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What's Wrong Willy he Nation's Strongest Fraternity System?

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Alan Schoellkopf

ADVERTISING

Ted Saunders 464-8969

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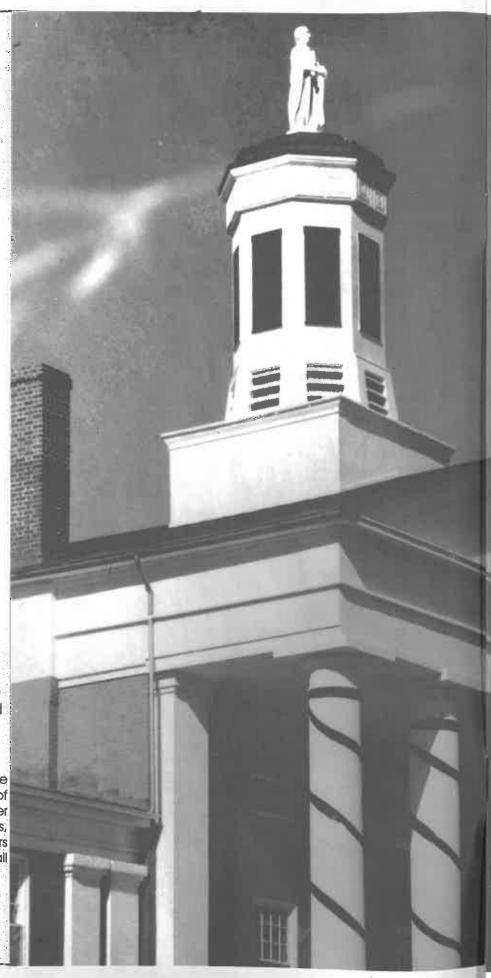
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WASHINGTON AND LEE SPECTATOR

NOVEMBER 1994 Volume 6, Issue 1

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College Days

College Life is a thing of the past. No more does one see the throngs of gaily dressed youths lounging around McCrums, or, we had best say, over McCrum's. No more do we hear the midnight shouts of the revelers returning from the scene of their nocturnal adventures, but we may hear the solitary footsteps of some conscientious seeker of knowledge returning from Tucker Hall or the History Library, to snatch a few hours sleep from his work. As a result of the change in our student body, the State has gone dry. Willie Higgins is running his Ivory Hall from mere force of habit, the barbers have raised the prices on Haircuts and Shaves, and it is now necessary to run two bookstores in town, where one formerly supplies all needs.

"Yes! The Good Old Days have passed into oblivion, so it would seem."

Yes! The Good Old Days have passed into oblivion, so it would seem. College Life has vanished from the old campus only the Odds and Ends are left, pitiful reminders of a former glory. THE CALYX for several years cherished the idea that College Life was not dead but dormant. It endeavored to believe that some day it would awake from its sleep and restore the old traditions. However, this year, our patience is exhausted and with tears in our eyes and ache in our hearts, we must stand by and acknowledge to ourselves that things will never be the same. Therefore, we dedicate this first number of ODDS AND ENDS to "the Good Old Days," which can never be recalled, save in the memories of those who lived in them and knew them. To us, they are only a shadow and a tradition-something which we can never experience.

An excerpt from the 1915 Caylx.

Top Ten Ways to Tell if you Have a Drinking Problem

The Unpublished Section of Student Alcohol Survey

- 10. YOU WAKE UP IN PRESIDENT WILSON'S BUSHES.
- 9. You wet your matress more in college than you ever did in kindergarten.
- 8. IF YOU HAVE EVER LEFT THE PALMS WITH A TOWNIE.
- 7. YOU THINK LAMAR VILLIERE IS FUNNY.
- 6. You Keep trying to Convince Everyone that You're Not that Drunk.
- 5. YOU RUN NAKED THROUGH THE KAPPA HOUSE AND THEN REALIZE THERE ARE NO SORORITY HOUSES.
- 4. It's Monday afternoon, and you still cannot think.
- 3. YOU HAVE TO TRY YOUR DAMNEDEST TO REMEMBER WHERE YOU PARKED YOUR CAR.
- 2. You realize that you eat Stop-In nachoes more than once a week.
- 1. YOU STREAK THE COLONADE AND BUMP INTO PROFESSOR PORTER.

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Campus

Paul Wright

FIJIs Deserve Same Rights and Privileges

"The brothers of Phi

Gamma Delta are still

Washington & Lee

students and deserve the

rights and privileges which

accompany that status."

"If you and Billy cannot behave yourselves then I am just going to have to separate you two."

"Yeah, but MOM, COME ON, were friends and..."

"No 'BUTS' young man, 'now go to your room and do not come out until I say so!"

Such is the scene of pre-adolescence: someone always trying to tell you who to see, what to do, and how to act. But unfortunately, these restrictions from above do not end with your childhood, for college life a.k.a adulthood comes with

a host of new MOMS and DADS. Only this time they wear suits, sit behind a desk, and dictate your future through regulatory statutes. While all students must obey their rules, the Greek system often bears the brunt of their authority. The Greeks are, in essence, the black sheep of the family,

and given the events of the 1993-94 school year, no one is more embarrassing to morn and dad than FIII

The facts of the conviction are well-known and of no real consequence at this point. Of particular relevance now, however, is the absurdity of the suspension ordinance; specifically the provision which prohibits no more than five brothers to convene in one place.

FIVE. So the brothers of a suspended house can only—form a basketball team. But that could not work because you need substitutions in case of injury, farigue, or fouls. They could form a golf foursome with one caddie. That is no good either because one caddie cannot carry all four bags.

The prospects are rather sparse.

The point here is to illustrated the absurdity of trying to force close friends, tight brothers, from associating with one another. The administration must realize that even though they can suspend the fratemity with 'one stroke of the SAC gavel', they cannot ever disband the brotherhood. The basis for this outpouring of cynicism is the SAC disbanding of a party on Randolph Street earlier this year. The house, in which five FIJI brothers live, was the center of activity for various students from several dif-

ferent fraternities and even different schools. Yet, big brother and his parents felt that the situation was unacceptable based on the fact that FI-JIs lived in the house. I may be incorrect, but I do not feel that the fraternity's suspension merits the invasion of the brother's private prop-

erty. Are FIIIs banned from social status on all levels? Must the brothers remove themselves from all activities which may be construed as enjoyable, social, fraternal?

Beyond the hyperbole is a valid point. The brothers of Phi Gamma Delta are still Washington & Lee students and deserve the rights and privileges which accompany that status. FIJI heavily regrets the mistakes of last year, (both the fraternity's and the administration's) but they are not going to sacrifice their brotherhood over regulation—it is too difficult to gain and too important to lose. My brothers are my brothers forever.

Sorry Mom and Dad, but Billy is not going to stay in his room.

$\Phi \Gamma \Delta$

TOP TEN STATISTICS MISSING FROM THE COED REPORT

- 10. Number of Free Beers and Bands Provided to W&L Women.
- 9. AMOUNT OF MONEY W&L MALES SPEND TO CREATE THAT "OFFENSIVE ENVIROMENT."
- 8. NUMBER OF MEN OFFENDED BY DATE RAPE POSTERS.
- 7. Number of Women Offended by the W&L Spectator.
- 6. PERCENTAGE OF MALES WHO THINK DEAN SCHROER-LAMONT IS HOT.
- 5. Number of Times Men Have Beer-Goggled and Regretted it.
- 4. NUMBER OF RENT-FREE NIGHTS IN A W&L FRATERNITY HOUSE.
- 3. PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS WHO PREFER SORORITY PARTIES TO FRATERNITY PARTIES.
- 2. NUMBER OF SOBER RIDES THAT PLEDGES GIVE W&L WOMEN.
- 1. Number of Times W&L WILL RENOVATE GAINES BEFORE THEY ADMIT IT WAS A MISTAKE.

AND THE FACT THAT W&L MEN ARE NOT THE ONES COMPLAINING.

Lloyd C. Peeples

Reading Between the Lines

The Coeducation Review Committee recently released its final report concluding its year-long effort to study the effects of Washington and Lee's coeducation and to recommend steps for the future. This joint committee, composed of nine faculty members and three students, examined many aspects of life at

Washington and Lee including admissions, social life, hundred ninety-five page

document. Those who look toward the report for an accurate picture of Washington and Lee must look carefully.

The Dean of Feminism, Anne Schroer-Lamont, had a very strong influence on the committee's final report. One source commented that administrators were kept off the committee to specifically prevent nonfaculty members with political agendas from influencing the outcome. Schroer-Lamont (who does not teach a class) nonetheless attended many of the meetings and openly inserted her opinions into the debates. Her role was so prevailing that she is mentioned in the opening acknowledgments of the report. It reads: "Dean Anne Schroer-Lamont acted as a special consultant to the committee, met with us regularly and helped us gather information from other institutions." One professor remarked that Schroer-Lamont's presence on the committee "corrupted" the results, claiming that the dean influenced the committee toward and away from those issues she felt were important. Therefore, if you choose to look at the report in the Leyburn Library, please be forewarned of her substantial involvement.

If you took all the positive remarks out of the entire one hundred ninety five page document, it would probably be about five pages long. Many of achievements since W&L's coeducation are simply brushed over

and not explored. As a result of the total number of applications doubling in eight years, W&L now enrolls freshmen with higher SATs, GPAs, and more National Merit Scholars. These gains are mentioned as matterof-fact and quickly put aside so that criticisms receive more attention.

"W&L should do its best to ensure that faculty, women are comfortable without going to result is an astounding one ridiculous extremes."

> The report claims that security for women is good and commends W&L Security for "[responding] well to the needs of our female students." As before, this complement lies buried under a number of suggestions for change. Most of the "improvements" involve more programs and workshops about date and acquaintance rape. For those of you who remember the Freshman Orientation Program, this suggestion is another attempt to hold men hostage at mandatory malebashing seminars.

> Other positive changes at W&L are also either passed over briefly, or cited as not enough. For example, a look at undergraduate faculty hired as tenure track professors since 1985 reveals 30 males and 21 females. In Washington and Lee's ninth year of coeducation (1993-1994), the report claims that the percentage of tenured female faculty is 9.4%. In Davidson's tenth year this figure was 10.0%. Williams College only had 4.2% in its tenth year of coeducation. Yet, the report claims that W&L currently lags behind peer schools and that the gains are somehow inadequate.

> Since coeducation's establishment. W&L has introduced "five genderspecific courses." The report claims that many other liberal arts colleges have at least a minor in Women's Studies and more courses than W&L. The report quickly dismisses the many seminars offered that have had a

gender-specific focus. Examples of these seminars include: English 380 (Black American Female Writers), English 381 (Women and Creativity), Honors 100 & 201 (Women and Creative Artists), Art 380 (Women Artists), Spanish 395 (The Voice of Abandonment: Women and Poetic

> Tradition), and four others. But these nine upper-level seminars, along with the other five catalog courses seem somehow insufficient.

Even the committee's survey of W&L faculty reveals that they think that things are going well. 95.9% of the faculty responded that admitting women has had a favorable effect on the University. 69.8% of male faculty believe that women are adequately represented on university committees (20.8% didn't know), compared to 48.2% of women faculty (27.6% didn't know). Furthermore, 66.7% of women faculty reported being "satisfied with their position at Washington and Lee." These figures are even more important when one looks at the responses by untenured faculty. In many of the questions, untenured faculty tended to be more negative. This could be because they are not a secure about their position or because they simply view W&L as a stepping stone to school. Without another negatives, the responses that indicate that W&L has done a good job of integrating women to the university would most likely be stronger across the board.

While the final report does recommend moving away from the much-discussed 60/40 ratio, this is not the most important issue to consider. The report endorses building better housing for both sorority and independent women. Why independent women need a place to live? Do independent men need it too? For years, upper-class fraternity members have found that adequate housing is readily available offcampus. If women do not accept that option, Gaines has plenty of room, doesn't it? If the university should provide housing to women, it should build equal housing for men as well.

The report recommends moving away from the fraternity parties which many women apparently claim makes them feel like "second-class students." This is interesting. I've gone to many parties in my three Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday night that the free beer she holds in arts college." her hand makes her feel secondclass anything. Most just say "Thank You." Most of the social activity, however, occurs in the offcampus houses where girls living at Amityville and lower Windfall can throw a party just as easily as men living at the Batcave, Windfall, Aqua-Velva, or Penthouse. But this rarely occurs because women are more than happy to let fraternities carry the financial burden of parties. If sororities wish to take some of this load off of fraternities, they must first be willing to pay over \$1,500/ member per year in social dues, an idea many women do not embrace.

The report takes almost two hundred pages to say, "Well, things are good, but they're not good enough." I would say the opposite. Coeducation at Washington and Lee appears to be doing well -- period, end of story. 60/40 is a legitimate concern that deserves debate, not the cursory view that the report presents. At the same time however, courses on women's studies, more housing, a student center, more aggressive hiring of female faculty and administrators, and the other sorts of recommendations made in the report are going too far.

Washington and Lee may not have the same numbers, courses, and facilities of Williams and Davidson but that is not such a bad thing. W&L is a unique university with its own history and ideas. It is not for everyone and should not attempt to be. Washington and Lee should remain unique, not try to be just like every Top-25 liberal arts college. If that happens, Washington and Lee will lose what is left of its individuality. W&L should do its best to ensure that women are comfortable

without going to ridiculous extremes. Not every male is going to be happy here, why should the school take excessive measures to make sure women are? Men would love to have a Hooters in Lexington, but it is not Washington and Lee's responsibility to build it. The school should not feel that

students." This is interesting. I've gone to many parties in my three years at W&L and have yet to hear a single woman complain on a Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday night that the free beer she holds in arts college."

"Washington and Lee should the committee's recommendations the only way to solve the problems? Second, are they really problems or merely perceptions that are not based on reality? The committee members that put their time into the report

it has to provide every single thing that women and minorities claim would make them happy.

Possibly the reason that students enter the school with such different expectations is that the Admissions Office has not been realistic about social life at W&L. Prospective students frequently are not told that over 85% of men join a fraternity. Crucial information such as this should be included in admission literature, not left out because administrators on the

Hill want things to be different. W&L has a different environment that many potential freshmen would crave if only they knew about it.

The Coeducation Committee's Final Report says many good things about our university in which we should take pride. As for the problems, we must consider two things. First, are the committee's recommendations the only way to solve the problems? merely perceptions that are not based on reality? The committee members that put their time into the report should be congratulated and thanked, its not their fault if Dean Schroer-Lamont and radicals on the committee decided to use it as a vehicle to further their agendas. Now that the report is completed, it is up to the students, alumni, faculty, administrators, and Board of Trustees to view it with a grain of salt and decide where to go from here, remembering that there lies, damn lies, and facts.



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Fraternity Rennaissance

Wright Marshall

Time For Reevaluation

W&L's fraternity system appears to be a model for the rest of the nation. More than eighty percent of all freshmen pledge fraternities; the Princeton Review consistently ranks W&L's fraternity system strongest in the nation, and the newly rennovated houses look more like country clubs than typical fraternity houses. However, many Greeks are very unhappy with the current fraternity system.

Under President John Wilson, the university wisely went to great lengths to salvage one of the school's most fundamental institutions, the fraternity system. The Fraternity Rennaissance was a massive undertaking, and a tremendous amount of effort

conception. into its Nonetheless, the Fraternity Rennaissance Program (FRP) was a \$13 million experiment, and have not held true.

continually reevaluate the status of the FRP and improve upon the gains that have already been made. Poor communication of the true goals of the rennaissance and a general sense of distrust concerning the maintaince and regulation of the houses have frustrated the process, but the reasons

for these problems are clear and solvable.

Now that each fraternity has occupied its new house for at least a full year, it is appropriate that Washington and Lee review the status of its \$13 million experiment.

Fraternity Maintainence and Regulation

Of all of the criticisms of Fraternity Renaissance, the principal targets are Assistant Construction Manager, Jim Boyd; Associate Dean of Students, Leroy "Buddy" Atkins; and Stonewall Management Services. Misunderstanding, miscommunication, and misinformation are the source of many of the problems; however, a good deal of the criticism from fraternity members, housing corporations,

"The Fraternity Program (FRP) was a \$13 million leading faults. many assumptions that were made experiment, and many assumptions Consequently, w&L must that were made have not held true."

> alumni, and house mothers is wellfounded. Jim Boyd and Buddy Atkins have very difficult jobs-jobs which might appear to be no-win situations; but the complaints are so fervent, so common, and so fundamental that they can not be overlooked. Identifying the problems and

the players involved is the first step to a solution.

Stonewall Management Services

Stonewall Management Services is the organization that has been hired to maintain the renovated fraternities houses. Stonewall's contract will end in January, and W&L will likely negotiate a short-term contract for the remainder of the school year. According to Atkins, the school will then take bids from different maintenance firms, including W&L's Buildings and Grounds and Stonewall Management. However, the consensus at W&L is almost unanimous that the Stonewall's contract

should not be renewed. Critics are Rennaissance quick to cite excessive charges and poor workmanship as Stonewall's

> Many fraternities have complained that the quality of the work done by Stonewall Management is not worth the \$1,445 per month

that each fraternity is required to pay. One member complained that their former maid spent more time smoking in the basement than cleaning. A member of another house remarked that their former maid would leave instructions for the pledges to do what amounted to her entire job. The \$1,445 minimum fee seems like more than enough for Stonewall Management to hire. train, and keep an adequate professional staff. Neither Dean Atkins, the housemothers, housing corporations, nor fraternity members, are happy with the quality of work.

Jim Bovd

On the W&L side, Jim Boyd is responsible for making sure that Stonewall Management Services fulfills its contractual obligations. Boyd is the one who inspects the houses, determines what needs to be done, and gives instructions to Stonewall. Although Boyd is responsible to Dean Atkins, he is the front line for the university concerning fraternity maintenance. Unless there is a serious problem, Boyd calls the shots. When interviewed about

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these concerns, Jim Boyd was cordial and cooperative; however, very few others use these words to describe him.

Boyd feels that he is willing to help fraternities in any way that he can and that most difficult situations can be resolved. Buddy Atkins backs up that opinion of Boyd. If this is true, why are the housemothers and fraternity members so afraid of crossing Boyd? Almost every fraternity officer, housing corporation member, and house mother that was interviewed was critical of how the fraternities were being managed. Off the record, many called the administrators uncooperative, incompetent, and vindictive, but none were willing to be quoted for fear of retaliation by Boyd and Atkins.

A former housemother, who still wishes to remain anonymous, stated, "I thought they[Stonewall Management Services] were lousy, and I've said that all along. And I used to stand up and tell that to Buddy Atkins. I used to tell that to Dean Howison. I used to tell it to...Frank Parsons just laid me low when I told him. He was rude...They[Atkins, Howison, Parsons, and Boyd] weren't cooperative." However, that same house mother did go on to say that the W&L administrators were not the worst part of the problem. "The person that I think is a bad manager of the whole system is the guy named Billy Hall [Stonewall Management]....he has no expertise. He is not a manager, and I just knocked heads with him all the time,"

Several fraternity officers have claimed that Boyd refused to allow them to accompany him on inspections and that it was nearly impossible to condenies these alligations: "I look the fraternities feel that they're unduly charged, we've met with them. fraternal ideal at W&L." And if indeed they're due a credit or

anything like that, I always ask them to bring it up at the house mothers' meeting we have on a monthly basis." Boyd feels that the charges are fair and that there is a clearly defined way that fraternities can dispute their charges; however, no one on the other side of the system agrees. One former housemother claimed, "I always got shot down [trying to challenge the charges], so I just quit." Most Greeks feel that the fraternities are guilty regardless of the facts and that the fraternities do not



have any say in the maintenance process. Although both Boyd and Atkins argue that the system is designed so that any fraternity can dispute these charges, fraternities have a completely opposite understanding. Obviously, there is a difference of opin-

The Spectator tried to obtain a record of all of the reports and bills for the past vear to determine whether the fraternities were being excessively charged, but not even the vice-president of the IFC could obtain these records. The author of this article were forced to ask house treasurers and presidents, house mothers, and hous-

"The FRP was meant to be more test any of the charges. Boyd flatly than just a reconstruction of the imagine that Stonewall can justify over each bill every month, and as physical fraternity houses. It was I've said in the past, any time that meant to also be a reformation of the room within 24 hours of every so-

> ing corporation members for everything. This raises a number of questions. Does the school really not keep detailed records on its \$13 million dollar investment, or does someone not want anyone to see all of the charges put together?

> By compiling the records of six different fraternities, it became obvious that many of the charges were excessive and that much of what fraternities were being charged should have been normal wear and tear. The university is responsible for

what it deems normal wear and tear, but any malicious damage or any work that had to be done "sooner than would be necessary if the brothers took better care" is then billed to the fraternity. As a result of this ambiguous policy, many Greeks feel that they are being overcharged.

Although most of the fraternity complaints are specific to individual incidents, there were a number of charges that appeared throughout the bills that were noteworthy. Frequently, houses were billed, presumably after a party, for extra cleaning above the monthly \$1,445 charge. Every fraternity involved was billed these "extra"

> charges, charges which ranged from \$17.00 to \$120.63 in addition to the monthly fee. It is difficult to these "extra" charges. Each fraternity is required to clean the party cial event. Why is it necessary that Stonewall should need extra to come redo what has already been

done satisfactorily? Did it not cross anyone's mind that some days will require more cleaning than others, and that the hefty monthly charge should include some extra cleaning on big weekends?

According to a memo from Dean Atkins, the average charge per chapter was \$2,446.42 for the 1992-1993 school year. The bills during this same period for an individual fraternity ranged from \$247.55 to \$5,537.31. Beta Theta Pi, which had the

(Continued on page 10)

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highest bill, had to split this cost among its 49 members. This works out to \$113.01 per member. At this rate, a Beta will pay Stonewall an additional \$452.04 above and beyond the required \$1,442.86 ((\$1,455x12)/49 members x 4 years) before he leaves W&L. Atkins and Boyd usually noted that "the maintenance charges could certainly be reduced with improved party decorum and more care." Some of the damage is done very immaturely by greeks who have had too much to drink. This type of behavior should certainly be discouraged. However, rowdy fraternity

members are not the only problem.

The maintainence standards are purposely set high in order to discourage any mistreatment and neglect. Atkins claims that these standards were meant to keep the houses somewhat "pristine," but there is a recurrence of small R charges plauging every fraternity that is causing the members to be upset. A sample of these charges is listed in an attached table. Many of these are caused by inappropriate behavior by greeks, but many others are due to the poor quality. of work and to the school's unfeasible definition and standard of wear and tear.

Regardless of the cause, in this writer's opinion, one definite problem is that Stonewall Management Services does poor, over-priced work. The fraternity officers and housing corporations should demand that Stonewall's contract not be renewed and that a better firm or an entirely new maintenance system replace the present one. Costs must come down.

Going Beyond Fraternity Renaissance to Fraternity Reformation

All of the entities involved in the Fraternity Renaissance point out various incidents and problems that have plagued the university's efforts to revitalize the fraternity system. While there are an infinite amount of small problems that can be pointed to, the core of the problem is much more deep-seeded than anyone is willing to admit. The FRP was meant to be more than just a reconstruction of the physical frater-

nity houses. It was meant to also be a reformation of the fraternal ideal at W&L. One of the key players in the Renaissance, Paul J. B. Murphy, Jr. '49, has clearly stated that the program was intended to be much more: "[The Fraternity Rennaissance Program was meant to be] a continuing re-examination of itself by the fraternity system as a whole and the student membership of each chapter thereof, as to its internal dedication to its true fraternal purposes and the academic objectives of the university, and its outward manifestation of such dedication. A commitment by the fraternity system as a whole and the

Common Maintanence Charges

그는 내가 모든 그 사람들이 되었다. 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들은 사람들이 되었다.	
Extra clean up in restrooms, basement & hallways.	\$73.93
Extra clean up on exterior of building.	34.00
Shampooed carpet in tv lounge.	46.70
Installed 2 new soap dispensers in basement restrooms.	102.81
Opened door to 2nd floor. Door lock malfunctioned.	37.50
Replaced broken radiator control in dining room.	51.39
Installed new door in room.	265.88
Repaired damaged drywall	39.95
Repaired sofa in tv lounge.	256.97
Installed new radiator control knob in tv lounge.	51.39
Reinstalled screen with screens.	12.74
Installed new smoke detector	29.74
Installed new screen in room.	35,55
Painting "the hallways, rest rooms, and common areas	
sooner that would be necessary if the brothers	
took better care of these areas."	1932.85
School	892.02
Fraternity	1040.76
Replaced upright vacuum destroyed by students.	543.40
그 경기에 가장 되었다. 그 집에 나는 사람이 바람이 하는 것이 없었다면 하는 것이 없었다. 하는	

student membership of each chapter thereof to the pursuit and attainment of their respective fraternal purposes and the academic objectives of Washington and Lee" (Spectator, May 1993).

According to Buddy Atkins, when the program was conceived, the leaders also had definite physical standards in mind: "We expect the fraternity houses to be a first class place to live. Where people should expect to be charged for what you would expect to be charged for what it would cost to live in a first class place, and we reached the decision in the process of setting this up...that we weren't going to tolerate things that looked 'shabby' or 'run down' or damage that would encourage people to not take care of the houses.....The idea that the students have here is that it's a fraternity house, so therefore it can be treated differently than any other house is unacceptable. And as soon as students get that out of their minds and start thinking about their fraternity houses and showing their pride." This is where the problems begin.

This is a lot more than most W&L greeks thought they were getting into when they pledged a fraternity in the fall of their freshmen year. The vast majority of current W&L students never saw what the pre-renaissance houses were like and how those houses were treated. Nonetheless, the fraternity members' behavior does not yet live up to the standards that were set by the FRP. Not only do the freshmen not realize what is expected of the new fraternity

system, but also almost none of the upperclass members understand what is going on either. Although the goals of the FRP have been available for several years now in the Standards for Fraternities, very few students or even housing corporation members have read them; however, most greek males simply feel that they have million dollar fraternity houses that they can not use without fear of social probation and costly maintainence charges. Fraternities feel that they must go to Zollman's or another remote spot in order to avoid being overly charged and to party past midnight. This was never the goal of the rennaissance.

Conclusion

As much as the Spectator and other campus traditionalists love to talk of the glorious W&L traditions of old, the tea and crumpet fraternal ideal of the renaissance's founders may be a thing of the past. Continuing to force the fraternities to live by a standard they neither want nor accept will surely not solve the problems that are plauging the system today. Fraternity members have not conformed to the lofty fraternal ideals that the renaissance founders set for them and are not likely to do so in the near future. Some things must change, and the administration can not simply blame everything on the immaturity of the fraternity members.

This does not mean that the W&L fraternity system cannot aspire to high goals and indeed be the finest greek system in

(Continued on page 11)

the nation. All of the groups involved, especially the upperclass fraternity members, must be involved in a compromise that can take W&L's greek system into the 21st century. Greeks must come together as a whole and demand that some of the policies governing fraternities, such as the ambiguous standard of wear and tear, be changed. The administration has been reluctant to compromise with the rennaissance, and the fraternities en masse may have to result to drastic measures such as refusing to pay these excessive charges. This will take a tremendous amount of effort but will definitely be worthwhile. However, all the burden can not be placed upon the administration; greeks must also examine their own behavior.

I urge the upperclass fraternity members to give one last contribution to their school before graduation. If there is any group left, it is the senior class which has been at Washington and Lee long enough to see and understand the changes that have taken place within our fraternity system. Only these seniors can help insure that the same problems that have frustrated us do not continue to trouble our younger fraternity brothers and the generations to come.

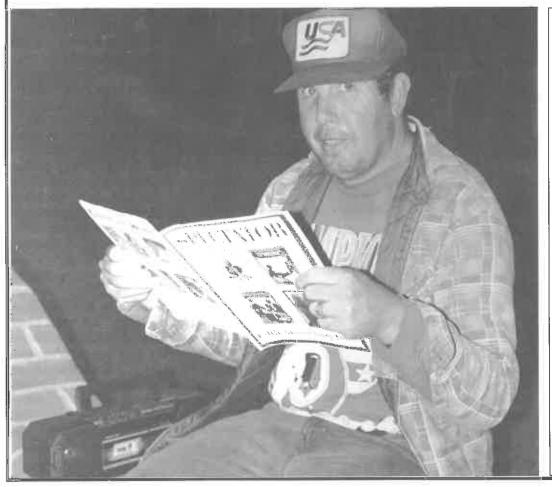
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Foreign Policy

Allen Gillespie

On Haiti and Economic Embargoes

Recently, Haiti has reemerged on the front pages of American newspapers after a three year absence because the country's deteriorating political/economic situation has forced the United States to recognize the failings of economic embargoes as practical foreign policy tools. Economic embargoes are inappropriate instruments of foreign policy because they tend to be inconsistent with US immigration policies and they are ineffective in achieving foreign policy goals. In addition, trade embargoes violate "two fundamental norms of the society of states-the prohibitions against intervention in the internal affairs of states and against doing harm to the innocent" (Hendrickson

For many Americans, the crisis in Haiti began only a few months ago when the United States Coast Guard began picking up boat refugees and housing them at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The Haitian refugee problem, however, came as the inevitable result of the United States economic embargo which began when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown in 1991. The United States unintentionally admitted that the mass exodus from Haiti was its own creation when it decided to deny political asylum to the majority of Haitians fleeing the country. If the United States had viewed the refugees as political dissidents fleeing despotic rule it would have continued to serve its historical role as a country for political asylum. The United States, however, has instead chosen to treat the Haitian refugees "as economic migrants, [to] whom [it has] no legal obligation to let in, despite being responsible for the desperate economic conditions that make them flee" (Hendrickson 29).

Furthermore, it can be argued that if the Haitian political establishment had been the principle cause of the mass migration, the United States would have had to address a mass Haitian refugee problem much sooner. The increase in violence on the part of the attaché para-military groups may even be closely related to Haiti's deteriorating economic conditions.

While the economic embargo against

Haiti may or may not have caused the mass exodus, it certainly failed to achieve its foreign policy objective. The United States levied the embargo against Haiti (as it did on Iraq) in order to force the country's military leaders to step down. Haiti's leaders, however, only conceded power when the threat of a US military invasion became a reality. The embargo may have helped weaken the resolve of the leaders to resist invasion, but most likely they realized the futile nature of any attempted resistance. Why do embargoes fail to remove political power players? Embargoes fail to remove political power players because it is precisely these individuals who have the most ready access to the black markets which embargoes create. Furthermore, the leaders of a country have the nation's financial and military resources with which to bargain within these black markets. Thus, political strong men can survive economic embargoes for extended periods of time as the Haitian case demonstrates. The leaders in Haiti (one of the world's poorest islands nations before the embargo) were able to maintain power for three years despite severe trade restrictions. Consequently, we must ask ourselves what is the probability of a trade embargo removing despots from more economically viable countries (i.e. Iraq)? Does the United States really think that such leaders are so rational and care about the well being of the their country's citizens? Or does the United States just desire to make things so bad as to encourage an internal overthrow of the government?

Trade embargoes also violate the international principle of nonintervention into the internal affairs of another country. While in practice this principle it constantly violated, Hendrickson correctly argues that nonintervention represents a firm ethical base upon which to base foreign policy decisions (Hendrickson 30-34). He states:

"The traditional nonintervention rule always had an important ethical



component, which derived from the contribution its observance would make toward peace. It was based on the assumption that mankind would forever be riven into distinct collectives and that these entities needed rules of reciprocal conduct to regulate their inevitable competition. Given [society's complex composition] ...reason suggested the rule of mutual coexistence...and hence the de facto recognition of sovereignty and the adherence in good faith, if reciprocated, to the nonintervention norm" (Hendrickson 32-33).

The principle of nonintervention does not mean that the United States has to trade with Haiti; it simply means that the United States should allow other states to trade freely with Haiti if they so desire.

As addressed earlier, economic embargoes also violate the international principle of not doing harm to the innocent. Inevitably, economic embargoes such as the one placed on Haiti hurt innocent civilians because they cut off needed food supplies and medicines either directly or indirectly through severe price inflation

from these individuals. Moreover, as stated previously, those at whom the embargo is directed often are able to participate in black markets which nullify the "real" effects of an embargo. Thus, we must ask ourselves are economic embargoes the best way to "reestablish democracy" in Haiti. If the answer is "no", then one must agree with Henrickson's conclusion that "[t]he attempt to extended democratic institutions through trade embargoes represents the commission of a certain evil on behalf of a good which such means seldom realize-not a good bargain even for Machiavelians and utilitarians, and clearly forbidden by the ethical traditions that do not allow good ends to justify evil means" (33).

Having argued that economic embargoes alone are inappropriate as instruments of foreign policy, what should the United States' foreign policy be in situations similar to the Haitian case? The United States should either practice nonintervention as mentioned above or encourage open and free economic markets as it has with China and Vietnam

(moral suasion not economic isolation). If the United States insists on maintaining the "re-establishment of democracy" as the basis of its foreign policy it must use means other than sanctions through which to effect that outcome. Economic sanctions alone will not topple leaders and restore democracy because they are ineffective and inconsistent with other US policies (immigration). Granted, trade embargoes may serve a roll in the overthrowing of a government if used in conjunction with policies (i.e. military-Iraq, Nicaragua, Panama or immigration-Cuba), but that fact does not ethical justify their use. Furthermore, the overthrow of corrupt leaders does not insure success in the establishment of a responsible democratic government.

In the end, The United States should remember the words of Woodrow Wilson when he wrote, "Democracy is not created by aspirations or by new faith; it is built up by slow habit...It comes like manhood, as the fruit of youth: immature people cannot have it, and the maturity to which it is vouchsafed is the maturity of freedom and self-control, and no other" (National The United States Review). remember that Haiti does not have a democratic heritage, consequently, the US army cannot quickly reestablish something that has not existed except for a brief period in 1991. The United States, by becoming involved, has promised its continued aid and support. Our troops will have to retrain police, the United States or the United Nations, will have to continue to monitor the election process, and the United States must open up trade and provide aid. "But aid, goodwill and airy hopes apart, what has this grossly backward, grossly ill-educated and illequipped country got going for it?" (Economist). Our economic sanctions forced us to become directly involved. Now, are we willing to pay the price?

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Book Review

Lloyd C. Peeples

Dan Quayle: Not on Solid Ground

Dan Quayle is one of the most well known names in politics today. It is also one of the most laughable. Since the 1988 Republican Convention, Dan Quayle has had an image problem. The mass public believes he is childlike and unqualified to hold public office. Quayle's new book, Standing Firm, is a major part in the attempt to re-invent his image and transform him into a viable Republican candidate for President in 1996. The book, while falling far short of its intended goal, provides new understandings of the Office of Vice-President, the Bush Administration, and key events during the Bush/Quayle term.

Standing Firm is a narrative of the 1988 and 1992 campaigns and the years between them. Ouayle claims that he did not want to write a kiss-and-tell book of Washington politics, however, the reader does not have to search far to find harsh criticisms. The remarks, found throughout, range from ABC Nightly News Anchor Sam Donaldson ("a loudmouth") to Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole (claiming that his sarcastic comments are one reason "why Bob Dole has never moved from the Senate to the White House") There are also opinions about Budget Director Richard Darman, Speaker Tom Foley, and expectedly Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Most of the praise in the book is reserved for George Bush and, of course, Quayle himself.

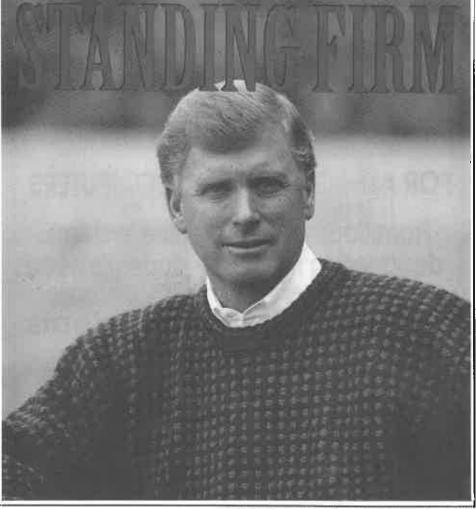
The book's major fault is also its most interesting aspect. The book focuses almost exclusively on Dan Quayle. As an analysis of the power, influence, and responsibilities of the second highest office in the United States, Standing Firm is unsurpassed. It also gives new insight into the most important actions of the Bush Administration: The invasion of Panama, Desert Shield/Desert Storm, and the 1990 Budget Deal. Quayle played a pivotal role in many of decisions surrounding these crisises through his participation in high-level briefings and debates. Standing Firm conclusively proves that the Office of the Vice-President, viewed by many as a useless station unless something happens to the Chief Executive, can be as influential a position (if not more) as the Secretary of State, National Security Advisor, or Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The book's flaw is this same as its strength. It focuses too exclusively on Dan Quayle. Standing Firm is riddled with justifications and excuses for his blunders. He tries to clear up "misconceptions" about Murphy Brown, not going to Vietnam, "potatoe," and all the other gaffes that made him ideal joke

"In making excuses, he only reconfirms the immature image he attempts to shed."

material for late night talks shows. Simply put, Quayle tries too hard. In making excuses, he only reconfirms the immature image he attempts to shed. For Dan Quayle to radically alter public opinion, Standing Firm needed to be a book that contained substantive political ideas. Instead, Quayle whines about unfair treatment from the media, special interests, and just about every Democrat in America. Unfortunately, that's American politics.

Standing Firm produces no new insights into the mind of Dan Quayle that would convince a reader that he should be President in 1997. It needed to resemble the recent works of Nixon, William Bennett, or even Rush Limbaugh. To be President, Dan Quayle needs to demonstrate that he is for a specific agenda, not that he is just against Democrats. The book shows that while Quayle may be able to stand up to his opponents, he still lacks that most presidential quality: the ability to stand firm and accept responsibility for mistakes like a leader.



Society

D. Burns, R. Craig, J. Laborde

White Males: The Label, The Dilemma

"I'm glad that women have attained enough power to be in a position to make powerful mistakes." - Andrew S. Ryan, Jr.

Corporate America presently suffers from the backlash of three decades of equal employment opportunity (EEO) evolution. Defined as providing individuals with equal treatment in all employment-related activities (Mathis & Jackson 117), EEO has increasingly alienated and threatened the competitive practices of the traditionally white male corporate economy. Due to the of quotas" (CNN). Although recent legislaseemingly disproportionate representation tion has attempted to remove the negative of minorities in the workforce, the govern- connotations associated with the use of the ment of this country took the task upon it- term "quota" from EEO and affirmative ac-

self in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to destroy present discrimination and atone for the injustices of past discrimination. While the intentions of the instigators of this "war on discrimination" (CNN) were commendably noble, "... there's evidence that in a growing number of workplaces, what began as a quest for equal opportunities may have turned into a hidden system

"By the year 2000...only 15% of the people entering the workforce would be American-born white males..." -Michele Galen

tion policies, a growing number of skilled and unskilled white male workers perceive the civil rights movement as unjustly favoring minorities— women and blacks in particular. Numerous alternatives exist that would establish EEO without the confusion and injustice of affirmative action and without the direct involvement of the government.

Origins of the Discrimination Against White Males

To fully understand the origins of the present situation, a thorough discussion of the history behind of the relevant aspects of the contemporary American civil rights movement should be presented. movement, which resulted in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, originated in the late 1950's and early 1960's as blacks expressed their frustrations "... over their lack of economic, educational and social progress in America ..." (Cooper 282). The Civil Rights Act of 1964, developed during the Kennedy Administration, was the first and most pervasive civil rights measure of its time. Title VII of this Act specifically states that employment practices which discriminate based on race, sex, color, religion, or national origin are punishable under law. The law also provided for the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce Title VII and investigate complaints.

However, because the methods employed by most organizations to discriminate against protected classes were "... much more subtle and complex than originally envisioned" (Cooper 283), Lyndon Johnson signed Executive Order 11246 in 1965 to combat the perpetuation of discriminatory employment practices. This Order required federal contractors to establish affirmative action programs (AAP) in their hiring and promoting practices. President Johnson intended for affirmative action to entail that "... federal contractors ... would not only treat those who applied for jobs without discrimination, but seek out those who might not apply" (Cooper 238).

(Continued on page 16)



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OVER 500 MANUFACTURERS THOUSANDS OF PRODUCTS AVAILABLE Duke Power Co., attempted to develop an ployer, permitted protected-classes to sue seemed to sacrifice the traditional profit-sions and activities. driven motives of American corporations. ... violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Cooper 283). At issue here is that white males are being denied admission or employment while less qualified applicants, who are members of a protected-class, are provided with preferential treatment.

Throughout the decade of the 1980's, the Reagan and Bush administrations transferred the goals of anti-discrimination practices to actual equality of opportunity and away from equality of result (Cooper 286). Consequently, AAP's suffered continued attacks under the Court's strict, conservative constitutional interpretations. On June 11, 1984, the Court upheld "... the seniority rights of workers who charged that a courtordered affirmative action promotion plan was discriminatory" (Cooper 283) in Firefighters Local Union No. 1794 v Stoots. Seven Supreme Court decisions in 1989 alone each attacked different employment actions claimed by civil rights activists as justified under AAP guidelines. To cite two cases in particular, the practices of reserving fixed numbers of positions for minorities in City of Richmond v Croson Company and of proving racial discrimination through the use of numbers in Wards Cove Packing Co. v Antonio, to the advantage of the positions of many white males, were ruled unconstitutional.

In 1991, the U.S. Congress passed a new civil rights bill which essentially com-

The 1970's witnessed the government's plicated further and worsened the attempts workplace, they will lose out to less qualigrowing involvement being subjected to in- of organizations to understand and abide by fied workers" (Galen 52). The notion of ilcreasing attacks from those displaced by affirmative action guidelines. The new act legal racial and gender quotas appears to rethe AAP. The Supreme Court, in Griggs v returned the burden of proof to the emobjective method for measuring discrimi- for punitive damages, and permitted the use nation labeled "disparate impact" (a sub- of a jury in the settlement of contingency stantial under representation of protected- claims. With this latest law in conflict with class members exists in a firm as a result of the Supreme Court's rulings to that date, the employment decisions working to their dis- white male has essentially been cast back advantage) (Mathis & Jackson 119). Until into the quagmire of the entire affirmative the landmark case of Regents of the Univer- action concept. The complexity of contra- mative action program. sity of California v Bakke, the hiring of dictions in the legal avenues, as well as the women and minorities, under affirmative patchwork of regulations governing the imaction programs that overtly disregarded plementation of AAP's, force white men qualificational inequities between these and their employers to tread a veritable "... made in federal regulations and court protected-class members and white males, tightrope in all employment-related deci- rulings ... [that required] federal contractors

White male employees and college appli- encroach on the employment practices of motions" (Cooper 283). cants gained a desperately needed reprieve the past - primarily those of seniority, through the Supreme Court's recognition of merit, and loyalty, that rewarded hard work Impacts and Repercussions "reverse discrimination." Through using and performance while fostering a competi-

main imbedded in every aspect of the affir-

"White male' is what I call the newest swear word in America...We all know that's not a compliment." -Harris Sussman

The negative perceptions of these policies have evolved from the numerous conflicting interpretations of the past thirty years and private employers ... to take race (and The AAP's and EEO's appear to steadily gender) into account in their hiring and pro-

Since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, our race, sex, color, religion, or national origin tive environment. "At the heart of the issue country has actively attempted to create a to discriminate against white males, "... an for many white males is the question of workplace in which no discrimination of affirmative action program that uses quotas merit -- .. in the rush for a more diverse any kind will existent. While the United





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(Continued from page 16)

employment opportunity through events lowers the self-esteem of the respective mi- returns, a firm must fill available positions such as President Johnson's executive order nority. When racial and gender preferences with the most qualified applicants, regardabove, this anti-discriminatory equal op- employee may experience self-doubt; he or portunity journey seems to have gone she may be unsure about whether they Solutions and Alternatives to the Probastray. Currently, a "backlash" exists as the achieved their position on their merits. As lems Created by Affirmative Action sult" (Cooper 286).

place "when employers identify problem who have already experienced a lofty level that are being enforced in place are doing areas, set goals, and take positive steps to of training and education. As for the un- exactly what Title VII prohibits. We sugguarantee equal employment opportunities skilled minority living in the "financially- gest that new programs and policies be for people within a protected class." (Mathis challenged" class, affirmative action has adopted that would lead to equal treatment & Jackson 156) When considering how an accomplished virtually nothing in regards employer can guarantee equal employ- to EEO policies (Cooper 286). ment, the controversial issue of the quotas arise. While the Civil Rights Act of 1991 tected and non-protected civilians, affirmaprohibits the use of quotas in the employee tive action influences a company's produc- for all in the workplace, not just the proselection process, the practice must exist tivity and general ability to survive in to- tected classes. for a firm to comply with affirmative ac- day's increasingly competitive global martion. Companies attempt to conceal the de- ketplace. The first topic of this discussion origin should have absolutely no impact on spised use of quotas hide the frowned-upon centers on the effects affirmative action has hiring decisions made by firms in the practice by masking it with phrases such as on productivity. It cannot be ignored that United States. Furthermore, "white men tives". Therefore It is in such instances selection decisions on race or sex, sacrific- for 'something their fathers and grandfathat, affirmative action leads directly to the ing many necessary qualifications to meet thers might have done" (Galen 55). A job practice of reverse discrimination. The fol- affirmative action requirements. When offer should be based solely on qualificalowing quote from a female forest service sacrifices of this kind are made, a higher tions. If a company interviews a group of thers on minorities. (Galen 55).

mative action attest that the practice of hav- not be as great as it potentially could. To States attempts to reach the goal of equal ing quotas (or numeric objectives) actually provide its stockholders with competitive and the numerous court cases mentioned are used for selection purposes, the new less of skin, color, sex, etc. quest for the equality of the protected University of Maryland professor Herman classes has, in a growing number of cases, Belz describes, "The logic of affirmative declares that we are all equal. The time has discriminated against the non-protected, action is to categorize people as unable to come for us all to accept this notion of Anglo-Saxon male. The repercussions of compete without some kind of tilt on their equality and rid ourselves of programs such enforcing affirmative action as a means to side. It makes blacks seem to be unquali- as affirmative action that directly discrimireach equal employment stretch far beyond fied and unable to compete and therefore nate against certain parties. Legislation the white male. The negative impact of af- just not up to snuff" (Cooper 281). It has from Congress has tried to steer society firmative action also infects the protected also been observed that affirmative action into accepting hiring policies that are color classes as well as economic productivity as is not the panacea for the dilemma of equal and gender blind. "Title VII of the landa whole. As President Reagan once noted, employment of the protected classes. In mark 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically affirmative action plans attempt "to shift essence, affirmative action does not prop- prohibits discriminatory practices that the aim of anti-discrimination policy from erly protect the minorities that it was cre- would deprive any individual of employequality of opportunity to equality of re- ated to protect. As studies of experts have ment opportunities because of race, color, determined, the minorities who benefit religion, sex, or national origin." (Cooper By definition, affirmative action takes from affirmative action are the minorities p. 280) Yet the AAP policies programs

Aside from the impact it has on prothe past injustices committed by his forefa- action claim that diversity aids in global action program. competition, but there seems to be another the protected classes. Many critics of affir- employees, a company's "bottom-line" will functioning in this manner. A policy of

The Constitution of the United States

"It's a quota now... It's a death march." -Bob Grate (CNN)

Color, race, sex, religion, or national "relative numbers" or "numeric objec- many firms ultimately base employment don't like being lumped together or blamed manager illustrates how the a poignant level of productivity will be forfeited candidates, it is an impossibly that the two point Anglo-Saxon male seems to be expe- which, in turn, "harms workers of all races candidates will be equal. Many factors riencing a repercussion from the EEO by preventing job growth" (Cooper 282). come into play in a hiring decision and movement through affirmative action: Competitive pressures from outside the concrete evaluations such as test scores are "...for now, my council to the white males United States have led domestic industries not always the best predictors of job qualiin this organization is that if a woman ap- to be extremely highly cost conscious, and fications. Corporate culture, additional vaplies for a job and meets the minimum cri- the expenses related to such "quota- riety skills, and experience in the workteria, no matter how poorly qualified she is, oriented programs" are simply too great for place are all factors that can determine how she will get the job." (CNN). Affirmative a U.S. firm laden with AAP requirements qualified a potential job candidate is and action has made today's white male into a to remain competitive on the global scale often cannot be measured through the victim by placing a penance upon him for (Cooper 282). Advocates of affirmative purely objective methods of an affirmative

The affirmative action policy as spelled Affirmative action not only negatively more important side to this issue (Galen out by the U.S government should be abanaffects the white male, but it also nega- 55). Financially speaking, if the only way doned. Although it was founded to intetively impacts those it attempts to support, to achieve diversity is by hiring second-rate grate minorities into society, it is no longer

color blind hiring should be established. children of our inner cities and put them on in greater numbers than ever. Now, we society, white males with superior qualifi- needy should receive more attention. Pri- men. cations are denied equal employment op- vate sector programs which are imple- Conclusion portunities in the face of satisfying 'quotas'. mented by businesses to educate inner city "To cite a few examples, among Brooklyn youth, regardless of their color, will prove ated by President Johnson in Executive Or-College students who applied to medical to be a wiser investment in society by at- ders 11246, 11375, and 11478 no longer school over the last ten years, the average tacking the root of the problem pay off in have a place in today's corporate economy. MCAT score of the white males who were the future. It is programs such as these that Society has opened the door for minorities rejected from medical school was higher will make a difference in our society by ad- in the workplace. The protected classes than the average MCAT score from minori- dressing the problems that we have. It is have been given opportunities. Now only ties who were accepted to medical school." the inner city youth that need our help find-time can provide the desired results. By re-(Beer 303)

effect that it was originally developed to ac- their education. complish. When a hiring decision is to be made, the white male candidate, the sole when numbers are exposed which show can have equal employment opportunities person not included in a protected group, is that white males dominate high positions in in the workplace. rejected based on the color of his skin, the majority of U.S. corporations. Society Rather than hiring the best candidate for the needs to realize that the gates that were position, too often AA leads to a bidding once closed to minorities have now been war for the few qualified minorities that are opened. However, it takes time for people available. Thus AA supports the minorities to reach the head positions in corporations; that who have already succeeded in society they can not be expected to take over high searcher May 17, 1991: 279-292+. instead of helping those who truly need as- positions immediately. The educational sistance.

ing jobs and obtaining an education, not moving the current affirmative action plans Affirmative action has not achieved the minorities that have successfully completed and initiating a policy of color and gender-

gates have been opened too, schools are Business Week. January 31, 1994: 50-55. Social programs that help educate the pumping out qualified minority graduates

Job applicants should be chosen based on a solid career path should receive more at- must wait for minorities to move up in sociwho is the best candidate for the job regard- tention. Programs by successful minorities ety with their own will and strength, not less of his or her color. Too often in today's that seek to further the education of the through programs that hold back white

The affirmative action programs initiblind hiring, every citizen of the United Many minorities cry discrimination States, protected and non-protected classes,

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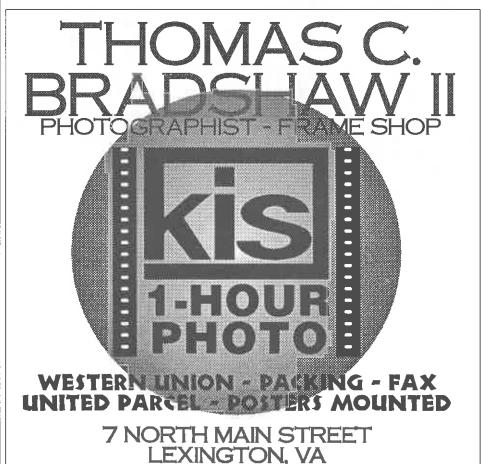
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