
Carolina Review

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The Confederate Flag:



Symbol of Southern Pride or Racist Icon?

**Inside: Johnnie Cochran Review, Brad Matthews Interview,
Student Fee Allocations, and the Confederate Flag Controversy.**

MISSION STATEMENT

The *Carolina Review* is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993, the *Carolina Review* has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors and student groups. During its seven-year existence, the *Review* has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor and feature articles.

The *Carolina Review* is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world—contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributors to the *Review* share a belief in the following:

- We believe that the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate—instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.
- We believe that any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.
- We believe that free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.
- We believe that the University is an important battleground in the “war of ideas” and that the outcome of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.
- We believe that a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics for individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.
- We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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Table of Contents

Common Sense	4
If Your Lawyer Can't Rhyme, You Will Do Time <i>by Jon Marx and Kelly Krulisky</i>	5
The Confederate Controversy <i>by Matt Roberson</i>	7
Where Do Your Student Activity Fees Go? <i>by Nathan Byerly</i>	9
Up Close with Brad Matthews <i>by Steve Russell</i>	13
Lessons for 2000 <i>by David Boudreaux</i>	15
Cartoon Corner	17
Paradigms and Principles	20
The Last Word	24



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After going through the funding process before Student Congress in February, I came to an unmistakable realization which I have suspected for some time: there are several levels of intelligence and maturity represented in the body which allocates student fees and makes “policy” for UNC students. Like the responses that we receive from our readers, many different views of the *Review* were expressed that night.

There are those who write to tell us that they are “yellow-dog Democrats” who enjoy reading our publication and there are Student Congress representatives who tell us that they disagree with our positions but enjoy reading the *Review* and we deserve support as much as any other student group. At the other end of the intelligence and maturity spectrum are those who would prefer not to pay for certain of our pages, calling them “tabloid” pages (board editorials are apparently a foreign concept), and those who object to their occasional appearances in those pages despite the fact that, at least on this campus, they are a public figure. Sadly enough, some of them are even in law school.

The underlying problem is that these are the same people who preach tolerance on our campus, yet have none for ideas different from their own. They like to call some people “bigots” when those people don’t agree with their opinions. But there are liberal bigots, too. They use terms like “homophobia” and “fetus” and “hate crimes” to compel people to give moral acceptance and validity to their views. They like to refer to conservative beliefs as out of date and they like to preach “progressive” and “tolerant” views instead. But their self-serving “tolerance” is more of the Communist form – they would rather *tell* you what to think than let you have your own ideas. Leonardo da Vinci said, "It is easier to resist at the beginning than at the end." We should have open minds to new ideas, but that does not mean that we should not make judgments for ourselves and ultimately reject those ideas with which we disagree.

I had a political science professor tell my class last semester that blacks cannot be conservative and he continued by comparing the conservative ideology with Communism (wouldn’t the extreme right be “Fascism”?). This bigotry shows a lack of respect for self and for others. When we allow this type of thought to set the tone for policy-making on our campus and nationally, is it any wonder that we discover bad policies after the fact and then try to cover them up and downplay the effects? Rather than falling victim to liberal doublespeak and thought control (heard of “hate crimes”?), we must fight to dispel the haze that “liberal bigots” would cast over reason. After all, in the words of William Drummond, “He who will not reason is a bigot; he who cannot is a fool; and he who dares not is a slave.” So the next time the Queer Network for Change or the Campaign to End the Death Penalty or Student Congress try to tell you what to “tolerate” – think for yourself.

Sincerely Yours,

Nathan Byerly
Publisher

If Your Lawyer Can't Rhyme, You Will Do Time

Johnnie Cochran Under the Microscope

BY JON MARX AND KELLY KRULISKY

Staff Writers

"I have a dream that one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." When Martin Luther King spoke these words some thirty-odd years ago, he had a truly revolutionary vision. It was a vision of a colorblind nation joined together under the ancient and sacred principles of liberty, equality, and what we have defined as "The American Way". Yet judging from the rhetoric of King's successors, including noted civil rights attorney Johnnie Cochran, this ideal has been replaced by a paradigm of black solidarity closer to that of King's rival Malcolm X. Cochran has long been regarded as a leader in America's black community. His appearance at Memorial Hall on February 20 could have been an opportunity for bridging the admittedly still-present racial divide and for settling ethnic misunderstandings. Instead, it was an occasion where further distrust and discord were encouraged.

"Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred." Before Mr. Cochran's speech, performances by Harmonyx (the BSM a capella group) and Ebony Readers and Onyx Theatre and a speech by BSM president Chris Faison set the tone for an evening saturated with the very bitterness it purported to alleviate. As the members of Harmonyx paraded onstage, the audience was requested to stand. Anticipating the national anthem, certain audience members were very surprised to find themselves saluting various black history themes. As soon as they sat down, Faison launched into a self-congratulatory list of the BSM's accomplishments and plans/demands. Included among the latter are efforts to make UNC "more hospitable to black stu-

dents" through better recruitment, affirmative action expansion, and the infamous freestanding Black Cultural Center - the epitome of Dr King's dream of brotherhood and racial unity (note the sarcasm). Finally, speech goers were subjected to a hate-filled diatribe disguised as a dramatic interpretation. The monologist counseled the audience that, "should [they] meet one of these so-called angry white males, tell him to get a grip." According to her, these white men alone are responsible for increasing black poverty, AIDS, and involvement in the criminal justice system. That just oozes racial tolerance. Moreover, she claimed that "only in

America do people continue to be judged and discriminated against because of race, ethnicity, and color". Tell that to a Kosovar. Perhaps one way to mend the discrimination she decries is to cease flinging insults at fellow Americans.

"Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood." Cochran finally took the stage, and began his

speech by quoting W.E.B. DuBois and Martin Luther King. Under the auspices of such regal characters, he lamented the racial injustice and division still present in America today. The primary focus of his speech was an indictment of the American criminal justice system for its magnification of this problem. He cited statistics indicating that fully one-third of all black men are currently in prison or on probation or parole. He bemoaned the targeting of blacks through racial profiling and police brutality. He categorized such disturbing trends as evidence for the notion that the American justice system in actuality perpetuates injustice. Cochran is at least partially correct. The existence of police brutality and the ludicrously high rate of black male involvement in the criminal justice system are facts

His appearance could have been an opportunity for bridging the admittedly still-present racial divide and for settling ethnic misunderstandings.

that our country should not ignore. They do not, however, justify the wholesale abandonment of faith in the American justice system.

Our justice system has been arranged to ensure representation and fairness. It has been established under the regulations of multiple checks and balances through the jury and appeal system. It has been fine-tuned in order to guarantee constant service and impartiality to its citizens. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the American justice system does its job efficiently and fairly. Our jury system has been the model for numerous others worldwide. A more equitable and effective justice system has yet to be conceived. Like any other social system, the justice system is composed of human beings; thus, it will never be faultless. However, the intricacies of the appeals process are meant to greatly reduce the possibility of human error. It seems reasonable to conclude that high incarceration rates of blacks are largely not the fault of the criminal justice system.

Somewhat random in his choice of topics, Cochran also mentioned the tiresome debate of affirmative action. He was, not surprisingly, in full support of all affirmative action programs. Everyone has heard the exasperated cries of either side: "Level the playing fields!" on one and "Reverse discrimination!" on the other. All that has resulted is the heightened tension between the "resentful" white population and the "short-changed" minorities. All that has been accomplished is the further accentuation of our *differences*.

"Many of our white brothers...have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom." Perhaps a more justified focus for Cochran's crusade is the underlying racial tension throughout the populace of the United States. The revealing numbers of minorities in poverty and prison and the

common perception of a lack of opportunity for minorities indicate that we have not realized the equality articulated by Dr. King. However, in a little over one hundred years we have accomplished what has taken other nations close to one thousand. We have moved, with democracy as our guide, from slavery to Jim Crow to at least *de jure* equality. Yes, we still have further to go, but that should not detract from the progress that has been made. Achieving justice and racial understanding is a goal to be fulfilled over generations, not years. Where do we start? The embittered accusations against the "angry white male" and the refusal to acknowledge a common ground should not be the beginning. Instead, let us be guided by a spirit of compromise and a willingness to unite as Americans - not as citizens of a black America or of a white America, but of the United States of America.

Cochran's speech and the introduction provided by the Black Student Movement undercut the ideas of the great black leaders.

The timbre of Cochran's speech and the introduction provided by the Black Student Movement undercut the ideas of the great black leaders, which the entire program invoked. After alluding to Dr. King as a concession to the idea of

racial unity, Cochran promptly dismissed the ideas that King championed. In effect, he stood up from the "table of racial brotherhood", walked away in a dignified huff, and denied that any dialogue or progress had taken place at all. Cochran's path is one that will ultimately lead to separation and to further friction rather than King's unified and colorless chorus singing *"Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"*

CR

Jon Marx is a freshman economics major from Winston-Salem, NC.

Kelly Krulisky is a freshman from Arcadia, CA.

Do you live on campus and this issue of the *Review* did not come to your room? Did you know your R.A. is supposed to deliver campus mail? If it was not delivered, email cr@unc.edu and let us know where you live and your R.A.'s name. Thanks!

The Confederate Controversy

Student Congress and the NAACP have attacked South Carolina's heritage. What should be done?

BY MATT ROBERSON

Associate Publisher

How many intellectual, moral, legal, or political horrors have been explained away by the defense, "It's a black thing"? Well, there was O.J. Simpson's acquittal, ebonics, the whole spectrum of gangsta culture, Toni Morrison's contention that President Clinton was our first black president, and every third word out of Louis Farrakhan's or Rev. Al Sharpton's mouth. Yet, if one criticizes any of these things, he or she is open to being labeled insensitive or (assuming they are white) a racist. Even more, radicals say whites are incapable of understanding "blackness" and therefore have no right to speak out or criticize blacks. Gays, Jews, women, and Hispanics also fit into the same equation and the argument remains invariably the same. This formula marks the post-modern idea of identity politics, the notion that we are "immutably and irrevocably bound to our ethnic or cultural perspective.¹" In recent years, the Left has managed to tangle itself in a messy web of identity politics, giving some groups more privilege these days than others. In fact, today the more one claims the mantle of victimization, the more privileged you are. As such, identity politics stoked the recent brouhaha regarding the Confederate flag flying over the State Capitol in South Carolina.

For many observers the dispute remains black and white – literally. Many African-Americans point to the flag's use by white supremacists like the Ku Klux Klan, as well as other racist fringe groups composed of Southern whites. Some confederates in Deep South states make no bones about the flag as a symbol for the men who held humans in bondage. John Shelton Reed, professor of sociology at UNC, noted that "slavery was

an important part of Southern history and undeniably part of what secession was all about.²" Predictably, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People piped up, denouncing the flag as an "abhorrence to all Americans and decent people," "the ugly symbol of idiotic white supremacy, racism, and denigration," and "an odious blight upon the universe."

However, another Confederate flag exists, one that represents an idea largely distant from slavery. Southerners believed they fought to preserve an alternative culture, a culture in tandem with the plantation system. Though sustained by slavery economically, the other elements of Southern culture should not be discarded. Should Southern courtesy and hospitality be illegitimate because of slavery? Was the South's distaste for industrial capitalism illegitimate because of slavery? Or, would Southern blacks suffer from what Marxists call "false consciousness" if they prefer the Southern lifestyle? The fact remains that for many South-

The fact remains that for many Southerners the flag represents what they sincerely believe to be an honorable symbol.

erners the flag represents what they sincerely believe to be an honorable symbol for those who marched, fought, and died to protect their homeland from what they perceived as an act of Northern aggression. When defenders wear T-shirts, commemorate battles, and assert "heritage, not hate," they are not being disingenuous.

But a larger issue looms underneath this dispute. For years the NAACP has taken the forefront in the battle for the civil rights of all Americans. Forgetting their own struggle for equality, the NAACP now seeks to advance the interests of a particular race and has embarked on a campaign to eradicate and censor all vestiges of the Old South. Even after Gov. Jim Hodges proposed to move the Civil War-era flag from the statehouse dome to a Confederate monument on the Capitol grounds,

NAACP president Kweisi Mfume called the compromise “unacceptable and is non-negotiable.” Unfortunately, their misguided boycott will only raise racial tensions, not erase them. Bullying people by demonizing a culture and shaming them in an effort to command deference to the NAACP agenda will only reinforce the racial divide. The NAACP has taken the symbolism of the flag and devilishly twisted and manipulated its interpretation to launch attacks on their opponents. The group accuses supporters of bigotry, hatred, and any other nasty phrases they can turn against them. It is an unabashed intellectual shakedown designed to control thought and opinion on the issue. If the reader doubts this, simply look at the militant homosexual movement on this campus. We should be suspicious anytime someone attacks a symbol in the name of inclusion and diversity, but we should be terrified when someone tries to regulate what we think and uses the language of hate in that effort.

Southern conservatism is a rich political philosophy that does not rest on the idea of bringing back slavery. The 1998 death of George Wallace should remind us all that most of those responsible for segregation are no longer alive. Thus, the idea of pulling down a flag and eliminating monuments in order to punish whites for segregation and slavery remains preposterous – unless all whites are guilty by association. For thirty-eight years the Confederate battle flag has flown atop the South Carolina state house. Has it during that time had any material or legal effect on any human being? Not really. In fact, I would venture to say that most people don’t care. In 1994, the University of North Carolina’s Southern Focus Poll found that one-third of whites and half of blacks “don’t care much about [the flag] one way or another.”³ But let’s say the South Caro-

lina legislature does vote to remove the flag from the state house and Capitol grounds. Will the absence of the flag then have any material or legal effect on any of us? Probably not.

Despite the very little intellectual discussion offered by the NAACP, their objections do raise an interesting point. As decades pass, Southern identity is slowly losing its grip on the notion of Confederacy. No longer does the legacy of defeat, occupation, and subordination work to congeal Southerners as one. As the South moves from poverty to prosperity, it is now held together by a common set of present economic and social problems, faced by both black and white Southerners. In fact, merely talking and acting Southern, as well as sharing Southern grievances would qualify most anyone as a “Southerner,” not just whites. Perhaps good manners, if nothing else, should dictate that the

flag come down, but we must remember that this is a heritage which so many young men fought and died for and the flag represents their sacrifice. Men do not volunteer to die by the hundreds of thousands for something they do not believe is a noble cause. The Confederate flag represents that noble cause, and should be rightly displayed on a memorial commemorating them.

CR

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Staff writer David Perez contributed to this article.

¹ Goldberg, Jonah. The Confederate Flag: It’s a Southern Thing.

² Reed, John Shelton. The Flag’s Many Meanings. Wall Street Journal. January 20, 2000.

³ Ibid.

Need to Sound Off?

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Please limit your comments to 400 words. We reserve the right to edit your letter for length and/or profanity. We also reserve the right not to edit your letter and to expose you as a bumbling idiot.

Where Do Your Student Activity Fees Go?

Every year, Student Congress allocates student fees to campus groups. Where does almost \$200,000 of your money go?

BY NATHAN BYERLY

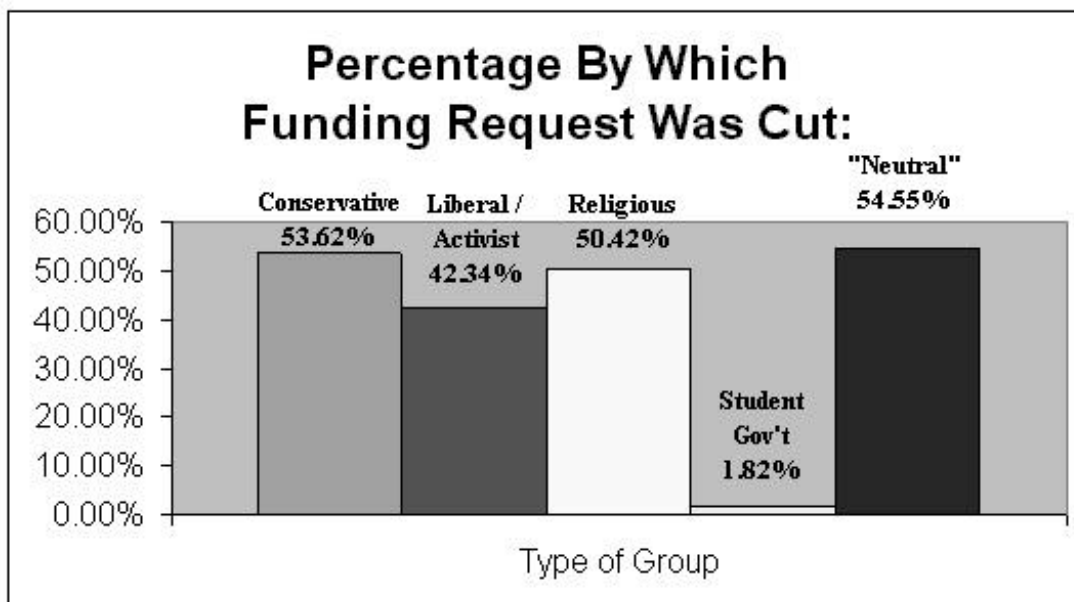
Publisher

Every year, Student Congress allocates your Student Activity Fees to the many student groups on campus who apply for them to pay for their programs, publications, publicity, office supplies, travel expenses and a number of other possible expenses. These are the groups in which you may or may not be involved. So where does almost \$200,000 of your money go every year?

The *Review* put together the numbers and analyzed them for you. Below you can find out exactly how much money each student group that went through the funding process asked for and how much they received. We also categorized each student group and analyzed the category's percentage of the total and the percentage by which the total amount requested in each category was cut by Congress.

The most recent budget out of the allocation process shows that liberal/activist groups receive the largest portion of your student fees (39.55%), while conservative groups received the least amount at 2.44%. The only category to have their budget request cut by more than conservative groups (53.62%) was the "neutral" category (54.55%) which has almost ten times more groups. Not surprisingly, student government groups, as a category, had their funding requests cut the least – by 1.82% and in second place to have their funding requests cut the least were liberal/activist groups (42.34%).

So what does all of this mean? Well, we'll just let you look at the numbers and decide for yourself.



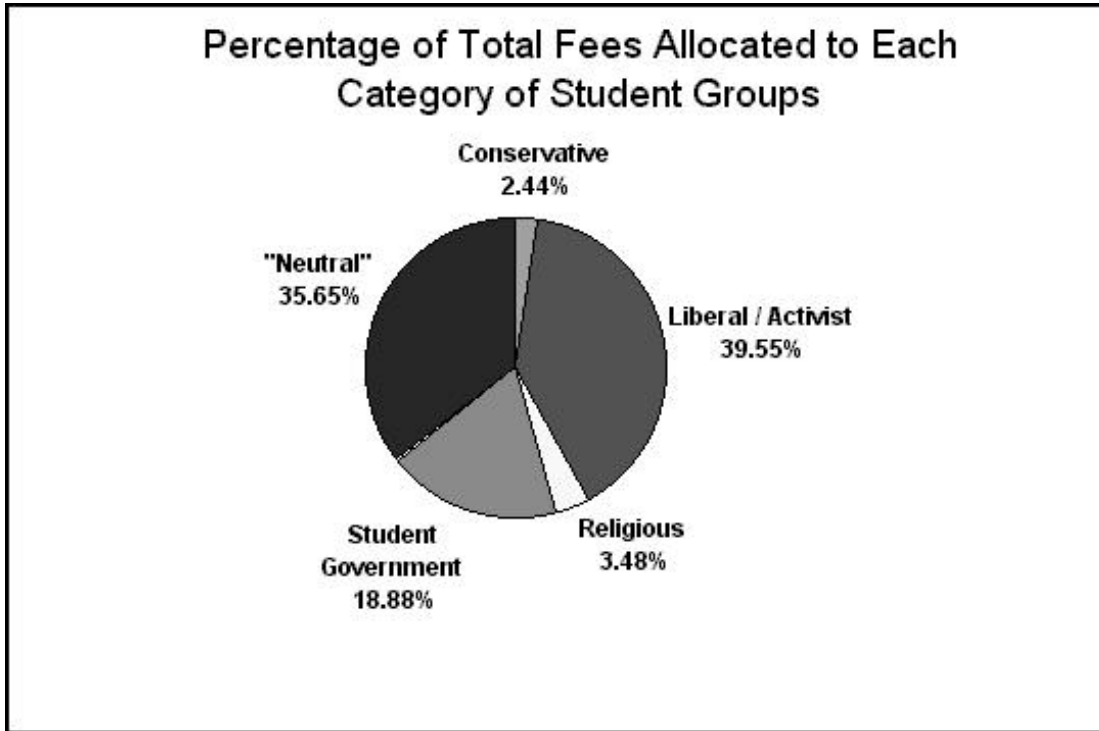
<u>Student Group</u>	<u>Requested</u>	<u>Amended</u>
Conservative		
Carolina Respect Life	\$2,220.00	\$1,060.00
Carolina Review	\$7,198.30	\$3,480.00
Lincoln Forum	\$574.80	\$94.80
Totals:	\$9,993.10	\$4,634.80

Liberal / Activist

ACCESS	\$2,865.25	\$2,168.60
Asian Student Association	\$5,000.00	\$3,613.20
Bhangra Elite	\$1,950.00	\$700.00
BSM	\$18,815.36	\$16,920.84
CAMP	\$5,871.18	\$3,202.74
Campaign to End the Death Penalty	\$8,838.30	\$2,029.90
Carolina Indian Circle	\$3,809.80	\$2,769.80
Catalyst	\$1,574.00	\$1,574.00
Cellar Door	\$7,400.00	\$7,400.00
Chispa	\$7,020.00	\$4,433.20
Conference on Race, Class, Gender & Ethnicity	\$3,748.00	\$3,598.00
Domestic Violence Advocacy Project	\$1,901.00	\$1,335.50
Growise	\$2,236.80	\$1,280.80
LAMBDA	\$1,876.50	\$655.00
MASALA	\$4,700.00	\$2,009.90
NAACP	\$3,092.31	\$1,116.50
National Lawyer's Guild	\$3,725.00	\$1,515.00
NORML	\$5,320.00	\$1,075.00
OASIS	\$1,600.00	\$580.00
PEACH	\$1,050.00	\$0.00
Physicians for Human Rights	\$580.00	\$500.00
Prisoner's Rights Project	\$2,937.20	\$665.00
SANGAM	\$10,961.70	\$6,617.40
Student Environmental Action Coalition	\$3,343.10	\$2,033.10
Students for Economic Justice	\$1,700.00	\$355.00
SURGE	\$9,921.00	\$3,133.00
VSA	\$5,415.00	\$2,375.00
Worker's Rights Project	\$3,190.00	\$1,559.00
Totals:	\$130,441.50	\$75,215.48

Religious

Hillel	\$2,183.00	\$1,030.00
InterVarsity Christian Fellowship	\$5,750.00	\$2,850.00
Newman Center	\$1,800.00	\$1,482.00
Psalm 100	\$407.60	\$203.80
Virtuous Woman	\$2,544.00	\$636.00
Waymaker Christian Fellowship	\$667.00	\$418.00
Totals:	\$13,351.60	\$6,619.80



<u>Student Group</u>	<u>Requested</u>	<u>Amended</u>
Student Government		
Attorney General's Office/Judicial Branch	\$5,108.00	\$5,000.60
Elections Board	\$2,335.00	\$2,285.00
Executive Branch	\$22,449.46	\$20,949.46
Student Congress	\$6,256.76	\$7,356.76
Student Supreme Court	\$423.40	\$313.40
Undergraduate Honor Court*	\$2,217.40	\$0.00
Totals:	\$36,572.62	\$35,905.22

*Honor Court not included in total because they did not submit their request on time and were disqualified from the funding process.

"Neutral"		
American Medical Student Association	\$3,320.00	\$400.00
American Medical Women's Association	\$2,750.00	\$350.00
Berryhill Beat	\$3,000.00	\$2,164.00
Blue and White	\$2.00	\$20.00
C.A.R.E.	\$1,480.00	\$233.10
Carolina Athletic Association	\$22,033.69	\$8,392.80
Carolina Cancer Focus	\$1,492.00	\$972.00
Carolina Photography Association	\$1,869.91	\$1,349.96
Carolina Production Guild	\$10,148.13	\$6,133.00
Concept of Colors	\$1,470.00	\$560.00
Epidemiology Student Organization	\$2,325.00	\$1,827.50
FACSS	\$2,130.00	\$676.40
Family Medicine Interest Group	\$2,710.00	\$953.20
FAX	\$6,005.48	\$1,800.00
Great Decisions	\$2,500.00	\$2,500.00
Habitat for Humanity	\$1,170.26	\$782.10
ILSSA	\$2,200.00	\$304.50

<u>Student Group</u>	<u>Requested</u>	<u>Amended</u>
Insight Out	\$6,000.00	\$3,000.00
International Health Forum	\$400.00	\$400.00
IRIS	\$6,150.00	\$4,748.00
Lab Theatre	\$10,400.00	\$8,600.00
M.A.N.O.	\$1,674.00	\$554.00
North Carolina Renaissance	\$930.00	\$309.00
Pediatric Interest Group	\$925.00	\$405.00
Physical Medecine and Rehabilitation Interest Group	\$183.02	\$115.04
PILF	\$4,275.00	\$600.00
Sanford Society	\$935.00	\$644.60
Scabbard & Blade Military Honor Fraternity	\$1,250.00	\$63.20
Student Athletic Trainer's Association	\$1,140.00	\$240.00
Student National Medical Association	\$15,280.00	\$2,234.00
SUB	\$13,532.80	\$4,113.80
The Carolina Quarterly	\$4,300.00	\$4,300.00
Trial Law Academy	\$5,550.00	\$4,290.00
UNC Advertising Club	\$2,435.00	\$269.80
UNC Italian Club	\$750.00	\$156.60
UNC Journal of Social Science and History	\$4,493.20	\$2,102.60
UNC Science Outreach	\$500.00	\$335.00
Undergraduate Art Association	\$1,490.00	\$915.00
Totals:	\$149,199.49	\$67,814.20
Grand Totals:	\$339,558.31	\$190,189.50

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Up Close with Brad Matthews

UNC's Student Body President-Elect Faces the Tough Questions

BY STEVE RUSSELL
Senior Writer

Student Body President-elect Brad Matthews does not strike me as a typical SBP. Then again, neither did his main adversary, Erica Smiley. Luckily, Matthews prevailed over the high priestess of campus liberalism in the run-off election last month. His laid-back style might strike some as unfitting of a man who will shoulder great responsibility in the 2000-01 school year, but Matthews seems dedicated to the task ahead: "I'm going to do what I think is right – that goes for everyone. If they think they have a better idea, I'm willing to hear it. But I've got to do what I think is right. And I'm going to do it."

I sat down with Matthews and asked him several tough questions about campus issues and the recent campaign. His responses did not strike me as very conservative. Indeed, Matthews leans to the left on most issues. In particular, his support for the Black Cultural Center, the United States Student Association (though limited), and patience with Student Congress' radical agenda was troubling. However, he does have plenty of Student Government experience and should be a restraining influence on Student Congress. Hopefully, common sense will prevail during his time in office.

Here are Brad's thoughts on the issues:

SR: Do you think your victory over Erica Smiley and the defeat of the USSA shows an overall trend towards conservatism among UNC students, or at least among voters?

BM: No, I don't think so. I think it shows a prioritization of things that directly affect students here. You can sit here and see that the student fee increase passed. I think students are interested in

policies with Student Government that make this university better.

SR: Do you think it is appropriate for Student Congress to spend its time legislating on such issues as the United States' policy towards Iraq, or the flags that South Carolina chooses to fly?

BM: Congress as a body does serve as a democratic voice for the students and there is a place for speaking out on issues. We are not cut off from the rest of the world. But at the same time we need to be very cognizant of who we are representing and make sure our priority is the students on campus.

There is a balance, but the students here are my priority. I consider it to be a matter of prioritization and I would encourage Student Congress to make sure they are putting students first.

SR: Would you ever support UNC joining the USSA?

BM: Yeah, I think there are circumstances where that will be appropriate. My biggest beef

was twofold: a referendum membership was a bad marriage – too much of an entanglement. If we were ever feeling like we wanted to get away, we couldn't pull out easily. Also, it was too much money. I would not necessarily have a problem with a \$1,500 membership. USSA on the whole does advocate policies that are beneficial to higher education. The other reason I was opposed was because by creating a referendum, students and Student Government don't have a say over that money, and since USSA does have some policies that are very contentious, not giving students a yearly chance to speak against its funding is unfair. If it (USSA funding) is in the Constitution, that is very difficult to do.

SR: Were you surprised that the DTH endorsed Smiley?

BM: Not really. Over the course of this campaign

“We need to be very cognizant of who we are representing and make sure our priority is the students on campus.”

I've learned not to be surprised by very much.

SR: In all, the DTH was pretty harsh to you, especially on the editorial page. Do you think they covered the campaign fairly?

BM: To be honest, I stopped reading the DTH about a month ago – I mean, when you are personally involved it is very difficult to see anything as unbiased, and so it was a lot easier for me to just kind of skim the things that regarded me personally, and focus on how I was trying to get my message out, as opposed to getting some third party to do it. I think vote totals showed we did that pretty effectively.

SR: Did you take offense to DTH editor Rob Nelson's description of you as an "Abercrombie white boy?"

BM: (laughs) No, I didn't take offense. I am not offended by anything they write, or anybody for that matter. I started off this campaign very concerned that I hadn't developed thick enough skin, but at this point I've learned to just laugh about it. I know who I am and I like me. I don't need someone who doesn't know me to label me as something I know that I am not.

SR: Do you agree with the DTH's proposal to eliminate voting precincts at Chase Hall and Granville Towers? Do you think their editorial came out of anger over Smiley's overwhelming defeat?

BM: I disagree with that. I don't know what it was spurred by. I just glanced at the editorial; I don't know their reasons. If anything, we should be opening more polling sites and finding ways for more students to vote.

SR: Do you support the free-standing Black Cultural Center?

BM: Yes.

SR: Do you have any concerns about it becoming a "black student union?"

BM: We have to be very careful that it does not become something a lot of people are worried about. I share those concerns, so we have to take positive steps to schedule classes in the building that that

don't deal with AFAM. Freshman year I was very intimidated by the BCC, but I went and looked at the academic programs and saw that they were very beneficial. What we can all learn by having a BCC here, one that can offer a lot of resources, far outweighs not having one for fears that I don't think will necessarily come to fruition. There is a lot of misconception about the BCC.

SR: What do you think about the recent report stating that average GPA needs to be lowered?

BM: (laughs) I think that the trends in some light are encouraging – I think students are better prepared. I honestly hope they (the Faculty Council) will focus their efforts on more pressing needs than lowering GPA, just because some people think it is too high.

SR: Will UNC make the NCAA tourney?

BM: Yes, we will make the NCAA tournament. I'm a little concerned now that our seeding will be low enough that we will go eight or nine and have to play the number one seed early. We have the potential but we

haven't played up to it often. But the Heels have often been a tournament team, except for last year.

SR: What are your summer plans?

BM: I am constitutionally obligated to be in Chapel Hill and in Raleigh, lobbying to keep tuition low and for a new financial aid package, and trying to unfreeze the funding for the Undergraduate Library, because I helped lobby to get the money in the short session of 1998. We got \$9.3 million appropriated. After Hurricane Floyd they froze that allocation until they could make the necessary budget adjustments. I want to get that money back so we can renovate the Undergrad.

CR

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Lessons for 2000

What have we learned in the last century?

BY DONALD BOUDREAUX

The 1900s are now history. What are the most critical lessons for us to learn from them? I offer two candidates.

Shun Utopia

First, utopian schemes are disastrous. They should be avoided like the plague that they are. The trouble with any utopia – literally, “no place” – is that, by its very nature, its advocates do not tolerate deviations from their visions of perfection. They do not tolerate growth, compromise, trial and error, or that vital form of experimentation that author Virginia Postrel calls “play.”

This trouble is magnified a millionfold when government monopolized the arrogant task of defining and enforcing utopian perfection. When that occurs, forget about competing utopias, being able to leave one utopia for another, or far more sensibly, avoiding utopia-ization altogether. History shows how ruthless the state can be with those who resist.

Consider the twentieth century’s premier utopian scheme – communism. In exchange for unlimited state power, it promised everyone greater prosperity, security, equality, liberty, and cultural refinement. Instead, it delivered only destitution; its people were made “secure” only in the way that prisoners are secure; the masses were equally impoverished while their rulers enjoyed bounties of special privileges; liberty was crushed; and the resulting culture was hideous and grotesque.

Fascism and Nazism, of course, were utopian evils as well. They, too, justified unlimited state power as the means to earthly paradise. They too delivered destitution and terror.

Keep Democracy in Perspective

The second lesson is that democracy alone is insufficient for a society to be truly free and pros-

perous. Private property rights are the most important bulwark protecting freedom and ensuring prosperity. Democracy, as such, guarantees neither. While this lesson isn’t widely understood, we have been bombarded with paeans to democracy. Schoolchildren are taught that Western nations are free because they are democratic. Indeed, they are taught that freedom is synonymous with democracy.

But voting does not equal freedom. Voting is merely the act of marking a ballot every few years to register one among thousands or hundreds of thousands or millions of preferences for this or that candidate. The chance that any one vote will affect the outcome of any election is practically zero. No voter ever really chooses his or her representative – at least not in the way that he chooses an occupation, a house, a church, a college major, books to read, or a

spouse.

In our everyday nonpolitical lives – equipped as we all are with private property rights – we routinely make choices that count. If you choose to buy a Ford rather than a Volkswagen, you get a Ford. It does not depend on how others choose. Not so in elections. You get only what a majority of the voting group wants. Thus, every time a decision is made collectively rather than individually, no individual is free. Each is a slave to the majority.

De-romanticizing democracy is frowned on, but I believe that it must be done. Democracy might be the best way to choose government officials, but that does not imply that democracy equals freedom. Freedom requires more than the right to vote. It requires the rule of law and strict limits on government power. It requires that each person be as unrestrained as possible from the arbitrary will of others – regardless of whether the others are con-

Private property rights are the most important bulwark protecting freedom and ensuring prosperity.

quering tyrants, hereditary oligarchs, black-robed judges, or a majority of neighbors or countrymen.

Private property is the indispensable protection from the arbitrary will of others. Private property assures that each of us has a space that others cannot violate, as well as that others will create prosperity for all.

For evidence that private property rather than democracy is the key to prosperity and freedom, I point to India and Hong Kong. In India the electoral franchise is wide and elections have long been regular, but property rights are weak. For most of the post-World War II era, in contrast, Hong Kong had no democracy, but property rights there have

been among the strongest the world has ever seen. Indians are poor and shackled by a massively corrupt state; the people of Hong Kong are wealthy and free.

Private property, not democracy, is the great guarantor of prosperity and liberty. And because is decentralized power, it safeguards us from madmen with utopian hallucinations.

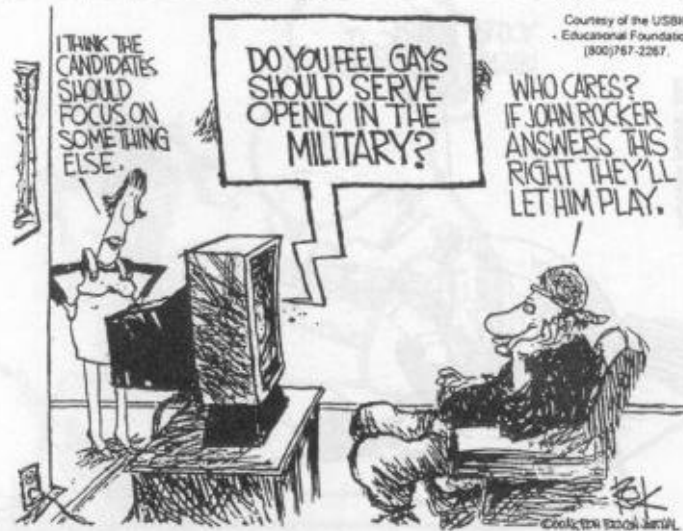
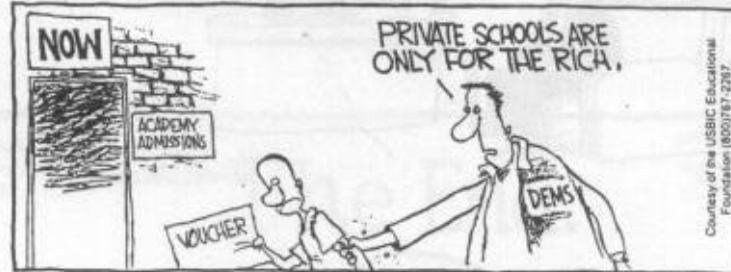
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Donald Boudreaux is president of the Foundation for Economic Education (www.fee.org), which publishes *Ideas on Liberty*. This article is excerpted, with permission, from the January 2000 issue.

“If Erica Smiley is elected Student Body President, we might as well raise the hammer and sickle over the university.”

-Anonymous, on the eve of the SBP elections.









Carolina Review : 2 USSA: 0

The votes are in and the USSA has failed for an unprecedented second time in the past four years. After suffering defeats in 1997 and at the hands of the Student Supreme Court earlier this month, USSA proponents feverishly worked to get the necessary signatures from 10% of the student body in order to place the referendum on the ballot, but there could be no rest for the weary. Once on the ballot, the proposed \$3 increase required a two-thirds approval from those voting on election day. Heavy hitters from Washington, including USSA vice-president **Ali Fisher**, graced the campus with their presence to push the initiative through. However, the *Review* and other campus conservatives came out in full force with guns a'blazin to counter the movement and expose the sham. But we can't take all the credit for the defeat. The *Review* would like to thank those 1,883 people who had the courage and insight to say "NO!" to the USSA and its left leaning politics. And to the USSA: for more information on how to organize an effective grassroots movement, contact us at cr@unc.edu.

Student Congress Funds the Tabloids?

Admit it. You know that when you're waiting in the checkout line at Harris Teeter, you glance over and catch up on the latest rumors printed by the authorities on gossip: **National Enquirer** and **Weekly World News**. But who would have guessed that you are reading the same material in the pages of the *Review* right now? Well, according to Speaker **Mark Kleinschmidt** and former Rules and Judiciary "Chairperson" **Erica Smiley**, *Paradigms and Principles* has about the intellectual content of "tabloid pages." It seems that their frequent appearances in these pages have – to say the least – unnerved them. Fortunately we will refrain from further speculation, so as to not give the two "authorities" the satisfaction of proving their assertion true. But whether or not you agree with their characterization, take comfort, as you would with supermarket tabloids, in knowing that every month thousands like you read these pages as well.

A New Voice in Student Congress

All the conservative groups on campus who get the short end of the stick year after year in the student fee allocation process, take heart. A new, seemingly unlikely crusader has risen to the ranks of Student Congress Representative. **Sandi Chapman**, member of the **Coalition for Educational Access** and USSA activist, emerged victorious in the race for the fifteenth district. In her platform she wants to "maintain support for projects and organizations working to unite students from diverse racial, religious and cultural backgrounds." Even the "D"TH endorsed her for "her defense of groups that get shafted by the budget process." After looking at the most recent allocation list, the *Review* has decided to take her up on that commitment and eagerly look forward to a long and prosperous relationship. Together we will work to foster diversity by increasing conservative presence and awareness on campus.

How NOT to Run an Election

Those who were beginning to have a bit of faith in student government had their hopes thoroughly dashed this month, as the Elections Board made a joke of another year's elections. What

went wrong?

What didn't?

In the first round of elections, computer problems caused the results to be withheld for a day, so that the ballots could be hand-counted. When the results were finally announced, it turned out the Election Board had used incorrect districts for off-campus areas, invalidating the votes for Student Congress. Finally, in an obvious effort to shed what small bit of dignity the Elections Board held, the ballot featured such listings as "Corey Lee 'C-TOPS Dude' Bell." This is ridiculous. These Elections Board members were admitted to UNC, right? I mean, let's hope they aren't really NC State students masquerading as Tar Heels. At least that would explain the lack of intelligence.

The second round of elections was only plagued by one main problem: Elections Board members failed to check ONE Card's at several voting stations. As a result, 57 ballots from the Hanes Art Center were disqualified. However, the gross incompetence of elections officials was not limited to Hanes, but rather was campus-wide. At least one *Review* staff member, and many other students, were permitted to vote at the Student Union without having their ONE Cards checked.

It is obvious that the students at this university have common sense (as evidenced by the failure of the USSA proposal and Erica Smiley's defeat), let's hope that next year the Elections Board will have some too.

And This Will Not Help...

One idea for improvement of the Elections Board, voiced in a "D"TH editorial, is not the solution. While the "D"TH was right in criticizing the Board's methods, they later suggested that voting stations in Chase Hall and at Granville Towers should be eliminated. Why? Because too many people voted there! That's right, the "D"TH feels that the Granville and Chase locations are "unfair to most graduate students and to the 17,000 other students who live off campus." How is this unfair in any way? There is nothing wrong with it being "too easy" to vote, or for voting precincts to be near to where people live. That's how districts are apportioned in real life, by population (as the Supreme Court has approved of), not by race or class as the "D"TH wishes.

The real truth is that the "D"TH's slander of Granville residents as rich, white racists was due to its anger over Erica Smiley's loss to an "Abercrombie white boy" - as they so eloquently put it. Every year at Homecoming, we see the B"S"M flex its considerable muscle, getting a block vote for their candidate. In the SBP elections, we saw Brad Matthews' organization rally a huge group of students to his candidacy. Certainly this group was no less representative than the B"S"M block. Perhaps the "D"TH editorial board should read a copy of the Constitution, and hopefully learn a little bit about democracy in the process.

Was Student Congress Drunk When They Voted to Condemn Sanctions on Iraq?

According to recent news reports, Saddam Hussein's government - buoyed by Student Congress' continued support of their despicable regime - is almost finished with construction of several huge palaces, including one that covers over four square miles! In addition, reports state that the Iraqi government consumes almost as much alcohol as UNC students do on a Thursday night: 350,000 cans of beer, 10,000 bottles of whiskey and 700 bottles of wine per week. Will these facts change Erica Smiley's devotion to Hussein? We doubt it. But then again, that's why she's wrong and we're right.

Congress Misrepresentatives

Student Congress never ceases to amaze folks at the *Review*. On Tuesday, Feb. 22 they acted as many of us have come to expect. Rep. **Bharath Parthasarathy** introduced a resolution to endorse the NAACP's boycott of South Carolina for flying the Confederate flag atop the statehouse. Once again, Congress members have taken it upon themselves to take a stand on a socially divisive issue in the name of all students at UNC. In fact, Rep. **Hatch** went as far as to tell the "D"TH that "you could pretty much guarantee the majority of students at UNC would support this."

Really Mr. Hatch? The *Review* would like to see your evidence. But the real story came from Rep. Parthasarathy's defense of his resolution:

"Duke passed a similar resolution two or three weeks ago. This is appropriate for Congress to do."

Well, if Duke jumps off a cliff or starts selling crack, should UNC do the same? For Bharath, the *Review* suspects the answer is "yes." Hats off to the three members who voted against the resolution. For the rest who think they are representing the student voice, recall the famous saying: North Carolina is "a valley of humility between two mountains of conceit." Check your pompous "we're gonna save the world" attitude at the door.

Rock-a-Bye Bradley

Here at the *Review*, we make it a point not to take the "D"TH seriously as a source of hard hitting news and commentary. In fact, many of us just breeze the back page before tossing it aside in the nearest receptacle. But in the Feb. 10th edition of the "five day a week" paper, a glimmering picture caught our eye. Below the fold, a photograph by Laura Giovenelli captures Erica Simley (foreground) addressing members of the BSM to pander an endorsement for Student Body President. Seated behind Miss Smiley, SBP-elect Brad Matthews appears to be taking a "snooze." We certainly sympathize with Mr. Matthews who surely suffered through Smiley's rambling on in her litany of Marxist rhetoric - Castro is known for putting a few people to sleep as well. While we will forgive such conduct during an exhausting campaign, we hope this habit of "napping" through long-winded speeches does not carry over into his administration. We wouldn't want him to miss any important photo ops, or tarnish his image when he schmoozes with the upper echelons of the university for a job after his stint as SBP. Worse yet, we wouldn't want to see any pressing issues that might actually have bearing on university life slip by unnoticed as Brad takes a midday siesta. Those dog-days of executive administration are in the near future. Until then Bradley -- sweet dreams!

How 'Bout Dem A.P.P.L.E.S.?

After receiving their recent windfall in the February referendum, A.P.P.L.E.S. has already begun using that extra money they were counting on. What are they using it for? Well, we wonder just how badly they needed the money to pay interns when they're buying boxes of t-shirts and fancy notepad portfolios with the A.P.P.L.E.S. logo on them. According to the website of the portfolio maker, these "supplies" cost over three dollars each. Conveniently, this is the approximate amount, per student, that the recent A.P.P.L.E.S. referendum raised your student activity fee. Have you received your portfolio yet? We are still waiting.

There's nothing wrong with buying materials to promote your group or make yourselves

more visible, but don't tell students that you need their money—and won't be able to fund internships and service projects without it—and then go out and buy extra frills.

Democracy Says “NO” to Gay Marriage, “D”TH Says “NO” to Democracy

Perhaps the most encouraging outcome of Super Tuesday was the success of California's Proposition 22, which outlawed gay marriages in that state. Specifically, the ballot measure stated, “only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.” Congratulations to California voters who stood against the forces of liberalism. Hopefully they will be able to sustain the economic blow from Student Congress' inevitable boycott of their state.

And as it happens any time conservatism stands tall, the “D”TH was there to complain. Editorial Notebook writer Cameron Mitchell argued that political leaders do not have “the balls to make the logical choice of pushing for the complete legal recognition of gay marriages.” The *Review* would like to inform Mr. Mitchell that political leaders are duty-bound to represent their constituents, and it seems the people of California have spoken in the most democratic way possible. Such a ballot referendum allows anyone who has a legal voice in the political process and cares about the issue to clearly speak their mind. 61% of those concerned citizens favored the ban. Mitchell continues by ridiculing Senator Pete Knight, who proposed the ballot measure, calling him “a big conservative rat with a homophobic personal agenda” and later “a conservative scoundrel.” Most conservatives quickly learn to brush off such infantile name-calling, but we are still troubled by Mitchell's editorial. The “D”TH is quick to dismiss the voice of democracy when it threatens the liberal agenda, and as such shows the true extent of its tolerance for mainstream views and support for democracy.

CAMPing Out? Try the Conservative Alternative!

No sooner had a new LesBiGayTrans discussion group been formed than UNC's campus conservatives countered with their own support group:

New Closet Conservative and Questioning Discussion Group at UNC
Wednesdays 8-9 PM, Beginning April 1

A confidential discussion group about conservative issues for people all along the spectrum... from those questioning their political orientation to those who are out, loud and proud.

This is a safe place to:

- o talk about what's on your mind
- o meet others dealing with cc&q issues
- o get support and advice
- o give support and advice
- o think about where you are out
- o and where you are not

Participants in the group agree to respect the confidentiality of other group members. Topics will include issues such as: coming out, dating liberals, dealing with conservative-phobia, and questioning one's political orientation. Got something you want to talk about? Come by and bring it with you...

This rap group will meet every Wednesday and will be co-facilitated by William Heeden III (That's right... we're stealing the guy who used to beat the hell out of campus liberals... Score!) and by Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf (he was in the Army).

The Last Word

“In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give to the other..”

Voltaire

“They never fail who die in a great cause.”

Lord Byron

“Any attack on a person or his property is a crime and punishable as such. Hate-crime laws add an extra penalty because the offense was spurred by malice toward a protected group. The additional punishment is for holding bad ideas. It's a short step from there to punishing pure advocacy.”

Columnist Don Feder

“Hell hath no fury like a bureaucrat scorned.”

Milton Friedman

“I have made it a rule never to smoke more than one cigar at a time.”

Mark Twain, on his seventieth birthday, having been told to limit his smoking.

“Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.”

Barry Goldwater

“...nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law...”

The Constitution of the United States of America, Fourteenth Amendment. July 9, 1868.
