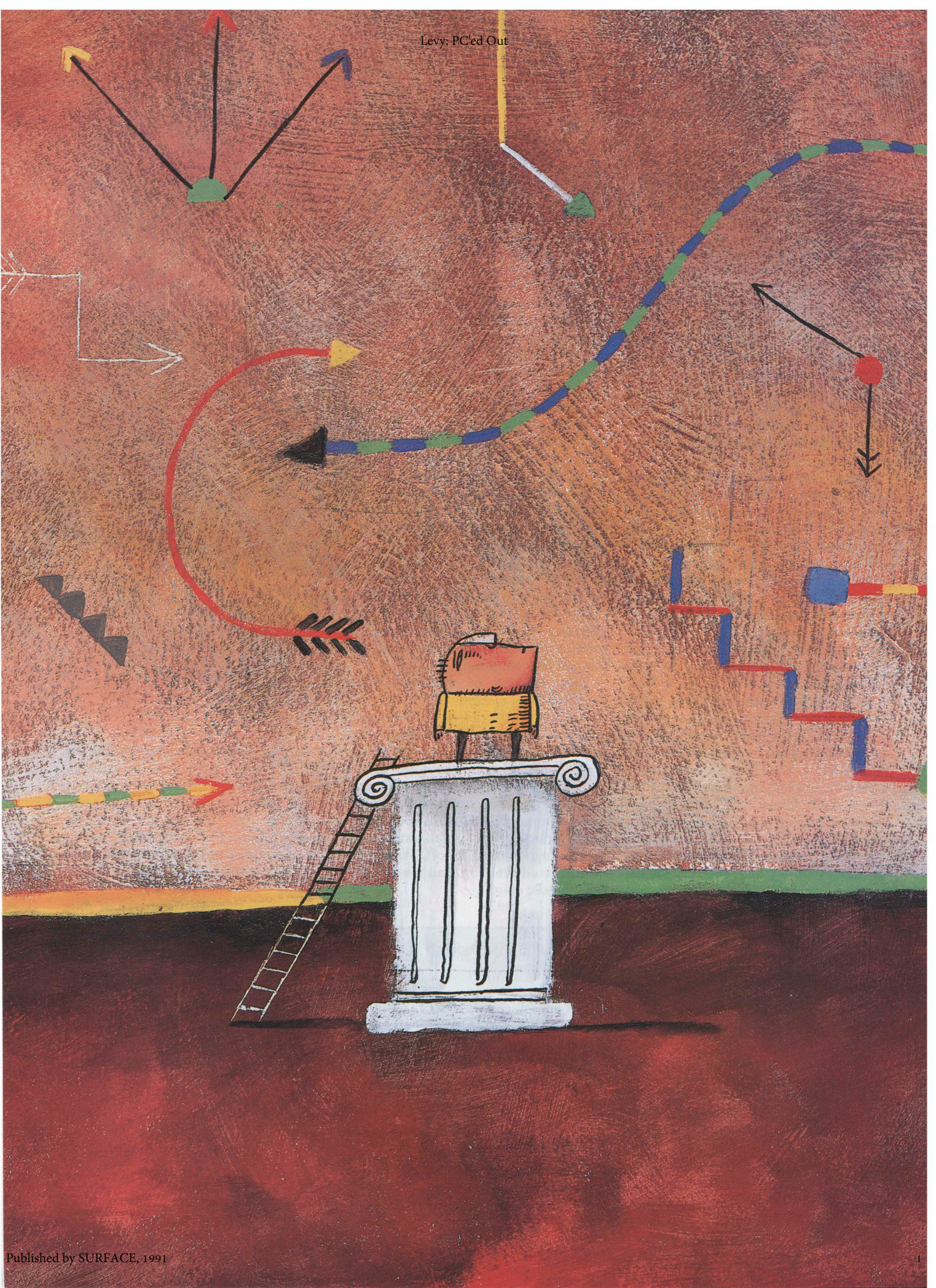


Levy. PC'ed Out



HIGHER EDUCATION

PC'ed Out

At Syracuse, most academicians seem fed up with the flap surrounding "political correctness." They see debate on multiculturalism as a natural process in an ever-changing university.

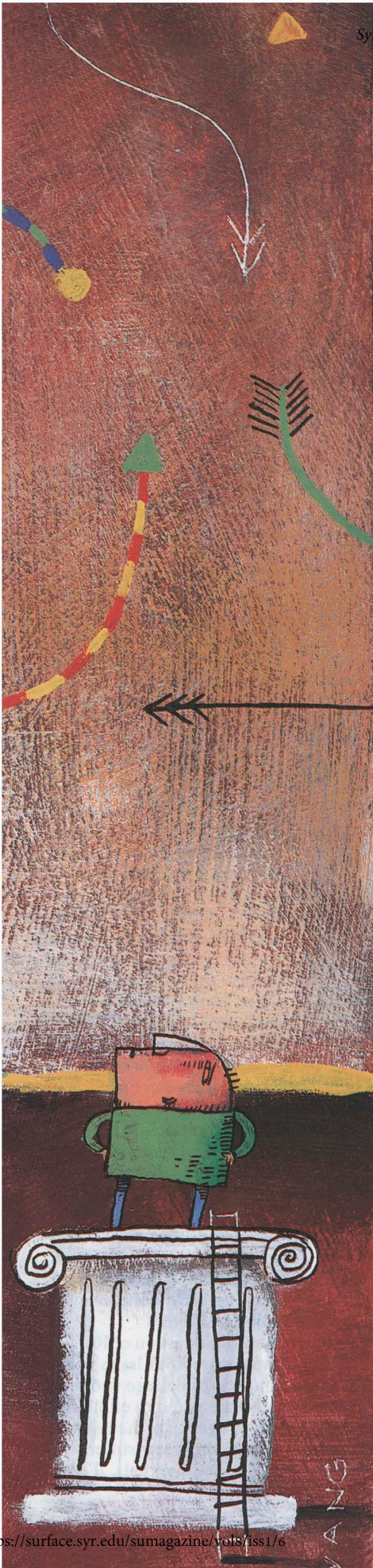
BY RENÉE GEARHART LEVY

They were discussing the Dred Scott decision when the comment was made. From the back of the room, "If we'd sent them back to Liberia, none of this would have happened."

Although the utterance was audible to some of the constitutional law class—including several African-American students—Professor Tom Maroney, lecturing, didn't hear it. No one brought it to his attention until several days later when the class met again.

"The comment was completely unacceptable even within the bounds of discussing something controversial," he says. "I told the students I disapproved of that kind of thing. I said, 'If you thought that was funny, it isn't. If you meant it seriously, it's inappropriate.' I explained to them the nature of discourse in a constitutional law class. I told them about my own personal ethnic and Americanization background: I am the son of immigrant parents. I thought I handled it."

RENÉE GEARHART LEVY is associate editor of Syracuse University Magazine. Her previous stories on campus issues include our December 1990 article on teaching ("Hang the Faculty," which she co-wrote) and our December 1989 feature on blacks in higher education.



The next day, a group of African-American students visited Maroney in his office. They complained he was rushing over class material to minimize issues of race, to avoid controversy.

The class was working on a chapter called "Equality and the Constitution," discussing equal protection and the 14th Amendment. The Dred Scott case, in which the Supreme Court decided Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories, provided historical perspective.

Maroney, who has taught for 24 years at three law schools, claims it's not his style to avoid controversy. He told the students that it isn't possible to cover everything and they would have to trust his judgment. He told them he planned to spend more time on contemporary race issues later in the semester.

But that night he thought more about it, and spent several hours reviewing Dred Scott, preparing to go into more detail during the following day's lecture.

He never got a chance.

Shortly after class began, about a dozen African-American students—some class members, some not—walked into Maroney's classroom, sat in the back of the room for 10 minutes, then walked out.

The planned protest, according to Hugh Davis, then-president of the Black Law Students Association, was a "sensitizing gesture to rectify the situation in this classroom" where "issues of race were being marginalized," and where some white students seemed motivated to make racist comments.

Davis believed the sudden increase in African-American law students at SU—there were 22 in the first-year class as opposed to none the year before—demanded fuller discussion of issues dealing with race. He felt the class, and the school, needed something "beyond a dry, rational look at the cases."

The incident, which happened last spring, set off discussions throughout the College of Law among faculty members, administrators, and students. Maroney tried to get his constitutional law class back on track. But things had changed.

Students slid notes under his door telling him they felt they couldn't speak honestly anymore. Says Maroney, "From that day on I think there was a climate created such that if anyone were to say anything in disagreement with the minority students he or she would be labeled racist."

Tom Maroney believes he was a victim of political correctness (or PC), the term given to a loosely defined set of ideologies with common concern for the underdog, be it minorities, women, homosexuals, or the environment. Increasingly, PC also refers to

chair of the Department of English and Textual Studies.

The term has been appropriated by conservatives, though, to label a threat they see in much of the politically correct agenda—affirmative action policies, curriculum content, student behavior regulations. Thus, *politically correct* has become a weapon of those who protect the status quo.

"It's become a derisive label for the collectivist mentality associated with naïve liberalism," says Amanda Porterfield, associate professor of religion. "I heard someone comment that his ideas would never get a fair hearing in the group he worked with because they weren't politically correct."

Thus, the term has become loaded, with mixed connotations adding to the confusion. To take any stance in this environment risks exposing yourself to the crossfire of tightly drawn political debate.

Louise Wetherbee Phelps, director of the Writing Program, says that while she might agree with the politically correct stance on many issues, she wouldn't want to be labeled politically correct.

"I don't like the idea that some views are simply regarded as so insensitive to certain other people or groups that if you express them you're told it's unacceptable," she says. "I think of that as kind of a McCarthy thing. I don't care if it's left or right."

The media would have us believe PC has taken over American universities—that the educational process is mired in debate over minority and feminist considerations, or worse, that those concerns are overriding all that is basic and good about the traditional curriculum.

While the reality of that diagnosis is sharply contested, there is no question political correctness as a term and an issue is one of the most controversial subjects on campuses today.

Consider how the question of ROTC at Syracuse was played out last spring. Across the country, 25 college and university senates have voted to eliminate ROTC training programs in the last few years because of the Department of Defense's ban of homosexuals. There

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the determination with which traditionally underrepresented groups are challenging the intellectual tradition of Western civilization to include their perspectives—for instance, the addition of African-American, Native-American, and feminist views in a course on the American revolution.

Taken literally, the term *politically correct* would seem inarguably positive. After all, who wouldn't want to be correct? But in some camps, the politically correct are increasingly seen as presumptuous.

PC, which has roots in Marxist ideological warfare, "emerged first as a sort of self-deprecatory term used as a way of making fun of pretentiousness and excess by those who were in the so-called vanguard," says John Crowley,

had been discussion at SU for several years about the appropriateness of offering ROTC when the University has clear anti-discrimination policies itself. A proposal was brought to the University Senate to dissociate SU from the program unless the Department of Defense changes its discriminatory policies by fall 1992.

At least one administrator felt that a pro-ROTC vote would be viewed by his peers as anti-gay, and instead chose to abstain. He believes he wasn't alone.

"It was one of the few times you saw more abstentions than people voting against a proposal," he says. "It is interesting that people—who down in their gut really didn't think it was time to put ROTC off campus—couldn't publicly vote against it because to do so was so unpolitically correct."

Or maybe they abstained because

they were undecided.

"I do agree that the way the vote tallied was interesting and there was a lot of tension around it," says Diane Murphy, director of the Women's Studies Program. "But a lot of people voted *for* it because it was the most progressive politically correct thing we did and said all year."

One person's McCarthyism is another's enlightenment.

Incidentally, the vote passed by a slim margin and the Board of Trustees will assess the situation in 1995.

At the heart of the PC debate is multiculturalism, the infusion of diverse voices at every level of the academy. It is the reforms spawned by multiculturalism—targeted recruitment of students and faculty from traditionally underrepresented groups, the

decentering of Western studies from the curriculum—that are so passionately lobbied by the politically correct and so disdained by their critics.

To understand the debate, it helps to take a historical view of the American academy. "Private universities started as kind of a finishing school for men to go and join the economic and business professional elite," says Gary Spencer, associate professor of sociology.

Reflecting American society, universities have changed, he says. The numbers of women increased, and during the last three decades they've been joined by increasing numbers of African-Americans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, and Latinos, as well as numerous international students.

As these groups grew on campuses, they began to wonder why they didn't see themselves reflected in their course-

POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Part of the confusion with the term political correctness are the variations on its definition. When some people use it, they are referring to something progressive and good. Others are being facetious. This is what we found in a random campus sampling:



Susan Wadley



Bruce Hare



Louise Wetherbee Phelps



Samuel Gorovitz

"Politically correct could in fact mean what any particular group wants to see as the acceptable line. Now to be politically correct you have to be cognizant of the diversity in American society."

—Susan Wadley
Chair, Anthropology Dept.

"Politically correct—it's the same kind of language as 'right to life.' It transforms a legitimate and important debate into a glib, cliché-ridden argument."

—Marshall Segall
Associate Dean,
College of Arts and Sciences

"A very clever right-wing tactic to prevent and slow down very needed changes in the University."

—Gary Spencer
Associate Professor of
Sociology

"Political correctness is an assumption that there is only one proper way to look at a collection of divisive issues."

—David Rubin
Dean, Newhouse School of
Public Communications

"Political correctness is a weak-kneed counter-charge brought by conser-

vative and traditionally reactionary elements in the academic community against the intrusion represented by the multicultural education and pluralism movements."

—Bruce Hare,
Chair, African American
Studies

"It's a continuum, and wherever you put yourself on the continuum is the politically correct place."

—Rev. Michael Rothemel
Lutheran Campus Ministry

"The view that it's only acceptable to express a certain range of opinions and

those which are seen as stigmatizing or denegrating to women or racial minorities are unacceptable in a university setting."

—Robert Van Gulick
Assoc. Professor of
Philosophy

"It seems to mean whatever conservatives don't agree with."

—John Crowley
Chair, English and
Textual Studies

There is a certain range of responses that are expected in matters of social debate. If your response is outside

of that range—what is generally at the right extreme of the political spectrum and what I would call intolerance—I guess, frankly, you don't have a right to be heard."

—John Western
Assoc. Professor of
Geography

"It's a term to poke fun at and perhaps defuse a certain dangerous quality in self-righteousness on the part of people who believe that certain political views are correct."

—Louise Wetherbee Phelps
Director, Writing Program

work or in the faces of their faculty and administrators. They began to make demands. And those demands began to be heard.

"First these groups were kept out," says Spencer. "When they were let in, the unwritten bargain was, 'You can come in as long as you become like us.'"

Assimilation gave way to the formation of women's studies and ethnic studies programs, which at the time were seen as progressive. Because these programs often existed in the periphery of their colleges, however, they soon became viewed as non-essential at best and, at worse, as non-academic.

"What's happening now is that these people are saying 'Don't ghettoize us! We want to be mainstream in the curriculum,'" says Spencer. "They're stepping on toes."

Multiculturalists argue that the traditional canon provides a narrow world view—white, Eurocentric male—that inadequately prepares students to function in a global society. A curriculum inclusive of more voices not only empowers students from those traditionally under-represented groups, but provides *everyone* with a better, more accurate education. The unstated assumption seems to be that diversity in the classroom and student and faculty bodies will help to eradicate prejudice.

Detractors argue that a multicultural education is what universities have been providing all along. Others go so far as to say that subjects such as women's and ethnic studies are non-rigorous or, in any case, polarize and politicize the curricula. Some say multiculturalism itself is a form of prejudice which gives preferential treatment to the "minority" point of view.

"One side, embracing the reality of a rapidly changing global society, is pushing for a variety of educational and employment opportunities reflective of those changes," says Chancellor Kenneth A. Shaw. "The other side holding fast to the tenet of excellence in traditional scholarship, is fighting any change that could be perceived as lowering that standard."

The prevailing opinion among those we surveyed is that such debate is the lifeblood of an American university. It is the exchange of thought and opinion that generates new ideas, new disciplines, new policies.

Although it rarely happens comfortably or quietly, change at a university is a good thing. Remember, Greek and Latin used to be required courses, as was religious instruction at many schools.

And not everyone has the same opportunities. "At this university there was a time when black students couldn't live where white students did," says Samuel Gorovitz, dean of the College of

To hear the media tell it—and there has been an astounding amount of media coverage on the topic, including cover stories in *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Village Voice*, and *New York* magazine, best-selling books, television reports—PC totalitarianism is rampant. Even President Bush jumped on the bandwagon, denouncing the "new intolerance" on college campuses and its "boring politics of division and derision," during a commencement address at the University of Michigan.

It is not difficult for Bush and other critics to find examples of abuse. In efforts to protect the ignored or persecuted, campus communities sometimes adopt well-meaning policies that are, in fact, impractical or politically restricting.

At the University of Connecticut, a student speech code banned "inappropriately directed laughter," and "conspicuous exclusion of students from conversations."

At Smith College, a hand-out from the Office of Student Affairs outlines forms of oppression that can be inflicted by making judgments about people, including "lookism . . . [which is] construction of a standard for beauty/attractiveness," and "ableism—oppression of the differently abled by the temporarily able."

Several schools have adopted the spelling *womyn* for *women* to eliminate the male

antecedent.

At Syracuse there is concern on the part of some faculty that academic debate may be suffering in such a do-the-right-thing climate.

"I'm concerned with the extent to which some students are extremely ethnocentric in their own perspectives," says Gary Spencer. "They view sexism in everything. They view racism in everything. As soon as you open your mouth you have no legitimacy."

Ed Golden, vice president for student affairs and dean of student relations, believes it's often difficult for the young student population, forming attitudes and values as they learn, to articulate them in the right way. "Our white students feel a sense of intimidation about saying what they really believe for

THE CHANGES OCCURRING IN UNIVERSITIES THAT HAVE BEEN LABELED POLITICALLY CORRECT ARE PART OF A NATURAL, NECESSARY PROCESS. THE PROBLEM MAY BE THAT UNIVERSITIES HAVEN'T BEEN SKILLFUL IN DESCRIBING THOSE CHANGES TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

Arts and Sciences. "There was a time, not very long ago, when Brandeis University was created so that bright Jewish students would have a first-class place they could go because there were quotas in the Ivy League that limited the number of Jewish kids."

He believes the changes occurring in universities that have been labeled politically correct are part of a natural, necessary process.

The problem may be that universities haven't been skillful in describing those changes to the American public.

"A lot of what has happened would not be easily recognizable to Americans who went to college 20 years ago," says Crowley. "It might be dismaying if they didn't understand what it was about. It might be even more dismaying if they did."

HOW FREE SHOULD WE BE?

"Homophobic and Proud Of It" read the front of the tee shirt. On the back, a raised club was pictured over a cowering individual, with the message "Club faggots not seals."

The shirt, produced by members of a Syracuse fraternity and sold during last spring's block party, appalled much of the Syracuse community. But it has set off campus-wide debate over the fundamental right of freedom of expression and the University's responsibility to create a campus atmosphere where people are free to say what they think, yet are spared the indignity of being harassed on the basis of their religion, ethnicity, or sexual orientation.

During the last several years, incidents of "hate speech" and discriminatory behavior have occurred on campuses nationwide. In response, according to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, nearly 60 percent of colleges and universities have adopted student regulations that address speech. At several public institutions, including the universities of Michigan and Wisconsin, speech codes restricting denigrating speech have been overturned by the courts on the basis they violate First Amendment rights.

Private institutions have more leeway. Because they are not state agents, they are not bound by the First Amendment. That independence becomes blurred, however, when the institution—like Syracuse—accepts state and federal funding in the form of student financial aid, research grants, etc. And private institutions are still governed by federal civil-rights laws and state laws. On the horizon, Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois has introduced a bill into Congress that seeks to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to protect the free speech rights of college students at private institutions.

In the meantime, it is largely the universities' own burden to balance the spirit of protected free speech with the rights of individuals against denigration. At Syracuse, the administration has chosen to follow the tenets of the First Amendment. The passage of Hyde's bill would change very little at SU.

"The institution has taken the stand that free speech is a value of particular importance in an academic community," says Ed Golden, vice president for student affairs and chair of the Task



Force on Student Rights and Responsibilities, which spent two years examining such issues.

The result of the task force's efforts is the Code of Student Conduct and Student Rights and Responsibilities, which guide and govern all SU students.

Under the Code of Student Conduct, "harassment, whether physical or verbal, oral or written, which is beyond the bounds of protected free speech, directed at a specific individual(s), easily construed as 'fighting words,' and likely to cause an immediate breach of the peace" is prohibited. The Student Rights and Responsibilities guarantees "students have the right to express themselves freely on any subject provided they do so in a manner that does not violate the Code of Student Conduct. Students, in turn, have the responsibility to respect the rights of all members of the University to exercise these freedoms."

Syracuse's Code of Student Conduct is closely aligned with Supreme Court rulings on the First Amendment. Speech may be suppressed only when one individual makes statements designed to wound another specific individual, and when the perpetrator knows his or her words are likely to lead to violence—in other words, hate speech that crosses the line into assault. The code would never restrict public speeches, except possibly in a riot atmosphere, and it would never limit academic debate.

And, because it does not cover hateful speech aimed broadly at groups, SU's code is not applicable to the fraternity tee shirts. Although fraternity members were disciplined by their national organization (the entire chapter was suspended; individual members were allowed to apply for

reinstatement), there were no formal University sanctions brought against them.

"The tee shirts violated the moral standards of community behavior," says Golden, "but as hate speech they are protected."

Not only do some members of the University community disagree with the interpreta-

tion of the code, others feel the code should be stronger. "As a civil libertarian, I worry about putting judicial form to any free speech issues," says Diane Murphy, director of the Women's Studies Program. "But on this campus at this time the demands are that we be clearer and stronger."

"Saying the tee shirts are not a violation of the Student Code of Conduct is basically declaring it open season on gays and lesbians," says Charlie McDonald, co-president of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bi-Sexual Student Association. "The University has an obligation to provide students with a safe environment in which we can learn."

"Students should be able to express themselves freely and openly," adds Emily Zenick, president of the Student Government Association, "but anything that crosses over the boundary of being sexist, racist, or homophobic should be stopped."

One who does agree with the stance taken in the Student Code of Conduct and Student Rights and Responsibilities is David Rubin, dean of the Newhouse School of Public Communications. He believes that defining the unacceptability of racist or sexist speech requires the prior definition of what is "correct" speech, something the University has no business doing.

"I have no faith whatsoever in either government or the administration of any large institution deciding what it is the people have a right to debate and what the tone of that debate should be," he says. "If any institution in this society is about free speech it's a university. We want to encourage students on this campus to speak their minds, no matter how foolish their minds may be."
—R.G.L.

fear of using the wrong words to say it—that they might be embarrassed that their belief is going to be labeled racist, homophobic, or sexist.” Instead of challenging an opinion they disagree with, they say nothing.

At the same time, says Spencer, “If a professor stands up in class and refers to the women as ‘girls,’ I think it’s appropriate for the women to say they don’t like being called girls. To call that political correctness is to deny them respect and dignity.”

So excesses and symptoms of intolerance do exist. The important thing, says Spencer, is not to be turned off by the excesses or rigidity of either side, and to work with people who are open to new ideas. “That’s what a college campus is for,” he says.

Change, says Spencer and others, is not supposed to be a threat to the institution but an integral part of its growth. Any institution worth its tuition is in a constant state of flux.

“We must debate whether African-American studies and feminist literature, for example, have any legitimate and valuable insights into the study and understanding of the human condition, just as we debate whether traditional Western Civilization courses are indeed of preeminent value to today’s student,” says Chancellor Shaw.

“What we must *not* do is suggest that African-American studies has no value because it deals with or is taught by African Americans, or that studies rooted in Western civilization no longer have value because they are not.”

“There should always be debate within the university community as to what constitutes a curriculum or a well-educated person,” says Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, professor of law. “That changes as our ideas about what’s necessary change and also as the needs of society change.”

“Tastes change. Standards change. And if some scholars are correct, they change predictably with who has control of the cultural apparatus,” says Crowley. “I think that’s finally what’s at stake in this so-called PC debate—the question of who’s in control.”

Whether you call it political correctness or you call it evolution, attempts to properly accommodate multiculturalism are underway at Syracuse University. Most say it’s only just begun.

Last fall, the Department of English, now called English and Textual Studies, adopted a new curriculum that no longer follows the traditional premise of mastering standard classics as a measure of literary education.

Following the literary theory of deconstruction, the new curriculum focuses on how texts are conceptualized, the particular conceptual framework the

four years examining proposals for new courses before voting to institute the new curriculum. It was not a unanimous decision. Some faculty members in the department believe students will have a harder time building a strong literary base.

“What they want to do is take a few pieces of literature that they know well and then theorize about it and redefine it in terms of certain special interests,” says John Diehl, an English professor specializing in 19th-century literature.

“There are books I consider to be essential to an understanding of our culture,” says Tobias Wolff, professor of English. “To think that someone can get an English degree without having read these books to me seems unfortunate.”

Department Chair Crowley views the differing opinions as healthy. “I think it’s significant they dissented and they dissented publicly,” he says. “This seems to be just the opposite of what’s implied with political correctness. If this were a politically correct department, we wouldn’t have allowed them to run around and speak their minds.”

He believes the program could have a profound effect on humanities studies in general. “The new curriculum may lead to the discovery that there are other ways of re-drawing the map of knowledge,” he says. Indeed, the change is viewed as an exciting

challenge by humanities departments throughout the University.

There are other curricular changes as well. Women’s Studies will evolve from a program to a major this year. African-American Studies is under mandate to develop a master’s program.

At the urging of Bruce Hare, professor of African American Studies and sociology and chair of the African American Studies department, there has been a movement to “deracialize” language on campus. *African-American*, representing cultural as opposed to racial roots, is used more frequently than *black*, and you increasingly hear *European-American* used for *white*. *International student* is preferable to *foreign student*. (“No one should be ‘foreign’ to a university,” says Hare.) And the term *minority* is becom-

THERE IS A STRONG MOVEMENT TOWARD THE UNIVERSITY ADDRESSING MULTICULTURALISM IN A FORMAL WAY. WITHIN THE LAST TWO YEARS, FOUR GROUPS, COMPOSED OF FACULTY AND STAFF MEMBERS AND STUDENTS, FORMED INDEPENDENTLY TO DISCUSS MULTICULTURAL CONCERNS.

professor is bringing to them, and the interaction between the reader and the text or the reader’s interpretation of texts.

That’s not to say the so-called classics are gone. Works by Shakespeare, Chaucer, Homer, and Milton, etc., will still be taught, but in the context of the political, cultural, and historical forces that shaped their work (in addition, of course, to their artistic merit).

The new courses, with titles such as “Studies in Gender: High Modernism and the Margins of Masculinity,” and “Introduction to Imperialism and Nationalism,” are designed to teach students to be critical thinkers, to make students aware of how knowledge is formed.

The 40-member department spent

ing increasingly unpopular as it becomes recognized the people it represents make up the majority of the world's population.

Many students support the formation of a course on multiculturalism to be added to the liberal arts core.

"A course, while not solving all the problems, would definitely create an atmosphere where we wouldn't have as many tensions," says Charlie McDonald, who is co-president of the Gay, Lesbian, and Bi-sexual Student Association. "It would be a really progressive move."

In addition, there is a strong movement toward the University addressing multiculturalism in a formal way. Within the last two years, four groups, composed of faculty and staff members and students, formed independently to discuss multicultural concerns. They joined forces this fall, presenting Chancellor Shaw with a petition to form a commission to develop a University-wide vision statement of what Syracuse University should be relative to its multicultural composition.

"The hope is a vision statement could be adopted by appropriate bodies of the University as its own self-identity," says Richard Phillips, dean of Hendricks Chapel and the liaison between the four groups, collectively known as the Multicultural Concerns Committee. "As a community, we would have not only a sense of who we are in relationship to this, but a plan and a commitment to fulfilling it."

A plaque on Tom Maroney's office wall reads, "It's what you learn after you know it all that counts." He's trying to operate that way.

Four weeks into the new academic year, his constitutional law class is going well. The first assignment was the Dred Scott case (he's reading a 600-page book on the case himself). The second assignment: for each student to stop in his office briefly to introduce themselves and have a chat.

"There are 34 students this year as opposed to 92 last year," he says of the course, which was broken up into smaller sections. "I'll get to know these 34 as individuals and its going to be easier to get them to speak out honestly and share their differences as well as their agreements."

Maroney believes that's a start. "Most of these young people don't know peo-

ple of different ethnic and racial backgrounds. They come here and there's a wide diversity of people. They aren't going to be alike or think alike and there is going to be some friction. I hope we can be honest with each other and communicate openly."

In short, he's trying to be positive about his collision with political correctness, which isn't always easy.

"It really put my integrity in question as a teacher, and that's never comfortable to have done to you," says Maroney.

While he thinks some prejudicial attitudes in the College of Law needed to be addressed, he believes the attack on his class was somewhat random. As one of the students told him at the time, "We aren't saying you're any more insensitive than the other members of

the faculty."

And he doesn't agree with the method.

"It's a direct threat to academic freedom," he says. "If this group is offended that I am marginalizing issues of race, then women are going to say I'm marginalizing issues with respect to self-determination and choice. People who believe in a strong central government will say I'm not spending enough time on the powers of the federal government. People who believe in Federalism will say I'm down-playing the role of the states.

"They will probably all be right," he says. "And they will probably all be wrong." ■

PC AND THE CHANCELLOR

A sociologist by training, Chancellor Kenneth A. Shaw has written extensively on matters of diversity and pluralism. He provides his own perspective on the "PC fire storm" in this excerpt from an op-ed essay, published last year in various Midwest newspapers.

Regardless of what is today deemed politically correct behavior, however permanent or fleeting it may be, there exist several timeless and "undeniably correct" principles that will serve our university well in this season of aggressively competing visions, viewpoints, interests, and allegiances—and in seasons yet to come.

First, we must reaffirm our commitment to preserving academic freedom and fairness as we probe the legitimacy of intellectual diversity on today's campus. Within the university community, this requires a personal and daily decision to champion the cause of free expression, tolerance, and respect—regardless of one's beliefs. We must all pledge to debate issues of diversity without personalizing our comments to the race, gender, or political views of others.

Second, we must renew our pledge to provide an environment for students to develop the capacity for critical thought without the threat, real or perceived, of intellectual submission and conformity to ideas other than their own.

Third, we must embrace the reality that our graduates' ultimate success in life depends not so much on the rhetoric and push and pull of

popular ideas, but on faculty and administrators giving priority to the integrative elements in life—intuition, trust, creative thinking, intellectual inquiry, thoughtful analysis, successful problem-solving, and decision making.

Fourth, we must resist the temptation to tamper with the natural "sifting and winnowing" process that through time has guaranteed balance and stability in faculty selection and retention, curriculum planning, and preservation of the university's overall mission. In other words, we must not become reactionaries to unbalanced cries from within our ranks or outside the university community.

Fifth, we must remember that the university should never count opinion, but always weigh it. Just as sound judgment is born of ethical consideration, our decision-making must be the product of solid reasoning, free debate and thoughtful analysis.

Finally, we must also remember that the university endures today not because it has held fast and firm to a rigid world view, but because it has sought—and welcomed—an invaluable diversity of voices that contribute to public and scholarly debate and dialogue.

This necessary diversity is the very foundation of the university itself. Indeed, even though winds of change carry new politics and passions to our campuses, the common ground we stand on is far more important than the differences that separate us.