

# American Renaissance

There is not a truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.

— Thomas Jefferson

Vol. 2, No. 2

February 1991

## Racial Preferences Go to College

**The recent flap over scholarships for blacks was only skimming the surface.**

by Samuel Taylor

Late last year, a black Assistant Secretary of Education named Michael Williams touched off a roaring debate when he was so naive as to suggest that civil rights laws were passed to ensure equal treatment, not racial discrimination. In December he announced that the widespread practice of setting aside scholarship money to be used exclusively by students of one race was just the sort of discrimination the law forbids. Any school guilty of this, he said, would get no more federal aid.

Of course, race-exclusive scholarships—always for non-whites, never for whites—are only a small part of the discriminatory machinery that operates on American campuses. If Mr. Williams had succeeded in eliminating them, a host of other practices would surely have fallen under the axe.

The howls of pain and indignation from non-whites were deafening. Benjamin Hooks, head of the NAACP, called Mr. Williams rude names. Other blacks told him privately that if he stuck to his policy he would be drummed out of black society. Hispanics whooped about the approaching end of equal opportunity. But it was whites who tipped the balance against the brave, honest assistant secretary.

President George Bush himself, frequent contributor to the United Negro College Fund, ordered the white house staff to find a way, once again, to interpret anti-discrimination laws in a way that permitted dis-

crimination. Mr. Williams was forced to withdraw his ruling.

The Department of Education came up with an elaborate formula that allowed “private” money to be doled out according to race, but re-



quired that “public” money be colorblind. Colleges were given four years to figure out the new rules and to stop spending general revenues on race-based programs. Some vowed to take the government to court. In the bluster and confusion, it was not clear whether anything was going to change or not.

Nevertheless, it was good for the country to be made to debate, if only briefly, the question of anti-white discrimination. It is typical, in these tortured times, that the debate was prompted by a black rather than a white. Blacks have far more freedom to say obvious things about race than whites do. Now that the debate has faded, it is worth looking at some of the other anti-white racial preferences that now pervade the university.

### The New Holy Grail

On campuses today, the campaign to recruit, train, hire, and promote minorities is a juggernaut that will take more than an assistant secretary to stop. “Diversity” is the new holy grail, and ensuring the right number of non-white faces is more important than education itself.

First of all, it has become a fetish on campuses that the student body reflect the racial composition of the nation. Up to twelve percent of students must therefore be black, and colleges are desperate for black students who can do the work.

Unfortunately, there are not many. Just as the average black IQ score is 85, the average black combined score on the Scholastic Aptitude Test is 200 points lower than the white average. The difference in scores is particularly great in the higher ranges. In 1983, only 66 blacks in the whole country scored over 700 on the verbal SAT (0.093 percent of all test-takers) while 9,024 whites and 496 Asians did (0.94% and 1.4%, respectively, of all test-takers). Only 205 (0.28%) scored over 700 on the math test while 31,704 (3.3%) whites and 3,015 (8.6%) Asians did. Whites and Asians are therefore many times more likely to get outstanding scores.

It has become routine to complain that SAT scores are culturally biased, but for thirty years the test has been the best indicator we have of how well a high school student will do in his freshman year of college. For black students also, the test accurately predicts performance, whether they go to black or to mainly-white colleges.

If ours were a sensible country, and

*Continued on page 3*



Sir — In the letters column of the January issue, Margaret Hunter points out that Average Americanus seems to need to believe the myths about white guilt. I think that a larger part of the problem is that Americans just don't care. Professional acquaintances tell me that since their bills are paid, the beer is cold, and Cosby is funny on TV, they're not worried. The typical attitude is, "This is America; we don't want to bother anyone. I've still got some money, so why rock the boat?"

Average Americanus gets most of his ideas from television. Until he starts hearing on TV what you are saying in *American Renaissance*, nothing is going to change. A TV signal is more powerful than atom bombs.

— Harry Dace, Alvin (TX)

Sir — In her letter to the editor, Margaret Hunter asks a fundamental question about the nature of white people. Is their willingness to submit to dispossession by other races due entirely to the guilt-ridden, "hair-shirt" mentality that Miss Hunter rails against?

I think not. After many years spent in baffled observation of whites who seem happy to hand their birthright over to people of other races, I have concluded that most are sincere and well-intentioned, and not necessarily obsessed with guilt.

There is an indiscriminate, ultimately self-destructive form of what I can only call *generosity*, which lies behind what many whites do and think. Is affirmative action so different from saving the baby seals? Is free medical care for illegal immigrants so different from preserving the spotted owl's habitat by putting lumbermen out of work?

When someone finds a fledgling that fell from the nest, and tenderly nurses it back to health, does he do so because he feels guilty? Probably not. Americans who spend millions of dollars trying to help AIDS babies who will die by age six aren't necessarily guilt-ridden either.

White people, at least those living in the waning years of this century, seem possessed by a mania for "compassion" that is probably alien to other races. Africans are happy to shoot their elephants and sell the ivory. Japanese would rather eat whales than save them. No race but whites would cheerfully give up its homeland to impoverished aliens and think it were a virtue.

Much of what whites do is folly, but it flows from the same source as much that is good and noble. The vices that are weakening us stem from our virtues.

Susan Miller, San Antonio (TX)

Sir — I was interested to read Thomas Jackson's article about how well our troops are likely to fight in the next war. There is no doubt that cohesive, homogeneous units—preferably from the same part of the country—fight better than disparate collections of men who have nothing in common with each other. You might have mentioned that the British have always organized their army along regional lines, just as the Germans did.

I beg to differ, however, on the role of ideology in building *esprit de corps*. It is true that the multi-ethnic *Volksdeutsch* (your spelling, "Volksdeutsch," is a common error) troops, who were presumably held together by common ideology, did not always fight well. However, it was

widely acknowledged that the very best German soldiers were the Waffen SS. Unlike the rest of the German army, SS men were *not* organized into units on regional lines, but were recruited from all parts of the country because of their devotion to Germany and to National Socialism. At some level, as these men proved, ideology *can* be as powerful a unifying force as the more common bond of "blood and soil."

I might add that when I was fighting in France, in 1944 and 1945, we didn't take prisoners when we were fighting SS troops. We figured they were "real Nazis," so we shot them whenever they fell into our hands.

Name withheld, Santa Barbara (CA)

Sir — I agree with the aims of your publication, and think that you describe the problems we face in very convincing terms. However, if you are really interested in "American Renaissance," why do you keep using foreign phrases? One of your sections is called *O Tempora, O Mores!*, which I had to look up in a Latin phrase book. In your issue of January, 1991, you also used an untranslated French phrase, almost as a headline.

I wish I could read Latin and speak French, but I can't. I bet most of your other readers can't either. If you must throw foreign phrases around, please include a translation.

Carol Furness, Fremont (CA)

*Although we believe that English is one of the forces that made it possible to build a nation out of waves of different European immigrants—E pluribus unum, if you will forgive our Latin—we see the United States as part of the great sweep of Western history and civilization. The Greeks and Romans are our cultural ancestors just as the English and the Germans are.*

*O tempora, o mores! is from Cicero's first oration against Catiline. It is usually translated as something like "What times, what habits," though one classicist somewhat more freely translates it as "Alas, what degenerate days these are!"*

*A translation of the French that we used as a subheading appeared in the text of the article. Sorry if the connection wasn't clear. — Ed ●*

## American Renaissance

Samuel Taylor, Editor  
Thomas Jackson, Assistant Editor  
Carol Fusco, Business Manager  
William Robertson Boggs, Contributing Editor  
Marian Evans, Contributing Editor

American Renaissance is published monthly by the Jefferson Institute. Subscriptions are \$20.00 per year. For first class postage, add \$10.00. Subscriptions to Canada (first class) and overseas (surface mail) are \$30.00. Overseas airmail subscriptions are \$40.00. Foreign subscribers should send U.S. dollars or equivalent in convertible bank notes.

Please make checks payable to: American Renaissance, P. O. Box 2504 Menlo Park, CA 94026 Facsimile: (415) 321-1483

### *Continued from page 1*

black students went to colleges that matched their abilities, there would be virtually none in the top schools and a large number in community colleges. This, our system will not permit. Harvard, Yale, and Berkeley must have their quota of blacks, so, aside from the tiny number of blacks who can actually do top-flight work, they must recruit many who can't.

Since the Ivy League draws off the students who would normally have gone to second-tier schools, the second tier must likewise recruit unqualified students to fill their quotas. The effect cascades down through the system, so that at every level blacks are in over their heads. The system is as cruel to blacks as it is unfair to whites.

To meet racial quotas, colleges have no choice but to lower standards. The blacks at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) have SAT math scores that put them in the top ten percent for the country. That sounds promising, but it's not good enough for MIT. MIT gets the nation's top *one* percent, so blacks are still at the bottom. Many drop out, and those who don't get the worst grades.

The University of California at Berkeley requires whites and Asians to have at least a 3.7 grade point average even to be considered for admission. Blacks and Hispanics with much lower grades are automatically admitted, so long as they meet minimum requirements. Roughly one fifth of the applicants to Berkeley who are rejected have nearly perfect, 4.0 averages. In 1989, that was 2,500 people, none of whom was black.

Once they are in, can it be a surprise that unqualified blacks fail to graduate? Seventy-three percent of all blacks admitted to Berkeley drop out, while only 33% of whites and Asians do. This is not considered a waste of taxpayers' money.

Berkeley has been so zealous about squeezing out qualified whites for the benefit of unqualified blacks and Hispanics that the whites who are admitted have to be very well qualified indeed. The overlap in SAT scores between the two groups is now close to zero; virtually all whites on campus have higher scores than virtually all blacks or Hispanics. This is directly reflected in grades.

Even when it creates such starkly unflattering differences in performance, non-whites glory in the new racial spoils system. When the number of whites at Berkeley first sank below 50%, in 1988, black and Hispanic groups greeted the news with cheers.

It is not only the SAT that gives different results by race. The racial gap on the Graduate Record Examination (GRE), which is the basis for admission to graduate school, is even greater. In 1983, the national average for the verbal part of the test was 499, while for blacks it was 370. For the quantitative test, the figures were 516 and 363, and for the analytical test, 522 and 363. Blacks who take the GRE are not uneducated ghetto dwellers, but college graduates who want advanced degrees. If "cultural bias" causes the differences in test scores, it is hard to explain how four years of undergraduate education only widens the gap.

The National Merit Scholarship Test is another good indicator of a student's ability and it also shows sharp differences in results by race. Since there are rarely any blacks among the 6,000 high school seniors who win the prestigious scholarships, the testing company has set aside 700 grants for "outstanding Negro students," who can't meet the general standards. This 12% quota matches the quotas on college campuses.

The Medical College Admissions Test (MCAT) is the most widely used entrance examination for medical schools. Black scores are usually 1.5 standard deviations lower than white scores. In most years, blacks who are admitted to medical school have lower average scores than whites who are *rejected*. Blacks also have much higher medical school dropout rates.

### Bribing Blacks

With blacks so manifestly unqualified in comparison to whites, how do colleges attract the tiny number who can actually do the work? The most obvious way is to bribe them. At Harvard graduate school, for example, all minorities get full scholarships whether they need them or not. At Penn State University, black students who manage a C average get cash rewards of \$550. Blacks with a B average or better get \$1,100. Whites, of course, get no such handouts.

Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton recently decided to increase the size of its freshman class, and naturally had to increase the number of blacks by the same proportion. The university was already struggling to get blacks on campus, and knew it couldn't get more in the usual ways. It therefore decided to offer free tuition to every black who meets admissions standards—whether he needs it or not.

The state of Pennsylvania recently set up what it calls the Pennsylvania Graduate Opportunities Tuition Waiver Program. Thirty of the state's 133 universities have agreed to offer complete, graduate-studies scholarships to blacks. Sixteen have made the offer to *any* qualified black, in *any* field of study he chooses. Race, not financial need, makes students eligible. The state is raising \$15 million to pay



for the program, which is modeled on a similar scheme in Florida.

Outright, wholesale body-buying as crude as this is still unusual. However, it bids up the price of scarce blacks, and if it catches on, any second-tier school that doesn't waive tuition for blacks may find that it has none on campus at all.

The more conventional way to attract blacks is through the openly race-based scholarships that Mr. Williams does not like. These are everywhere. The General Electric Foundation recently announced a ten-year, \$20 million program that is designed to train non-whites for teaching careers in business, science, and engineering. Whites are not eligible. General Motors has promised the NAACP it will give half a million dollars to five law schools, to be used to support non-white students only. Ford and Chrysler have signed similar agreements.

The University of Chicago, along with 12 campuses of the Big Ten universities, has established what is called the Summer Research Opportunities Program. It offers research experience under the personal guidance of a professor, in the hope that this will encourage students to go on to graduate school. The program was started in 1986 and sponsored 571 students for the summer of 1990. Whites are not eligible.

In 1987, the business school at Washington University in St. Louis founded what it calls the Minority Youth Entrepreneurship Program. Every year, 40 blacks are selected for an eight-week program, in which business school professors give intensive courses in accounting, marketing, and business strategy. Whites are not eligible.

The state of Louisiana ferrets out promising non-white junior-high school students and shepherds the most likely ones into special teaching tracks. The best go on to summer internships and get scholarships to university. Whites are not eligible.

The University of Michigan has what it calls a Minority Summer Institute. It pays all travel, living, and campus expenses for 30 non-whites to come to the university for six weeks during the summer. There they work with representatives from 30 different business schools, who try to persuade them to enter doctoral programs in

business. Every participant is paid a \$2,500 "stipend" just for showing up. Whites are not eligible. Columbia University has a Malcolm X Scholarship Fund, for which whites are not eligible.

What good does all this do? Are blacks working hard and getting degrees? Hardly. One conservative black associate professor writes:

"At the university where I currently teach, the dropout rate for black students is 72 percent, despite the



presence of several academic-support programs; a counselling center with black counselors; an Afro-American studies department; black faculty, administrators, and staff; a general education curriculum that emphasizes "cultural pluralism," an Educational Opportunities Program; a mentor program; a black faculty and staff association . . ."

### The New Gospel

Since today's dogma holds that black students, given the right conditions, will perform just as well as whites, the search goes on for those magical conditions. The new gospel is that black students will suddenly start to learn if only they are taught by black teachers. The hunt for black professors is, if anything, even more frantic and desperate than the search for black students.

Universities across the country have announced big plans. The University of Wisconsin at Madison recently agreed to hire 70 more minority teachers by the end of 1991. The University of Vermont will hire between four and eleven minorities during each of the next four years. Yale University has set a 10-year goal of increasing its tenured minority

faculty by 40 percent and its non-tenured minority faculty by 60 percent. In 1988, Duke University promised to hire one black for every department by 1993. California state law requires that 30 percent of all new faculty at community colleges be minorities.

All of those colleges are going to have a hard time. In 1986, only 820 blacks earned PhDs in the whole country, and half of those were in education. Not a single black got a PhD in geology, aerospace engineering, astronomy, geometry, astrophysics, or theoretical chemistry. No black got a PhD in European history, Russian, Spanish, German, architecture, or the classics. American universities gave out 8,000 degrees in physical sciences and engineering, but blacks earned only 39 of them.

In 1987, of the 290 doctorates granted in electrical engineering, not one went to a black. Blacks earned *three* of the 281 doctorates in chemical engineering, *two* of the 240 doctorates in mechanical engineering, and *five* of the 698 in astronomy and physics. In subsequent years, the total number of PhDs granted to blacks has bumped along at the same level: 813 in 1988 and 811 in 1989. What's more, many black PhDs plan to work in industry, where they are diligently recruited and can make more money than in teaching. In 1986, a survey of 547 blacks earning doctorates found that less than half expected to teach. And, of course, one of the reasons why there are so few black PhD candidates is that private companies are wooing black undergraduates so ardently.

One trick universities use to get more black professors is to set up slots that are out of bounds for white men. The University of Wisconsin Law School, for example, established four tenured positions several years ago, specifically for minorities and women. Northeastern University is setting aside money for minority slots throughout the university.

Naturally, this means that any white man looking for a teaching job is likely to face systematic race- and sex-discrimination. John H. Bunzel, former president of San Jose State University, has documented just a few of the deliberate acts of prejudice directed against whites. When an affirmative-action search was launched recently in

a large department at San Francisco State University, the head of the hiring committee told its members to "save time and energy by not examining any applications from white males." In March, 1989, the hiring committee in another department designated four candidates who were "persons of color" as "hirable," while designating six white candidates as "also well qualified but not hirable." They were disqualified because of their race.

Over the winter of 1989/90, a white man with a PhD applied for an opening in Stanford University's required course in Culture, Ideas, and Values. He learned that "only racial minorities will be hired to fill the slots in the Europe and America 'track'."

When the provost of San Francisco State University approved the English department's 1984 application for two additional slots he wrote: "candidates recommended to me [must] be non-white. Let me underscore that the stipulation is an absolute condition." In September, 1989, the head of the faculty search committee for sociology at Wayne State University wrote a memo to the committee saying that both of the two newly authorized positions "must be filled by a minority person."

Often, white men know better than to apply at all. Ohio Wesleyan ran an advertisement that began with these words: "Ohio Wesleyan University seeks black applicants for a tenure-track position." A faculty member explained that his department had been given two years to find a black; otherwise the position would be taken away.

In the past, employers could make their intentions known with ads that said, "We are an equal opportunity employer." Some colleges even put the phrase on their stationery. However, once everyone started using it, it no longer stood out. Now, it is common to see ads for academic positions that say, "Minorities are encouraged to apply." The political science department of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) went a little further and ran an ad that "invites nominations and applications from outstanding minority and female candidates." This makes it pretty clear that the employer is not interested in white men. It may be simple kindness to let them know that their

applications are going to be a waste of time.

Naturally, there is tremendous pressure to hire minorities for jobs that are not specifically set aside for them. Recently, when the political science department at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville hired a white woman to chair the department, the administration rejected her. She had a national reputation, but the university wanted a black. It took control of the selection committee away from the political science department and put a black activist professor in charge. Now the department has a black chairman. Michael Harris, a black professor of religion warned that whites couldn't be trusted to make fair hiring decisions. "[W]hen you see the word 'qualifications' used," he said, "remember this is the new code-word for whites".

This scramble for black faces has meant that professors are constantly being wooed from campus to campus with higher salary offers. Not surprisingly, black PhDs now make more money than white PhDs.

There can be no doubt that fellowships, courting, and pampering bring some blacks into the teaching business who don't have a real interest in it. They make unenthusiastic or even incompetent teachers, who only exacerbate the race relations that their presence is supposed to improve. At the same time, students who might have blossomed into first-rate teachers may never get the chance because they had the misfortune to be born white; the fellowships they might have won are available only to non-whites.

### The Threat of Disaccreditation

Colleges that don't take sufficiently vigorous measures in favor of minorities can get in deep trouble. At Baruch College in New York, only 36 percent of the students are white, the student body president is black, and there have been no reports of racial incidents. Nevertheless, in 1990, the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools delayed renewal of accreditation because there are not enough minorities on Baruch's teaching staff, and minorities drop out more often than whites do. There was no suggestion that Baruch had done any-

thing at all to hinder minorities; it risked losing accreditation because it had not taken enough specifically race-based measures to help them.

Shortly after Baruch's problems became known, one of its professors was awarded the Nobel Prize in economics. This must have been the first time in the history of American higher education that a university that was producing Nobel-quality research had been threatened with disaccreditation.

Most people think that accreditation is based on a school's academic standards. It now includes a judgment on a school's preference policies for non-whites. During the Baruch controversy, it came to light that at least 15 or 20 other colleges had had their accreditation delayed that year for the same reason. Baruch was only the first to be identified publicly.

Of course, across-the-board preferences leave a bad smell that no one can fail to notice. In *The Closing of the American Mind*, Allan Bloom wrote of the "shadow of university life" in which blacks operate at Cornell University:

"... permanent quotas in admissions, preference in financial assistance, racially motivated hiring of faculty, difficulty in giving blacks failing marks, and an organized system of grievance and feeling aggrieved. And everywhere hypocrisy, contempt-producing lies about what is going on and how the whole scheme is working."

Even if preferential measures did blacks some good—and there is no sign that they do—blatant unfairness to whites is unpardonable. At a time when the United States is falling further behind its international competitors, waste and self-deception on such a breath-taking scale are unconscionable. ●

*A future article will examine the reported rise of "hate crimes" on American college campuses.*



# America at the Crossroads

## A Guest Editorial by Frank Edwards

**L**ast summer, President Bush cited a purported threat to "our way of life" to justify sending American troops to Saudi Arabia. If that phrase means more than just short-term economic prosperity, our "way of life" is threatened far more seriously by events here in the United States than it ever could be by Saddam Hussein.

Over the last several decades,



violent crime has increased dramatically, many school systems have virtually given up on their students, and a shocking social disorder has taken root in what are euphemistically known as "inner cities." More subtly, there has been a continuing breakdown of standards, a flouting of community, a decline in civility, and a growing tawdriness in virtually every aspect of social and cultural life.

Though our politicians boast about the glorious future they are building for us, there is little that points to anything but further decline. If there is something that will make the next generations of Americans more ethical, honorable, hard-working, and public-spirited, there is no sign of what that may be.

It is no wonder that many thoughtful white Americans contemplate the future with dread. If our future can be seen in our once-great cities, from which millions have fled during the past decades, there is much cause for alarm.

Academics and commentators flood us with explanations for our decline. They cite productivity rates, tax policies, voting patterns, and investment strategies as if these could

account for crack babies, casual murder, and widespread illiteracy. The explanation they dare not endorse is the one lesson that the twentieth century teaches more clearly than any other: that a healthy society can be built only on the bedrock of values held in common.

In our country, that bedrock has been our European origins. From Europe have come our people, our language, our legal system, our standards of morality, our customs, and our sense of justice. For much of our history, white Americans have taken their common racial-cultural heritage for granted. Indeed, during the past forty years, the United States has engaged in a great social experiment on the assumption that people from every race and culture can be assimilated to European standards and expectations.

In the face of the obvious failure of that experiment, the new wisdom now holds that assimilation doesn't matter after all, that all ways of life are equally valid, that America will somehow profit from the "diversity" of peoples with nothing in common but abstract citizenship.

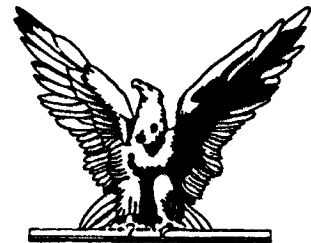
The history of our century tells us otherwise. The deep cracks in the multi-ethnic, multi-racial Soviet empire, and the widening fissures in multi-ethnic states like Yugoslavia and even Canada should teach us the dangers of trying to ignore language, culture, religion, and race. They are at the heart of every major conflict around the world, and have always pitted men against each other in America as well.

To disregard the age-old ingredients of nation or, as is now fashionable, to deplore them as parochial and passé, is completely to misread human nature. It is to abandon the only way to understand the past or shape the future.

Social pathology in America has grown to the point where we can no longer take our European heritage and collective destiny for granted. If we continue to drift, trusting in platitudes, further social and cultural

disintegration is inevitable. It is now time to cast off the illusion that a nation can be built by denying the very foundations of nationality.

As we approach a new millennium, we stand before a great historical crossroads. America faces the choice of collapse or rejuvenation. Whichever choice it makes, it will be governed by the ancient forces of loyalty, nationality, and peoplehood that determine the character of every nation.



If white Americans can be moved to defend anything, it must be their racial and cultural heritage. Much as one might wish it to be otherwise, the culture will not survive without the people who created it. If America's population continues to become more African, Latin American, and Asian, America's character will cease to be European.

We must begin to build a better future for our people on the basis of a restored sense of racial and cultural self-awareness. As we applaud the right to national integrity for Lithuanians, Quebecois, Latinos, American blacks, Kurds, Poles or Afghans, we must not sacrifice our own destiny.

In the hope that it will be part of the great work of restoring a sense of peoplehood to the cultural heirs of this nation's founders, I salute *American Renaissance* as an articulate expression of what millions of Americans already sense, but are not yet willing to say out loud. ●

*Mr. Edwards is a historian with a particular interest in the conflicts of the 20th century.*