

Two Paths to Politicization

Editor's Note: A pair of articles in the Spring 1992 *Academic Questions* received considerable attention. Printed under the rubric "The Trivialization of Sexual Harassment," one detailed the case of Allan Mandelstamm at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and the other the case of the Department of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Minnesota. Both were stories of extraordinary abuses of power by midlevel administrators who vigorously promoted charges of sexual harassment against professors wholly and obviously innocent of harassment. The following articles attempt to explain how these same two institutions reached the point where such abuses of power and violations of elemental justice became possible.

Affirmative Action at Virginia Tech: The Tail That Wagged the Dog

Henry H. Bauer

Opponents of political correctness have ventured a number of generalizations, among them that PC is an extremism that repudiates traditional liberal values, that PC elevates political ends above intellectual values, that PC recalls McCarthyism in its use of intimidation to stifle public discussion.

Those generalizations aptly fit recent happenings at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VPI).

A Nutshell History

A detailed history of VPI's first century was written to mark that centenary.¹ For most of its existence, VPI was an old-style land-grant college, with emphasis on education in agriculture and engineering and on discipline through the Cadet Corps, to which all students belonged. The expansion of public higher education in Virginia led VPI to change, beginning about 1960, from that traditional college of fewer than 6,000 students to what is now, to the casual visitor, a typical research university of 23,000. But beneath the surface there is still a somewhat conservative inclination, especially among the older faculty and the alumni. The revolutionary 1960s had not devastated VPI's curriculum or governance system, for VPI then had been managed in quite authoritarian fashion. Until quite recently, academic administrators had long terms of office

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here, and much of the central administration comprised people who came here in the early 1970s, in the 1960s, or even before that.

In 1988 came a new president; in 1989, a new provost and a new Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action (EO/AA) director. It soon became clear that major change was intended.

The Basis for the University's Transformation

"Affirmative action" was invented some three decades ago to make up for deliberate, manifestly proven, injurious discrimination. Nowadays, however, it has become politically correct to demand "affirmative action" wherever any statistical "unrepresentativeness" exists. The aim is no longer to compensate for specific, provable inequity, rather it is now argued that "diversity" is a worthy, indeed necessary goal in and for itself: women and minorities are said to have special viewpoints or talents that must be deployed in all matters and at every level.

There is a logical fallacy here. On the one hand, the basis for affirmative action was that women and blacks had been denigrated without warrant, that they had been kept out of roles for which they were *inherently just as well qualified as anyone else*, because selection criteria had focused not on merit but on gender and race; therefore equity demanded that selection be made *strictly on merit* so that racial and sexual discrimination would be nullified. By contrast, PC now claims that women and blacks (and other "protected" groups) *do* have *different* talents and viewpoints. Whether to treat a woman or a black in some special way or just like everybody else therefore poses under current circumstances an unresolvable dilemma that is cruel to everyone. One black student at VPI resented being singled out in class to comment on Martin Luther King's rhetoric.² But wasn't the professor merely drawing on an obvious resource to give the class the benefit of the different, black viewpoint? After all, another black student, presumably speaking from that special viewpoint, rose up in class to warn a professor not to speak about that racist (and former president of the United States), Thomas Jefferson.³

VPI's *Statement on Diversity* incorporates the logical fallacy:

a strong belief in both equal opportunity and affirmative action and...a clear sense of the difference. "Equal opportunity" means just that....Each individual is judged on his or her individual merit. Sex, race, and ethnic background, religious affiliation, political persuasion, sexual orientation, physical condition or appearance, and age have no bearing. We welcome all....*Equal opportunity, however, does not typically change existing conditions, and therefore, further action is necessary.* [Emphasis added]

Affirmative action is different. It requires overt action and special effort to overcome the historic exclusion of women and minorities, as well as other protected classes, from full participation in American society.⁴

Thus equal opportunity and affirmative action are not only different but, in point of fact, mutually incompatible; yet VPI says it believes strongly in both. It tells something about the state we are in when a university promulgates an official statement that contradicts itself so flagrantly.

We are supposed to be guided in both of two mutually exclusive directions. The question therefore arises: in practice, which path is actually taken? Experience shows that affirmative action rather than equal opportunity is operative. The goals of "equity, diversity, and access" are asserted to be "intrinsic to the pursuit of excellence in instruction, research, and public service." And although this proposition remains unsupported by argument or example, it is upon its authority that the university acts.

How (Not) to "Diversify" the Student Body

What decides the number of black students who come to VPI? It would be reasonable to set enrollment goals by taking these factors into account: the number of blacks who graduate with appropriate credentials from high schools in the Commonwealth of Virginia; VPI's admission criteria, which have been highly selective for at least two decades; VPI's curricular emphasis, which has traditionally been in engineering and science; VPI's location in a part of Virginia that has only a tiny black population; and the existence of traditionally or formerly black colleges in the Commonwealth to which many blacks may prefer to go. In practice: one merely hears the all-pervasive shibboleth that "more must be done." One consequence is that a great deal of wasted effort, time, and money has gone into unsuccessful attempts to recruit more black students. Between 1986 and 1991, the percentage of black students offered admission to VPI who rejected the offer rose from 70 to 81 percent while the percentage of other students rejecting offers rose only from 52 to 57 percent: in other words, fewer than one of every five blacks offered admission now accepts it, whereas more than two out of every five other students accept. In 1987, VPI drew in 221 black students after making offers to 664; in 1988, 214 from 723; in 1989, 226 from 815; in 1990, 286 from 1253; in 1991, 269 from 1400.⁵ Obviously the marginal cost of or the effort to enroll more than 220 new black students each year has been enormous. In 1990 and 1991, for each additional black student who eventually enrolled, a dozen had to be pursued and solicited.

Retention is a problem equal to enrollment, and all manner of schemes are thought up to increase retention. One benign, colorblind device is the "Freshman Rule" introduced some years ago: every student may choose that grades of "D" or "F," for work of up to six hours taken approximately during the freshman year, be wiped from the record as though the courses had never been attempted.

Other stratagems are less benign and less academically appropriate. There are separate study halls for blacks: "The college of engineering celebrated the opening of its new Minority Center Jan. 30."⁶ Soon there will be separate living quarters: "Black student organizations requested a program where students of similar African backgrounds can live together in a residence hall."⁷ Indeed, this was made possible as of the fall semester of 1992: "Housing and Residence Life is forging on with plans to incorporate 'community living' into next year's housing arrangements....giving whole floors or wings of buildings to organizations or groups of students that ask to be placed together."⁸

Presumably to suggest that this proposed apartheid has respectable roots, it was pointed out that "[t]he plan is similar to the foreign language floor." According to the minutes of the University Committee on EO/AA, the

Multicultural Coordinating Council...will formally propose the creation of an Afrocentric Theme Hall within one of the dorms....[T]his is an especially sensitive project, given that it could be viewed as the establishment of a segregated "Black Hall." However...rather than advocating segregation, the Afrocentric theme hall is intended to encourage an appreciation of Afrocentric culture and is designed for multicultural residents.⁹

At a public forum on "The Dilemma of Political Correctness," the EO/AA director said the same sort of thing and denied that segregated quarters were in the offing. After the formal close of the meeting, he told me that the Afro-American Hall could not be just for blacks because it is illegal to spend state funds for such a purpose. Yet it seems clear that the same goal is being accomplished by the obfuscating subterfuge launched by the housing and residential life office of offering groups of rooms to student organizations that ask for them.

Who or what is blamed for the university's limited success in enrolling and keeping black students? Not the nationwide competition for academically qualified blacks, nor the fact that the number graduating from Virginia's high schools is limited. According to the EO/AA director, "The burden is on the individual faculty member to make the student feel comfortable."¹⁰ But it is a professor's burden only to help students to learn—which often enough involves making them feel uncomfortable. Some of our finest teachers use the so-called Socratic method, which many students find embarrassing, especially when they first encounter it. It is in any case an absurd notion, conceivable only by one who has never taught, that any professor can make every single student feel comfortable.

A New Principle of Governance: Group Representation

University Council is the decisive policy-making group, chaired by and advisory to the president. On it have traditionally served the vice-presidents, the deans, and representatives of the faculty, staff, and students. In 1991, this

was changed to a “congressional model” to include representatives not only of university commissions, faculty, staff, and students, but also of “the African-American community.”

“[T]he rationale for designating a member of the African-American community...but not members of other minority groups...[is] that other groups would have representation through the University Advisory Council on Human Rights and Social Responsibility.”¹¹ Yet African-Americans too have representation through that advisory group. At the decisive meeting of the council, over the “rather overwhelming” opposition of the faculty senate, the “congressional model” was adopted together with an amendment “to reserve *two* chairs on University Council for representatives of the African-American community—one elected by the Black Faculty and Staff Caucus, and one elected by the Black Organizations Council [representing students]” (emphasis added).¹²

An amendment had been proposed, “to review at the end of ten years the necessity to have a reserved seat(s)...for the African-American community,”¹³ but this was defeated after it was pointed out that no other individual or group is slated for such a review. Of course, it is also the case that no other group is represented solely by reason of skin-color or race.

White Men Need Not Apply

New procedures will ensure that appointment of new faculty results in diversification.¹⁴ The “Faculty Search Authorization” form requires approval from the department head, a dean or vice-president, and the EO/AA director. On that form, the proposed members of search committee are to be listed by name, *sex*, and *race*; and the total number of committee members is to be given together with the “[t]otal minority members” and “[t]otal female members.” This underscores that “[i]t is highly desirable to have women and minorities represented on search committees, even if members are drawn from cognate departments.”¹⁵

If a pool of applicants “does not reflect the availability of women and minorities” by one week before the search closes, expansion of the search may be required before candidates are selected for interview. If those selected for interview include neither “a minority group member nor a female,” the dean will be notified before invitations to interview are tendered. By contrast, “a department can legally abbreviate its search process to hire a woman or minority.”¹⁶ Before an offer is tendered, the EO/AA Office must be notified.

Presumably to emphasize what criteria are most important in searches, the Faculty Search Authorization form has separate lines for “*Required* educational/experiential qualifications” and “*Desired* educational/experiential qualifications”—quite a departure from the stated policy of not so long ago, to find the very best person who could be enticed to come.

As well as ordering such “affirmative action” in all searches, the administration gives additional “Exceptional Opportunity Positions”¹⁷ to departments that promise to hire blacks or women. But in advertising these positions, the departments are not allowed to reveal that white males will not be considered.¹⁸ This, of course, is reprehensibly unfair to those white males who take the time and trouble to apply.

Budgeting for Sociopolitical Change

Since 1990, VPI (along with other state universities and colleges) has taken heavy budget cuts. Pay was decreased by 2 percent on 1 December 1990, there were no raises for 1991–92, and for 1992–93 that 2 percent will merely be given back. One of my departments (I hold a joint appointment) no longer has funds to support travel by faculty or graduate students nor to bring visiting speakers, indeed no funds for anything beyond postage, telephone, and photocopying expenses. Because of increased class sizes, in my other department I “taught” sections of 250 to 300 students in a dilapidated downtown cinema. At the same time, the EO/AA director “expected that \$100,000 will be cut from the \$600,000 university-wide account” enjoyed by his operation.¹⁹ To put that in perspective: the entire college of arts and sciences, whose 550 faculty in twenty-five departments are responsible for about half of all the undergraduate education at VPI, *before the budget cuts* had a total operating budget of about \$2.5 million.²⁰ The three largest departments, biology, chemistry, and physics—all of which teach most freshman and many upper-class and graduate students—have operating budgets about half the size of the EO/AA budget.

The college of arts and sciences lost *permanently* more than forty positions.²¹ The chemistry department fired a glassblower who had thirteen years service (and is more than twenty years from retirement age).²² At the same time, some *new administrative positions were created*: a directorship of “alternative learning strategies,” a “coordinator of academic enrichment programs” (“academic enrichment” here means remedial tutoring), and an assistant dean of students for “multicultural affairs.” Soon thereafter, a special assistantship to the provost, to “enrich, expand, and strengthen international studies and programs,” was created. The first appointee was given the task “to define exactly what his position is.”²³

Tuition increases were permitted by the Commonwealth of Virginia to restore some of the eliminated teaching positions.²⁴ Internally, however, it was made clear that “‘restored’ positions...will not necessarily be restored as they were assigned prior to the budget reduction....The highest priorities...will be undergraduate education, the core curriculum, affirmative action, and public service.”²⁵ Although undergraduate education is mentioned first, this is not a ranking of the priorities. In point of fact, the highest priority has been

attaining diversity. Teaching positions cut from chemistry, leading to larger classes, have not been restored, yet other departments with smaller teaching loads have been given positions to hire women and blacks.

In *The Graves of Academe*, Richard Mitchell traces the decline of the American school system to its having focused on social instead of academic matters.²⁶ It is disheartening to see the same process now taking place in our universities and colleges, and bodes ill for the future of higher education in the United States.

Laughing So As Not to Cry

The solemn and unremitting concern to be sensitive on matters of race, religion, and the like makes for a certain amount of silliness. Thus a memorandum urged that we "avoid scheduling exams on major religious holidays," listing for the 1991 fall semester a total of thirty-nine days that included the Baha'i Birth of the Bab, the Buddhist Merit-Sharing Day, and Christianity's World Communion Sunday. The ensuing merriment came to the administration's notice. One professor announced his intention to follow the advice and cancel his classes on every one of those days, and was quickly told that the memorandum had not been designed to produce quite so high a degree of sensitivity. No list was provided for the following semester.

Women's History Month offered such talks as "Equality with a Difference: On Androcentrism and Menstruation," and "Playing with the Big Boys: or How I Got Rid of my Harvard Envy."²⁷ The program of the Virginia Humanities Conference²⁸ offered among others "O Brave New Worlds: A Vision of Cultural Diversity," apparently by someone²⁹ oblivious to the irony of the allusion. There was also performed "a theatrical collage of the facts and myths about the peoples of North America," a play attributable not to an author but to a committee.

Several pieces in local newspapers commented on the similarity between happenings at VPI and those described by George Orwell.³⁰ Thus the program of diversification, of aiming for "more than" equal opportunity, recalls *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal—but some animals are more equal than others." Orwell's prescience about the perversion of language and logic is uncanny. By calling them "affirmative action," "equity," "diversity," PCers seek to make acceptable what was found unacceptable in the past.

Let me remind you just how bad it was in the old days:

Blacks and whites had separate housing, separate recreation facilities, separate everything...

If you voiced an unpopular opinion you were smeared, labeled un-American, fellow traveler, communist. Many people were afraid to practice public free speech.

Hiring at universities was largely through the old-boy network, noncompetitively, without honest advertising.

Before the AAUP brought almost universal assent to principles of faculty governance and due process, professors were judged and dismissed by purely administrative action.

Here are the good new days:

At VPI we already have or plan to build separate housing, separate recreation facilities, and separate study halls for blacks.

If you voice an unpopular opinion, you're smeared, labeled racist, sexist, homophobe. Many people are afraid to practice public free speech.

Hiring of faculty is done through word-of-mouth contacts and without honest advertising for positions reserved by race and gender.

Faculty charged with racial or sexual harassment don't have the benefit of due process.

Brainwashing and Intimidation

To transform the liberal goal of "integration" into the PC one of "multiculturalism," it is necessary to prevent thoughtful analysis. Two obvious strategies are brainwashing and intimidation.

Those to be washed must first be sensitized, for instance by being made to feel guilty. That is one of the techniques used at VPI's "sensitivity workshops" arranged by the EO/AA office, in which participants who happen to be white and male are urged to stand up and say, "I am a racist." The EO/AA director is one of those who hold that only whites can be racist, because racism implies power, and in this society it is whites who hold power. Asked why it was all right for a black to say "honkie" but not for a white to say "nigger," he replied that the question was just another example of "goddamned Eurocentric logic crap."

Since the university's leaders speak thus, as do the people who welcome and indoctrinate new students, it is only natural that a black female undergraduate should feel free to demand that professors be required to take a course in sensitivity:

The class itself would be designed to deal with racism, sexism, homophobia. A lot of the students feel that that would be a good idea, to have professors have to take it. It would be mandatory for them to get promoted, and then after a certain amount of time—I don't know, maybe a year, two semesters, whatever—if they don't change, then they get fired.³¹

Various excuses are found for imposing sensitivity training on one or another group of students. "A sexual awareness seminar...was mandatory for all fraternity pledges....'The fact that it was mandatory, that's almost like an accusation,' an audience member said."³² All student senators were also required to attend.³³

As well as the EO/AA workshops, the provost's office has sponsored several retreats with such themes as "Valuing Diversity." Participants, brought into an isolated setting for a couple of days, have to attend to illogical, dogmatic pronouncements of manipulators, who call themselves coordinators or facilitators and who play fast and loose with language. For instance, "militarism" is defined as an oppression suffered by Vietnam veterans but not World War II or Korean veterans, and "racism" as the systematic oppression of people of color: "modern racism suggests that the character of racial prejudice in America has changed. Many people currently use non-race related reasons to continue to deny blacks equal access to opportunity."³⁴ The participants' reaction to these retreats may be gauged from the fact that they are known as "Camp Carlisle," after Provost E. Fred Carlisle, who liked to sit at the back, presumably to observe how enthusiastically people were participating. More than one individual who made a non-PC remark later got a scolding phone call from the provost or a visit from one of his staff.

The overt intensity of the determination to hire blacks and women willy-nilly has engendered an atmosphere that makes understandable why the issue of "backlash" was one of the topics at Camp Carlisle. An untenured individual said to his department head: "I know you're going to be evaluated by how many blacks and women you hire. I know that to hire anybody, you need to have positions available. And I know that you can make a position available by not granting me tenure. Since I'm a white male, I'm feeling awfully insecure."

Where there is so much public discussion of the possibilities and nuances of racist and sexual harassment, it follows that accusations will be laid. In a public gathering, a student charged Professor X with racism. So weak was the basis for the charge that Professor X was nevertheless granted tenure. All the same, he was subjected to intimidation by the EO/AA office, whose director (jointly with X's department head) sent the following report to the provost:

There is no clear evidence that Professor X deliberately engaged in racist or sexist behavior....In fact, his past record and letters from previous supervisors indicate a pattern of involvement in issues related to multicultural education. Professor X did, however, commit acts which might very well be characterized as insensitive and rude by [A and B]....[He] could have defused the emotional stress that [A] was experiencing if he had handled the situation in a more constructive and sympathetic fashion. Professor X, to his credit, did offer an apology....Professor X's comment...was in poor taste and an example of poor judgment. It is understandable why [B] categorized this remark as racist....It is our opinion that Professor X's actions are rooted in an aggressive, strident teaching style that can

intimidate some students. Professor X should understand that as a white male faculty member, this style of teaching is problematic for some minority and female students....

As to recommended actions, we suggest the following:

1. Professor X should write apologies to each of the two students expressing regret for the incidents and his role in creating an emotional situation.
2. The department should provide Professor X with assistance in modifying his teaching style so that future situations can be avoided....
3. For a period of two years, we would suggest that Professor X be reassigned to a different class. The stories and rumors surrounding his class would create a difficult teaching and learning situation for both he [*sic*] and students over the next few years.
4. All of the documentation on this case should be retained in the Affirmative Action Office and, if in the future, substantiated instances of racism and sexism on his part come to the University's attention, disciplinary action will be taken.
5. Professor X should participate in a sensitivity/classroom climate workshop taught by the Affirmative Action Office.

Thus a professor *found innocent* is sentenced to change of course, change of teaching style, a brainwashing "workshop," and apologizing to those who unjustly accused him; and is told that if he ever sins again, worse will befall him.

Here are some other episodes that whiff of intimidation:

The Minority Issues Committee of the Student Government Association proposes that a new question be added to those on the questionnaires by which students anonymously evaluate the faculty: "Has anything this faculty member done in class, in his/her office or in any other professional setting, been insensitive to people on the basis of race, age, sex, political affiliation, veteran status, disability, religion, natural [*sic*] origin or sexual orientation?"³⁵ The faculty senate felt that "the concerns might be legitimate, [but] such a question is open to abuse. For the time being, the faculty will work behind the scenes on this proposal."³⁶

To meet "goals for faculty diversity...our success is contingent upon the responsiveness of deans and department heads. Deans and department heads will be held accountable for the *results* of their affirmative action efforts" (emphasis added).³⁷

The EO/AA director "spoke of the need to be more 'confrontive'...about ...campus climate, administrative accountability, and empowerment...by providing positive criticism when necessary."³⁸

Perhaps the EO/AA director's comments about me at a forum on political correctness are an example of that confrontiveness. He had not been present during my remarks but came in toward the end of the program and compared me to such other "negative" people as Senator Jesse Helms.³⁹

A number of people expressed to me in private their dismay at the insinuation of some congruity between my views and those of Helms. The EO/AA director's public attempt to smear me illustrates the ambience that causes some to feel intimidated. When, in September 1991, I sent an open letter to my dean and department heads explaining why I would not serve on search committees under the new guidelines, several dozen people found occasions to thank me in touching terms—but always in private. When I was interviewed on television the interviewer told me that he had earlier spoken to several professors who agreed with my stand but would not go on the public record.⁴⁰ I heard the same thing from the producer of a television documentary on the same issue.⁴¹ After my article about the Allan Mandelstamm case was published in *Academic Questions*,⁴² I received the following letter from a senior, tenured, full professor: "I thought I'd let you know how well I regard your report on the Mandelstamm case....Keep up the good work....It's a sad state of affairs when I feel I should end this note with the statement that the letter is confidential...but it's a sad time we live in."

Indeed, yes, it is a sad time, sad for freedom of speech and for academic freedom, for the love of learning and for once-honored traditions.

Notes

1. Duncan Lyle Kinnear, *The First 100 Years: A History of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University* (Blacksburg, Va.: VPI Educational Foundation, 1972).
2. Daniel Howes, "Intolerance on Campus Chills Blacks at Tech," *Roanoke Times and World-News*, 18 November 1990.
3. The incident was reported to the author.
4. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, *Statement on Diversity*; broadcast on at least four separate occasions, for example in *Spectrum*, a VPI faculty and staff newspaper, on 3 October 1991, 1, 7.
5. This data is available on VPI's mainframe computer.
6. Rob Shriver, "College of Engineering Opens Minority Center," *Collegiate Times* (a VPI student newspaper), 7 February 1992, A1, 8.
7. Valerie Dickerson, "Board Discusses Funding Requests," *Collegiate Times*, 7 February 1992, A1, 8.
8. Editorial, "Segregation by Any Other Name..." *Preston Journal* (VPI alternative student newspaper), 30 March 1992, 3.
9. Minutes of the University Committee on EO/AA, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 21 January 1992.
10. "Morton, Senators Discuss AA," *Spectrum*, 21 November 1991, 1.
11. Minutes of the University Council, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 11 April 1991.
12. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1991.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Memorandum, Provost's Office, 2 December 1991; two earlier versions had been withdrawn after protests from departments and faculty.

15. Ibid.
16. Minutes of the University Committee on EO/AA, 20 March 1991.
17. First called "Targets of Opportunity," to the merriment of people who remembered the origin of that phrase in World War II. When bombers over Europe could not reach their desired targets, they took whatever they could get, "targets of opportunity" as opposed to desirable targets.
18. I was told this by three people in three different departments. For reasons alluded to at the end of this essay, I cannot give names. It is public knowledge, however, that Exceptional Opportunity Positions have been filled and continue to be made available; yet no advertisement of a position has stated that it is available only to people who are not white males.
19. Minutes of the University Committee on EO/AA, 11 September 1990.
20. Minutes of the College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Association, 4 December 1990. I also have a sense of these numbers because I served as dean from 1978 to 1986.
21. Ibid.
22. Stephen Smith, "Good Glassblowers Are Hard to Find," and Richard L. Hermann, "Budget Cuts Cost Glassblower a Job," *Collegiate Times*, 12 February 1991.
23. "Provost Appoints Special Assistant for International Programs," *The University Abroad (VPI and SU)* (Winter 1992), 1, 4.
24. In two years, in-state tuition increased by 20 percent (\$2,352 in 1989 to \$2,856 in 1991), out-of-state tuition by 50 percent (\$5,328 to \$8,152). Of 213 instructional positions eliminated, ninety-seven were "restored" after the tuition increases. See Su Clauson, "The Big Pinch," *Virginia Tech Magazine* (Fall 1991).
25. "Resource Allocation and Reallocation Criteria," Provost's Office, 1991 (available on VPI's mainframe computer).
26. Richard Mitchell, *The Graves of Academe* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1981).
27. Calendar, *Spectrum*, 26 March 1992, 4.
28. "A joint symposium of the Virginia Humanities Conference and the Virginia Foundation for Humanities and Public Policy, co-sponsored by Virginia Tech and the State Council on Higher Education in Virginia," held April 9 to 11, 1992.
29. Actually it was Catharine Stimpson, described in the *Collegiate Times* as "an advocate of reason and historical sensibility in the debate over multi-culturalism."
30. See Joseph Germana, "Double-plus Fairness or Guilt by Proxy," *Roanoke Times and World-News*, 24 January 1992; Henry H. Bauer, "Orwell's 'Animal Farm' Plagiarized," *Roanoke Times and World-News*, 31 January 1992; and J. Ronald Willoughby, "Deadpan Parody Was Hilarious," *Roanoke Times and World-News*, 10 February 1992.
31. Darice Clark, a VPI student, in "War of the Words: The New McCarthyism," a documentary made by ITV and shown during December 1991 on Channel 4 in Britain.
32. Elizabeth Malek-Zadeh, "Mandatory Meeting Discusses Rape with Pledges," *Collegiate Times*, 1 November 1991, A1.
33. Minutes of the Faculty Senate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 14 April 1992.
34. From a handout distributed at one of the provost's retreats.
35. Falashade Robinson, "Proposal to Extend Faculty Survey," *Collegiate Times*, 31 March 1992, A1.
36. Minutes of the Faculty Senate, 14 April 1992.
37. "An Affirmative Commitment to Faculty Diversity," Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, August 1991. In a subsequent version dated 18 November 1991 and labeled "DRAFT," this sentence was modified to read, "Deans and department heads will be evaluated on their affirmative action efforts and results." Since those responsible for the earlier version will be doing the evaluating, this modification offers cold comfort.
38. Minutes of the University Committee on EO/AA, 19 November 1991.
39. Transcript of EO/AA director Cornel Morton's remarks, from a videotape made by the organizers of the forum.
40. John Carlin, Channel 10, Roanoke, Virginia, television.

41. Simon Lloyd, producer, "War of the Words: The New McCarthyism"; see note 30.
42. Allan Mandelstamm had taught economics to tens of thousands of students at several universities. After two decades at VPI, he was charged with sexual harassment because of the sort of jokes he used in his lectures. Although 279 out of 282 female students in his class pronounced themselves not offended and said he should not change his style, he was reprimanded by an EO/AA official. See Allan B. Mandelstamm, "McCarthy's Ghost: Reminiscences of a Politically Incorrect Professor," *Crisis* (September 1991), and Henry H. Bauer, "Lessons from the Mandelstamm Case," *Academic Questions* (Spring 1992).

From *The Handbook for Academic Recruitment at the University of New Mexico*:

[T]he academic hiring process...here is not premised on the traditional notion of using peoples' talents regardless of their race, national origin, etc....There is [*sic*] at least anecdotal data suggesting that ethnic minorities and females are more innovative in teaching methods and more involved in service activities than their white male colleagues....[T]he hiring process would still fall short if the University did not expand the traditionally limited definition of quality, excellence and merit to include other vital attributes of an excellent faculty member....Of particular importance is the question of evaluating the special competencies women and racial/ethnic minorities bring to their academic endeavors, such as, different perspectives, distinctive "voices" and intellectually challenging normative insights.