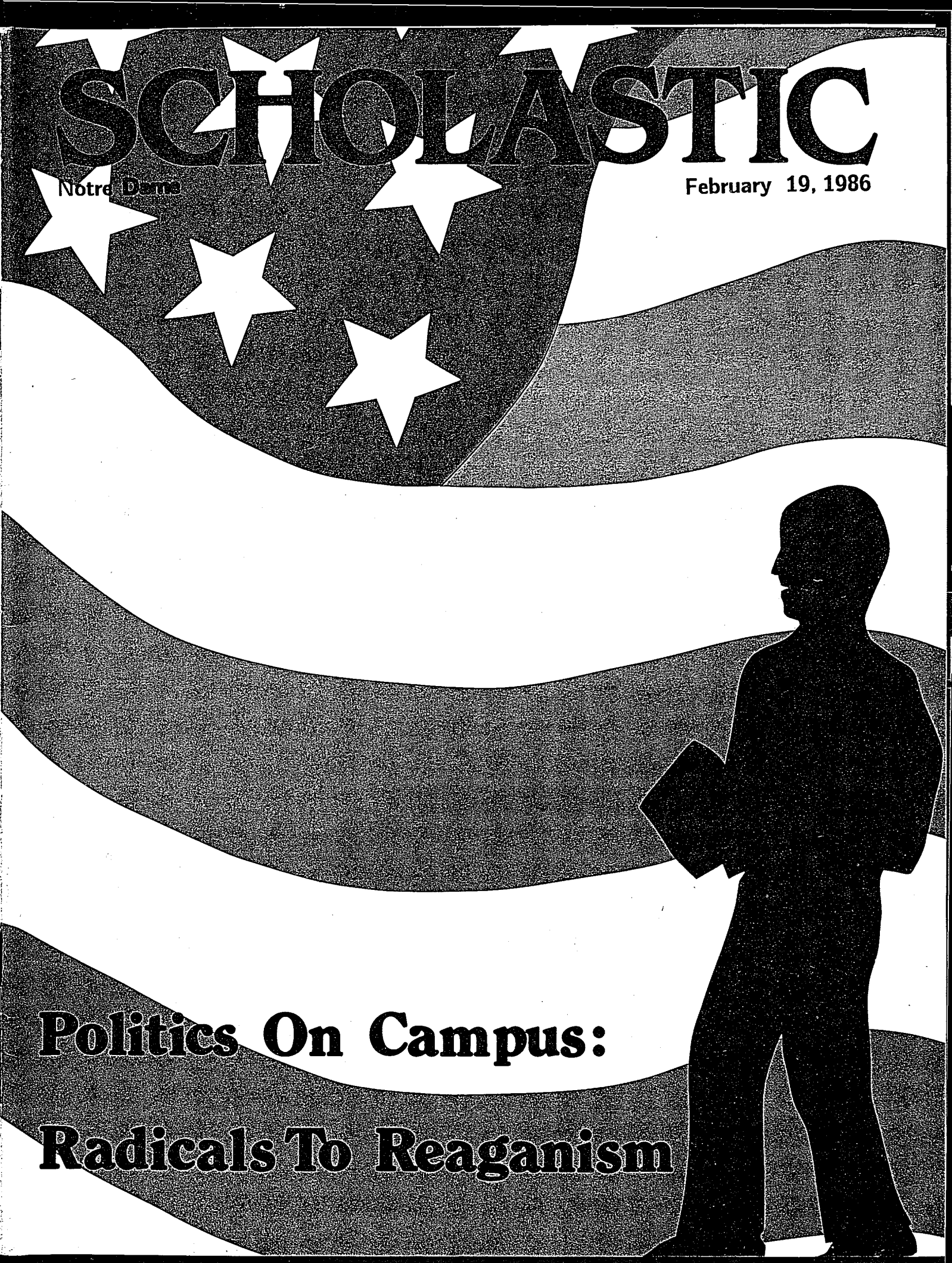


SCHOLASTIC

Notre Dame

February 19, 1986



Politics On Campus:

Radicals To Reaganism

Two centuries ago, when Patrick Henry said "Give me liberty or give me death," everyone listening knew that the latter was a distinct possibility. In 1986, when a typical Notre Dame student says "Better dead than red," it is unlikely he will ever be faced with an actual choice between the two.

For Henry, his peers, and many of their descendants, patriotism was a commodity purchased at great personal sacrifice. Likewise, throughout most of our history, holding political convictions has meant having to take risks. On college campuses in the 1980's, however, we enjoy the luxury of costless convictions.

Examples of this privilege abound. Note the young man who says "Wipe out the Sandanistas," but is never faced with the prospect of a two year excursion to sunny Nicaragua. Observe the fiery socialist who laments the flaws of the market system while conspicuously enjoying the benefits thereof. Or consider the anti-abortion zealot who is unwilling to bear the cost of social programs necessary to support unwanted children. This is not to say that all Notre Dame students never back up their political passions with action. But most of us do talk a good game without ever doing much.

While Notre Dame students will tell you they want to stand up for what's right and make the world a better place, in reality the Notre Dame student is a tremendously cautious animal when it comes to politics, and not entirely without rational reasons. We have much to lose in terms of money and prestige by placing our political convictions before our personal interest. In a sluggish economy, political action is a luxury few of us seem to feel we can afford.

The bottom line is that we have lost touch with a very basic fact of political life: that ideas carry consequences. Wearing a "Feed the World" button doesn't actually put food in someone's mouth. Feeding the world is indeed a very costly proposition which may very well take money out of the button wearers billfold. It would be cynical hypocrisy to expect the end without accepting the means.

The question remains, are we ready to accept the cost of our convictions? The rules of good citizenship and requirements of responsible government demand that we do. The secure atmosphere of a sheltered campus allows us to sidestep these facts.

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Battle of the Sexes

Stereotypical Stagnation Afflicts ND

An unwritten law governs the Freshman Orientation Committees of ND's dormitory system: "It is an upperclassman's duty to warn any unsuspecting frosh about the cruel facts of ND social life."

Should a freshman get through his first week without being warned of the terrors of sweatpants, cellulite and the dreaded ratio - someone's got the devil to pay. Should a single freshman not be warned of the boys' punch, the stupidity of football players and the general unacceptability of engineers as SYR dates - she needs to see her friendly resident assistant. A cancerous social attitude pervades the student body as surely as legends of the Gipper pervade ND football lore.

The ND social philosophy is striking in its simplicity, brief enough to bumpersticker to one's Honda: You are of the better sex. Those of the opposite gender are gross.

Those who cling to the microscopic hope that the opposite sex can be improved and upgraded, buffed and polished by the constant care of one who recognizes a diamond in the rough are constantly frustrated. The Henry Higginases of Howard are ready and willing to work their magic on all the Eliza Doolittles under the Dome, unfortunately, what works in fictitious London flops here as surely as a dining hall "apres-ski luncheon" on a rainy South Bend afternoon. Frustration reigns.

The more frustrated we become, the more we complain. It matters little whether the complaint is original. What counts is the "oomph" with which one gripes. What counts is how well one strikes the martyr's pose while alternately chugging Bud Lights and berating last night's date. Eventually, complaining becomes routine; stereotypical responses become the easiest way to describe one another. What about these stereotypes? Are they fact or fiction?

Inspired by the monetary success of Woodward and Bernstein, the journalistic tour de force of Griffiths and Hess infiltrated that smokey den of intrigue found in the bowels of the Memorial Library in search of the origins of this campus' male/female stereotypes. Frankly, it was the Pit.

There, aided by the numerous confessions of those who, for the sake of their roommates will remain anonymous, these two tireless reporters logged the grievances of both sexes in the fine tradition of journalistic impartiality. Despite being repeatedly informed that it was a dumb question, the undaunted duo persisted until roughly five categories of lamentations emerged.

by Mary E. Hess

by Doug Griffiths

NOTRE DAME MEN ON...

The Ratio

The typical ND male has a hard time quoting the exact ratio of males to females on campus. According to two Dillon sophomores, it's 5:2. A Fisher frosh would swear on his mother that it's 6:1, "not including the St. Mary's girls." Three Keenan Knights argued whether it was 3:1 or 5:1. No consensus was reached. A senior Stanford business major put it at 12:5 or, "more accurately, 65% to 35%." You figure it out.

NOTRE DAME WOMEN ON:

The Ratio

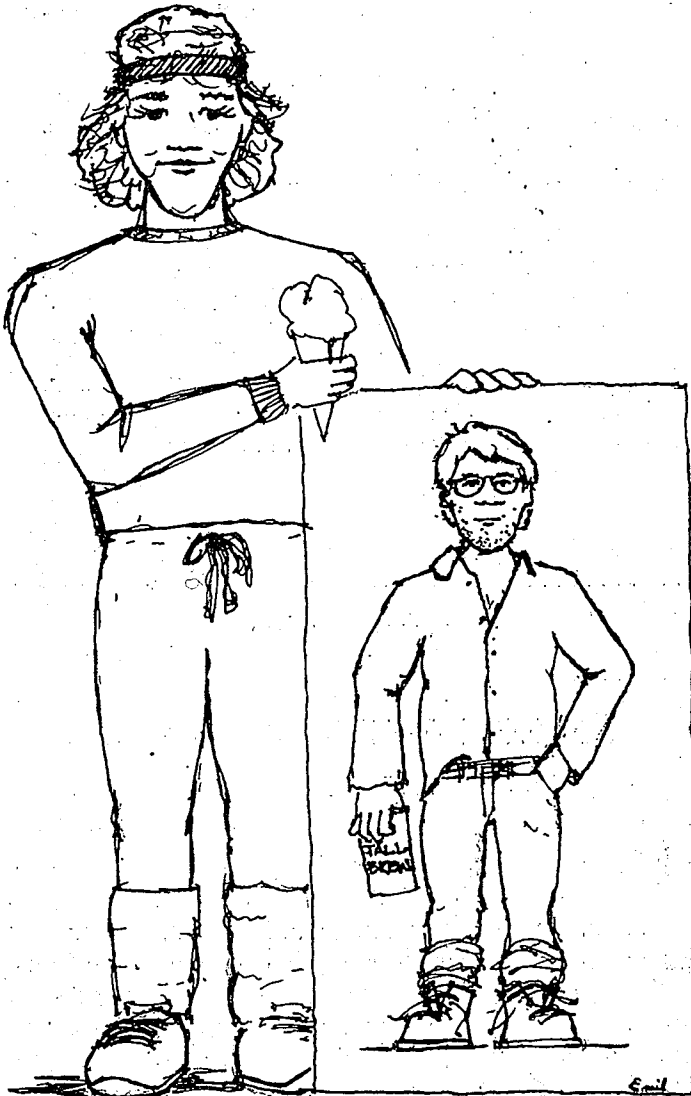
Despite displaying other signs of intelligence, many women fail to realize that there is a discrepancy in the ratio. One freshman hailing from South Dakota backed up this viewpoint by asserting that the men of ND are merely lazy. "They complain about the ratio, thinking that each girl has three guys, but that's not true. There are lots of cute girls who rarely go out." Perhaps these "cute girls" are too busy entertaining the men's crew team in their rooms.

MEN...

Whatever the exact Wall Street figures, ND men agree on one thing: the ratio is against them. The girls have it made. Call it the Law of Supply and Demand. Call it the wrath of God. Call it whatever you like. It makes these guys' lives hell, and the women's lives heaven. Mike from Stanford summed up the phenomenon: "They (women) get here and get affected with the ratio. In high school, they may not have gone out a lot, but they get here, and it's like 'something magic happened over the summer.'"

The president of the Windsurfing Club, a good-looking Alumni senior backed this up. He explained, "It's the way things are, because, if a girl is even somewhat attractive here, she has three times the attention as in the real world."

Two Keenan sophomores commented upon the social whirl women have here: "The exceptionally good-looking ones have their noses up in the air--they all think they're models or something. It's because there's not enough of them...so they know that if they didn't want to, they'd never have to spend a dollar



WOMEN...

While dismissing the issue of the ratio as a contrivance of the tender male ego, women do admit to being uncomfortable with "the maleness of ND." An engineering major noted: "There are very few women in my classes. At times I feel uncomfortable with the 'males come first' attitude that pervades campus. There are few female faculty members, and as for the administration, it's like a men's club that begrudgingly let Sister Jean in."

A junior from Lewis (who enjoys imitating Andy Rooney) mused, "Have you ever noticed that when a girl dates a guy here she dates all of his friends? You go to dinner with eight guys, you drink beers with his section, you go to *Rambo*. It's a bit much." Now hold on there, maybe you can set these guys up with some of the South Dakotan's lonely friends.

The First Move

You know that old *Love Boat* plot formula: boy meets girl, boy makes move on girl, girl poses no resistance, boy and girl hit requisite snag in relationship, boy leaves boat with girl on arm. Well, in these parts the reliable formula runs into one small problem... "ND guys just don't ask girls out on dates."

"The most frustrating thing," according to a sophomore busily toying with the longest of three earrings in her left ear, "is that certain things are expected of girls here. We're supposed to play our sex roles, but they also expect us to make the first move." Catch-22. Her friend momentarily desisted from her assault on a twinkie and added, "Men here can hide behind the SYR format. Their roommate does the dirty work, and there are so many dances in the girls dorms that they're invited to. It just becomes an attitude of 'if she's interested, she'll call me for a dance.'"

Two seniors capitalized on their opportunity to throw salt in the wounds of the collective male ego. One said: "Most guys at ND are very good looking, intelligent, fun and athletic. They were at the top of the heap in high school, but once they move in freshman year, and they encounter 4,000 guys as successful as they were, their confidence wanes, and they become apathetic and insecure."

Her roommate, whose career objective is to spread peace, happiness and folklore wherever the Peace Corps will send her, noticed "...a lot of despair among the upperclassmen. The ratio knocks a lot of guys down freshman year, and they never recover. But you know it's hard to get to know each other without a viable student center, or coed dorms. There's a lack of association between the sexes in a normal social atmosphere. If we can't get to know each other, we can't relate."

here. They could be taken out every night, and they know it." Take heed women. Stop throwing your bucks away at Bridget's. Buy bonds.

Perhaps Ted, a sharp-dresser from Cavanaugh assessed the situation most cogently. He explained, "When you're a freshman and you get lectured by the seniors about the 'so many of us, so few of them thing,' whether it's true or not, it sinks in...."

"Girls here don't bother to break out of the conservative stereotypes...they complain about not being asked out. But when I say, 'why don't you ask him out?' they can't answer."

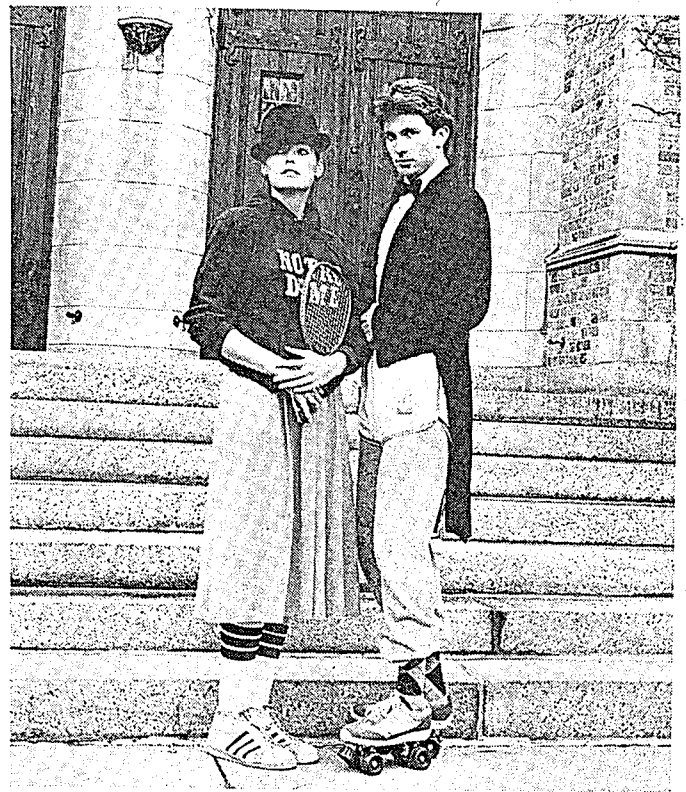
The First Move

Perhaps the ratio plays itself out most obviously in that ever crucial "First Move." Don't blame the guys, it's just that the odds are against them. They really hate to generalize but, girls, you just don't know what it's like.

Some foxy Dillon sophomores laid it on the line: "You go to a party and there's probably ten girls for twenty guys. Why should you go to the trouble? The girls play the ratio to their best advantage. It's too easy for them. They're complacent. They don't have to be friendly because they're going to get the attention anyway. They can wear sweats and eat five bowls of ice cream at dinner. Where else could they do that?"

Moreover, women don't make it easy for guys to ask them out. The complaints are many: "Every time I go to a party, every girl's got four or five guys around her. They can pick and choose - I can't." A tall, dark and handsome transfer lamented, "Every time I go to the bars, the girls are all in this big group. What are they, siamese quadruplets? Like I'm supposed to go up to them?" Take note women: cruise alone. As long as you're desperate and dateless, flaunt it.

The ratio problem aside, the "First Move" still presents a problem. ND's social life just doesn't provide that many opportunities. Ted (the sharp dresser from Cavanaugh) said, "A big part of the trouble is it's even hard to ask someone out--I mean, what do you do for a date? There are movies at the Engineering Auditorium or Trivial Pursuit. Better - when you're a senior, you can go to Senior Bar. BUT IS THAT A DATE??" Grimace. Shrug. Resignation.



Come Out Virginia

JoAnn's button bedecked back pack leaves no room for confusion over her political orientation. She pronounced the politics of the average ND male to be "just to the right of Ronald Reagan. Their opinions on social issues make Phyllis Schafly look like a moderate." But JoAnn, we've got to protect the current tax policy or else our accounting and PLS (probably law school) departments will be plagued by wholesale desertion.

Now here's the tricky part: how to be liberal, but not too radical. Got it? One Senior PLS major just wishes the women would stick with what they are. He complained: "It's all so put-on, so cyclical. When the girls first get here, they're still into all that football team motif from high school. Real conservative. Then they all of the sudden get radical and want to look like they're off-the-wall. Everyone tries to be unique. Some white girls date black guys just for rebellion. Or they wear those big old coats. Then, by the time they're seniors, they tire of it. They mellow. It's a game."

In short, if the majority of ND guys questioned could call the shots, the women here would ask them out a lot more and feel free to go dutch. But that's where role-reversal stops. No offense. Just don't spend the whole date trying to show that you got in under higher standards of admittance than your date. It's superfluous. Don't be too conservative, but be yourself. Don't be too radical, just act naturally.

MEN...

And why, oh why women, are you waiting for the men to step forward? After all, the odds are in your favor. Even if they can't overcome the obstacles, you might at least try. A Stanford stud admitted this is tricky. He explained, "There's a fine line between initiating something and being forward. I hate forward girls." However, given his druthers, he wishes you'd risk it. Go ahead, initiate. Just don't be too forward.

An attractive, blue-eyed crew team member backed him up: "Girls here don't bother to break out of the conservative stereotypes...they complain about not being asked out. But when I say, 'why don't you ask him out?' they can't answer." Good point, well-taken.

Come Out Virginia

The conservative gripe is both common and complex. The guys don't want to further stereotypes or generalize, but they really wish the women here would lighten up and stop being so "damn naive and provincial." This should be taken, however, in light of twentieth century South Bend standards. Ask them out, but don't go initiating bedroom talk. The guys don't care what you just read in Cosmo.

Ninety percent of the men interviewed complained of ND women's conservatism, however, the degree of desired liberalism varied. A senior government major stated: "ND girls come from such a single-sex, Catholic high school upbringing. The social thing is really foreign to them. It's still too unique for them to treat it as 'normal.'" This bugs him. He and his roommate long to shed the conservative male-aggressor role, yet at the same time would hope that their date would, "not be so concerned about keeping up her ND intellectual image." As one Flanner frosh put it, "When I want to talk football, I want to talk football."

WOMEN...

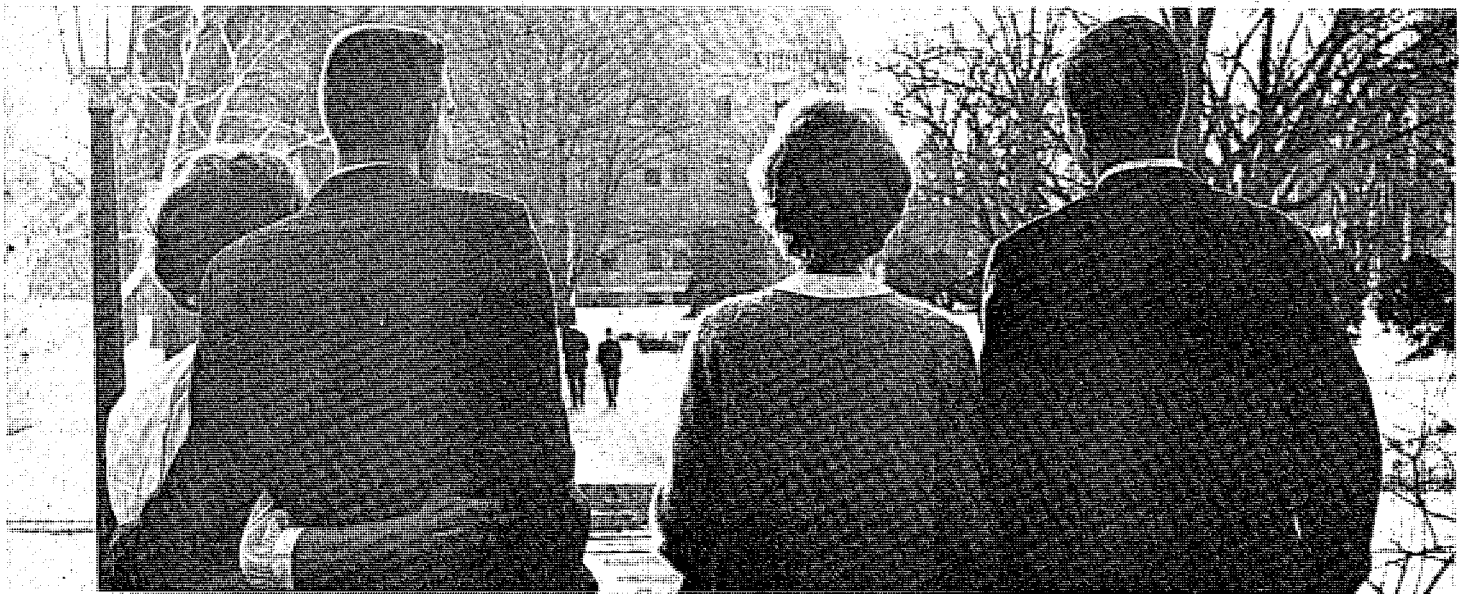
"They're (men) shallow and anti-intellectual. They're terrified by a woman who deals in ideas and concepts rather than Guess jeans and alcohol."

A group of well scrubbed sophomores engaged in a quintessentially collegiate probe into the crushing issues of the day found "ND men totally unwilling to let people be the way they want to be. They won't listen to other viewpoints. Their backgrounds are so similar and their experiences so limited that they tend to reject all that they haven't experienced...so they're rejecting a lot of ideas out of hand."

A young woman sporting a turtle-neck and Faire Isle sweater is repulsed by the men "that try to be so radical. I'm so sick of tails, and earrings and molding trench coats. What's the cause this week?" Looks like it'll be quite a chore trying to satisfy all the women on campus.

Cagney and Lacey Meet Rambo

Ah yes, the battle of the sexes rages on at Our Lady's University. The battle fields are marked, there's fighting at the Dining Halls, the Rock, the bars and in that single down the hall. "So many guys here are total sexists," affirmed a senior with 11 offers from the Big Eight accounting firms. "Many act like the liberated man, but they're actually looking for a woman who will cook, clean, carpool and bear 2.4 children." This complaint surfaced more often than any other, even the dating issue. They hate to generalize but..."They're shallow and anti-intellectual. They're terrified by a woman who deals in ideas and concepts rather than Guess jeans and alcohol."



Can male and female Domers overcome stereotypes and live happily ever after?

"When you're a freshman and you get lectured by the seniors about the 'so many of us, so few of them thing,' whether it's true or not, it sinks in."

Cagney and Lacey Meet Rambo

Conservatism is just one of the stereotypes that ND men further against their female classmates. They really hate to beat dead horses, but what's true is true, y'know?

Jim, an off-campus senior, is a sunny spot amid the slush of generalizing coeds. He succinctly expressed the opinion of many seniors interviewed: "It's all wrong. No guys really think that ND girls wear sweats and are fat. They're just teasing. It's an old joke - you say it to people you know, and you wouldn't say it if it were true...Women come in here with the attitude that we think they're inferior. They're presuming stuff. They're on this trip that they have to prove that they're equal. If you are, you don't have to tell people it. They start raising their hands in class a lot and ask stupid questions. It's all in their minds. My roommates call that type the Orgo-dykes, you know, the hyper pre-med ones. And then they say that men resent them. Who started it then?"

But if Jim is quick to shrug off the stereotypes, underclassmen are all too eager to pick them up and put them to use. Even Jim's roommate furthered an old cliché: "They're ugly. I mean, in general, take the top two-percent - academically - of your high school class. Those are the ones who get in here. They're not that pretty. I mean, they're not into beautifying themselves and stuff...I think ND gets stuff like that. I mean, how many schools do you know of have women's football teams?"

Some Keenan sophomores had no qualms about furthering campus banalities: "They overeat. They're fat. They tend to wear sweats too much." Flanner freshmen agreed: "Come December - no, middle of November, the sweats go on. It happens every year." How long have these guys been here anyway? When asked if they ever wear sweats to class, they admit that they often do..."But that's different." Uh huh.

The most novel comment about ND stereotypes came from Jim, the off-campus senior. He complained: "There is one thing I don't like. If I'm cooking something, or vacuuming, or doing my laundry, or whatever, and a girl comes in and says, 'Oh boy, I can't believe YOU'RE cooking,' or whatever. That really gets me. When we do it, which we do all the time, they make this huge joke out of it. You can't win. The ones who pull stuff like this deserve whatever they get." Amen. •

Peg, a senior in Augusta eagerly generalized: "Guys at ND think that they know everything, and every time you have a conversation with them they try to be more intellectual than you. They try to psych you out and make you feel inferior. There are exceptions of course, but they're all of the same mold, you know, mama's boys." The sacredness of "Mom" is also assailed by a gregarious junior entertaining half of the Pit. "They're looking for a woman just like 'Mom.' Well, I bet 'Mom' didn't invest \$35,000 in her accounting degree." Times they is a changin' men!

"Have you ever noticed that when a girl dates a guy here she dates all of his friends? You go to dinner with eight guys, you drink beers with his section, you go to Rambo."

They've got the gall to attack mother, and they're even brash enough to attack that sacred institution opposite O'Shaughnessy. A petite regular of South Dining Hall vowed: "I will never eat another bite of ice cream or wear another pair of sweatpants IF the men promise not to drip sweat all over me at the dining hall." A frustrated senior added, "If you don't think there's a problem on this campus then why do the guys spend so much time working off those frustrations at the Rock?"

The same senior who will be spreading harmony for the Peace Corps could also put dibs on Dr. Ruth's job. Now close your eyes, and imagine the accent..."There's a real lack of touch among men here. It's that macho thing. Everyone is so skin hungry...There's no healthy physical aspect of touch within their lives. They can get some physical contact out of sports, but it's not the same. There's just not a healthy attitude towards the demonstration of affection between men and women. This leads to a distorted image of sexuality. Sex and touch are important aspects of our lives. We all have a need of touch. Here, this need is channelled into more unhealthy areas...one night stands; short term, artificial relationships; sports...in order to ease that bitter attitude toward women in general, but especially toward ND women. Women have more of a sense of touch, while men are deprived of it. They suffer from the masculine stereotypes." The two-edged sword of stereotypes rears its ugly head. •

other campuses

Although nervous, a female student who was taking her Ph.D. oral exam at U.C.L.A. managed to answer all the questions that the examination committee put to her. However, when the ordeal ended, she turned in relief to leave the room to discover that there were two doors. She quickly chose the left and walked through it, only to find herself in an enormous utility closet. As she stood there pondering her choices - go back in the room or wait until she heard the examiners leave - the door to the closet opened, and the entire committee joined her. •

Compiled by Paul Aiello

Bed sheets are often displayed at televised college football games with messages such as "Hi Mom, send more money!" or "Hi Dad, wish you were here!" Yet, this fall at a football game between the University of Michigan and Ohio State, one student's message read: "Hi Mom, send more sheets!" •

States will be able to confiscate the wages of students who do not repay their guaranteed student loans if a bill introduced in Congress last week becomes law. The bill, offered by Representative Sam Gejdanson (D-Conn.), would encourage states to collect money from defaulters by skimming up to 35 percent from their paychecks until a given debt is paid off. •

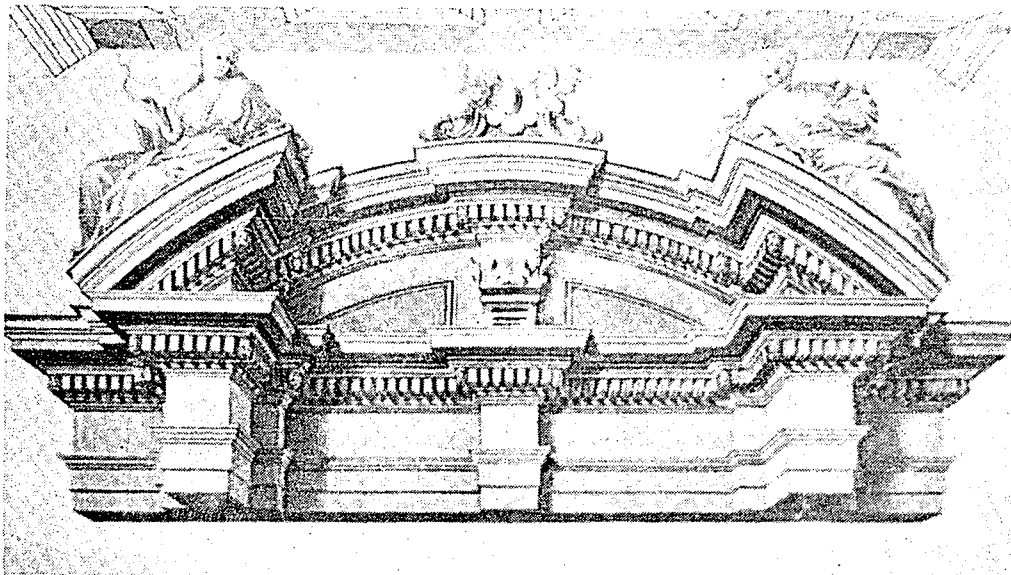
'Opus' for Prez at Ole Miss

Pace University officials last week appointed a campus paper editor to replace the one they recently pushed out of office for publishing a "vulgar" article about AIDS in November. Former editor Brian Sookram's article referred to anal intercourse - which many hold responsible for spreading the disease - in what administrators believe to be pure "street language." According to Sookram, "It was not meant to be vulgar...I just thought that most people could relate to this sort of language." •

As the debate over apartheid continues, conflicts between black and Jewish student groups throughout the country have expanded in light of Israel's close relations with the current South African government. Demonstrations and even threats of violence have hit a wide spectrum of campuses ranging from Pitt to San Diego State. •

At the University of Texas, students are organizing on a wide scale in the hope of abolishing "useless student government." Two of the biggest rebel groups, CRAP (Committee to Retire Aspiring Politicians) and STOMP (Students Tired of Manipulative Politics) are currently developing strategies for campus elections in the spring. On a similar note, at Mississippi, Opus the Penguin of "Bloom County" fame finished second in the student government presidential race, getting 778 votes to a human's 822. •

A study by University of Wisconsin professors found that two out of every three students who get aid earn enough extra money from part-time jobs to pay for college. About thirty percent of students who receive aid from work-study programs have second jobs. Middle-class students are working at higher paid jobs than their lower-class counterparts which makes the Government Accounting Office want to make sure that money is getting to people who need it most. In private universities, however, students are having a harder time footing the bill, borrowing 20 percent of the money needed to pay tuition. •



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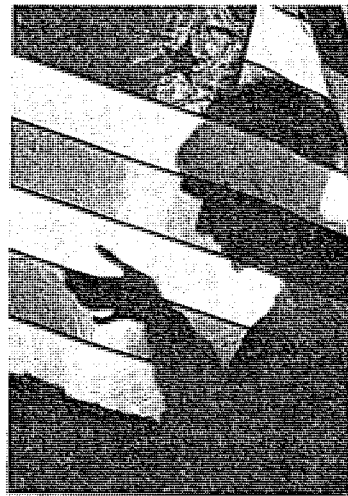
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FROM RADICALS TO REAGAN



ARE THE EIGHTIES STUDENTS THAT DIFFERENT?

by Tom McCaffery

Much has been written - especially during the presidential election year of 1984 - about both the lack of on-campus political activism and the change in students' political attitudes. Conventional wisdom holds that campus activism in the 1980s is virtually nonexistent. Moreover, a popular stereotype of today's average college student is that of a job-hungry and socially unconcerned supporter of Ronald Reagan. But are these views accurate? Are they valid analyses of the college student of the 1980s or merely oversimplified generalizations?

An understandable tendency, when discussing campus political activism, is to compare the campus unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s with the apparent absence of activism today. At the University of California, Berkeley, a hotbed of activism in the 1960s, the CIA can once again recruit without provoking much

student protest. Berkeley also now supports twenty-two more fraternities and sororities than there were in 1973, making it one of the biggest "Greek" campuses in the country.

Another one of the most activist campuses of the era was Columbia University. Previously the site of many violent demonstrations and the home of radicals such as Mark Rudd, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society, Columbia today boasts one of the nation's most prestigious student conservative journals, the *Morningside Review*. The Rev. William Stan, Columbia's chaplain who supported the 1968 student strike, believes that the school is now an "academic sweatshop where career panic outweighs moral questioning."

Stephen Gillers, Professor of Law at New York University, starkly contrasts the students of the 1980s with their counterparts of two decades. He remembers the students of the 1960s as being heavily involved in campus demonstrations for civil rights,

against the Vietnam War, instrumental in the Presidential campaigns of George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy and dominant in marches on Washington. But he believes that since the resignation of Richard Nixon in 1974, "the campuses have been silent." Gillers feels that the mood and attitudes of students have been altered drastically and that "concern for others has yielded to concern for self and the pursuit of personal gain."

To fully understand the college student of today, however, one must examine that student not in the context of the 1960s or the 1970s, but in the context of the current environment. In the late 1960s the U.S. was in a state of great social unrest. The country had just suffered the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King; blatant violations of civil rights were an everyday occurrence in many parts of the nation, and thousands of young men were being drafted to fight in an immensely unpopular war. The

Vietnam War galvanized the opinion of not only students but also other elements of the populace. This galvanization led people to organize and protest for all kinds of change: change in foreign policy, change in domestic social policy, change in society as a whole.

The situation in which today's college student finds himself is extremely different. Donald Costello, professor of American studies and a member of the Notre Dame faculty since 1960, points out that today, unlike in the 1960s, there is "no single crucial issue to force a kind of moral alignment, and therefore, the many forms of activism go on without coalescing into a single overriding public movement." He goes on to explain that today's major campus issue, apartheid, cannot compare with the galvanizing force exerted by the Vietnam issue. Costello states that virtually everyone "is opposed to the apartheid system just as virtually everyone was opposed to the war, but what you do about the apartheid system is much less unanimous than what you do about the war. What you do about the war is end it."

There are financial considerations as well. Although the 1960s were turbulent politically, the U.S. economy was generally robust and productive during that decade. College graduates were confident in their future financial prospects. The same cannot be said of today's graduates. Not

"There is often a tendency, when discussing campus political activism, to compare that period of campus unrest with the apparent absence of activism today."

nearly as sure in the economy or their personal economic future, their primary concern, quite reasonably, is their ability to secure an economic livelihood. William Greider, writing in *Rolling Stone Magazine*, stated that today's economic situation "goes a long way toward explaining the new conservatism of the eighties - not a loss of idealism, but a genuine insecurity about the future of the American dream."

Not only was the social situation of the 1960s different than today's, but so too is the manner

in which people voice their political concerns. The protests and demonstrations of the 1960s and 1970s are famous because they were extremely public and often violent expressions of discontent, not because they were displays of political activism. Demonstration participants often numbered in the thousands, and clashes with the police and the National Guard were not infrequent.

Today, large, raucous campus protests are clearly not the norm and thus, some conclude that campus activism is non-existent. As Costello points out, when it comes to the forms of student activism, "there has always been a great variety, but I think we tend only to see the more public kinds." Contrary to popular belief, student activism is not dead, it is just not as vociferous or communal as it was in the 1960s.

College students are still active in voicing their political beliefs and expressing their social concerns. Throughout the spring of 1983, large numbers of students protesting the Reagan's Latin American policies relentlessly heckled former United Nations Ambassador, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, at many of her campus speaking engagements. At Berkeley, the demonstrators even forced her to cancel her speech altogether. Student journals of conservative thought have sprung up at almost forty major colleges and universities throughout the country.

In 1984 Brown University students organized and publicized an election in which a majority of the student body voted to demand that the school's administration stockpile cyanide tablets for use in case of a nuclear war. At the University of Wisconsin there are over four hundred official campus organizations involved in a wide array of social issues ranging from women's rights to the environment.

Throughout the 1984 election year, a concerted effort was made on campuses across the country to increase voter registration among students. Juan Andrade, then executive director of the Midwest Voter and Education Project, said at the time of these voter registration campaigns, that "nothing since the 1960s has approached this level of interest and concern among students."

College students played an integral part of Senator Gary Hart's surprisingly competitive 1984 Presidential campaign. Students conducted over 90 percent of the Hart campaign's canvassing work during the New Hampshire primary. This canvassing proved to be a key component in Hart's surprise victory, a victory that propelled him to national prominence and made him a strong, viable candidate.

There is a tendency to simplify and generalize when it comes to discussing students' political attitudes. A common notion is that



Campus protests were a familiar scene in the sixties.

"Reagan's eighties" are a time of watershed change in students' political attitudes. Today's average college student is said to favor Reagan's conservative political agenda while rejecting traditional liberal orthodoxy. This view attempts to place students in superficial, easy-to-label categories which greatly underestimate the diversity of opinion present on America's college campuses.

Each fall the American Council on Education, in conjunction with UCLA, conducts a survey of

entering college freshmen across the nation. In 1984 over 182,000 students at 345 colleges were polled in an attempt to gauge campus political opinion. Only 20.5 percent (2 percent less than in 1968) labeled themselves conservative or far right. On the opposite side 22.1 percent labelled themselves liberal or far left, continuing an increase for the third consecutive year. The vast majority of students called themselves moderate. Alexander Astin, who directed the survey, believes that the results "show clearly that there is no monolithic trend toward greater student conservatism."

In the final analysis, it seems implausible to set up one generation of students as the benchmark by which all other generations must be measured. Thomas Werge, professor of English and a member of the Notre Dame faculty since 1967, believes that "to talk about one generation as noble and sacrificial and altruistic and another as materialistic and selfish and preppy just makes for good copy. It makes for the easy contrast, but it's terribly superficial." When Werge compares the students of the 1980s with those of the 1960s, he concludes that "if you scratch the surface of a supposed yuppie, you don't have to go very far before recognizing that the anxieties are there and the concerns are there, and they're just as deeply grievous and just as moral as they have ever been."●

SWIMMING AGAINST THE TIDE

Political Organizations At ND Find A Cool Response

by John Affleck

Political activism at Notre Dame. That may sound like a contradiction in terms, but there are, in fact, several groups on campus which attempt to interest and involve students in national political issues. They include the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, the Anti-Apartheid Network, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Right-to-Life movement, all of which have had similar experiences in stimulating student interest in their causes.

The Young Democrats and Young Republicans both bill themselves essentially as outlets for students who believe in the principles of their respective parties and who wish to put those principles into action. Informing and campaigning are the primary ways in which these groups take action. As one might imagine, they tend to be more active in election years.

In 1984 for instance, both groups were given guest columns in *The Observer* a week before the November election to state their candidates platforms; both passed out partisan leaflets; and there was a debate between Mike Brogioli, head of the Mondale/Ferraro campaign on campus and Bill Healy, who ran the Notre Dame Reagan/Bush re-election effort. The Young Democrats also had a big hand in organizing the 1984 Mock Convention for the Democratic Party.

People want to help, but they also want to do something that is important. The people who put up posters don't always realize that what they are doing is important to us.

Possibly the most effective political action group at Notre Dame during the past year has been the Anti-Apartheid Network, "a loose coalition of students, faculty and staff dedicated to raising awareness of the severity of apartheid in South Africa and to applying pressure on the University to begin a process of divestment," according to John Dettling, a leading member of the Network.

Through its films, speakers, rallies, literature and general visibility on campus, the Network has raised the status of the apartheid issue at the University from the peripheral to the central. Although the University has not begun a process of divestment, the Network was pleased with the attention the issue received from the University Board of Trustees

this fall. "I think it shows a few people can make a difference," said Dettling. "The trustees may not have done anything if no pressure had been applied."

The Anti-Apartheid Network was supported this fall, in part, by the Notre Dame Chapter of the NAACP, which also is new this year. Its president is Carlton West, a senior from Dorchester, Mass. The NAACP hopes to work toward improved race relations at Notre Dame.



*K.C. Culum,
president, ND/SMC Young Democrats*



The Anti-Apartheid Network is one of the most successful political groups on campus.

An established political group at Notre Dame is the Right-to-Life movement. Theresa Donovan, a senior, leads the group whose goal is education. "We try to help young people make better, more informed choices about abortion," said Donovan. The Right-to-Life group works toward this goal, both on campus and in South Bend, using films, speakers and literature. The group also supports a care center next to an abortion clinic in South Bend. At the center, free pregnancy testing and counseling are offered to clients.

As a student body we are very apathetic...What is scary is the people at this school who will have power and status and are politically unaware.

The Young Democrats, Young Republicans and Right-to-Lifers all receive money from Student Activities, though they also depend on other sources for funding, whether that means private contributions or members' dues. The NAACP does not yet receive money from the Student Activities Board, though it will in the next few years, while the Anti-Apartheid Network relies solely on private contributions.

In general, the leaders of these groups find that their organizations tend to operate with a core of hard-working individuals while other less consistent members offer their help on some projects, but not on others. "It goes in waves," Donovan said. "After we show 'Silent Scream' or something, people are very enthusiastic, but at other times it's harder to generate interest. People want to help, but they also want to do something that shows them what they're doing is important. The people who put up posters don't always realize what they're doing is important for us."

While some of the leaders of these organizations were reluctant to come out and call the student body at Notre Dame apathetic toward national political issues, there was a definite sense among them that Notre Dame students are often almost exclusively concerned with issues directly affecting them.

"As a student body I feel we're very apathetic," Brogioli said. "What's scary is the people at this school will have status and power and are politically unaware. Not that everyone has to be a political junkie, but people should understand the positions of the candidates they support."

"From what I've heard, outside the University Notre Dame has a very distinctive reputation for student apathy, which is

strange in a sense because Christianity should make us activists," Dettling said. "The Gospels are some of the most revolutionary statements ever made."

Given a somewhat uninformed, if not apathetic student body, do Notre Dame's political leaders feel their work is relevant, or that it promotes change? "Yes, it's relevant," said K.C. Culum, current president of the Young Democrats. "It may be idealistic to say, but changes are made one person at a time. If we can change one mind then we've accomplished something."

"I think [these organizations] show you can work within the system," Dettling said. "You don't have to throw bricks through the window."

Young Republicans president Jim Adrian had a slightly different perspective. "I don't know if we change people's minds. It's more like a magnet; we bring people of similar ideological beliefs together to decide how to put those words into actions."

Widespread or not, political activity does actually exist at Notre Dame. Our choices may be somewhat limited, but the existence of these groups points to the fact that there is at least some level of political commitment on this campus. ●

THE THOUGHTS THAT MOVE A NATION

THEY ARE OFTEN BORN IN AMERICAN THINK TANKS

by John McGreevy

The names are innocuous: the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Brookings Institution, the Committee for the Free World. The role of these research institutions, however, is becoming a matter of fairly intense debate among academics, legislators and journalists. Popularly termed "think tanks", these research institutions are viewed as either a threat to the democratic process or a positive alternative to state control over the development of public policy.

The debate centers around this question: Who should formulate public policy in the United States? The answer in any high school civics textbook would include the obvious: Congress, the President and the federal regulatory agencies. In the twentieth century, however, Americans have witnessed the extraordinary growth of formal, non-partisan think tanks that advise members of Congress and the Executive Branch. Since World War II, think tanks have played an increasingly important role in the development of public policy and in the staff-

ing of federal agencies. Both prominent cabinet members, like Jeanne Kirkpatrick and James Schlesinger, and lower-level bureaucrats have moved back and

"Popularly termed 'think tanks,' these research institutions are viewed as either a threat to the democratic process or a positive alternative to state control over the development of public policy."

forth from the institutions to federal positions. Each new administration now routinely plucks numerous employees from the hordes of eager think tank associates.

Surprisingly, no other nation has think tanks. In the European democracies and Japan, state planning boards develop long-term economic and social policies. Despite the growing complexity of modern society, Americans have never established a similar state bureaucracy. Notre Dame history professor Donald Critchlow, in a

recent book, *The Brookings Institution (1916-1952)*, argues that America's traditional distrust of big government created a void in public policy - a void that the think tanks eventually filled. Think tanks were a "peculiarly American response" to the critical need for the "collection, evaluation and dissemination of information vital to public policy."

The two most traditionally respected think tanks are the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute. Both institutions were founded specifically as non-partisan groups that would objectively analyze policy options in a scholarly fashion. Like impartial scientists, they would conclude their studies by simply recommending the best policy option. As Critchlow noted, such institutions saw themselves "as standing above partisan politics, by operating outside the political arena...[yet] perceiving themselves as a professional elite, the guardians of the Republic."

During the last twenty years, however, the Brookings Institution has generally been perceived as relatively liberal on social and economic issues. Ironically, Brookings' opposition to FDR's New Deal program created a reputation as a reactionary backwater during the Great Depression. By the 1960s, however, a clear tilt to the left was apparent. In particular, Brookings helped develop Johnson's Great Society

welfare program and also helped generate support in Congress for new federal regulations on pollution controls and a host of other environmental issues.

During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Brookings reached the height of its influence. This power so annoyed President Nixon that he once ordered aides to look into the possibility of actually bombing the Brookings building in Washington. While prestigious, the Brookings Institution has little influence in the Reagan administration. Perhaps consequently, many observers point to a recent swing to the right in Brookings' policy recommendations.

Although not as trigger happy as President Nixon, the American Enterprise Institute also responded to the influence of the Brookings Institution. Founded by corporate leaders in 1943, AEI has traditionally attempted to promote a business perspective in public policy. During the past fifteen years, AEI has dramatically increased its budget and programs. As a result, AEI has a great deal of money and even more influence. Its budget is over \$12 million and the masthead contains big names, and their respective egos, like Gerald Ford, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak and Herbert Stein.

Just as Brookings often differed from the Democrats in the 1960s, AEI is not simply a mouthpiece for the Reagan administration in the 1980s. In fact, AEI remains a bit of a sore point with the New Right. In 1980, it supported George Bush and it has recently issued a series of scathing reports on the Reagan budget deficit and the intellectual fallacies contained within supply side economics. According to its President, William Baroody, "We aim to be in the mainstream."

In the same fashion, Brookings scholars tend to scorn the more

"This power so annoyed President Nixon that he once ordered aides to look into the possibility of actually bombing the Brookings building in Washington."

radical wing of the Democratic party, and often propose economic programs strikingly similar to those developed at AEI. In the 1984 campaign, for example, Brookings jumped the Mondale economic ship, terming

Mondale's industrial policy "a solution in search of a problem". Ultimately, both institutions claim a certain non-ideological objectivity that results from a belief in practical solutions to government problems.

During the past twenty years, however, a number of think tanks on both the left and the right have essentially abandoned the non-partisan approach. In other words, things have gotten nastier. As Critchlow notes, the Institute for Policy Studies has taken a consistently leftist (Marxist in the opinion of the New Right) stance on policy issues. It has sponsored studies investigating the collusion between the federal government and corporate capitalism, with particular emphasis on the military industrial complex and American intervention abroad. In the 1960s, one memorable institute fellow authored a "Call to Resist" urging widespread demonstrations opposing the American involvement in Vietnam.

More significantly, conservative groups have created a vast array of well-funded, ideologically

continued on page 18



Prof. Donald T. Critchlow

Coming Distractions



tues., feb. 18

- FILM: "Union Pacific"
Snite, 7:30 pm
- SPORTS-club:
Men's Volleyball - at Ball State University
7:30 pm
- LECTURE: Moshe Davis
Memorial Library Auditorium, 7:30 pm
- ART: "Mauricio Lasansky: A Retrospective Exhibition"
The Snite Museum of Art
February 16 - March 30
- ART: "Modern Drawings and Watercolors From the
Permanent Collection"
O'Shaughnessy Gallery East
January 19 - April 20
- ART: "Urban America"
O'Shaughnessy Gallery East
January 26 - April 13
- ART: "Artists and Models: Portraits From the
Hirshhorn Museum"
Print, Drawing and Photography Gallery
February 2 - March 9
- ART: "Richard Stevens: Recent Photographs"
O'Shaughnessy Gallery East
February 23 - April 13
- NOONTALK: "Artists and Models: Portraits From
the Hirshhorn Museum" Stephen B. Spiro
Paint, Drawing and Photography Gallery,
12:10 - 12:55
- SOPHOMORES: Advisory Council Meeting
Grace Hall, 7 pm



wed., feb. 19

- FILM: "Joyless Street"
Social Concerns, 7 pm
- FILM: "Sophie's Choice"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9:30 pm, 12 am,
\$1.50
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Men's Basketball - at Manhattan
(MSG) 9 pm
- NVA: Interhall Track Meet
- NVA: Deadlines -
Water Volleyball
Open Racquetball
Floor Hockey
Beginner's Squash Clinic



thur., feb. 20

- FILM: "Sophie's Choice"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9:30 pm, 12 am, \$1.50
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Women's Swimming - at North Star Conference Meet
February 20-22
Men's Swimming - at Midwestern Collegiate Conference
Championships
February 20-22 (Evansville, IN)
- LECTURE: "African Art as a Symbol in the 20th Century"
Annenberg Auditorium, 8 pm
\$1.00 - students
- PERFORMING ARTS: Theater Ballet of Canada
Concord High School, Elkhart, 7:30 pm
- SOPHOMORES: Study Break at Azars Big Boy
12:00 - 1:30 am
- TRIP: See "Falstaff and Hal" in Chicago, contact
Connie in 309 O'Shag., \$20



fri., feb. 21

- FILM: "Death Watch"
Snite, 7:30,9:30 pm
- FILM: "St. Elmo's Fire"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9:15,11:30 pm, \$1.50
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Track-indoor - at Indiana TAC
(Bloomington)
Track-indoor - at National TAC
(New York, NY)
Women's Swimming - at North Star Conference Meet
Men's Swimming - at Midwestern Collegiate Conference
Championships
Women's Basketball - at Loyola
Hockey - at Northern Arizona
7 pm
- JUNIORS: Junior Parents Weekend
February 21-23
- MUSIC: Tim Woolsey, piano recital
Recital Hall, 8:15 pm



sat., feb. 22

- FILM: "St. Elmo's Fire"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9:15,11:30 pm, \$1.50
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Fencing - at Michigan State/Illinois/Wayne State/
Michigan/Oakland (East Lansing)
Women's Swimming - at North Star Conference Meet
Men's Swimming - at Midwestern Collegiate Conference
Championships
Men's Basketball - at Miami (Fla.) 7 pm
Hockey - at Northern Arizona
7 pm
- SPORTS-Club:
Women's Track - at University of Michigan
(Ann Arbor)
Men's Volleyball - at Ohio State University
7:30 pm
- MUSIC: Karen Buranskas, Cello
Morris Civic Center, 8:15 pm
- MUSIC: Notre Dame Jazz Band Concert 1 pm
- JUNIORS: Junior Parents Weekend
- SOPHOMORES: Chicago Trip \$28.00
leave main circle 11 am Saturday, return 6 pm Sunday
- AROTC Parents Reception



sun., feb.

- ART: "Richard Stevens"
Opening and F
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Women's Basket
- PERFORMING ARTS:
Morris Civic C
- PERFORMING ARTS:
O'Laughlin Az
- MUSIC: Annual Piano
Recital Hall, 2
- JUNIORS: Junior Paren
- SOPHOMORES: Chica
- Minority Awareness We
Events TBA
February 23-2



mon., fe

- FILM: "Once Upon a T
Snite, 7 pm
- Minority Awareness W
Theology Faculty Meeti



tues., fe

- FILM: "The Locket"
Snite, 7:30 pm
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Men's Basketba
7:30 pm
- LECTURE: Moshe Davi
Memorial Libra
- NOONTALK: "Richard
O'Shaughnessy
- MUSIC: James Welch, gu
Sacred Heart C
- Minority Awareness Wee



wed., fe

- FILM: "M"
Social Concerns
- FILM: "Road Warrior"
Engineering Au
- SPORTS-Varsity:
Women's Baste
- NVA: Lacrosse entry dea
- MUSIC: Sonneries Quinte
8 pm
- Enrollment Reservations
(thru March 5)
- Minority Awareness Wee





23
Recent Photographs"
Reception, 2 pm
Football - at DePaul
Chuck Mangione
Center, 8 pm
"Great Expectations"
Auditorium, 8 pm
Competition Finals
pm
Sports Weekend
to Trip
ek
8



6.24
"Time in the West"
ek
ng - CCE



6.25
all - DePaul
s
s
ry Auditorium, 7:30 pm
Stevens: Recent Photographs"
Gallery East, 12:10 - 12:55 pm
Best organ recital
Church, 8 pm
ek



6.26
), 7 pm
Auditorium, 7,9,11 pm, \$1.00
Football - Butler
Deadline
et
for the Fall Semester 1986-87
k



thurs. feb. 27

FILM: "Road Warrior"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9,11 pm, \$1.00
SPORTS-Varsity:
Women's Swimming - at Midwest Invitational
(Chicago, IL)
February 27 - March 1
PERFORMING ARTS: "The Tempest"
Washington Hall
ND/SMC Theater
February 27,28 March 1,6,7,8
LECTURE: Moshe Davis
Memorial Library Auditorium, 7:30 pm
LECTURE: "Ego and Dream: The Personalization of
Symbol in 19th and 20th Century Art"
Marjorie Kinsley
Annenberg Auditorium, 8 pm
\$1.00 - students
SOPHOMORES: Ice Skating at ACC
Minority Awareness Week



fri., feb. 28

FILM: "Life is a Bed of Roses"
Snite, 7:30,9:30 pm
FILM: "Madmax - Beyond the Thunderdome"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9,11 pm, \$1.50
SPORTS-Varsity:
Women's Swimming - at Midwest Invitational
Women's Basketball - Evansville
Hockey - North Dakota State
7:30 pm
SPORTS-Club:
Men's Volleyball - University of Alabama
7:30 pm
NVA: Broomball deadline
PERFORMING ARTS: "The Tempest"
ND/SMC Theater
Minority Awareness Week
Financial Aid Form (FAF) of the College Scholarship
Service deadline



sat., mar. 1

FILM: "Madmax - Beyond the Thunderdome"
Engineering Auditorium, 7,9,11 pm, \$1.50
SPORTS-Varsity:
Track-indoor - Depaul/Marquette
Fencing - at Great Lakes Championships
(Appleton)
Women's Swimming - at Midwest Invitational
Men's Basketball - at Marquette 7:30 pm
Wrestling - at NCAA Western Regionals
(Springfield, MO) March
Hockey - North Dakota State 7:30 pm
SPORTS-Club:
Gymnastics - at Purdue
men and women
PERFORMING ARTS: "The Tempest"
ND/SMC Theater
ART: "The Creative Process, Fiber Arts Exhibition"
Moreau Gallery March 1-22
ART: "Redbud Show"



Sun., mar. 2

SPORTS-Varsity:
Fencing - at Midwest Qualifier
(Appleton)
Wrestling - at NCAA Western Regionals
MUSIC: "Big Band Sounds"
Century Center, 7:30 pm
MUSIC: South Bend Youth Symphony
Campus Auditorium, 4 pm
MUSIC: Notre Dame Chorale and Chamber Orchestra
Sacred Heart Church, 8 pm
SOPHOMORES: Class Mass - 11 am
Class Brunch - 12 noon - "A" line NDH
Sophomore Literary Festival
Library Auditorium
Times/Authors TBA
March 2-8



mon., mar. 3

FILM: "Strangers on a Train"
Snite, 7 pm
FILM: "Red Desert"
Snite, 9 pm
SPORTS-Varsity:
Men's Basketball - at New Orleans
7:35 pm
Sophomore Literary Festival



tues., mar. 4

FILM: "The Nun"
Snite, 7:30 pm
SOPHOMORES: Advisory Council Meeting
Holy Cross, 7 pm
Sophomore Literary Festival
Indiana High School Basketball Sectionals
ACC Arena
March 4,5,7,8

Compiled by Karen Dettling



"Few individuals within think tanks operate independently of partisanship. Even fewer, one suspects, do not aspire either secretly or openly to some sort of political appointment."

continued from page 15

rigid think tanks. As the January 1986 *Atlantic Monthly* pointed out, "conservative commentators have their liberal counterparts out-gunned by a wide margin."

The most prominent example, the Heritage Foundation, cares little about objectivity. Heritage officials maintain a non-partisan

facade for tax purposes but Vice President Burton Pines admits in the *Atlantic Monthly* that "Our role is to provide conservative public policy makers with arguments to bolster our side." Heritage strongly supports an increase in military spending, particularly Star Wars and eagerly backs most anti-communist guerilla forces. Support for Secretary of State George Schultz is taboo; his establishment past makes him an untrustworthy convert and a potential moderate. Within the United States, it basically favors the dismantling of the welfare state by replacing government programs with market alternatives.

Heritage still causes a few red faces in the Reagan administration with its social policy recommendations. Recent policy statements have concluded that the handicapped "...falsely assume that the lottery of life has penalized them at random..." and that prayer in the public schools is

"perhaps the most powerful action the federal government could undertake to enhance the art of teaching."

Fifteen years ago, Heritage spokesmen were laughed out of everything from serious journals or Senate subcommittee meetings. In 1986, Heritage is possibly the most influential Washington think tank, a testament to both the national shift toward a conservative viewpoint as well as Heritage's unique marketing and organizational skills. Although not as prestigious as Brookings and AEI, Heritage makes a serious effort to analyze the nuts and bolts of the federal bureaucracy. Recently, Heritage claimed that over 60 percent of its recommendations had been adopted by the Reagan administration, a claim no other think tank would dare make.

The emphasis on marketing, not simply ideology, may be the key to Heritage's success. All reports are short and clearly writ-



ten, with snappy persuasive arguments. As *Atlantic Monthly* noted, legislators are much more likely to doze off while reading the ponderous *Brookings Review*. If anyone in the Federal government requests one of their reports, Heritage guarantees same day delivery.

Heritage also feels less of a need to create an academic veneer for its work. Perhaps this is why every professor interviewed for this article disparaged the products resulting from the Heritage approach. Government professor Peri Arnold noted that, "Heritage possesses a clear populist agenda and is not interested in social science per se. I've never seen anything technically interesting in their work." Arnold contrasted Heritage with AEI and the Brookings Institution. "AEI and Brookings are diverse. For example, they are both increasing the amount of technical, mathematical analysis of policy issues. They may not be neutral but their interests are broad and their results are not predictable."

But does ideological objectivity exist? Some analysts argue that Brookings and AEI's claim to non-partisan objectivity is a preposterous facade. Alan Brinkley in the *New Republic*, noted that "Few individuals within think tanks operate independently of partisanship. Even fewer, one suspects, do not aspire either secretly or openly to some sort of political appointment." Many observers, on both the left and the right, agree. Ultimately, they argue, all think tanks have an ideological agenda. Despite the objective rhetoric, AEI and Brookings recommendations are just as politicized, only more subtly, as those of the most radical extremist group.

For government professor John Roos, the American system fails when it grants any think tanks some sort of special access or deference. "It is dangerous for

democracy to allow this claim of special expertise. On technical issues, such as esoteric nuclear strategy or government finance, the think tanks may assume too much control because no broad

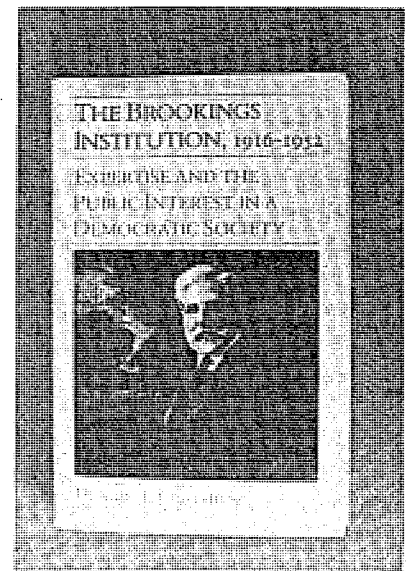
"Regardless of their nature, think tanks in American politics are here to stay. Without an enormous state bureaucracy to develop policy internally, think tanks provide a needed service for busy politicians."

public interest exists to oppose them...The duty of democracy is to carefully scrutinize their ideas."

By contrast, Critchlow argues that AEI and Brookings do deserve special attention. "Objective knowledge and non-partisanship do exist. AEI and Brookings may not be completely neutral but they do make a conscious effort to maintain a certain objectivity. It is ludicrous to give the Heritage Foundation equal weight simply because of a cynical distrust of all such organizations." Such a view, Critchlow concludes, is the real threat. "Eventually, this view denies the existence of legitimate expertise. People who claim that everything is political, on both the left and the right, ensure that only the best political organizations, not ideas, will prevail."

Regardless of their nature, think tanks in American politics are here to stay. Without an enor-

mous state bureaucracy to develop policy internally, think tanks provide a needed service for busy politicians. This is no tragedy. Few policy-makers would replace American think tanks with the rigid and static bureaucracies of Western Europe. By their sheer number and ideological diversity, think tanks create a vast variety of ideas. "Politicians," according to Arnold, "are only expert at running for office - not at policy formulation. They need someone to turn to." Ideally, politicians will simply choose the best alternative.



Critchlow's new book examines the history of Brookings.

Unfortunately, this presupposes that think tanks are looking out for the "public interest," not the interests of the corporations or individuals that pay their bills. If think tanks become ideological fronts, or are perceived as such in Washington, their usefulness is limited. Without some aspect of non-partisan scholarship, think tanks are simply intellectual lobbyists. In this climate, one can rest assured that political power, and not the public interest, will determine public policy. ●

MONEY FOR SOMETHING

by W.R. Mack

CAN PACS PURCHASE POLITICAL POWER ?

Harry Truman once said, "Some people like government so much that they want to buy it." While this statement seems humorous, a deeper look into the realm of political financing in the 1980s proves President Truman to be quite prophetic. The latest weapon wielded by those seeking political influence is the political action committee, better known as the PAC. Through the PAC and its various fundraising activities, interest groups are able to finance campaigns of favored candidates, and use the media of newspapers, radio, and television to spread their particular political ideas. The enticement of PAC money is a force most politicians find very hard to resist.

A PAC is defined by law as a committee, club, organization, association, or group which receives political contributions in excess of \$5000 in any calendar year or makes political expenditures of \$1000 in the same period of time. If the organization receives donations from fifty or more individuals or makes contributions to five or more candidates for federal political office, it is also considered a PAC.

Another federal stipulation a PAC must fulfill is its registration. It must be registered for at least six months in order to publicly involve itself in the political arena. Finally, every PAC is required to have a treasurer. He is personally liable by law to

report the accurate intake of contributions and must see that all expenditures are handled according to federal law. If the PAC has no visible treasurer or the position is vacant, no collecting or spending of money is permitted. While these initial regulations seem complex, the major PACs have little difficulty fulfilling them.

The major law governing the operation of PACs is the Federal Elections Campaign Act or FECA. In general FECA seeks to require full disclosure of all donations and contributions made in the name of candidates who are running in primary and/or general elections. "Receipts" are defined as "any direct or indirect payment, distribution, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any service, or anything of value, to

"In 1981, the National Automobile Dealers Association gave \$40,750 to members of the Energy and Commerce Committee. The result was that a proposed Federal Trade Commission rule requiring car dealers to inform buyers of known defects in used cars was killed in Congress."

any candidate or campaign committee in connection with any election." "Contributions" to candidates include services, property, actual loans, guarantee of loans, paid endorsements, and extension of credit.

The act also requires candidates and PACs to disclose accurate records of their contributors and the amount of money they contribute. This is done through a complicated set of reporting procedures. These figures are readily available for public scrutiny; in this way, PACs and their candidates can hide nothing from the public.

The last goal of FECA is to impose limits on campaign contributions. These limits depend on the size or type of contributor. PACs are allowed to contribute \$5000 per election to any candidate or his committee, while up to \$15,000 can be given to the party's national committee in a given year. In the end, PACs are limited as to how much they can give to a particular candidate but they are free to spend as much as they want in any particular election year.

FECA is far from foolproof. For example, it is perfectly legal to make indirect contributions to

"...if a certain PAC wishes to see Sen. Jesse Helms elected to the presidency, they can make hundreds of commercials supporting his candidacy. If Mr. Helms or his authorized committee do not see the money, he does not have to claim it as an expenditure."

a campaign; there is no limitation on these donations. As long as the candidate or his election committee do not personally handle the money, PACs are within their rights to do as they wish. So, if a certain PAC wishes to see Sen.

A LONE LOBBYIST FIGHTING FOR HIS DEDUCTION... A TRIBE OF CONGRESSMEN WAITING FOR CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS... IN A LAND WHERE MONEY TALKS, THEY FACE A BILL THAT THREATENS TO CHANGE THE RULES....



MAD PAC\$ BEYOND BLUNDERDOME

Jesse Helms elected to the presidency, they can make hundreds of commercials supporting his candidacy. If Mr. Helms or his authorized committee do not see the money, he does not have to claim it as an expenditure.

Legislation passed in the 1970s allowed PACs to increase at a rapid rate. Ironically, it was the labor unions, who already had a broad base of political experience and fundraising abilities, who pushed for relaxed regulations regarding the formation of politi-

land of freedom and opportunity, every American wants his own PAC. Now that it is the politically chic thing to do, everyone can find a PAC to suit his own tastes and style. Beer distributors, feeling the itch of the political process, have formed SIXPAC. For those persons who are inclined toward their "old world" nationalities, groups such as the Concerned Rumanians for a Stronger America are ready to take donations. For those who are politically motivated and live across the Pacific, the Hawaiian Golfers for Good Government (no kidding) have one of the more influential PACs in the western United States. These are perfect examples of the variety of the 3,149 registered PACs filed with the Federal Elections Commission as of mid-1982.

There are five major categories of PACs. The most prolific in numbers are the corporate PACs (1,327 in 1982). While individuals in corporate PACs have never been ones to spend tremendous amounts of money, their sheer collective advantage allows them to contribute more PAC money to candidates than any other group of PACs. Moreover, sixty-six percent of this money was given to

cal action committees. While seeking to further their causes in politics, the labor movement inadvertently allowed the restrictions on corporate PACs to be lessened.

Since 1976, PACs of all types have greatly expanded. Being the

business oriented Republicans.

Other types of PACs are much smaller in number. Those formed through industry or professional associations are referred to as "trade/membership" PACs. They numbered 608 in 1982, and

"In 1982, about \$1.1 million was targeted against the reelection of Ted Kennedy alone."

include powerful PACs such as the Realtors PAC and the American Medical PAC. There are 41 PACs for milk producers, farmers, and so on, and these are classified as "cooperative" PACs. Labor PACs now total 25 percent of the total number of corporate PACs - 318 in all.

The last of the groups is the so-called "ideological" or "non-connected" PACs. These PACs are formed by voters who are not affiliated with any corporation, union, or other existing organization. They are registered under names such as the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and Americans for an Effective Presidency. These four categories of PACs, when combined with the much larger corporate PAC structure, make up a formidable source of campaign funds for federal politicians. In just ten years, PAC funds have accounted for one-fourth of the money raised by all candidates and one-third of the money raised by incumbents.

The most interesting aspect of the PAC game is the tactics used to get legislators to vote the "right" way. One method frequently used is letter-writing. The National Rifle Association has used this tactic successfully in the past, but many Congressmen are not swayed by this method. If the letters are handwritten and use

the language of common people, voting responses of legislators have a better chance of matching up with the desires of the PAC. Those that are written in a formal style on a computer have a "form-letter" look legislators easily pick up and disregard.

discredit the incumbent. Although it is hard to say how much impact these ideological PACs had on the outcome of these elections, four targeted office holders lost in their reelection bids: Birch Bayh of Indiana, Frank Church of Idaho, John Culver of Iowa, and George McGovern of South Dakota.

The results of the 1982 mid-term elections brought the effectiveness of "negative campaigns" into further question. After boldly proclaiming their New Right victory in defeating the four incumbents previously mentioned, ultra-right PACs were forced to eat a little crow. NCPAC turned out to be the biggest loser of all when 16 of 17 incumbents targeted for defeat all won reelection. In 1982, about \$1.1 million was targeted against the reelection of Ted Kennedy alone. This plan had little effect, and Kennedy defeated Ray Shamie by a 61 to 39 percent count. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland also incurred the wrath of the New Right to the tune of \$700 thousand; he won by 26 percentage points.



Senator Edward Kennedy has been a main target of conservative PACs

Nevertheless, nonconnected PACs (mainly ideological ones) have an enormous amount of financial resources, and this must be reckoned with by all candidates. In 1982, nonconnected PACs reported spending almost \$65 million. They vastly outspent other PACs, giving \$22 million more than the corporate ones.

The ideological groups have drawn much criticism from all over the United States. Some do not like their negative tactics. Still, in a late '82 Harris Survey, public opinion about PACs appeared mixed. Big business and union PACs were looked upon as "self-serving," while ideological PACs were viewed somewhat more favorably.

The most effective PAC tactic is posing as a "watchdog," combined with threats of campaign fund cutoffs for uncooperative candidates. For example, the Realtors PAC (RPAC) publishes a "report card" for members of Congress. They monitor certain important votes and give each member a rating based on a number of criteria. If RPAC's interests suffer, the Congressmen who caused the decline will be given a lower rating. In election years, the "report card" is sent to the 605,000 members of the National Realtors Association. The realtors, in turn, send this information to customers and associates, who just happen to be voters.

Also common are monetary rewards for voting the right way. In 1981, the National Automobile Dealers Association gave \$40,750 to members of the Energy and Commerce Committee. The result was that a proposed Federal Trade Commission rule requiring car dealers to inform buyers of known defects in used cars was killed in Congress. For some politicians, PACs are a great influence on their policy planning.

Critics have sought to curb PAC influence through legislative



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means. Election reform groups, such as Common Cause, have proposed extending public financing to congressional campaigns. This, they feel, would ultimately lead to diminished PAC power. Unfortunately, strong opposition to these efforts has kept any laws of this nature from being enacted.

What is the future of PACs? There is no doubt that they will continue to grow. Corporations especially cannot ignore the tremendous influence their PACs can have on the political process. U.S. Senator Carl Curtis sums this up best when he says, "Somebody is going to operate the politics of our country. If those people who are devoted to our Constitution

and to our way of life, to our system of free enterprise and the preservation of the blessings of freedom are not involved in politics, somebody else will be. If businessmen shun politics, others who may not understand or agree with the businessman's view of government will be making the laws under which the business community will have to live."

These sentiments can be easily applied to all groups who use PACs to their political advantage. If it is necessary for a group to keep its interests in the minds of our federal politicians, PACs will continue to be an effective means of influence. PACs, for better or worse, are here to stay. •



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music

Moving Off Rush Street

Alternative Music Venues in Chicago

by Tim Adams

I bet that if any of you have been to a concert in Chicago, you ventured to one of the larger venues in the city: **The Rosemont Horizon**, the **UIC Pavilion** or the **Auditorium Theatre**.

Perhaps your experience with the music scene in Chicago is limited to the bands that happen to be performing at the Rush Street bars. Hey, that's fine, but Chicago is also home to a wide variety of clubs, halls and bars which should satisfy each and every musical taste.

South Bend may call itself "the city that rocks," but I think Chicago holds a slight edge over our beautiful campus town in terms of how much it rocks. When the "biggie" tours hit the Windy City, they invariably stop off at one of the major stadiums. The **Rosemont Horizon** (6920 Mannheim, Rosemont) is not located in Chicago, but it is close enough to merit mention here. With excellent stage shows, the **Horizon** has seen monolithic acts like Bruce Springsteen, the Who, Prince and others in its cavernous confines.

The **Pavilion** (Harrison and Racine), located on the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the **Auditorium Theatre** (70 E. Congress) are the two other major venues in Chicago. Because of its young age and relative cleanliness, the **Pavilion** provides a better concert atmosphere than the **Auditorium Theatre**. Shows of a larger magnitude, such

as Madonna's 1985 tour stop and the highly successful **Fresh Festival II**, appear here.

For those Domers who prefer a smaller setting for a rock concert, Chicago provides plenty of places to enjoy. Without a doubt, the **Cabaret Metro** (3730 N. Clark) is the most active club in the city. **Metro** is Chicago's underground musical vanguard; almost no other hall in town will feature popular, non-mainstream bands. Since it opened a few years ago, **Metro** has featured concerts by New Order, **Guadacanal Diary**, the **Ramones**, **Husker Du**, **Billy Idol**, **R.E.M.**, **X**, and a slew of other worthwhile underground bands.

A larger-scale version of **Cabaret Metro** is the **Aragon Ballroom** (1106 W. Lawrence). While **Metro's** capacity approximates 1,000, the **Aragon** holds at least 3,000 people, which makes for some pretty sweaty shows. Though it doesn't put on very many concerts, the **Aragon** still snags quality popular acts. In the past few years, the **Clash**, the **Pretenders**, the **Thompson Twins** and other big-name acts have performed here. I recommend this venue, but it does have some drawbacks, like the echo-filled acoustics and the sometimes dangerous mass of bodies on the floor.

There are a few more small-scale rock halls of note. **Park West** (322 W. Armitage) is a nice, clean club that features jazz and folk acts, as well as rock. The **Vic Theatre** (3145 N. Sheffield) usually puts on less mainstream shows than **Park West**, like **Run-**

D.M.C. and the **Del Fuegos**.

OK, I've talked enough about the rock halls, but what about other types of music? You name it - blues, jazz, folk, reggae - and Chicago's got it. For the blues-loving Domer, there is **B.L.U.E.S.** (2519 N. Halsted), which consistently showcases local and national acts; **Kingston Mines** (2548 N. Halsted), located very near **B.L.U.E.S.**, presents quality acts like **Koko Taylor**, **Lonnie Brooks** and **Sugar Blue**; **Biddy Mulligan's** (7644 N. Sheridan), which also features rock acts; and **Fitzgerald's** (6615 Roosevelt), which probably puts on the widest variety of acts of any club in the Chicago area. All of these are recommended.

As for jazz, the Rush Street bars usually feature it in ample supply, but the **Bulls** (1916 Lincoln Park West) and the **Wise Fools Pub** (2270 N. Lincoln) are the most popular places to find a strictly jazz fare. **Orphans** (2462 N. Lincoln) mixes in jazz acts with local rock and country acts.

Reggae is not predominant in Chicago, but it can be found at **Roots Rock Reggae** (3530 N. Clark), open seven nights a week and featuring national as well as local reggae acts. And last, for you folkies, **Holstein's** (2464 N. Lincoln) showcases almost solely folk acts.

If you can't find what you're looking for in Chicago, then it probably can not be found. Each of these venues is worth a visit, if just to sample the charismatic atmosphere of a big-city club. ●

Opinion...

In Search of the Perfect Tear

by Jean O'Bryan

As we sit in front of our televisions and watch the evening news replay the scene of the McAuliffe family watching in horror as the space shuttle bursts into flames, we must pause for a moment and wonder, "What the hell is the matter with the American media?"

What do journalists think they are doing for the American public when they broadcast such sentimental sensationalism? And better yet, why do viewers watch it? Granted, after the broadcast, we know for certain that the McAuliffe family is greatly distressed by their loss, but, obviously, we could have figured that out for ourselves. If the McAuliffe family had not been upset with the outcome of the mission, perhaps that would have been grounds for a human interest story. As it stands, the broadcast was of no newsworthy value. This coverage of the shuttle tragedy was not an isolated event, rather it was merely the most glaring and recent manifestation of a growing trend among the media to exploit the human interest story.

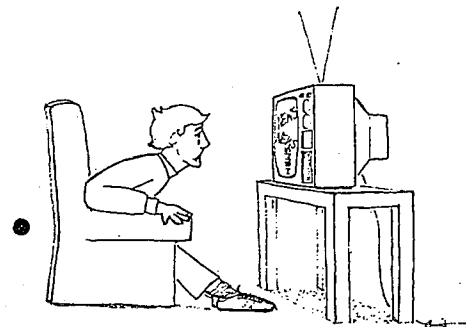
When television reporting becomes unbearable, the thinking viewer may turn to the periodicals which can allow for individual discretion. Sadly, though, the newspapers and magazines appear to compete with the television to present the public with the ultimate in human interest fluff. Even the *New York Times* couldn't

resist a front page story on the life of the Klinghoffer family after the loss of a loved one.

Since mass media both reflects and shapes public opinion, the blame for this trend toward cheap sentimentality belongs to both the broadcasters and viewers. Low-quality journalism is the easy way out for all concerned. It takes considerably more effort for reporters to research a news story, uncover new developments and present a balanced report on a controversial issue than it does to jam a mini-camera under the nose of the victim's bereaved and record their grief. For the audience, as well, an emotional response to the tears of Leon Klinghoffer's widow is more easily generated than an educated response to the complex problem of international terrorism.

Thus, if the discriminating viewer can gain little substantial information about national and world events from the exploitation of the human interest story, he can at least learn something about the condition of those following the news. When any loss or endangerment of life results in a media blitz, the general public looks to the media for entertainment rather than information.

Certain events may naturally lend themselves to sentimental sensationalism. When public interest is high and available information low, like in kidnappings, hijackings and shuttles explosions, the media looks for any source to feed the public interest, instead of responsibly



admitting the inability of reporters to provide more substantial information. As a result, the American public sobs along with the congregation of the Concord, New Hampshire church as camera crews rove in search of the perfect tear. Following clips from the service, we are presented with interviews on the tragedy from Concord high school students. Clearly the media will continue to pump the story as long as the public is listening regardless of whether or not the topic has been exhausted.

No doubt, the discriminating viewer may feel helpless and at the mercy of the media in the face of this trend toward sentimentality, but at the very least, he can be aware of the problem. If the mass media aspires to mediocrity, that's their business, the viewer has the freedom to remain skeptical and unreceptive. The media knows that sentimentality sells and will continue to sell until audience response demands otherwise. Therefore, the only way to reverse the trend is to reject such sentimental outbursts in the media. Turn off the television, switch to another periodical and hope that the editors get the message. And if it takes them a while, at least you will lose nothing in the meantime. ●

Corporate America Plays the MERGER GAME

by Ginny Blissert

Corporate America is playing its own version of Monopoly. The game is a bit more complex and virtually any company can play. If there are not enough funds to buy the corporate Boardwalk, junk bonds will provide more capital and greater returns. Just don't land on "poison pill," "shark repellent," and "lockup" - or else it's do not pass go, do not collect \$200.

During 1984, mergers and acquisitions totaled \$124 billion as the result of 2,999 deals. With an average of eleven acquisitions, whole or in part, per day, the level in 1985 is expected to top \$125 billion. Essentially, diversification, expansion, and long term investment are the aims of the game.

Many of the recent mergers and acquisitions are spinoffs of deals made five to ten years ago. According to Professor John Halloran of the Notre Dame finance department, managers have realized the complexity of their original intentions. Having invested in highly diverse lines of business, they have discovered they do not have the experience to efficiently and profitably run their acquisitions. They are now opting to sell



some of their unrelated divisions, profiting handsomely in the process and fueling the takeover trend.

Players in the takeover game range from large corporations to "takeover entrepreneurs" such as Ted Turner, Carl Icahn and T. Boone Pickens. This year witnessed the largest takeovers in history: General Electric acquired

RCA for \$6.3 billion, Philip Morris bought General Foods for \$5.1 billion, and Beatrice, the maker of Tropicana and Samsonite Luggage, went for \$6.2 billion in a leveraged buyout. No takeover seems too large and no corporation safe in this age of billion dollar buyouts.

Financing these megadeals are "junk bonds" - high risk, high

yield debt instruments. Used most frequently in the leveraged buyout, the raider issues such debt to raise needed capital to purchase the target company. Like any loan, lenders are paid at regular intervals. And if the company is resold or goes public, investors are repaid principal plus a substantial profit. Over \$27 billion in junk bonds have been issued during the past two years. Companies like Drexel Burnham Lambert have been responsible for most of this type of financing. Recognizing the profit potential of these securities, junk bonds have become a favorite tool for arbitrageurs. Arbitrageurs quickly snatch up the majority of these issues and when they side with the raider, reap generous profits.

Revlon, the cosmetics and health care giant, is one example of a large corporation that fell victim to takeover after five months of complicated struggle. Interested in Revlon's potential earning power, Ronald O. Perelman, Chairman of Pantry Pride sought to acquire the company. Through the use of junk bonds and the help of arbitrageurs and a court ruling, the small Florida-based supermarket chain was able to acquire Revlon for \$2.7 billion in November.

Perelman, a takeover entrepreneur, built his conglomerate - MacAndrews & Forbes Holding, Inc. - by selling off divisions and using the capital to buy other companies. Revlon was one of 25 companies of interest to replace supermarkets that were being sold. The plan was so secretive that Perelman and his advisors used the code name "Nicole" when discussing the interest in Revlon.

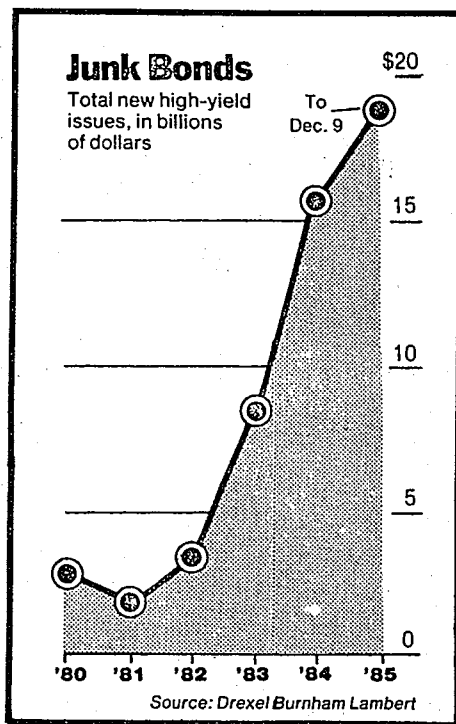
Though Perelman's first offer was a friendly proposal, Revlon's chairman, Bergerac, asserted that no such acquisition would take

On the positive side, merger activity promotes internal efficiency within corporate America.



place. In August, a public offer for \$47.50 per share was made. Bergerac declined, accusing Perelman of covertly raising \$700 million in junk bonds to purchase Revlon.

To avert this hostile takeover,



Revlon enacted a "poison pill", a device used to make a potential target less attractive and too expensive. In Revlon's case, its pill gave holders the right to swap \$65 shares for one-year Revlon notes. It would be activated if an unwanted suitor acquired 20 percent of Revlon and would remain in effect until the transaction was over or bidding exceeded \$56 per share. The pill became nicknamed the "suicide pill," since it could potentially eliminate equity while raising the level of debt.

Revlon was protected by the fact that the company was inherently worth more than Perelman's offer price. To sell its share at \$47.50 would be detrimental to its stockholders. Within two weeks, Perelman raised his bid to \$50 per share and Revlon's time was running out. They had six days to find an alternate plan or "white knight" to financially rescue them. Instead, they opted to settle for a complex breakup, in which the company's assets would be divided and sold. One group, headed by Forstmann Little & Co., a New York management buyout firm, agreed to buy the health care division for \$1.7 billion. The cosmetics divisions would sell for \$900 million to Adler & Shaykin, a small investment company. Shareholders would receive \$56 per share. Forstmann Little would finance the purchase through a leveraged buyout in which Bergerac would use part of his "golden parachute" or severance pay and remain the company's chief. He later withdrew, however, due to criticism about the use of this pay.

The bidding war was on. Perelman, meanwhile raised his bid to \$56.25. Just a few days later, Forstmann Little's bid reached \$57.25. In addition, Revlon also granted Forstmann Little a "lockup", the right to buy company assets at an extremely

Many of the recent mergers and acquisitions are spinoffs of deals made five to ten years ago.

ADVANCE TO GO



low price. Perelman responded in two ways. First, he upped his bid to \$58 which served to bypass Revlon's poison pill provision. Secondly, Perelman brought Revlon to court on charges that, in granting a lockup, Revlon was not acting in the best interests of its stockholders. On October 23, Judge Walsh of the Delaware Court System ruled Revlon breached the fiduciary duty to their shareholders with the sale of their assets to Forstmann Little. Such a sale was detrimental to both its own interests and those of the stockholders. By November 5, the victorious Perelman was the company's new chairman and chief executive.

Cases like the Revlon acquisition are not uncommon in the often hostile takeover environment. Thus the question naturally arises: are such deals justified or is corporate America getting out of hand? The most popular argument for merger activity is that takeovers promote internal effi-

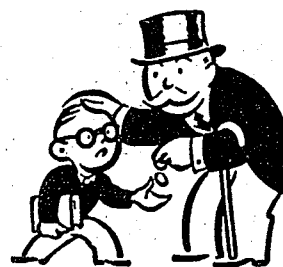
ciency. Proponents contend that corporations become more diverse and therefore more competitive through expansion. Companies are forced to become leaner and tougher, as the number of corporations is essentially decreasing. The threat of a takeover often results in a massive restructuring - one that may have been necessary yet would not have otherwise been undertaken. It can extend from the selling of unprofitable assets to the reshaping of management to widespread layoffs. Analysts believe that many companies may be better off with these changes but with a high price for victory. They also cite examples of target companies whose stock continues to trade at prices in excess of the raider's bid.

And Wall Street couldn't agree more. News of a takeover target sends the price of its stock way up. For instance, RCA jumped from \$10.375 to \$63.50 per share before its deal with General Electric was closed. With the fuel of merger activity, the Dow Jones Industrial average level of the stock market had peaked above the 1,500 level mark. Goldman Sachs reports that 70 percent of the market's rise has been charged by the merger craze. In addition, financial advisors, such as Drexel Burnham Lambert receive phenomenal compensation - \$50 million was the figure in the Revlon-Pantry Pride battle. Trading on a corporate takeover can mean quick financial gains for all its participants.

Other proponents of the mega-deals say some deals just make good, plain business sense. Often, it is cheaper for a company to move into a product line through acquisition rather than development. Such was the case with Proctor & Gamble when they acquired Richardson-Vicks, maker of Oil of Olay and NyQuil.

It cost less for P & G to purchase such product lines than attempting to produce similar ones in-house. It also means less competition. Or, perhaps, consolidation compliments existing companies. Take, for example, General Motors' acquisition of Hughes Aircraft last June. The car manufacturer is gearing up to enter new areas of technology with backup assistance from Hughes and their other acquisition Electronic Data Systems. In their Saturn project, EDS is designing computer software while Hughes is creating electronics systems.

Opponents feel that corporate objectives are getting hidden behind the opportunities for quick profits. Companies seem distracted from their main concern of productivity and are shifting resources to the search for possible takeovers. The focus is on short term gambling instead of long term strategic investing. This opinion is extremely evident in leveraged buyouts. Professor Halloran recognizes essentially two sources of motivation for leveraged buyouts. The first is based on economic rational in which

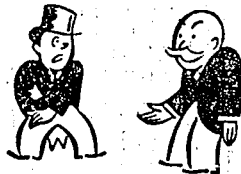


Adopting a "let them eat each other" approach, the Reagan Administration tends not to interfere with corporate takeovers.

managers of a small firm buy out their company's assets with the intention of improving operations. He feels this is not the case, however, in buyouts as large as ones like Beatrice. When stakes are this high, buyouts are primarily a financing vehicle. Quick profit is the incentive when purchases can be financed with 90 percent debt and sold again 2-3 years later.

Moreover, the threat of an economic downturn weighs heavily on the minds of economists and analysts. The current merger mania is occurring in a period of economic recovery. Financing these deals is debt in the form of below investment grade junk bonds. Salomon Brothers estimates that the debt of corporations has risen to \$1.6 trillion. In addition, as the level of debt has skyrocketed, so too has the amount of equity plummeted. Companies whose balance sheets have shifted in this way could face seriously depressed cash flows in the event of a recession or a rise in interest rates. Subsequently, a corporation's ability to repay debt would be impaired. Today's buyout could turn into tomorrow's bankruptcy.

Limited in the past, legislation for mergers is becoming a concern of regulators who fear this trend has gone too far. New York State recently passed a bill which protects potential target companies. It would give managers of New York based firms the right to block an unfriendly takeover for up to five years. Delaware has also played an integral part in takeover fights since so many firms are incorporated in that state. The Revlon-Pantry Pride decision set a precedent, giving a raider the possibility to circumvent such barriers as poison pills and lockups. Adopting a "let them eat each other" type philosophy, the Reagan administration seems in favor of this growth. It is



In the rules of the merger game no takeover is too large and no corporation is safe.

not in violation of anti-trust laws and analysts believe that almost any deal will be approved. Volker, on the other hand, feels it is time for the merger game to end. He views the rise in debt financing is alarming. As a step to limit such financing, Volker has imposed a 50 percent margin requirement on takeovers. That is, a firm wishing to acquire another can finance only half of the bid through the use of junk bonds. Uncertainty regarding new tax laws also has Wall Street nervous. A temporary lag on merger activity has resulted and analysts fear that the new legislation could sufficiently slow further deals.

Whether the merger trend is beneficial to American business remains a question. Certainly, every merger is different and must be judged in that respect. There are, however, certain elements which are evident. Business, including Wall Street, has become wrapped up in the activity. Focus must once again be placed on productivity, cost effectiveness, and the consumer. Secondly, the level of debt is far too high. While leverage can substantially multiply profits, losses do not escape amplification. Business failure rates are estimated at 80 percent of what they were during the depression - and these recent occurrences were during a cyclical expansion. Unfortunately, we may have to wait for the trend in mergers to simply run its course, for even tighter legislation will not be completely effective. Somehow Wall Street's masterminds will discover a way to bypass these laws or develop new products - they always do.●



New Area Studies Program Explores Mid-East

by Beth Taylor

Modern civilization has its roots in the Mediterranean and Middle East region. Throughout history the region has had a tremendous impact on the world. While today the area is a center of economic growth and political upheaval, behind the modern growth and change remains a rich cultural tradition and ancient religious past. In recognition of the importance of this region for study in a variety of fields, the College of Arts and Letters has introduced the program of Mediterranean and Middle East studies. Last year the program received final approval to become the Mediterranean/Middle East Concentration.

The idea for this program originated four years ago with Rev. Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., of the anthropology department, and Dr. Evelyn Early, research associate in the Center for the Study of Contemporary Society. They were aware of many Middle East specialists within the College who were offering courses on a variety of topics. Gaffney and Early aimed to consolidate these courses under a unified heading so that interested students could develop a systematic approach to Middle East studies. Professor Kenneth Moore, then chairman of the anthropology department and a specialist in Mediterranean studies, saw the growing Middle East program as an opportunity to introduce students to the world of the Mediterranean. While the two regions are methodologically dif-

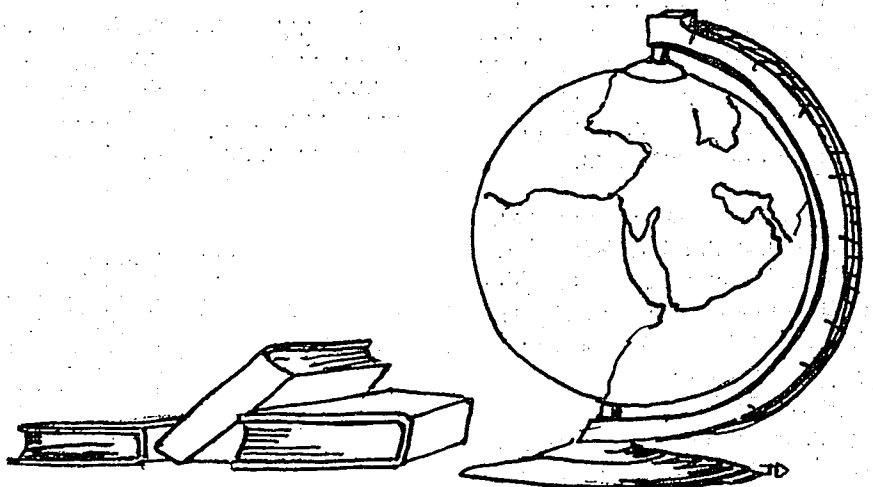
ferent, geographically they overlap. The goal in combining the two in a single concentration was to present them as a cultural whole.

Today, the concentration is coordinated by Gaffney. He and three other professors working as a committee run the course under the aegis of the anthropology department. Students wishing to begin studies in this concentration must have some training in a Mediterranean language. Two courses in the cultural traditions of the region are required and the remaining three electives can be chosen from a broad list of courses offered in various departments. This list was originally drawn from courses already in existence. Now, however, courses are being created specifically for this concentration. For the truly interested student the concentration offers programs of study abroad in Cairo and Jerusalem.

Within the concentration the

focus of study is entirely up to the student. The flexibility of this program makes it adaptable as a supplement to any major, or merely as a chance to learn about an area very much in the public eye. Gaffney believes in a guided course of study rather than a haphazard selection of random topics. Concentrations allow the college experience to be an integrated whole. To achieve the greatest benefit from the program, however, Gaffney stresses the need for guidance. A student enrolled in the program can go to any of the twenty-five faculty members involved for advice in his course of study.

Since the concentration is fairly new, changes as well as growth are anticipated for the future. Gaffney hopes for the concentration to split into Mediterranean studies and Middle East studies. Such a split would allow each area to narrow and define its separate range of topics. For now, however, the program emphasis is on offering relevant courses which fit the design of representing the region as a cultural unit. The program also hopes to continue to extend beyond the classroom. During the past fall it sponsored a lecture series and an Egyptian film series hosted by Egyptian film critic Zakiro Abaid. Through such efforts, the program hopes to introduce students to a culture which is as new as it is ancient. •



Patriotism at the Movies

COMBATING THE RAMBO MENTALITY

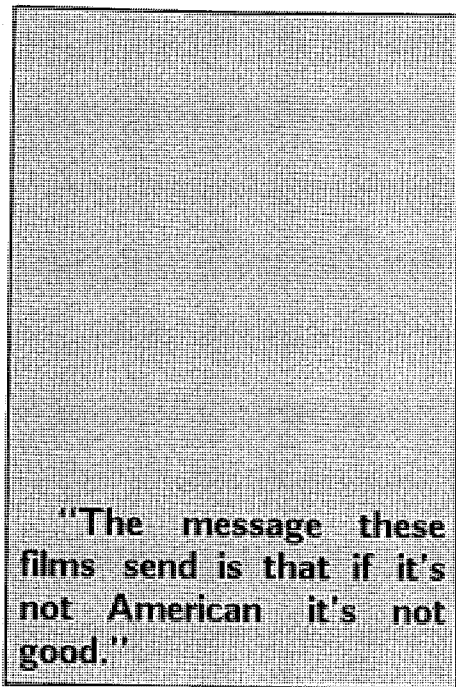
by Ted Mandell

Film reflects society. Since the days of early film when the Lumiere brothers recorded workers leaving a factory in France, motion pictures have mirrored the social surroundings from which they are created.

In the early forties, Americans flocked to theaters across the country to see patriotic heroes pledge allegiance to their country by overcoming various foreign enemies. During World War II everything red, white and blue was hallowed. After the war, films reflected the pessimism of returning soldiers whose stories contrasted sharply with those told in Hollywood. War wasn't fun and games, beating up the bad guys, kissing the flag and celebrating victory with an ice-cold brew. Instead, the films of the late forties and early fifties reflected a dark, cynical world. No one was safe in the movies where even an innocent protagonist could get caught in a web of deception, crime and imminent demise.

In the late sixties and early seventies, the theaters were filled with a different kind of war film. *Easy Rider*, *Midnight Cowboy* and *The Graduate* presented a socially defiant anti-hero; a deliberate reflection of the nation's state of mind. After Vietnam, movies captured the futility and pessimism of

the post-war mood. *The Deer Hunter*, *Coming Home* and *Apo-*

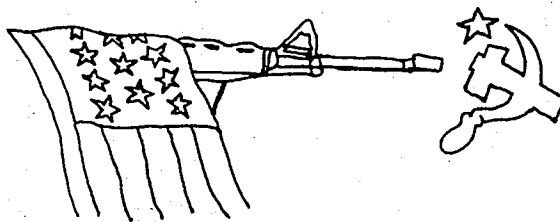


calypse Now showed a true picture of war's effects on the human being.

Today's trend in film reached Notre Dame's Engineering Auditorium in late January. The Student Activities Board elected to show Sylvester Stallone's one-two

punch for patriotism; *First Blood* and *Rambo: First Blood-Part II*. Undoubtedly, the SAB packed the house and raised some money by showing these popular misrepresentations of war. Unfortunately, too many people pay to see the U.S. blow up, mangle and eliminate anything, especially the Soviet Union, in order to boost a false sense of American superiority. Even sadder is the notion that this type of mentality prevails across the nation. The box office grosses continue to grow for *Rambo*, *Commando*, and *Invasion USA*, and all the other movies which I put into a category: fake patriotism.

Instead of spending our money on falsely patriotic movies, like *Rambo*, we can spend our movie dollar learning what happens to countries with xenophobia. Go see *Shoah*, a nine hour documentary which talks to survivors of the holocaust in Germany and to some of the people responsible for the tragedy. It is scary to realize that the Nazis sound like they were reading from the script of *Rambo: First Blood Part II*. ●



Leisure and Education

ONE AND THE SAME

by Liz Siegel

"Are you going out tonight?"

"No, I've got a lot of work to do."

In a conversation between students, "work" means class-work, that is- study. This typical student response reveals a societal distinction between intellectual work and leisure. We view studying as a rigid and often alienating activity. Studying, we have decided, must occur during the week; weekends are reserved for playing and recreation - leisure.

Education, however, has not always been equated with the toil of work. The word school derives from the Greek and Latin words *skole* and *schola* both of which mean leisure. The classical understanding of leisure differs greatly from the idleness, or non-intellectual activity which often comprise our notion of the term.

According to Aristotle, we work in order to have leisure; a leisure to devote to learning. A necessary relation, therefore, exists between the servile and the liberal arts. Leisure is understood as an integral part of one's development as a human being. As Joseph Pieper points out in his book, *Leisure, The Basis of Culture*, leisure is "a mental and spiritual attitude - it is not simply the result of external factors, it is not the inevitable result of spare time, a holiday, a week-end, or a vacation." Leisure is, in fact, a "con-

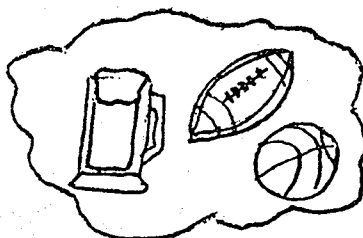
dition of the soul." By this definition, going to senior bar, or watching television may not be classified as leisure at all.

What, then, is genuine leisure, and what kinds of activity are included in it? Pieper suggests that leisure is a celebration, an affirmation of life, not merely a respite from work. Leisure, an essential element of full human growth, enables each person to develop his nature and faculties to his potential. It is not surprising that for the Greeks, education

was a primary source of leisure.

At a university, we are confronted with a choice of attitudes towards leisure and learning which will shape the rest of our lives. As students, we either lead fragmented lives of work (study) and play (non-intellectual activity), or we enjoy a period of perpetual leisure, to the extent that we are free to devote ourselves to learning.

This education, of course, extends far beyond O'Shaughnessy and Cushing Halls. It exists wherever we take the opportunity to examine, to exchange and to test the ideas which daily explode in our minds. It may be found in the smoky

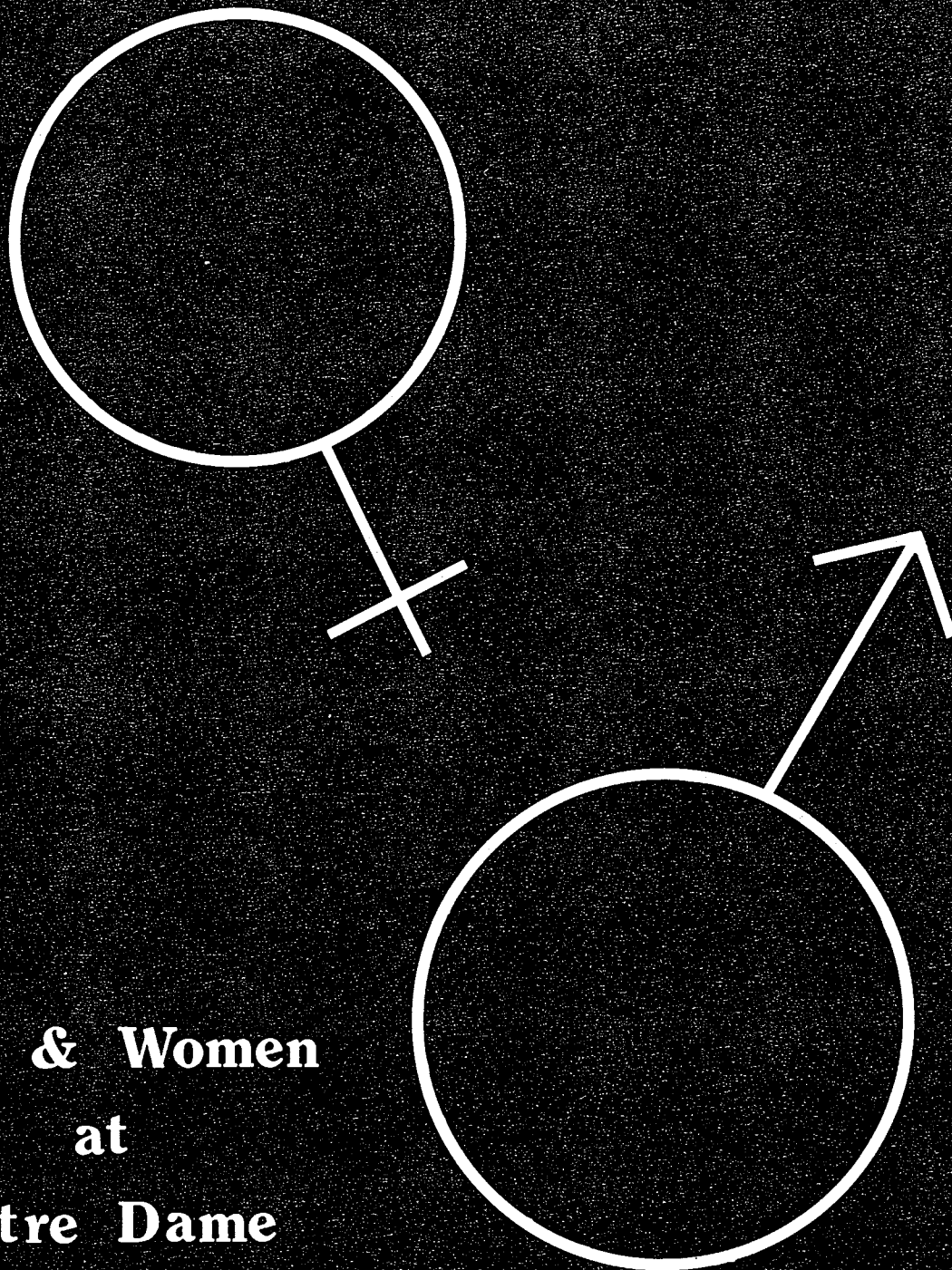


"...as possessors of leisure, we are consequently the creators of culture."

booths of the Commons, in the study rooms of Memorial Library, in the Oak Room at night, occasionally at Senior Bar and often in the dining halls where students linger past seven o'clock, engrossed in conversation. Whenever we open ourselves to different people and different ideas, whenever we gather to celebrate our discoveries - there is, simultaneously, education and leisure.

Before we once again stereotype Notre Dame or South Bend as a cultural desert and social wasteland, we must recall that as possessors of leisure, we are consequently the creators of culture.

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