive special consideration for need-based grants and scholarship." Aren't the requirements for "civil rights" sometimes a bit confusing?



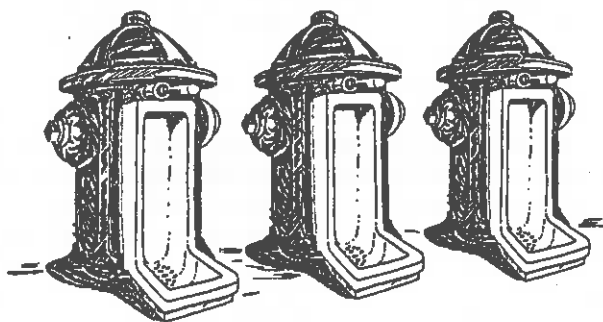
Women at V.M.I.

The United States Justice Department has filed suit against Virginia in order to compel the Commonwealth to change the all-male admissions policy of VMI. Two counter suits have been

filed against Attorney General Dick Thornburgh and the Justice Department by the Commonwealth and the VMI Foundation. The latter suit claims that the federal government cannot force the state to "abandon an educational policy of diversity." The Commonwealth, which will be represented by Attorney General Mary Sue Terry, asked the court to declare VMI's current policy constitutional.

Journalists and legal scholars have jumped on the bandwagon asserting that VMI's admissions policy violates the Equal Protection Clause and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act. But, as *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* points out, VMI has a strong case. In a 1982 decision, for instance, the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that the Mississippi University for Women could no longer bar men from its school of nursing. However, writing for the majority opinion, Justice O'Connor wrote that some "gender based distinctions in education are legitimate and important." Also, in his dissent, Justice Blackmun prudently claimed that "it is easy to go too far with rigid rules in this area of claimed sex discrimination."

It should be noted that this case may not be a matter for the judicial branch at all. As Ed Grimsley argues: "Nothing in the U.S. Constitution delegates authority over education to the fed-



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General Opinion

eral government, which means, according to the tenth Amendment, that it is one of those powers reserved to the states."

Unfortunately, those calling for the move to co-education are not interested in the Constitution, only their own political agenda. Washington Post writer Judy Mann denounced Mary Sue Terry for being "happy to sell out the sisterhood." She described VMI as "a medieval time warp, in which brotherhood is forged through sadomasochistic rituals in a forgotten monastery supported by the state for its own Byzantine purposes." If Ms. Mann ever escapes her own time warp, she will see that Mary Sue Terry is simply arguing a legal matter. Ms. Mann, on the other hand, desires to infuse her own feminist politics into the judicial process.

Those who are for VMI co-education clamor for "diversity." Apparently to these people, "diversity" in an educational context requires that no school can be unique. In truth, though, those who argue for "diversity" are really out to straightjacket every school into their own monolithic view of what a proper educational institution should be like. VMI is one of two all male military schools left in the country. Seen in a larger context, VMI enhances Virginia's educational diversity.

If VMI loses this battle, the drastic change that will inevitably follow will adversely affect the deeply ingrained traditions of the school. Although it certainly would be interesting to watch those lovely head-shaven ladies come jogging down our Colonnade, sacrificing the integrity of VMI would not be worth the laugh.



Source: Richmond Times-Dispatch

Women in Panama

The evidence is in. *People* magazine's hero, Capt. Linda Bray, wasn't even close to enemy fire in Panama. In fact, when the Panamanians guarding the dog kennels heard that the Yankees were coming, that sorry militia dropped their guns and ran for the hills. Despite the attempts to portray Capt. Linda as the new G.I. Josephine, the facts keep spoiling a good story.

In a related incident -- not surprisingly, this one was not covered by our media -- two women truck drivers in the US Army refused orders to drive soldiers into a combat area of Panama City and eventually broke down crying. What is more disturbing

than our media's not reporting the story, however, is the apparent Army cover-up of the affair. Brian Mitchell, a reporter for the *Navy Times*, has investigated the incident closely. He told *Human Events*, "This is a transparent cover-up. The Army is trying to obscure the truth and then pretend that nobody ever noticed it in the first place."

Thus far, the debate in this country over women in the military has centered around equality, not reality. This is understandable, for in this case at least, if a person is willing to speak the truth, then he or she will undoubtedly be labeled a sexist. US Army spokesmen especially feel this pressure. Unfortunately for the feminists, though, the facts are in: 1) Men as a group fight better than women, and 2) Men as a group fight better when women aren't around.

Housing Regulations

The Lexington City Council may be up to no good again. The planning commission is in the process of deciding what changes need to be made to the existing housing ordinance. The rule now allows up to eight unrelated persons to live under the same roof, as long as the landlord has filed for a conditional use permit. If the dwelling houses less than five, the landlord is exempt from applying for the permit.

What does all of this mean? The council would have you believe that the standards imposed on the larger dwellings will regulate healthier living environments by forcing landlords to comply with standardized housing codes. Oh, really? Since when has government regulation been good for anyone's health? Actually, the original rationale for the new version of this ordinance (brought up two and one half years ago) was to create housing opportunities for low-income families in the city.

Will the changes create greater housing opportunities? The new housing ordinance will cause some landlords simply to limit the number of renters in their houses. This action can only cause a number of students to be displaced from their current residences. The result will be a greater demand for housing within the city, making it even harder for lower-income families to find housing.

It is important to note that, at the present time, the ordinance applies only to certain streets. Plainly, it is meant to be enforced upon students and only students. In fact, the only reason why certain streets were picked out at all is that it was discovered that, if the ordinance were to be applied non-discriminately, it could have terrible effects on other residents, especially the poorer ones in the Diamond Hill area.

When one gets to the heart of the matter, he realizes that the health concerns and the problems with housing opportunities are not worries at all. The arguments put forth by the "permanent" residents of Lexington at the February 7th planning commission hearing are that students make too much (1) noise and (2) trash; and (3) they park in front of their neighbors' driveways. There are already laws on the books regarding all three of these complaints. Why doesn't the city simply enforce the current laws?

Why does the commission think five students are more "out-of-control" than four? Actually, two students can be noisier than five as soon as they invite friends over for a party. Increased regulation doesn't eliminate problems, it only creates additional dilemmas. If the Lexington City Council approves this ordinance, they will not get what they are hoping for, and students (or anyone else who lives on the designated streets) will be stuck with higher rent payments.

If there are any further considerations in this matter, the commission will hold another open hearing. Such a hearing is required to be advertised for two consecutive weeks in the local papers. Watch for it!



Afraid of Democracy?

"Students should be afraid to vote because they may have to pay taxes," or so implies a recent front page article in the *Ring-tum Phi*. Everyone who makes such an argument misses the point altogether; if students vote, they can try to eliminate the unwelcome taxes. From the city council's point of view, the taxes are necessary to fund the city's bloated budget. As usual, the government focuses only on revenue. When will it ever consider costs? Perhaps the students (young folks) can teach the city council (old folks) a lesson in fiscal prudence.

With three seats up for election this spring, the council has room to undergo major changes. Students could make an impact on how candidates run campaigns by registering to vote before March 31st. Students at both VMI and W&L would represent over half of the voting population of Lexington. With such voting power looming ominously over the heads of council members, student opinion regarding strict noise ordinances, parking regulations, and student-oriented taxes will be heard. Other issues such as car taxes, housing restrictions, and unfavorable Fraternity Renaissance rulings rightly concern students.

We live in a democracy, and people's voices are heard most often on the local level. Please, don't be afraid to exercise this right in Lexington.



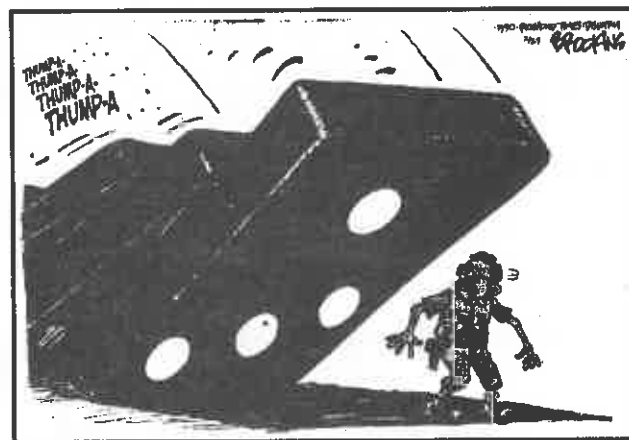
Adios Sandinistas

The despots' day is done. The freedom movement which swept Europe this autumn and winter didn't stop this side of the Atlantic. Violeta Chamorro won the presidency of Nicaragua. Despite repressive measures taken by the Sandanista regime, despite its efforts to deny UNO a real campaign, despite limitations on the press -- the people's voice was heard.

It is unfortunate that the U.S. media which covered Noriega's efforts to steal the election in Panama didn't do the same in Nicaragua. Almost nothing has been heard about the Sandanista attacks on Mrs. Chamorro's campaign effort.

Notwithstanding all of these unreported Sandanistan efforts to take the election, the people of Nicaragua, like the people of the Baltic States, the Ukraine, and Poland, have voted for true freedom. Violeta Chamorro's campaign was one for individual liberty and freedom, to recognize the individual as being more important than the party or the state. For Nicaraguans, this means free enterprise instead of a state-controlled economy; it allows private land ownership, rather than having property decided to "cooperations", and it gives people the right to determine their own future, instead of "the vanguard of the party" telling them what it should be.

Sunday's vote proves that all of the blood that was shed by the resistance was not shed in vain. The ideological opposition, originally crystallized and then sustained through the Contra democratic resistance, proved to be too much for Marxist fear tactics. The Nicaraguan people have bravely repudiated the Sandanista regime and freely embraced democracy.



Source: Richmond Times-Dispatch



Porter Rally, R.I.P.

Mr. W.T. Couch defined academic freedom as "the principle designed to protect the teacher from hazards that tend to prevent him from meeting his obligations in the pursuit of truth." He further explained that "the teacher who, in order to please anyone, suppresses important information, or says things he knows are not true, or refrains from things that need to be said in the interest of truth, betrays his calling and renders himself unworthy to belong in the company of teachers." Who could disagree?

As a practical matter, academic freedom should apply not only to a professor's words but also to the methods by which he chooses to teach. Needless to say, not all professors agree that one teaching method is best; at the very least, different subjects demand different teaching styles. While students may not realize it until later on, a teacher's methodological "eccentricities" usually stem from a genuine concern for their well-being. More often than not, a professor who strays from normal teaching practices is attempting not to humor himself, but to teach the students certain lessons or to prepare them for the future.

General Opinion

(Whether or not the professor is successful or even correct in this endeavor is another matter entirely).

Recently, an unknown student complained about the famous "Porter Rally," a lengthy midterm that Professor Porter requires his students to take on a designated Wednesday night. While it may be understandable that a student could have academic difficulties, especially during midterm week, it is inappropriate to go behind a professor's back to another professor or an administrator without first asking Professor Porter for an extension. The reaction to the student's complaint is even more absurd and disturbing.

Any one of Mr. Porter's students can tell you that, every semester, the professor happily anticipates the Wednesday night midterm. He tells students that after his test, they have finally earned any Wednesday night celebrating that occurs afterward. Truthfully, many students look forward to the midterm, and almost all enjoy the big deal that Mr. Porter always makes of it -- its tradition. That is why Professor Porter's decision to abandon the rally is so unfortunate. As best we can tell, some higher up, either in the history department or in the administration, has approached Professor Porter on the matter. The extent of any "pressure" that was applied to Mr. Porter is unknown, but at the very least, he clearly believes that such a personally unwelcome action was somehow in his best interest.

Such incidents are a perversion of the integrity of an academic institution. The importance of academic freedom should be unquestionable. Professor Porter has been teaching at Washing-

ton & Lee since 1970; someone owes him an apology.

English Seminars from Hell

Anyone perusing the newly published list of Spring Term English seminars, or anyone trying to choose one to take, may well be dismayed at the choices. Out of the almost infinite number of possible topics, this spring the English Department has chosen to curse its majors with such subjects as "The Poetry of Fred Chapell," "Porter, Goyen and Garrett," and "Black American Women Writers of the 20th century." If you are somewhat puzzled by these alternatives then you are not alone. Increasingly, as in much of liberal academia, the W&L curriculum is being "updated" to meet a liberal sociopolitical agenda. The old and established is being ignored in favor of the "new and improved."

Not immune from these trends, our English Department has decided to base its Spring selections on modernity, gender and race instead of literary merit. If the work of Fred Chapell, a contemporary poet from North Carolina, is any good, then it will earn a place in the canon of American literature. These judgments await the future, however, and it is foolhardy to pay so much attention to unproven artists when we already don't have enough time to devote to the great masters. An undergraduate seminar is not the place to study the inconsequential but rather the accomplished.


The same can be said for the seminar on contemporary black female writers. It is outrageous to single out one racial or gender group as authors. If the work of a black woman stands out, then it should be studied on its own merits and not because of the color or sex of the writer. Some people might even say that such qualifications are discriminatory. We don't see any course entitled "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant writers of the 20th century." A bad book or a bad poem is just as bad if it is by a black woman or a white man, and it should not be studied in either case. An insignificant work does not become suddenly more valuable because it is the work of a minority person. Perhaps instead of trying to win points with the academic world and the University administration, the English Department should return to fundamentals. There is a reason that some authors are major and others are not.

E.C. Accountability

A glaring irony in the headline of a recent *Ring-tum Phi* caught our attention. It read: "EC to examine secrecy rules." It is ironic because just one paragraph into the accompanying article the reader learns that the E.C. became quite secretive: it voted to go into executive session. The incident causes us to wonder whether they were examining secrecy in secret.

General Opinion is continued on Page 16

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CAMPUS PERSPECTIVE

Honor and the Single Sanction

by Paul Lagarde

Recently, there has been plenty of debate concerning the nature of our Honor System and the proper duties of the Executive Committee, both in the "Big Three" campaign and in letters to *The Ring-tum Phi*. Unfortunately, much of the debate has focused upon exactly what constitutes a violation of honor and what punishments are appropriate to the various honor offenses. I contend that such an obsession with sanction is damaging to our system and results from fundamental misconceptions of the real purposes behind our Honor Code.

Students usually identify the benefits of our system as these: unlocked dorm rooms, library carrels, exam scheduling, check cashing privileges and most importantly, an academic community that is marked by a spirit of trust. Indeed, trust is such an important part of our Honor System (and rightly so), that we sometimes define the word *honor* as we would *trustworthiness*. The White Book clearly states that "The Honor System of Washington and Lee is based on the fundamental principle that a spirit of trust pervades all aspects of student life." In fact, I had an interesting conversation with a professor who argued that we ought to quit using honor to describe our system and, instead, use trustworthiness. As I understood him, he believes that honor is too hard to define, that it is one of those trendy "gray areas." I disagree. The word honor does mean something. It involves intentions as well as action. Although attempts to define the abstract ideal in practical terms are ultimately unfulfilling, our

Institutionally, while our honor system is a weak instrument for punishing criminals, it is a very effective tool for preserving our community of trust.

Honor System holds that honorable behavior is easily distinguishable from dishonorable behavior.

Properly speaking, no one is always perfectly honorable. St. John called anyone who thought he was free from sin a liar. This does not mean a student cannot altogether refrain from lying, stealing, and cheating, for he can and he must under our system. It simply means that no person will always consider honor as an end in itself, the true goal of our Honor System. Thus the Honor Paul Lagarde is a junior from New Orleans, Louisiana.

System can best be understood as a paradigm. Over four years, it tends to instill a respect for honor itself, continually consolidating its gains through the force of habit. To stress only trustworthiness would be to remove this ideal from any consideration whatsoever.

Although perfect honor is held up as an ideal for all students, in truth, the Executive Committee should try only cases in which a student has violated our community of trust. Arguing that all violations of honor should become cases for the Executive Committee misses a crucial element of the way our Honor System works. To consider specific arguments that others have put forth, it appears that date rape should be a matter for the E.C.. In a letter to the *Phi*, a student asks, "are there any who will not define date-rape as dishonorable?" I doubt it, but that is not the problem. Is there any who will define date rape accurately? When I was a freshman I was outraged when I was told that our W&L community was filled with a sizable number of serial rapists. Then, after reading the "Talkback" section in the *Phi* on the subject, I understood that date rape has a variety of meanings. Students defined date rape in these ways: "if you are on a date

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Campus Perspective

and your date takes advantage of you"; "Any sort of violent action against either sex in a date situation"; and "Doing something you don't want to do because you feel like you won't be accepted if you don't." (If only Dean Anne C.P. Schroer-Lamont could "educate" us all with a little more clarity.) Disregard these mindless definitions; one should question the *morality* of letting an actual rapist go free in society. Of course, rape is dishonorable, but it would be sheer lunacy for us to take pride in a system that merely removes violent perverts from our midst, without insisting on a real punishment for the criminals.

Institutionally, while our honor system is a weak instrument for punishing criminals, it is a very effective tool for preserving our community of trust. The Executive Committee is entirely student run; it is up to the students to decide what constitutes a violation of trust. It is important to note that the Executive Committee is entrusted only to discover innocence or guilt in a particular case. The decision that one guilty of an honor violation is not fit to remain in our community is one made by every Washington and Lee student when he or she comes here.

While our honor system is a very good system, it is not at all a perfect one. That should be obvious, for, at least in this world, there is no universally accepted understanding of right and wrong. This does not mean that objective morality does not exist; it simply means that human beings have yet to agree on the particulars of a comprehensive moral system. The honor

system will not endure if students cannot accept this. The logical end of an emphasis on sanction (especially any codification of different sanctions for different degrees of dishonor) is the degeneration of our code of honor into a positivistic system of rules. In such a system the letter of the law means all while the spirit of the law becomes lost. In addition, under a legalistic system, a guilty person who somehow "gets off" is completely vindicated. Under an honor system, with its emphasis on duty, a dishonorable person is considered guilty even if he is never formally tried. If this transformation ever occurs, it will be a sad day for the Washington and Lee community, for we will have substituted duty and responsibility with privileges and rights, and we will have forfeited the ideal of honor for a fluctuating set of rules.

Some might argue that such an understanding of true honor as merely an ideal represents a fatal weakening of the entire system. Critics might call for something more practical. But we should struggle for truth, not practicality. Honor, as a good in itself, is fundamental to the human spirit. When every student sees honor as something he ought to strive for (with, of course, a prudent understanding of the limits on enforcement) then he will know that the real benefits of our system are much more important than the tangible niceties of exam scheduling, check cashing and unlocked doors. At that point, our honor system will be as strong as it can be.

Outloud

"Democrats look at your paychecks the way Colonel Sanders looks at chickens."
-Ronald Reagan

"When we went to Mississippi, my enemy was the white supremacist. My enemy now is the white liberal."
-James Meredith, the first black admitted to the University of Mississippi

"Always remember that I have taken more out of alcohol than alcohol has taken out of me."
-Winston Churchill

"I'm very *contra* my constituency in terms of abortion because I am positively against it. I don't have the right to any other view. My only emotion is gratitude, literally, for my life."
-Jack Nicholson

"World War II was the last government program that worked."
-George Will

"Everywhere I go I'm asked if I think the University stifles writers. My opinion is that they don't stifle enough of them. There's many a best seller that could have been prevented by a good teacher."
-Flannery O'Connor

"I think of Congress as a work release program for people who haven't been caught yet."
-Jay Leno

"I like to think of my behavior in the '60s as a 'learning experience.' Then again, I like to think of everything stupid I have done as a 'learning experience.'"
-P.J. O'Rourke

"The average newspaper especially of the better sort, has the intelligence of a hillbilly sort, the courage of a rat, the fairness of a prohibitionist boob-jumper, the information of a high school janitor, the taste of a designer of celluloid valentines and the honor of a police station lawyer."
-H.L. Mencken

"Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But note the difference: While democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude."
-Alexis de Toqueville

"Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent."
-Louis D. Brandeis

The Chilling Forecast

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by Charles Kranich

The annual discussion concerning the implementation of Winter Rush at Washington and Lee is once again about to surface in the Student Affairs Committee (SAC). According to Dean John, SAC's desire to address the issue this particular year stems from a deference to the ideas expressed in the University's Institutional Long Range Plan. The Plan states that, "Beginning in January, 1993, provided the University introduces other changes, we recommend that fraternities institute a Winter Rush. This would replace Fall Rush." Such a change in the current system would have a dramatic effect on life at Washington and Lee. Consequently, it is disturbing that those who advocate the change have failed to consider the practical ramifications of this proposal.

It is difficult for the average student to ignore the fact that most members of the faculty and administration who publicly endorse Winter Rush are those least familiar with the current system. At a recent dinner with fraternity presidents, sources reported that Dean Elrod could not distinguish between such elementary terms as "Rush Date" and "Open House." Anyone with a basic understanding of Rush knows the exact meaning of such terms. How can any individual without a specific agenda be critical of anything of which he lacks a strong factual understanding? Who can forget that Professor Lad Sessions, a highly critical opponent of the fraternity system, circulated a petition among the faculty which called for a move to Winter Rush just a few years ago? Given that Washington and Lee's fraternity members hardly ever claim to be experts in philosophy, it is hard to understand why philosophy professors always seem to be

Charles Kranich is a junior from Altoona, Pennsylvania. He is a member of the *Kappa Sigma* fraternity.

Chilling Forecast

experts on the fraternity system.

Dean Elrod recently said that "the lack of communication between students and faculty is a major liability." The Dean of the College is correct, but what has he done about it? Fraternity members and the administration will never come closer on this issue, or any issue, if they cannot go beyond questioning each other's motives. This lack of communication causes students to see the proposal for Winter Rush as nothing more than an administrative power play.

The Long Range Plan lists the change from a Fall to a Winter Rush as a number one priority for our University. Surprisingly, however, it gives little if any concrete reasoning for the change. In fact, one of the important justifications given for a change to Winter Rush is based on the notion that "Sororities apparently support [Winter Rush]." As Elise Bryant has previously pointed out in *The Spectator*, this argument is not only irrelevant but also completely unfounded since sororities have recently requested a move to Fall Rush. Further arguments made in favor of Winter Rush are just as unconvincing and are easily refuted when one considers all the facts.

The Self-Study suggests that the change to a Winter Rush is "socially and academically kinder to freshmen." Is it really? As Ed Pearce, the IFC President at Hampden-Sydney, points out, "Winter Rush turns the entire Fall term into one long Rush." A change to Winter Rush would undoubtedly result in a greater time commitment on the part of both the upperclassmen and the freshmen. The upperclassmen would be required to spend more time at their house in order to entertain prospective freshmen.

The freshmen too would feel compelled to spend more time at the houses which they are interested in joining, or they could easily risk not getting bids.

Such a situation is also likely to create the problem of certain freshmen "suiciding" one particular house over the course of the entire Fall term. This problem of "suiciding" has been recurrent at Hampden-Sydney and the result has been tragic for those devastated freshmen who did not receive a bid after more than fifteen weeks, perhaps with all other options exhausted. Unfortunately, Winter term Rush also forces a freshman to carry the considerable burden of getting into the house of his choice for an entire term. Such pressure would not make the freshman year easier for anyone.

An inordinate time commitment is not the only additional problem that is created by a move to Winter Rush. Although "the hill" does not choose to acknowledge it, the fraternities aid freshmen in their academic adjustment to college. Many fraternities hold study-halls for freshmen, encourage their class attendance, and monitor their grades throughout the Fall term. In addition, the brothers know when a freshman needs help in a particular course and frequently an older major in the subject is able to provide tutorial assistance. One simply cannot disregard the fact that the 1989 Fall term freshman G.P.A. was higher for the fraternity freshmen than it was for the non-fraternity freshmen.

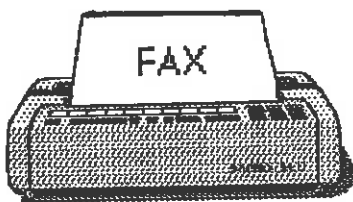
President Wilson and Dean Atkins have both told us that Winter Rush would provide freshmen with a better opportunity to get involved in campus leadership. A brief look at the predominance of fraternity members in freshmen leadership positions indicates the non-existent basis for such a statement. In fact, fraternities regularly encourage their freshmen to get involved in positions of campus leadership. Moreover, the fraternities themselves offer leadership positions to freshmen in the form of pledge class officers.

It is true, as many have pointed out, that the first year is traumatic for many freshmen, especially for those who are away from home for the first time. A fraternity or sorority, however, can help fill the vacuum which is often created in a freshman's life. A small community, such as a fraternity or sorority, gives the freshmen a unit for support, comfort, and advice. Indeed, it is Fall Rush that is *emotionally kinder* to freshmen!

Another concern the Long Range plan and the administration have expressed about Fall Rush regards something called the "early fragmentation" of the freshmen class. It is argued that such "fragmentation" creates barriers to class unity. Just what sort of "fragmentation" does Fall Rush lead to? Everyone agrees, one of the strongest features of the current system is that it provides freshmen with an early opportunity to meet many of their classmates whom they otherwise might never have known. The Rush system itself makes meeting new and diverse groups of people, freshmen and upperclassmen alike, unavoidable. The alternative system of Winter Rush is likely to limit one's friendships to those in his or her dormitory or perhaps on an athletic team. Such friendships are, of course, laudable, but they should not be "mutually exclusive" as junior class President Tom Spurgeon pointed out in his recent *Spectator* article. Spurgeon says that "A major aspect of fraternity rush and pledgship is that it increases your circle of friends. Now, because of the postponed pledgship in effect, no walls should be built to other friendships

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except for those built by the freshmen themselves." If the administration has its way, Winter Rush will ultimately limit a freshman's ability to meet classmates. It is the administration, not the fraternities, who would construct the barriers to class unity.

Perhaps even more important than class unity, however, is the more all-encompassing unity of the entire university. Such university unity would itself be damaged by a change in the present system of Rush. A move to Winter Rush would create severely increased division among different fraternities. In our present system fraternities engage themselves in an all-out ri-

Turning the Fall Term into twelve weeks of Rush in effect, would multiply faculty concerns many times over.

valry, but only for several weeks at the beginning of the year. After Rush things return to their normal friendly state. To draw out such rivalries for an entire term would seriously damage the personality and the camaraderie of the Washington and Lee community.

A move to Winter Rush would unfortunately have many unintended results, one of which is the weakening or even the break-up of the smaller fraternity houses. The financial burden of Winter Rush poses a double threat to all fraternities, but especially to the smaller houses. First, fraternities would compete during the entire first term for their choice of freshmen, which could prove very costly due to a more expensive Rush. Second, prior to the middle of Winter term fraternities would not be able to collect any dues from their freshmen. In a system of Winter Rush many of the smaller houses on our campus would thus be subjected to unfair competition and as a result could be irreparably weakened. No one who believes in the fraternity system would want to see this happen. If any of the smaller houses were to go under, we would limit the healthy diversity within the fraternity system, and in so doing reduce the options available to freshmen.

To solve the problems created by a move to Winter Rush, the administration has kindly offered to place vast restrictions on the social activities of the fraternity houses and on those of the freshmen themselves. Dean Elrod has suggested that the university could plan "events" for the freshmen and upperclassmen in lieu of fraternity parties. WHAT NONSENSE! Anyone knows that such university-planned events are just about as successful as the centrally planned economies of the dying Communist bloc. In fact, the vast majority of people who have been to such events in the past would probably agree that most freshmen would be on the first bus out of town if that was the sort of social life they had to put up with for their first term in college.

Even if university-planned "events" were to be well attended, (which they would not), does Dean Elrod really believe that freshmen would not be "rushed" in such an atmosphere? In fact, one can easily imagine informal rush taking place all over campus during the Fall term. Who would doubt that such informal rushing would even take place at near-by women's colleges,

where the socially deprived freshmen are likely to flock. Once again, the administration has failed to grasp the consequences of its proposal.

Many restrictions could perhaps make a Winter Rush system possible, but where is the wisdom of the move in the first place? The current system works and, in fact, has come a long way towards perfection over the past several years. Only two years ago, in response to faculty concerns about pledgship during the Fall term, the fraternities moved to a ten-week pledgship which does not begin until January. Turning the Fall term into twelve weeks of Rush in effect, would multiply any previous faculty concerns many times over. It is surprising that at such a period, when the system really seems to work best for everyone, the bureaucrats propose a change. The result of such a change would be a dramatic transformation in virtually all aspects of student life at W&L. Ironically, it would pose a severe threat to many of the ideals that the students, the administration, and even the Long Range Plan profess to cherish.

The proposed change to Winter Rush cannot and should not be taken lightly by anyone in the Washington and Lee community, not to mention Fraternity House Corporations and W&L alumni. Dean Elrod was absolutely correct when he said that "Winter Rush can't work if it is forced on the fraternities." One can only hope that the entire faculty and administration recognize this because they are the ones who have the authority to prevent the implementation of such a flawed and regressive system.

(Les Lewis contributed to the research in this article.)

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Those Liberal Fascists

CRC

An Earnest Proposal

by Paul Lagarde

Ever since the Confidential Review Committee's (CRC) birth in the Fall of 1988, administrators have had a difficult time justifying this new disciplinary board to the student body (see poll on next page). This should be no surprise since many oppose its very existence, while those who favor the committee in principle disagree on its proper jurisdiction. Consequently, the committee's guidelines and procedures have been under a constant process of revision.

In order to meet the mounting student opposition (both *The Ring-tum Phi* and *The Spectator* as well as many student government leaders have criticized the CRC), committee members have chosen a strategy of silence. There has been no official public response to any of the charges levelled against the CRC. In fact, student CRC members were specifically asked not to respond to the article in *The Spectator*. Even in the course of writing this story, it has been impossible to obtain a copy of the revisions that are currently being proposed. President Wilson has asked Dean John not to give them out to the students. One faculty member in the revisions writing group informed me that it would be inappropriate to write on the proposed revisions

before President Wilson has had a chance to make a final decision on them. But this is exactly the biggest problem that many students have with the CRC: that it was forced upon the students without any warning, much less a genuine concern for student opinion. At any rate, CRC members should be aware that their silence has not only backfired (*i.e.*, it has not quelled student fears), but it has also caused the unfortunate ignorance of the committee and the assumptions about the committee that pervade student opinion.

The purpose of the new proposals is to make the CRC function better. Better at what? Raising our consciousness! Controlling our freedom of speech! Counselling rapists! Aside from all the problems others have raised, it is about time we started to consider whether *any good* can come out of this committee at all.

What can the CRC do that could not have been handled in already existing institutions? The Student Conduct Committee (SCC) has secrecy rules just like CRC. What is to prevent a student from taking a legitimate complaint to the SCC? Unless one believes that the students on the SCC are insincere or hateful, the only argument is that the complainant might not be able to obtain the desired result in a student-elected committee. In other words, the students do not have the same ideas of "harassment"

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The Case of And

Andy Rooney has offended the wrong group and is currently receiving a lesson in intimidation. The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) has organized an intensive writing campaign against the veteran CBS journalist. Mr. Rooney's sin was aired December 28 on national television: "many of the ills which kill us are self-induced: too much alcohol, too much food, drugs, homosexual unions, cigarettes. They're all known to lead quite often to premature deaths." That such a statement of statistical fact could even be criticized at all reveals the nature of GLAAD, a group willing to ignore reality for the sake of its own political gains.

With the controversy over his statement gaining momentum, Mr. Rooney sent a letter of apology to *The Advocate*, a bi-weekly magazine for homosexuals, in order to explain his views. "Is it [oral sex] ethically or morally wrong and

as the administrators do. As for date rape, who really believes that a committee of students or faculty members ought to decide on such an important criminal matter? Even if a student were guilty, the only thing either the CRC or the SCC could do is to kick the rapist out of school, leaving him to roam free in society. Is that justice?

It is a telling statistic that the CRC has heard no cases this year and only two all of last year. Apparently, the sorts of cases that the CRC was implemented to hear can be easily solved by a chat with a dean or by an apology. Most students simply do not want to go through such drastic procedures for what could be a simple misunderstanding. The low number of cases that ever reach the CRC makes one wonder

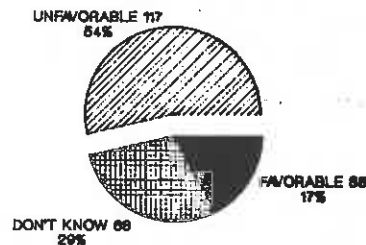
Even in the course of writing this story, it has been impossible to obtain a copy of the revisions that are being currently proposed.

about the hysteria that students often hear about date rape and homophobia.

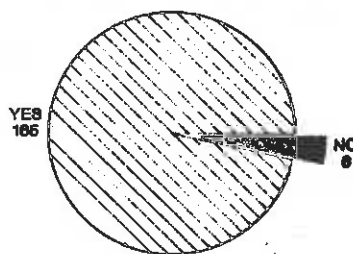
The CRC is a poorly conceived institution which is entirely inappropriate for our campus, and it should be abolished. The Student Conduct Committee, the Executive Committee, and the American legal system are fully adequate to address any complaint of injustice that a member of this community might have -- at least, no one has convinced the students otherwise

Spectator Poll:

What is your opinion of the CRC?



Do you support having an open forum for students to voice their opinions on the CRC?



Rooney: McCarthyism REVISITED

abnormal behavior? It seems so to me..." Mr. Rooney also indicated in the letter that he thought of AIDS as a preventable disease. The same issue of *The Advocate* also carried an interview with Mr. Rooney which quotes him as saying that blacks have watered down their genes because the least intelligent ones have the most children. Mr. Rooney emphatically denies ever having made the remark, and Chris Bull, reporter for *The Advocate*, can produce no tape recording of the interview. CBS's suspension of Rooney for three months without pay is nothing compared to the way the whole affair was conducted. Rooney was far more damaged by the fact that CBS's management chose to believe the word of a journalist of four months tenure over a respected employee of 41 years. Dorothy Rabinowitz's observation in *The Wall Street Journal* is sad but true: "Certain offenses, those of racism and homophobia in particular, now have such a status

that it is necessary only to be accused of them to be found guilty or at least irremediably tainted. It needs no more than such an accusation to bring the capitulation of a large and powerful broadcast network." (By the way, CBS news president David Burke is now working with GLAAD, distributing propaganda to the rest of CBS's employees in order to "raise consciousness" about "homophobia.")

Forty years ago, Joe McCarthy used to bring down those who were thought to be Communists. McCarthy received his strongest opposition from journalists and intellectuals, who gave our society eloquent defenses of freedom of speech and freedom of association. Today's crimes have nothing to do with Communism; they are racial and gender insensitivity and homophobia. Ironically the new McCarthyites are mostly found in the media and academia.

Letters Continued

Such mindless planning is a pathetic attempt at conformity that demands little creativity, if any (example: Dupont Hall). You don't see UVA knocking itself out trying to make every new building identical to its Lawn architecture. Or are ugly brown bricks the problem? Strange, then, that Lee Chapel was never mentioned. Its Romanesque style was considered "modern" and "dated" for 1866, and -- heaven forbid -- its bricks don't match the colonnade's! But who's complaining? We feel many of Mr. Nomikos' disdainful remarks were exaggerated, unfounded, and even contradictory at times. The "lack of talent and creativity" he observes in modern architectural advancements is more obvious in the backwards notion that a standardized campus is an ideal one.

Alice Harrell
John Perkins
Reiss Wilks

General Opinion Continued

Well no, but the E.C. did something worse. It broke our student body constitution. As Article V, Section P plainly states, "The Executive Committee shall not go into executive session except in the case of possible honor violations." This particular situation did not involve a case of honor, but rather a budget report from the Fancy Dress Chairman. While it is understandable that the SAB would want to keep Fancy Dress information quiet (at least before the ball), the E.C., as elected representatives, has no business doing its business behind closed doors.

Student representatives, i.e., E.C. members, must be accountable to the students, their electors. If representatives are not accountable for their actions, then there exists a very real possibility that they can cease being representative. This is why the authors of our constitution chose to include Article V, Section P. As the saying goes, "If you can't take the Heat, get out of the kitchen." And if E.C. members can't take the political heat for their own actions, they should get off the E.C.

Virginia Military Institute Application for Admission

Name: CLASSIFIED

Sex: Female

Height: 6'1"

Weight: 195

Place of birth: Equality, Massachusetts

What activities did you participate in high school? Female mud-wrestling and men's football.

What books have you read recently? The Feminine Mystique, by Betty Friedan, The Art of War, by George Patton, and all articles written by Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder.

What are your parents occupations? My mother is a construction worker and my father is a homemaker.

What people do you most admire? Mary Sue Terry, Molly Yard, and Geraldine Ferraro.

What is your goal after college? To attack and capture dog kennels in third world countries and to win many medals.

Anything further to distinguish you? I am also suing The Citidal, and my mother wears combat boots.

BOOK REVIEW

The TEMPTING of AMERICA

BY JAY LAGARDE

One of the more enlightening comments about the political campaign which ultimately defeated Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court comes from the "progressive" opposition leader Anne Lewis: "This had to be fought beyond the walls of the Senate. If this were carried out as an internal Senate battle we would have deep and thoughtful discussions about the Constitution, and then we would lose." Lewis is correct on two scores: the anti-confirmation campaign lacked intellectual credibility, and

but for the cheapened politicization of this campaign, Bork would now be sitting on the Supreme Court. Typical of the thoughtless hysteria that attended the confirmation process is one American Civil Liberties Union letter warning: "Bork far more dangerous than previously believed. . . We risk nothing short of wrecking the entire Bill of Rights. . . His confirmation would threaten our system of government."

Such hysteria cannot be sustained indefinitely. In the on-going battle over Robert Bork and his fight for legitimate Constitutional principles, Bork has launched a *blitzkrieg* of his own with the publication of his book *The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law* (Free Press, 448 pp., \$22.50.). One fourth of the book deals with the confirmation process. The remaining three quarters of the book amounts to a critique of Constitutional Revisionism and a defense of Original Understanding. If sales

of the book to date are any indication, Bork's volume will become a most important player in all future debates on the meaning of the Constitution.

Judge Bork is stubbornly skeptical about any interpretation of the Constitution which does not derive its justification from the original meaning of the text. "The truth is that the judge who looks outside the historic Constitution always looks inside himself and nowhere else." When a judge looks to a particular moral or interpretive theory or to his own notion of what would be "just" in a given circumstance, argues Bork, he circumvents the democratic system and positions himself above the people who have expressed their wishes in the Constitution and in the laws passed by their representatives. Judges "administer justice according to the law. Justice in a larger sense, justice according to morality, is for Congress and the President to administer, if the see fit,

ROBERT H. BORK
The TEMPTING
of AMERICA



The Political Seduction Of The Law

through the creation of new law."

Bork laments the trendy law school theorists who seem to have either forgotten or ignored this fundamental principle of our democratic system. According to Judge Bork, not only have such theorists abandoned the judicial role of interpreting the Constitution as law, in favor of "rule by talented and benevolent autocrats over the self-government of ordinary folk," but these intellectuals have set for themselves a task that is ultimately impossible. The legitimacy of the judge's work can only be found in the law, and once he attempts to twist it beyond recognition to obtain a particular political, moral, or ideological result, the judge has lost his once-solid foundation and practically anything goes. Beyond the principles contained in a common-sense understanding of the law, Bork, following Alasdair MacIntyre, notes the lack of any real moral consensus in our society which could blind the judiciary to some cognizable norm. And it is

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Book Review

unlikely, he argues, that any legal theorist will be able to present us with such a norm. Bork quips, "If the greatest minds of our culture have not succeeded in devising a moral system to which all intellectually honest persons subscribe, it seems doubtful, to say the least, that some law professors will make the breakthrough any time soon."

Bork's confirmation hearings are symptomatic of precisely this tendency of the courts to enter into a political fray in which they do not belong. We expect a judge to decide on ideological grounds, so it becomes expedient to select judges on ideological criteria, rather than competency, character, and faithfulness to legislative intent. But, as Bork points out, the Framers designed the judiciary so that the Justices would be insulated from the tide of popular whims. They are bound not by reelection but only by their self-imposed adherence to the law. What concerns Bork is "that so many of the Court's increased number of declarations of unconstitutionality are not even plausibly related to the Constitution. This means that

we are increasingly governed not by the law or elected representatives but by an unelected, unrepresentative, unaccountable committee of lawyers applying no will but their own."

This does not imply, of course, that judges may have no political or moral opinions other than what the law might proscribe. Original understanding does require that Judges recognize the fallibility of their personal political beliefs. They must limit their judgments from the bench to those within their given role and competence, that is to a strict interpretation of the law. Finally, judges must recognize that an honest adherence to the Constitution and to lesser laws is their part in the democratic process which ultimately will bring about more justice than any single judge could do on his own. On this last point, Bork relates a scene in Robert Bolt's play "A Man for All Seasons" between Thomas More and his son-in-law Roper. Roper accused More of giving the Devil the benefit of the law. To go after the Devil, Roper said he would cut down every law in England. More's response:

"Oh? . . . And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned round on you -- where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? . . . This country's planted thick with laws from coast to coast -- man's laws, not God's -- and if you cut them down -- . . . d'you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? . . . Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake."

Bork claims that this is not "a romanticized version of man" but is the only practical way the structure of our democratic government can work. Remaining true to this belief, the Judge renounces all constitutional revisionism, conservative and liberal alike.

Even though Robert Bork has stepped out of his judicial role to serve his country in other ways, his rigorous scholarship, fairness, and intellectual honesty remain with him. He has played by the rules. Let's hope this book will compel Bork's detractors to rise above their political mudslings and meet him at a level commensurate with intellectually honest discourse.

SPECTATOR TOP EIGHT LIST

from the "Self-Study"

COMMITTEESPEAK

8. "If the study concludes that freshmen are developmentally ready for an interdisciplinary approach, then such an approach would create a novel perspective, one that would provide freshmen with an awareness of the complex and enriching association that exists between various branches of learning."

ALCOHOL CREATES ONE-DIMENSIONAL IMAGES.

7. "In the past fraternities have earned a one-dimensional image as organizations existing solely to promote frivolous and ever more extreme forms of alcoholic partying."

WHAT DEAN WROTE THIS ONE?

6. "Educational programs on date rape and sexual harassment should be part of the freshmen residence hall experience that attempts to create a close community among the students."

WHAT GUY WOULD NOT WANT TO JOIN THIS ONE?

5. "We recommend a permanent standing committee on the status of women."

WHAT DID THE TRUSTEES SAY?

4. "The steering committee is unanimous in its conviction that this [a 50/50 ratio of men and women in the student body] is the single most important step we can take to enhance the quality of our undergraduate students."

BITE THE HAND THAT FEEDS YOU!

3. "[We believe that the percentage of alumni children accepted is] excessively generous and poses obstacles to enhancing the quality of the student body."

MAKE HASTE! MAKE HASTE!

2. "We recommend that as soon as possible, the Dean of Students appoint an ad-hoc committee to clarify the purposes of the Independent Union."

BROWN UNIVERSITY---HERE WE COME

1. "...within the time of this report the University must hire more than 50 new faculty members. Clearly, there is the potential to alter quickly and dramatically the demographic characteristics of the faculty and hence of the school."

SPECTATOR INTERVIEW

Walter Williams

Spectator: Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp is trying to develop a "conservative anti-poverty program" both to help the poor, but also to use a defining issue for himself, perhaps in a future presidential or gubernatorial race. If you were advising Secretary Kemp what would you tell him to do?

Dr. Williams: He probably would not be able to do what I would suggest. I would say, "In the name of helping poor people, for God's sake, shut down HUD!" On balance, I would say that the Housing and Urban Development agency has done far more to harm poor people than to help them. If you ask the question, "Who is the largest slum landlord in this country?" -- it's the Federal government. If you ask, "What are the worst living conditions for poor people around the country?" -- they are the housing projects owned by the federal government or the state and local governments. I think that the idea of a "conservative anti-poverty program" is nothing more than maybe a nice technique to attract more blacks to the Republican party. It's a Republican version of a Democratic program to buy blacks. I think it's unfortunate.

Spectator: Given that Republicans and conservatives do not tend to develop platforms of government programs as do Democrats, what is the best way for Republicans or conservatives more generally to attract support for the initiatives that might be best for the country?

Dr. Williams: I don't know; I'm not a political strategist. So far as blacks are concerned, blacks were traditionally Republicans until Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration. Republicans lost the black vote, and I believe that the Democrats are about to. It's an inevitable process. From all the evidence that I see, I would not be surprised that by 2020 or 2030 that blacks would vote and be the most conservative people in this country. One of the reasons why is that black people have been hurt the

Economic Definitions:

COMMUNISM: You have two cows. The government takes both of them and gives you part of the milk.

SOCIALISM: You have two cows. The government takes one and gives it to your neighbor.

FASCISM: You have two cows. The government takes the two cows and sells you the milk.

NAZISM: You have two cows. The government takes both of them and shoots you.

BUREAUCRACY: You have two cows. The government takes both of them, shoots one, milks the other, then pours the milk down the drain.

CAPITALISM: You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.



Walter Williams Talks with the Spectator

most by liberal welfare programs. Look at most liberal ideology, whether it is "let-it-all-hang-out" as sex is concerned, or whether it is the welfare state mentality, blacks have suffered the most from it. Many of the liberal ideas that were talked about in the Sixties and Seventies were anathema to black people historically. Nobody in their right mind can stand up and argue or defend the programs of the past in terms of their successes. Nobody in their right mind can stand up and say that years and billions of dollars spent in manpower training have helped the targeted group--or years and billions spent on education. So while black people in general may not share my particular values for freedom, which by the way are not those held by most conservatives, they surely will not support the kinds of groups they have supported in the past.

Spectator: To change gears a little and come back to campus issues, do you believe that racial harassment is increasing or decreasing on college campuses and why?

Dr. Williams: I don't know whether I would call it racial harassment or racial resentment, but surely there are more racial incidents on college campuses now than there were a couple of decades ago. An excellent article written by my colleague Thomas Sowell in the last issue of *Commentary* is called "Affirmative Action: A Worldwide Disaster." He essentially says that the only difference between affirmative action in the United States and affirmative action in places like India, Sri-Lanka, Malaysia, and other places is that affirmative action in the United States has not yet led to massive slaughter of peoples. Racial quotas or racial preferences lead to racial conflict no matter where they are imposed, and if you look at college campuses,

Specator Interview

they are the places in our country where affirmative action has been used the most. So if you are going to get backlash from affirmative action, you would expect it on college campuses.

Spectator: Do you think that black student unions, minority recruitment weekends, or minority orientation programs are a good idea for universities?

Dr. Williams: No, I don't, unless the community, including the minority community is willing to accept a white student union, white recruiting day, and white associations. Since the Sixties there have been black student unions on campuses all over the country. At Temple University in Philadelphia (where I used to teach), white students organized a white student union. They're not racist kids, but they said that "there are quotas and affirmative action and racial preference in financial aid, and we want to raise a voice against this." The whole city went ape! So I think that it is nonsense to have unions or organizations based on race on campus. But on top of that, I think that it is pointless for people to get upset when white people want to form a union. It reflects that the administration of campuses don't have any backbone at all to refuse to go along with a lot of nonsense. For example, at Stanford University and at Dartmouth University, black students have demanded a segregated house -- they call it a "theme house," they don't call it a segregated house -- but all of that is tolerated by the administration and the campus community. I'm very sure that if white students said the same thing it wouldn't be tolerated at all. So in my book, what is sauce for

the goose is sauce for the gander.

Spectator: Many schools now have official harassment policies, and most of them apply to speech as well as action. Do you think that such policies have mostly positive or negative effects on racial harmony on campuses?

Dr. Williams: I think it's more racial hype, and I think it will develop more racial hype. For example, harassment against people's sexual preferences. Homosexuals can express their point of view, but those who are against homosexuality are not allowed to express their point of view. So there's a lot of fudge in there for defining harassment. At Stanford University, and I understand this is popular on other campuses, black students were sporting t-shirts emblazoned with "Black By Popular Demand." No sweat. You know, nobody's going to say anything. Until some white students started sporting some t-shirts that said "White By the Grace of God," and everybody went ape. They didn't like it. So if you have racial harassment codes, could someone sit down and say, "Well, gee, the white students were harassing the blacks?" Or could they say that the black students were harassing the whites?

I think that one of the insightful things to see about the increase in racial incidents on college campuses is a look at where they are occurring, and the nonsense of what the civil rights establishment will say: the reason we have these racial incidents on campus is the legacy of Reagan's tolerance for discrimination. If you just look at the evidence for racial incidents on college campuses it turns out that there have been more racial incidents in the state of Massachusetts than in the entire South. And one can hardly call Massachusetts Reagan territory.

Spectator: Should the University do anything to promote racial harmony?

Dr. Williams: Yes, yes! I think that the best thing that a university can do to promote racial goodwill is to treat every student equally. I do not think that a university promotes racial goodwill when they have a policy, as some universities do, that if black students maintain a C+ average, they get \$500 cash awards and white students don't get anything. It doesn't create racial goodwill by having differential admittance standards like if a white scores 1100 on the SAT, he may be turned down where a minority student who scores 750 on the SAT is accepted.

Spectator: Is there any relation between affirmative action and attrition rates of minorities at some of our elite universities?

Dr. Williams: I think so. You look at Berkeley, which has a very rigorous minority recruitment program, and I believe over sixty percent of black students drop out. One of the big problems of minorities on campus cannot be solved at the college level. Many public schools grant what are nothing more than fraudulent diplomas. Colleges cannot repair twelve years of academic destruction.

Spectator: How did you come to realize that you were a "conservative" or how did you develop this ideology that you have?

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Dr. Williams: I've always been a radical. I believe in private property and the sanctity of liberty, and that's a radical idea in America. If you believe in the sanctity of private property and liberty, you are a radical, because most Americans believe that somehow, they have the right to live at someone else's expense. I don't care whether they are poor people or farmers or Lee Iaccoca or the Savings and Loan industry, most Americans do not share that concern. Now the way I came across some of these values is that they were inherently a part of me, but they were crystallized through a lot of my reading. I read John Locke, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and I went to an excellent graduate school at UCLA, and I had professors that challenged my ideas. I would rather think, instead of having a particular ideology, that I am looking at the evidence in the world. From the evidence that you see around the world, those people with the greatest amount of human rights and the highest incomes live in the societies that tend toward a market system. Those people that have the fewest human rights and are the poorest in the world

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live in those societies where there is extensive government intervention. In terms of my having that value of high income and great human rights protection, the evidence suggests that the way that you achieve this is through relatively free markets.

Spectator: What do you think are the most important works for young people to read before they leave college?

Dr. Williams: No student should graduate from college without having read Milton and Rose Friedman's *Free to Choose*. It is an excellent book, and it starts you off thinking about those areas. I think John Locke's "Dissolution of the Government" and "Common Sense" by Thomas Paine--these should be some of the things that are the core of it. But more important than these particular readings, students and professors should insist that students learn to think rigorously, to think with a definite logic, to challenge ideas and to challenge concepts--in general, to think rigorously. Otherwise, you've lost a lot of what you can gain from college.

Interview conducted by Jennifer Spreng and Paul Lagarde



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ESSAY

"Death, Taxes, and Deficits"

by Damon Fensterman

In Washington, people are wearing their flak helmets. The yearly budget "battle" has started again. Budget Director Richard Darman opened with the first salvo, a condescending essay full of curious allusions to "pac men" and "the cookie monster." Immediately, congressional leaders responded with waves of acerbic rhetoric, asking the President to be serious about the budget. All this *before* the budget was even released.

But perhaps their rhetoric was justified. After all, President Bush's budget isn't exactly the pinnacle of statesmanship. In an effort to meet the \$64 billion Gramm-Rudman budget target, Bush has used every accounting trick in the book. He's even invented a few new ones. The linchpin of the budget is a projection for economic growth which is far rosier than most. Forgetting that the economy grew at a rate of just .5% last quarter, Bush is predicting 2.5% growth for 1991. Most respectable projections put growth at about 1.8%.

It gets worse. The budget is filled with clever accounting, such as an item that pushes federal government workers' pay raises one day past the end of the fiscal year in order to register a "savings." Also prominent are magical items like \$3 billion dollars attributed to making the IRS more "efficient." Why not just cut the whole deficit by making government in general "more efficient"?

As promised, the Bush budget doesn't contain a single new tax, just a "revenue proposal" or two. The major items are the oft-defeated capital gains tax cut, and a payroll tax for state and local government workers. Chances are, the capital gains tax cut will, if passed, resemble the sorry compromise proposed last year. Last year's proposed "tax cut" was really just a one time tax rebate. Such a short term proposal would not have the



revenue increasing effect of a real cut. Moreover, the payroll tax on state and local workers was dead before it was proposed.

If we eliminate the smoke and mirrors, the budget doesn't look that different from the status quo. Moreover, it becomes clear Bush is not at all serious about cutting spending or even about meeting Gramm-Rudman targets. The purpose of the budget law is for government to live within its means to the extent represented by the targets, not to inspire mathematical creativity. Once again, one realizes that if our government really had the courage and the discipline to pass balanced bud-

gets, we wouldn't have needed Gramm-Rudman in the first place.

But before we write of the 1991 budget as the fault of Bush's irresponsibility, let's take a closer look. Congress isn't quite as innocent as it tries to appear. When Congress accuses Bush of proposing cuts that have been defeated in the past, what they're really saying is: "we didn't have the political will to cut this last year, and you expected us to get braver?" For the present it's Congress's turn to play righteous indignation. After all, they don't have to present *their* budget yet. And as usual, they bemoan the lack of "new taxes" in the budget. That's easy enough to say, but Congress doesn't want to raise taxes any more than the President does. Rhetoric about "fiscal responsibility" notwithstanding, constituents don't *like* paying higher taxes.

In addition, Congress has its own set of creative accounting procedures---ones agreed upon by all (including the President). First, so-called "cuts" are really nothing of the kind. Whatever we are spending now becomes the "current path of spending." Thus, any dip below the planned increases becomes a "budget cut," even though total spending actually increases. Further, a huge percentage of the deficit is hidden by the massive social

"Death, Taxes, and Deficits"

security surplus.

Social security taxes are used to buy treasury bonds, which amounts to an increase in debt. This debt has to be paid back eventually, but apparently that doesn't worry our leaders---just so they can spend it now. And the best part is that none of this debt is included in the current operating deficit. It's no surprise that Patrick Moynihan's proposal to expose this dirty little secret was met with intense resistance from all sides. The current proposal is more to everyone's liking: we'll forget about social security until 1993 (when, of course, the budget will be balanced), and then we can set some more Gramm-Rudman targets. Why change the rules just when everyone was getting so good at playing the game?

If we look closer, it becomes clear that the wrath of Congress is not so much that of righteous objector as that of a cornered animal. Before Bush even proposed his budget, Democratic party leaders insisted that they were going to get domestic spending up and defense spending down. Like dinosaurs, they have failed to adjust to the political climate. Bush has already proposed his defense cuts. That puts the ball in the congressional court, and they've already struck out. Since defense has already been cut three years in a row, the first target for Gramm-Rudman-Hollings automatic cuts is domestic spending. Bush is playing this fact to his advantage. He can afford to let the cuts go into effect. Congress cannot, especially in an election year.

So if Congress is in such big trouble, why are they squalling so loud? Shouldn't they be ushering the Bush budget through

with nary a complaint? The answer is that Congress isn't quite as antagonistic as it tries to appear. But they have to keep at least the appearance of opposing what Bush proposes.

The fact is, budgetary austerity is never something a politician wants to favor, because constituents want a healthy diet of pork. But it is also politically sound to give lip service to "fiscal conservatism." A simple solution, and one with which our government seems to be comfortable, is for the Executive and Legislative branches to feign antagonism in order to hide their collaboration. Nobody wants to raise taxes, and nobody wants to cut spending. But imagine the public outcry if Congress and the President both agreed to spend freely and to ignore Gramm-Rudman. So a handy solution is to alternate years playing the fall guy, all the while getting budgets which satisfy almost everyone.

If we look at the current "budget battle" through these jaundiced lenses, we see a different picture. President Bush has thrown Congress its political bone. They can criticize him and spout their righteous rhetoric for a while. Then they will pass a budget which is basically what Bush wanted. They will defeat a number of his proposals, but these were merely offered as straw men in the first place---the budget Bush wants is not the budget he proposed. The result is a fiscal policy which maintains the status quo, and state of affairs where large structural deficits are the norm. One wonders what state of affairs our Washington bureaucracy is seeking. Perhaps it is a world where the only sure things are death, taxes, and deficits.

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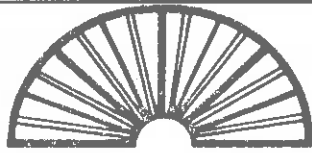


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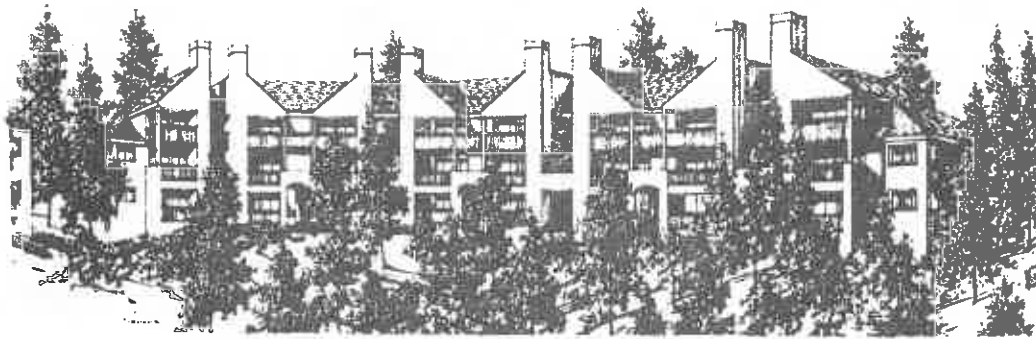
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