

The W&M  
Progressive

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We Have a Problem.

# From the Editors

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As the *William and Mary Progressive* returns for its second year we should reflect on our achievements, message and maturation since our enthusiastic debut. We think that our grassroots magazine, which really began as a passing hypothetical, has been successful in conveying a range of progressive viewpoints with a signature depth and style. When considering our brand of journalism, we believe that we have consistently brought original, fact-based opinions while avoiding partisan squabbling. We like discussing the issues. From dry humor to candid reporting, the *Progressive* is a proudly progressive voice at a polite institution. And we are happy to say that we are still early in our development; there we have much time to grow. We thank everyone who has written for us, encouraged us, or helped in any way.

Most importantly, we have received a generous grant from Campus Progress, an affiliate of the Center for American Progress. They also believed in our message of sharing critical, forward-thinking opinions across a receptive student body. This means that our print editions will have a wider distribution by threefold. We are excited to grow literally in this sense. We will also have a new website, a new look for a new year, so please browse our online content at [www.wm.edu/so/progressive](http://www.wm.edu/so/progressive) as we update it.

In terms of ideological growth, we hope to challenge ourselves. On one level, we would like to grow outward toward a yet broader range of progressive viewpoints. On another level, we would like to grow inward, striving for superlative thinking and explication. As a result, we are challenging our campus community to grow with us in this way. We hope you enjoy our first issue of our second year. Please join us in this process and offer your feedback at [prgrsv@wm.edu](mailto:prgrsv@wm.edu).

Julian Carr  
Richael Faithful  
Ethan Forrest

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# The W&M Progressive

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*All articles are available at <http://web.wm.edu/so/progressive>.*

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Ross Perkins, David Sievers



# We Have a Problem:

How the College is wasting energy, money, and the environment

**The College** thinks of itself and operates as a small city. As such, its outputs have a global range and significance. Our practices locally need to reflect our principles as a global actor. Yet we have been ignoring one of our most backward practices because it is so deeply ingrained in “business as usual.” For all its hard work, the College’s “Alcohol and Substance Abuse Task Force” has overlooked the largest and most destructive addiction on campus – dirty energy. (Addicted? Me? ... No!) Addiction can be defined as a “compulsive physiological and psychological need for a habit-forming substance”. With any addiction, the first step towards healing is admitting that one has a problem, so let’s be honest with ourselves, objectively analyze our practices, and own up to our energy addiction.

Admittedly, going cold turkey on energy is not an option; modern society depends upon electricity for its very survival (the fundamental merits of which I will not address). However, it is also true that society as we know it needs to radically retool the ways in which we get and use this energy. (Among the lessons we have learned from Katrina are the real effects that climate change and sea level rise have in store). Because Virginia has virtually no clean, renewable energy available, the College can’t take the “dirty” out of “dirty energy”. Our work lies in decreasing the total amount of energy we use, primarily through increasing efficiency and refining our individual practices.

The least invasive and most effective route is to invest in efficiency. An exhaustive list of the incidences of wasteful inefficiency would be difficult – one, because there are nearly countless examples and two, because the energy audit to which the College committed in 2002 (which would identify these very things) never hap-

pened. Still, those of you who have passed the whole winter in a dorm with an open window so as not to die of heat exhaustion could probably testify to the energy wasting we do. How about the lights being left on all night because they don’t have motion sensors on them? The on-campus power plant probably does more to heat the ground through the steam tunnels than our buildings. Moreover, how about the hugely inefficient boiler outside Millington that has to be filled every day by rolling a barrel of oil up the hill? Sisyphian.

For those who aren’t sold on the “environmental” argument, how does cold hard cash suit you? We are throwing away money with our frivolous energy use. This academic year the College is projected to spend six and a half million dollars on its energy costs. That’s a million more than we spent last year.<sup>1</sup> This increase is largely due to changes in the energy market, rather than drastic usage increases, which means that the linear growth of our bill is expected to continue through at least next year, with an extra million in energy costs projected for the 2006-2007 academic year (as another lesson from Katrina, energy is not going to get any cheaper).<sup>2</sup> If we were to level energy costs and save one million dollars annually, it would be equivalent to about a twenty million dollar gift to the endowment, which earns about a five percent annual return on investments.

Harvard has invested in cleaning up their energy act. They have got an average return of 34 percent on their energy-investments, with some projects getting as high as 70 percent.<sup>3</sup> Such projects would start earning the school money in less than two years. Earning the school money. But we have failed to act. And this is in the midst of tuition hikes, while scrambling to pay for basic services.

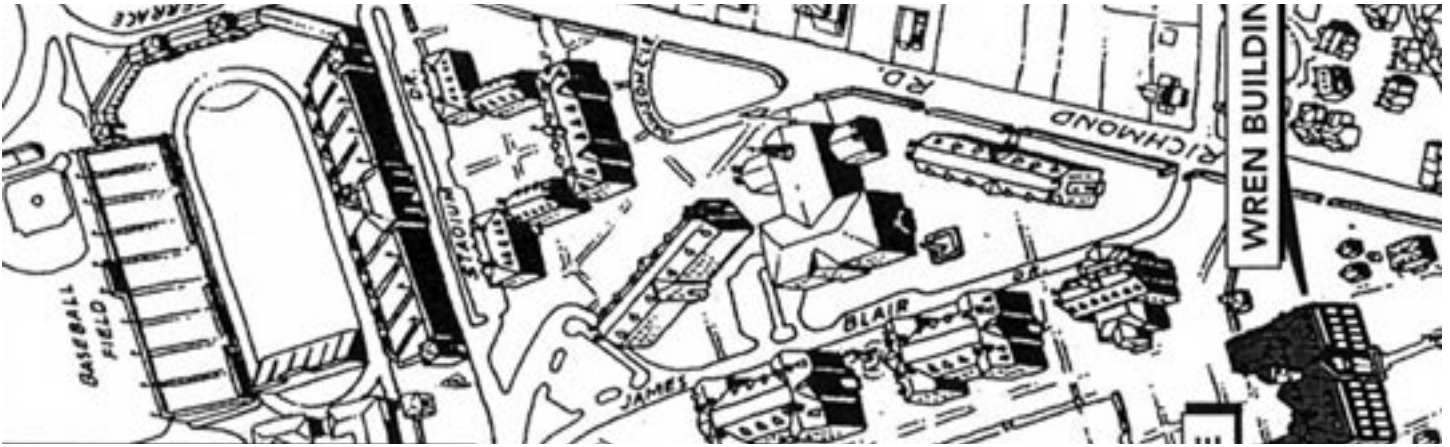
So we could save money and the environment without changing any personal practices but just making a few capital investments. There is no reason to stop at such simple changes, though. The College should investigate ways to facilitate sound personal practices concerning energy consumption. Oberlin College managed to cut its use in half as a result of such action.<sup>4</sup> Such steps take a more difficult route of changing the practices ingrained in each member of the campus community. But this brings back the issue of the College within a global context; we learn of our international roles through the language requirement, non-western emphasis within the liberal arts, etc. It is fully within the College’s authority and, in fact, within its duty, to inculcate healthy and responsible practices. And now we’re back to the Alcohol Task Force and its failure to clean up our energy-wasting act.

Say it with me, “My school is addicted to nuclear waste and fossil fuels.”

Good.  
Let’s change that.

**David Sievers**

1. Dan Patterson, Campus Energy Manager, [dppatt@wm.edu](mailto:dppatt@wm.edu)
2. Ibid.
3. [http://www.greencampus.harvard.edu/about/documents/hgci\\_business\\_plan\\_fy05.pdf](http://www.greencampus.harvard.edu/about/documents/hgci_business_plan_fy05.pdf)  
<http://www.greencampus.harvard.edu/gclf/achievements.php>
4. Oberlin dorm competition - <http://www.oberlin.edu/alummag/summer2005/ats.html>



## W&M's Fight against Poverty: the Gateway Initiative and Its Implications

*"...the way America is set up to help the poor, the black people, the less well-off, [is] as slow as possible..."*

– Kanye West<sup>1</sup>

**Hurricane Katrina** killing scores of those who simply could not afford to leave showed us that poverty, in spite of Lyndon Johnson's war and the right's proclamations of poverty's defeat, is still one of the most pressing problems in the nation. Indeed, those defined as below the poverty level by the US Census Bureau grew by 1.2 million between 2002 and 2003<sup>2</sup>. The poverty level for a family of four is a little less than \$20,000, meaning that a total of 35.9 million people live below the poverty line. Poverty is a self-sustaining crisis. It correlates to higher drop-out rates, which in turn correlate to higher poverty rates<sup>3</sup>. Even for those making it through high school, it is increasingly difficult to afford college. The cost of tuition and loans continually threaten to prevent completion of a degree before funds run out. As West said, the country is not positioned to help those who need it most.

However, William and Mary plans to make higher education more accessible with the Gateway Initiative<sup>4</sup>. In this initiative, the college guarantees a debt-free education through grants (not loans) to new in-state students whose families make less than \$40,000 a year. The College also intends to double the enrollment of students who

would qualify for this grant. The initiative still needs much improvement. The fact that it only applies to in-state students presents one problem. Granted, the college is a state-supported school, but Virginia is not the only state with people in poverty. A person who comes from a different state has no less of a right to an affordable education than Virginians. Also, the goal of doubling the students who would qualify has a bit of fine print: first, that it would be doubled from 300 to 600; and second, this is to occur by 2012. It seems one might be able to speed that along as that means just 50 more students a year would be added<sup>5</sup>.

In spite of these problems, the Gateway Initiative is one of the noblest programs that the College of William and Mary has attempted in recent times. In the past month, it has criticized as taking away from projects elsewhere in the College<sup>6</sup>. This is an elitist and misguided view. Living in a dorm with leaking ceilings, I understand that there are some pressing projects. I understand that in an underfunded public school there are many such problems. However, is there a leaky ceiling on this planet that is worth denying a person an education? I am most certainly willing to deal with a leaky ceiling and no air conditioning if it benefits the human condition. The situation is similar to when the college took in displaced students from New Orleans – both are victims of situations that were in no way their fault. We may all have to deal with greater burdens, more

leaky ceilings, more unfinished projects, but the morality of the cause outweighs the inconvenience.

There are issues with the project, but that does not in any way outweigh the many benefits of the project. The policy is progressive; the goal is noble. The problem with poverty in the US and the world is growing, and the Gateway Initiative is at least a starting point<sup>7</sup> to counteract this. Right now, Kanye West is correct. But if programs like the Gateway Initiative spread, perhaps we can one day prove him wrong. That is a far more worthy goal than having a slightly lower tuition ever will be.

**Ryan Jackson**

<sup>1</sup> Washington Post- <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/09/03/AR2005090300165.html>

<sup>2</sup> US Census Bureau [http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/income\\_wealth/002484.html](http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/income_wealth/002484.html)

<sup>3</sup> John Locke Foundation <http://www.johnlocke.org/raisingtheissue/>

<sup>4</sup> Gateway Initiative <http://www.wm.edu/gateway/>

<sup>5</sup> W&M News- <http://www.wm.edu/news/?id=5115>

<sup>6</sup> <http://flathat.wm.edu/story.php?issue=2005-09-23&type=2&aid=3>

# Support Our Troops Home Now

**On Sunday, September 18th**, the College hosted an anti-war rally in the Crim Dell meadow sponsored by Troops Home Now. There was also a counter-protest on the Sunken Gardens, and a couple of people with signs on the median at Confusion Corner. The counter protest was designed to show support for “The Troops, The President, The Mission.” The physical distance between these two opposing groups is an appropriate analogy for the distance of discussion about the war in Iraq.

The argument about the war is sadly broken down into two positions, neither of which answers the other. The anti-war argument “Troops Home Now” is answered by the call to “Support our Troops.” These two sides argue with each other on different terms, terms that are only tangentially related to the other side’s arguments. This is not a helpful dialogue, nor is it a way for the United States to design a responsible, viable plan for ending the war in Iraq.

First, “Support our Troops” is no more an argument for the continuing occupation of Iraq than a yellow ribbon is an active and helpful show of support. The logic of this argument lies partly in the connotations that it has implicitly claimed as its own, specifically that patriotism, belief in democracy and a desire to bring American soldiers home safely are the exclusive property of those who support the war. They tie support for the war with support for the individuals fighting the war, and most Americans would agree to support their countrymen who are fighting abroad. By making this connection, the pro-war movement hopes to put dissenters on the defensive by making the anti-war movement qualify its statements. The anti-war movement is then forced to explain that it also supports the troops, but not the war. But the “Support Our Troops” argument

is less a reasoned argument for war, and more a public show of blind acceptance for the status quo and what the public has been told about the war.

But if taken literally, “Troops Home Now!” is not a reasonable or responsible position either. I am against the war, I am against the rhetoric of pre-emptive war, and I am certainly against the egregious lies and abuse of the public trust that were necessary to start the war. But I’d rather overstate my case than say nothing at all. I want this war to end as much as everyone else, but I want it to end in a way that creates a stable, peaceful Iraq that will not become a breeding ground for future terrorists.

Unfortunately, we are already in Iraq. And unfortunately the Iraqis do not yet have a government capable of running the country. Were it even possible, it would be a disaster to bring the troops home tomorrow, leaving a power vacuum. The lack of a stable government in Iraq has already created conditions which are perfect for al Qaeda, which looks to settle in unstable countries without a strong army or police force. Al Qaeda has obviously become a major presence in Iraq since the fall of Baghdad as a result of this instability, and if the United States were to pull out its troops tomorrow, the conditions would be ripe for civil war, and for al Qaeda to create terrorist training camps in the regions of Iraq where the government isn’t in control.

So where is there space in the public discourse for anti-war dissenters who want to be clear that they do not support the war in Iraq, but acknowledge the necessity of staying until the Iraqi government is up and running? It is tempting to enter the public discourse with another quick, easy summation of an argument. But slogans

don’t change anything. Moderate anti-war dissenters need to talk loudly and clearly and make sure that their voice and ideas are heard. We need to hold President Bush accountable for his mistakes. We need to demand an exit strategy, and we need to demand an end to the doctrine of preemptive war. Questions about accountability and an exit plan are legitimate and necessary.

**Sean Faeth**



# Withdraw Now Not Later

**It seems proper** to call today's Iraq a quagmire for America. With all the baggage that term carries from the Vietnam experience, the U.S. occupation of Iraq has produced a situation which no other word seems able to describe so pointedly. But in the use of the term "quagmire," it is important to emphasize the catastrophic results for both Americans and Iraqis, the latter undoubtedly suffering far more. The U.S. occupation of Iraq has become a political and moral failure, and it is important to debunk the popular mythology created about both the issue of the resistance to the occupation and as the idea that withdrawal now would lead to further chaos and destruction. Furthermore, the U.S. anti-war movement must demonstrate a clear perspective in defending its case for immediate withdrawal.

The Iraqi resistance to U.S. occupation has been caricatured by the media and the government as being led by "foreign fighters" with groups linked to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and al Qaeda. This has been a falsehood regurgitated despite every major intelligence and Pentagon report pointing to the contrary, that the resistance is overwhelmingly an Iraqi movement.<sup>1</sup> Then there is the question of whether the resistance is simply a terrorist movement primarily targeting civilians. According to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, less than five percent of all violent attacks by the so-called "insurgents" are against civilians.<sup>2</sup> The principal targets are the US (and British) occupation forces and their collaborators. Finally, the fact that nobody realizes there's a non-violent resistance occurring doesn't mean it's not happening: unionists are opposing privatization of the oil industry; communities are demanding basic services such as electricity and potable water and, of course, jobs; and there is political resistance in the form of non-violent demonstrations involving a united front of Shia and Sunni Muslims calling for immediate US withdrawal from their

country.<sup>3</sup> Most of these basic facts are consistently ignored, downplayed, and often seriously distorted.

The claim that the US is "morally obligated" to stay, because a quick US withdrawal from Iraq will bring even worse chaos and violence, is just as fallacious as other common distortions about the war and, furthermore, is profoundly racist. It is incomprehensible that this position is still vehemently defended even within the larger anti-war movement even though practically every pretext used by the Bush administration for the Iraq war has been exposed as fraud. The situation for ordinary Iraqis under US occupation has become a living hell, with the level of violence, restriction of civil and political liberties (due to the mafia-like intimidation tactics of informal militias set up and/or encouraged by US forces), the provision of social services and basic infrastructure, and the guarantee of women's rights being no better and very often worse than under Saddam Hussein. And some still argue that if the sectarian bloodletting in Iraq between Sunnis and Shias is bad enough today, it will be bloodier when we leave. Precisely the opposite is the case. As Iraqi exile Sami Ramadani wrote in Britain's Guardian newspaper: "In fact, the occupation is the main architect of institutionalized sectarian and ethnic divisions; its removal would act as a catalyst for Iraqis to resolve some of their differences politically [.]"<sup>4</sup> In fact, it is the occupation which allows jihadist terrorist groups, associated with the highly sectarian anti-Shia ideology of al-Zarqawi, to exist, since they are able to cloak themselves as part of the resistance struggle.

The Bush administration recently suffered another setback with the inability of various Iraqi "leaders," handpicked by the US, to formulate a constitution that satisfies the concerns of all of the major factions and ethnicities in Iraq. The constitutional fiasco deprived President Bush of the propaganda ammunition he so desperately needs

to demonstrate "success" in Iraq, and the conditions of Iraqis continue to deteriorate under the continued process of "liberation," with chaos and violence reaching record levels.<sup>5</sup> But however messy Iraq continues to become for the Bush administration, it will be reluctant to so quickly abandon its objectives of setting up a pro-US regime in Iraq and establishing US military bases there as part of the larger, long-standing goal of maintaining control of the strategic, oil-rich Middle East. This is where the anti-war movement must make it absolutely clear that the war is not only a quagmire for reasons of its failed and reckless nature, but because of its moral failure. The rampant torture, morally indefensible search and destroy tactics, and massive number of civilian deaths are grounds for immediate withdrawal. The Crawford, Texas vigil of Cindy Sheehan, the mother who lost her son in Iraq has sparked an inspiring grassroots nationwide anti-war movement that culminated in the hundreds of thousands protesting on the streets of DC on September 24th. The phrase popularized by the anti-war movement, "Bring the Troops Home Now," now reflects not mere sloganeering, but a necessary course of action required to avert further political and moral decay. The Iraqi people and our troops are waiting for us to make this necessity a reality.

**Junaid S. Ahmad**

<sup>1</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/4268904.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4268904.stm)

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.csis.org/features/iraq\\_deviraqinsurgency.pdf](http://www.csis.org/features/iraq_deviraqinsurgency.pdf), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> <http://uslaboragainstar.org/article.php?id=8212>, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,1189295,00.html>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/Story/0,,1521384,00.html>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/04/AR2005100401698.html>

# New Kid on the Bench:

the Still-Unknown John Roberts



**It is my impression** that the smarter you are, the more complex your political ideology. While I vote Democrat and voluntarily registered with the Democratic Party of Virginia, I don't ideologically align with everything that the Democratic Party represents. I am socially liberal on a few issues—gay rights, a woman's right to choose, and the separation of church and state. But I am also socially conservative in some regards, such as in my support of the death penalty. And fiscally, I'm a true conservative—no personal welfare, no corporate welfare, keep taxes low, and maintain balanced budgets. So where do I fit on the political spectrum? Do I fit into one of the molds prescribed for the Republican or Democratic Parties? Or am I a political ideology uniquely Ross?

Likewise, where does John G. Roberts, Jr., the seventeenth chief justice of the Supreme Court, fall on the political spectrum? Is he another member of the growing conservative movement, with its tentacles reaching into the last vestiges of federal power—the U.S. Supreme Court? Or are his beliefs more nuanced? Are they still in the process of being defined? Maybe he is a member of the exclusive Roberts Party.

It's hard to tell. He has penned very few decisions and left little judicial record of where he stands on any hot button sociopolitical issues. But Roberts' lack of record isn't without precedent. When David Souter was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1990 by Bush #1, Souter had only served on the U.S. First Circuit Court of Appeals for about two months. Referred to former President Bush by his chief of staff, Souter had the support of many conservatives within the Republican Party. His confirmation hearings lasted three days, and after his hearings, Souter was confirmed to the Supreme

Court. He confirmed the conservatives' worst fear—he is a liberal.<sup>1</sup>

This ideological defection of Supreme Court justices has since been named in his honor. The "Souter Factor" describes the progression of a justice's judicial ideology from the middle or right of the political spectrum to the left. Political commentator Larry Sabato claims that the "Souter Factor" affects nearly one out of every four Supreme Court appointments.<sup>2</sup> If this is true, then there's a 25% chance that Chief Justice Roberts will drift leftward. That is not a favorable statistic.

The little evidence regarding Roberts' beliefs and ideology derives from his 2003 Senate confirmation hearings for his appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals. There is record that Roberts is an advocate of limited federal jurisdiction. During the hearings, he said, "[S]imply because you have a problem that needs addressing, it's not necessarily the case that Federal legislation is the best way to address it...The constitutional limitation doesn't turn on whether it's a good idea. There is not a 'good idea' clause in the Constitution. It can be a bad idea, but certainly still satisfy the constitutional requirements."<sup>3</sup> Given that Virginia's state court system and the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals are notoriously conservative, Roberts' belief that the rulings of the lower courts should only be overturned in only the most necessary circumstances is not good news to Southern liberals and progressives. And as a Virginian, it leaves me with little hope for any social progression in this state for the next few years. Roberts' lack of judicial record was a hot topic

in the media during his 2005 Supreme Court confirmation. But having no paper trail may have made him appealing to many people, including U.S. Senators. In September, Roberts was confirmed with a 78-22 vote.<sup>4</sup>

So where does Roberts stand in terms of being a liberal, conservative, or libertarian? Should we fear that the conservative revolution will continue once the Supreme Court becomes indisputably an arm of the Republican Party? Or should progressives keep their fingers crossed in the hopes that the "Souter Factor" will transform Roberts' ideology into something more palatable? Well, I for one will keep my fingers crossed not because I am concerned about Chief Justice Roberts but because there is room on the Supreme Court bench for one more Bush nominee.

## Ross Perkins

1 Draper, Robert. "The Pariah." GQ. October 2005 p.207.

2 Lithwick, Dahlia. "The Souter Factor: What makes tough conservative justices go soft?" <http://slate.msn.com/id/2123935/>.

3 Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate 108th Congress. <http://a257.g.akamaitech.net/7/257/2422/26jan20041230/www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate/pdf/108hr/92548.pdf>

4 U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 109th Congress. [http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll\\_call\\_lists/roll\\_call\\_vote\\_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00245](http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=1&vote=00245)

# Sequitur

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President George W. Bush and Supreme Court Nominee Harriet Miers  
*Crawford, TX*

*“Au tient le premier rôle!”*

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Photo credit: [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)

