

# HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



## AFFIRMATIVE RACISM

*"Death to the fascists, power to the workers! Death to the fascists, power to the workers!"*

The words boomed across the quad at Cal State Northridge where students sat in the shade eating pizza and drinking Sprite with bewildered looks on their faces. The demonstrators from the Workers World Party circled through the plaza in a kind of *danse macabre* with their angry placards as the TV cameras zeroed in.

*"The cops, the courts, the Ku Klux Klan, all are part of the bosses' plan."*

Across the quad another group took up the battle of bull-horns. It was the Progressive Labor Party, and they were ratcheting up the decibel level as party cadres handed out pamphlets. At a card table, a woman from the Revolutionary Communist Party, wearing a shirt reading "Mao More Than Ever," launched a harangue at a coed with a stricken look on her face: *"The capitalist blood-suckers run the whole society and oppress the workers."*

It all might have been an outtake from the '60s except



ly enjoys with California's voters. Knowing that, if passed, 209 will set the tone for rollbacks of race and gender preferences nationwide, apologists of such programs have rolled out the heavy artillery.

for the group called "By Any Means Necessary" that had car-pooled down from Berkeley. They strode through the quad looking for action and screaming *"Duke, you fascist, we'll set your ass on fire!"*

Cal State administrators called By Any Means Necessary "a group of outside agitators." They were secretly angry because the Berkeley ultras had spoiled the David Duke Show, which they, CSUN officials, had helped student leaders set up. The idea was a grand one: invite the ex-Klansman to come to the campus and debate in favor of Proposition 209, the initiative which prohibits the state from using race and gender preferences in state employment, education and contracting. They would thereby tar the California Civil Rights Initiative, as 209 is also known, with Duke's brush and provide some photo ops for the negative TV campaign which would be the last best hope to erase the two-to-one lead the proposition current-

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## INSIDE

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## INSIDE THE LIBERAL MEDIA ELITE KAFKA IN VERMONT

By Paul Teetor

In Vermont, working as a reporter for the Gannett Company gets you daily abuse from sources, readers, and advertisers, none of whom particularly like the idea of dealing with a multibillion-dollar multinational which prints stories that could be datelined Anywhere USA. But the *Burlington Free Press* was the only game in town as far as being a statewide paper with the resources for investigative projects, so in February 1990 I ignored the Gannett connection, swallowed hard, and accepted a reporting job there after being assured by the publisher, herself a former reporter, that things would work out. I convinced myself that I would be working with a few editors who resisted the Gannett mantra of shorter stories and bigger pictures and who still cared about serious journalism.

I immediately became a good citizen of the Gannett Company even though I always thought the corporate slogan, "Gannett: A World of Different Voices Where Freedom Speaks" didn't have quite the same ring to it as the slogan atop the masthead at *Newsday*, the Long Island paper I grew up reading in the '50s and '60s: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

In my three years at the *Free Press*, I attended dozens of meetings on corporate mandates handed down from the headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, to our operation in Burlington, Vermont. There were things I found to be, at bare minimum, peculiar. Like Gannett's All American contest. I found out about this in-house program shortly after joining up with the *Free Press* when I noticed that a surprisingly high number of its photos featured blacks and Vietnamese, despite the fact that Vermont was 95 percent white. I mentioned this to Jym Wilson, head of the paper's photo department, who told me that the photographers were under standing orders by top editors to get pic-

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## COMMUNIQUÉS

## Just Say Maybe

Did I actually subscribe to your pamphlet or is it being sent to me as a form of punishment?

As to your lead story "Just Say Yes," you would not survive a motion to dismiss. If you want to discover who is a friend of legalization or decriminalization of illegal drugs consult the Drug Policy Foundation, the leading advocacy organization for reform of the present insane and obscene drug laws. In its current November issue "The Drug Policy Letter," Clinton is blasted (1) for not supporting NEPs which he promised to do during his 1992 campaign, (2) for supporting METs and (3) for playing a shell game with CALEA. The only plus for Clinton is his support for drug education.

Mr. Collier gives a clue as to your irrational thinking as manifest by your support of the 70-year failed drug war. You have switched from lib to conserv—but not to worry for as Ayn Rand was wont to say they are opposite sides of the same coin.

Finally, "Falsus in Uno Falsus in Toto," you cite a nameless bureaucrat with apparent approval as forecasting 50 million new users if cocaine were legalized. FIFTY MILLION new dimwits from our adult population! Get real!

William W Evans  
Stuart, FL

Peter Collier made many strong points and revealed much of the drug problem in "Just Say Yes," but in polemical and politically biased style. When I read, "Those close to the issue have no doubt about where the buck stops," I know two things about the author. He is an optimist if he thinks the drug problem can be cured and he is politically biased if he thinks Clinton's removal is that cure. I am not a player or a partisan and I don't blame the world in man for problems like drugs. In fact, if there were more wolf in man, we would have fewer problems which are typical not of wolves but of the banderlog.

Willard Olney  
Hesperia, CA

In regard to Peter Collier's long harangue on President Clinton's record in the "War On Drugs"—

According to *U.S. News and World Report*, September 30, 1996, Page 33, Collier's percentages are about right, that is, all teenage drug usage from 1994 to 1995 has moved up from 8.2 percent to 10.9 percent, or a 33 percent increase. What is left unsaid, however, is that teenage drug use in 1995 is down 17 percent from 1985.

There are many of us who remember the horrors of the prohibition era and see the same corruption developing now due to the "War On Drugs." I have never used any illegal drug in my life, but like many other observant people I believe that the deaths and destroyed lives that drugs are responsible for is trivial compared to the corruption

of the nation caused by the "War On Drugs."

I can think of little to recommend the "Thing From Arkansas," but that doesn't make Peter Collier correct in this regard. Legalizing the junk in one war or another is the only acceptable solution in a free country. It may or may not increase usage, but corrupting the nation and paving the state with prisons is insane. Think—Does anyone sell cheap jug wine in the elementary schools? Demon Rum kills far more people than illegal drugs. Clinton's new "War On Tobacco" is ridiculous, but let's get real. How many people have died from lung cancer smoking pot?

Theodore Parker  
Fillmore, CA

Peter Collier dismisses the libertarian view on drug abuse ["Just Say Yes!" September, 1996] by saying that its "strong appeal . . . is that it plays well with the American notion of rugged individualism and don't tread on me." After this dismissive, anti-intellectual characterization of the position's "appeal" (never mind the merits of the arguments behind it), Collier goes on to say that "its defect is that it nowhere acknowledges the enormous destructive power of psychoactive

ly, in violation of other people's rights, in light of the decriminalization of drug abuse.

Most of all, libertarians claim that it is morally wrong and bad public policy to punish people who violate no one's rights and who already punish themselves by abusing drugs. They argue that the mere fact that some vices are far more tempting, far more difficult to resist, than others does not justify the paternalistic actions of the state against those who lack the strength of will and character to resist. They defend legalization on the grounds of principles such as the right to one's life, one's liberty of conviction and action, and to one's private property, all of which are relentlessly abrogated by the drug war Mr. Collier's statist approach to the problem supports. They add that allowing the state to intrude upon innocent citizens for this reason pretty much opens the door for it to do it for any other—as William Pitt (younger) noted, "Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves." (Speech on the India Bill, Nov. 1783). Indeed, libertarians note that the assumptions underlying the support for the drug war is exactly what drives the agenda of the bulk of the Left: the human incapacity to deal with adversity without the coercive intrusion of the mighty state!

Libertarians—albeit summoning somewhat different arguments for their conclusion (as it is to be expected from a diverse lot)—not only find the drug war a sustained, unremitting violation of individual rights but also a demoralizing approach to helping people who find it very tough to deal with drugs. They consider it a social calamity when governments posture as (armed) Florence Nightingales, thereby displacing the much more promising avenue of rescue via the work potentially available from local communities—families, friends, professional associations, religious groups, etc., all of which are better positioned to address drug-related problems than is

any level of government.

This is not the whole story, nor the whole problem with Peter Collier's passage on the libertarian stance. (One would have expected more care in how he handles the views with which he disagrees, considering how much fuss there is in *Heterodoxy* about the ways others distort the views of its editors.) In any case, readers of *Heterodoxy* who wish to explore the various libertarian approaches to the problem of drug abuse—including the failed policies of the federal and local governments to this problem—can begin by checking the bibliography of (and reading) Mark Thornton's essay, "The Repeal of Prohibition," in T.R. Machan and D.B. Rasmussen, eds., *Liberty for the 21st Century* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1995).

Tibor R. Machan  
Auburn, AL

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## WRITE TO US

Send your comments to Letters Editor, *Heterodoxy*, by mail (Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067) or by fax (310)843-3692 or by e-mail (76712.3274@compuserve.com). Letters should be no more than 200 words and may be edited for length, grammar, and clarity. Please include your address and telephone number.

substances and their ability to cause the disintegration of individual personalities, families and communities, and the fact that it is based on the questionable assumption that individuals will act less anti-socially when drugs are legal and guilt free than they do now when they are illegal and stigmatized."

As a libertarian who has often advocated drug legalization—e.g., in *The Orange County Register*, *The Freeman*, *Reason*, and in several books such as *Private Rights and Public Illusions* (Transaction Books, 1995)—I can tell you that Mr. Collier has got it wrong. Most libertarians fully acknowledge all of what Mr. Collier claims they do not. Most of them do not predict with any measure of certainty that people "will act less anti-socially when drugs are legal...etc." What they claim is that they ought to act less anti-socially and will no longer act criminal-

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# REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

**GOLDEN SHOWERS:** Andres Serrano bagged a grant of \$15,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts to produce his famous "Piss Christ." Besides water play, Serrano's favorite techniques and materials include dead animals, brains, blood and used Kotex pads. But a taste for the sensational—not to say the trashy—has not isolated Serrano in the low-rent district of the artistic world. Indeed, this apostle of the excretory is much in vogue. To honor Hispanic Heritage Month, the Smithsonian Institution invited Serrano to deliver a lecture on important issues being faced by contemporary artists. The event "Frames, Walls and Rooms: The Changing Shapes of Contemporary Art," featured "exquisitely crafted large-scale color photographs" of his visceral and scatological artwork. Smithsonian spokesman David Umansky called Serrano "a most significant Hispanic artist" who had been "selected for the body of his work." Body isn't the word for it.

**HEY WHO LIVE IN GLASS HOUSES:** Gay and Lesbian Adolescent Social Services (GLASS) of West Hollywood, founded in 1984, aims to be the first agency to house gay and bisexual youth, counsel them, and place them in foster homes. During her own coming-out process as a lesbian, founder and social worker Teresa DeCrescenzo came to believe that gays were underserved and set up GLASS with "queer kids and queer staff." "We gave them a sense of pride," she says. Now seems that GLASS provided special services for adults too. After months of investigation, the state of California cited numerous instances of sexual abuse and molestation, including a night supervisor who sodomized a child, telling him: "You will do what I tell you or I will beat the shit out of you." GLASS President Stan Egler was fond of taking children to his mountain cabin, where he showered them with gifts, money and who knows what else. A volunteer met the psychological needs of one youth by supplying him with dildos and gay porn. GLASS officials deny that anything untoward had happened and called the complaint against the organization a "witch hunt." But they recently signed an agreement acknowledging proper conduct, although for some reason, no criminal charges have been filed and the state attorney general has never heard of the case.

**DAM'S KIDS:** As *Heterodoxy* has noted, old w lefty Noam Chomsky has become political mentor to some cutting-edge rock acts. (See "Born to be Wild," March 1996) and if Harvard grad Tom Morello of the band Rage Against the Machine is any indication, the kids are learning their lessons well. The band recently showed up in Moscow wearing caps reading "Commie" and promoting communism the way Cheech and Chong once promoted dope. "There's a permanent culture of resistance here and I feel pretty comfortable with that," the insightful Morello told *Spin* journalist R.J. Smith, who got a jolt of sorts when the rocker identified his heroes as the *Sendero Luminoso*, an insane revolutionary group which even the leper-licking left at *The Nation* magazine admits "frequently murders

civilian noncombatants, including engineers, priests, teachers, peasants and journalists." As Smith put it, they were "pretty murderous people," not led by indigenous people but "by light-skinned Maoist urban intellectuals" who reject the entire concept of human rights as a counter-revolutionary bourgeois contrivance. But Morello is undaunted. "To use a Chomsky quote," he responded to criticism of the Peruvian guerrillas, "the greatest acts of international terrorism are planned in Washington." When Smith persisted in

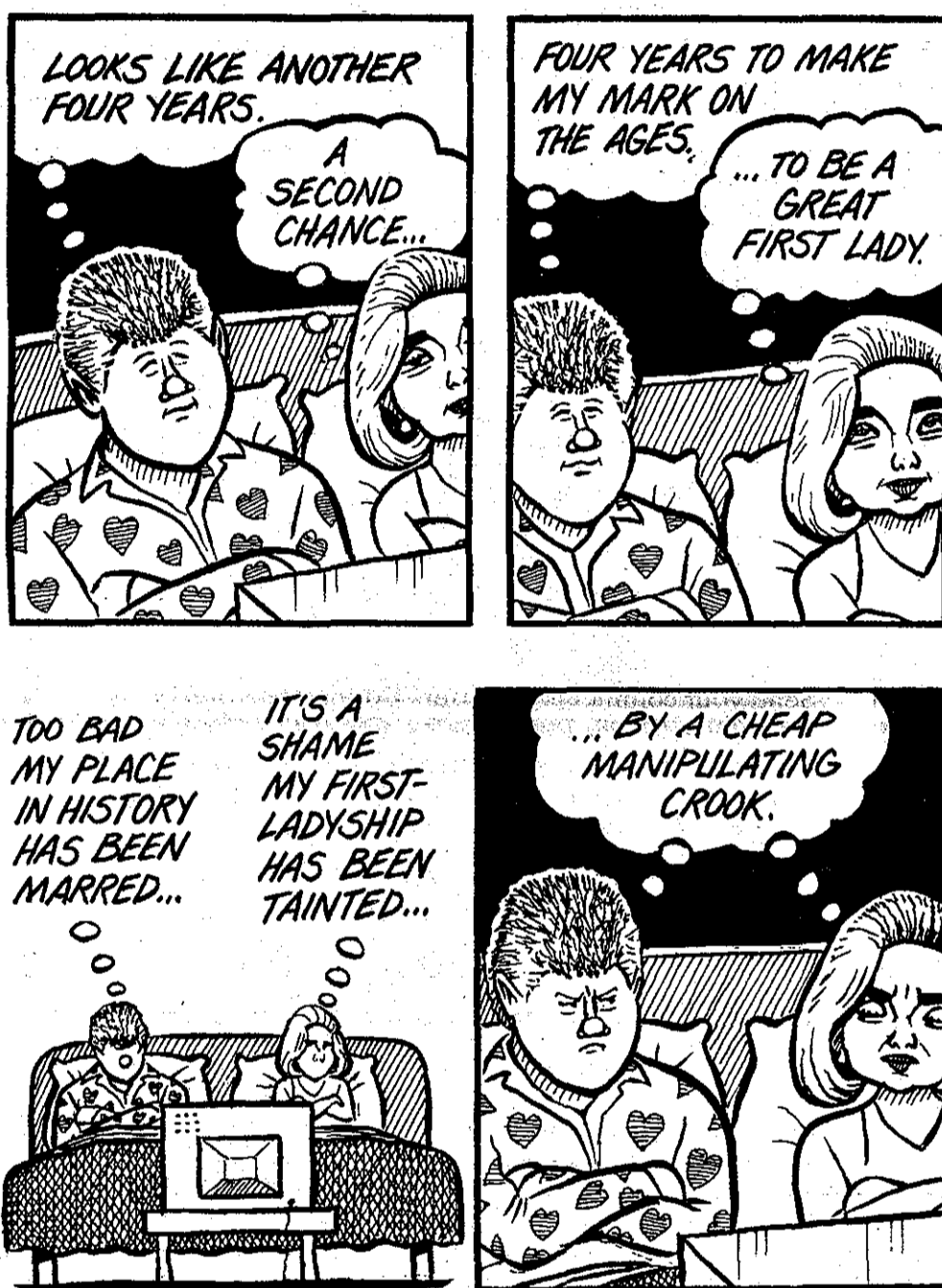
for the Ethical Treatment of Animals to change the town's name, which according to the group denotes cruelty to animals. In fact, Fishkill, a village of 1,930 persons located about 65 miles north of New York City, was named in the late 1600s by Dutch settlers. In Dutch, "kill" doesn't mean "slaughter." It translates "stream." (According to Webster's, the word means "channel, creek (used chiefly in place names in Delaware and New York.)" But apparently neither history nor etymology carries much weight with the folks at

PETA, who, as part of their "Save Our Schools" anti-fishing campaign, suggested the name be changed to Fishsave. "Fish are able to feel pain," explained PETA spokesman Davey Shepherd, "and therefore to use them for your enjoyment is wrong." Interestingly, Shepherd said that PETA was not targeting the nearby village of Catskill or the Catskill Mountains for name changes.

**THE NORTHRIDGE 6:** On its spanking new website (<http://www.slip.net/~jschon/cdaabamn>), The Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) gives its version of David Duke's appearance at Cal State Northridge (described more accurately in our current lead story), and also announces the formation of a new radical front: "All across the country, the word went out that even the mace, clubs, and rubber bullets of the LAPD—more force than any cops have tried to use on students on any campus in the U.S. in over twenty years—could not break the desire and willingness of black, Latino, and other anti-racist youth to struggle for equality. The victory at CSUN and the example of militant, mass anti-racist fightback [sic] that it set must be extended throughout CA now. We must mobilize all the supporters of affirmative action and anyone who believes that in America racist police can-

not turn on a demonstration of anti-racists, close off their free speech rights, and beat them into silence, to come out to defend the Northridge 6. . . Duke had been paid [sic] \$4000 by the CSUN student government to stage a phony debate on the merits of the California ballot initiative Proposition 209, also known as the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI). From the moment this scheme became public, BAMN demanded that this disgraceful expenditure of student funds to give a platform to a Klansman be shut down. However, the CSUN student senators, backed by local Democratic Party politicians, MeCha, and Black Student Union leaders, insisted on proceeding with this debacle. . . This victory even backed-off [sic] the Republicans nationally from the attack on affirmative action. Republican vice-presidential candidate Jack Kemp said that he and Presidential candidate Bob Dole would not campaign for 209 since it would "tear up" CA. The fightback at CSUN sent support for 209 down in the polls. The victory at CSUN proved that militant tactics work!" Comments and grammatical corrections should be directed to [cdaabamn@uclink4.berkeley.edu](mailto:cdaabamn@uclink4.berkeley.edu).

## LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



his critique of the Shining Path, Chomsky-educated Morello responded, "I think you should take those reports with a grain of salt. Consider the source. And I'm not disputing the fact that in liberation struggles there's often an enormous amount of violence. The centuries of deprivation and brutality that have been heaped upon people sometimes has a boomerang effect. There's been insanely genocidal U.S.-paid-for behavior on the part of the Peruvian government. When the most indigenous rural poor finally stand up for themselves and take up arms against their oppressors, suddenly Uncle Sam starts whining 'terrorist! terrorist! terrorist!'" But Smith doesn't condemn the millionaire rocker for his Sendero sympathies because as it turns out, he's a Chomsky man too. As he says, "Whatever his shortcomings, Chomsky does a useful job of producing tons of circumstantial evidence documenting the American juggernaut's involvement in evils around the world. And Morello does a great job of disseminating the information. "With a few thousand more Rage Against the Machines and Noam Chomskys to even the score, we'd at least have a fair fight."

**FISHSAVE, N.Y.:** The village trustees of Fishkill, N.Y., recently turned down a proposal by People



# Give Me Your HIV-Positive

By Paul Mulshine

**W**hen you're in the news business, you hear rumors of a lot of wacky things that people in government do. You check the stories out, and 90 percent of the time they fall apart.

That's what I figured was happening after a researcher with an immigration study group told me about how the Clinton administration had bent the rules to make infection with HIV a positive factor in gaining the right to immigrate to the U.S.

Our immigration policy is nutty, I thought, but not that nutty. True, immigration policy has been a plaything of the type of people who a few years ago were on the wrong side in the Cold War. It has been taken over by the loony leftists, the far-out feminists and the radical gays who still seem determined to prove that America is the worst place on the planet, although they want to make it possible for the least likely people on the planet to come here.

But even with all their skill, these people couldn't convince Clinton to effectively reverse a ban on HIV immigration that he signed into law after Congress forced it on him in 1993. Not that he didn't want to. In pandering to the gay vote in 1992, Clinton had promised to lift the ban on HIV immigration if he was elected. He never got to deliver on that promise because of another promise he'd made to the same lobby, to get the military to drop its ban on gays. After the debacle of "don't ask, don't tell," a sadder but wiser Clinton seemed to realize that catering to militant gays was political death with middle America. And so, when Congress wrote the HIV ban into law a year later, Clinton had little choice but to sign it.

When Rosemary Jenks, director of policy analysis for the Immigration Studies Center in Washington, first told me that the ban was being lifted, I didn't pay much attention. I was writing an article about another aspect of our national immigration policy, and the information that Ms. Jenks gave me for that article turned out to be quite useful and accurate, so the next week I decided to call her back and follow up on the lead about HIV immigration.

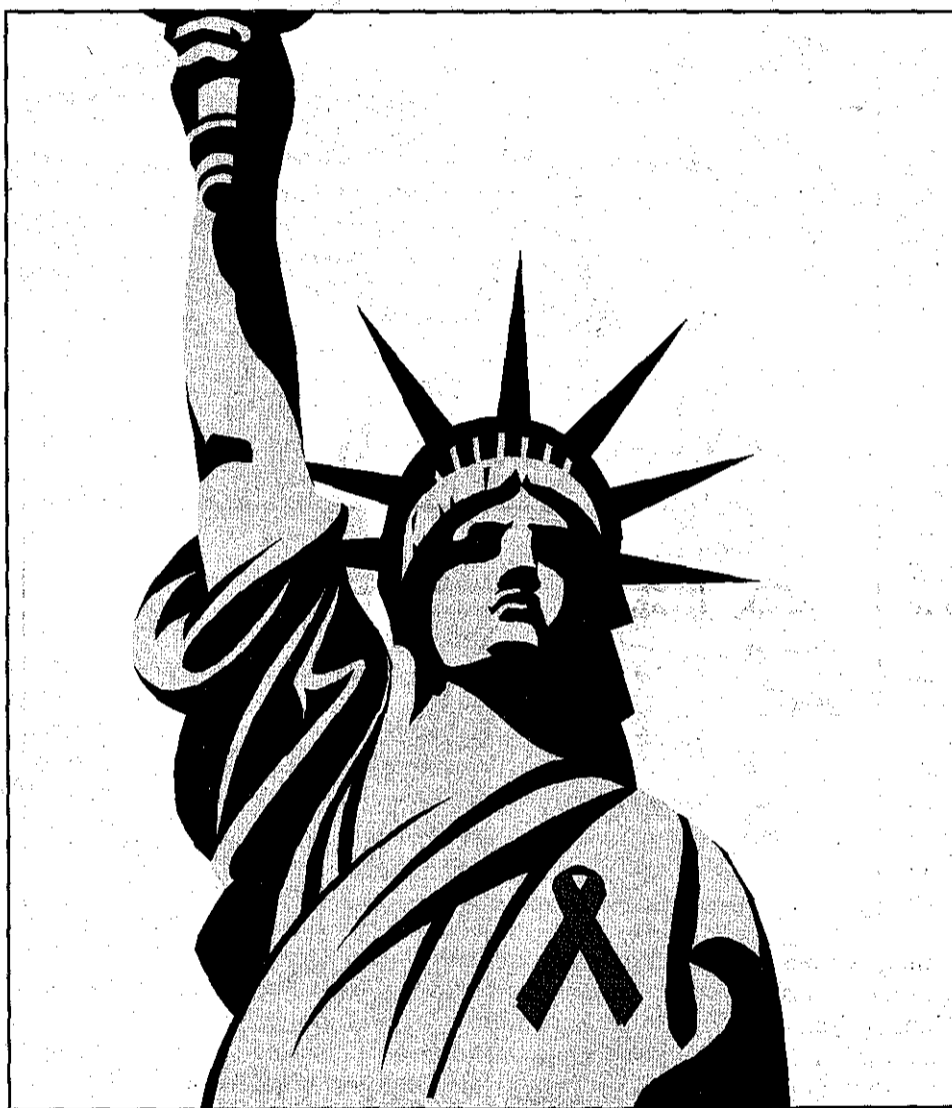
But Jenks had gone on vacation. So I asked one of her assistants if he could provide the data to back up her assertion. He did his best, faxing me piles of excerpts of immigration cases. They were interesting, but inconclusive. There was one case of a gay male from Brazil who argued that he should be granted asylum because gay males are treated poorly in Brazil. This argument was questionable at best; asylum is supposed to be reserved for those who face governmental persecution. Clearly, Brazil has hundreds of thousands of gays who get along without having to emigrate to the U.S. But the man got asylum anyway.

There were a few other similar cases. All were abuses of the asylum system of the sort that have become normal in a nation that just can't say no. But none involved a

person being given preference simply because he had HIV.

I started to have doubts about Ms. Jenks. Perhaps she had simply gotten confused. Surely if the Clinton Administration had done something this crazy it would have shown up in the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*. I did a database search and found nothing. I began to lose faith in the story. By the time Jenks got back from vacation, I had largely given up. But I called her back anyway.

Within minutes of my call, Ms. Jenks had faxed a number of documents that provided a paper trail proving her assertion. They were:



1. A request by the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS that the Immigration and Naturalization Service should waive deportation and grant asylum "based on the social group of HIV-positive individuals."

This in itself was relatively meaningless. The Advisory Council exists largely as a sop to the militant gay lobby. Its goal is to make the Clinton Administration look good to gays, but its recommendations are usually so far out in left field that no one takes them seriously. But in this case...

2. Somehow this recommendation got off the wish list and onto the desk of David A. Martin, general counsel to the INS. On Feb. 16 of this year, he issued a directive to all regional and district INS attorneys on the subject entitled: "Seropositivity for HIV and relief from deportation." The memo repeated the Advisory Council request and then went on to state that "this memorandum does not purport to recognize a new class of claimants for relief from deportation." After a bit of legalese, however, it seems to do exactly that. It cites a discussion of the issue prepared by the White House that defines HIV-positive people as a "particular social group" subject to persecution. "Particular social group" is a term that may sound meaningless to the aver-

age person, but in asylum law, these are the magic words. As proven by...

3. The July 8, 1996, report of the case of a certain HIV-positive illegal alien from Togo who applied for and was granted asylum on the basis of his membership in the "particular social group" of HIV-positive persons. This man (who, interestingly enough, did not appear to be gay, according to the reports) did not make much of an argument about a "well-founded fear of persecution," as required by law, but instead simply argued that the African nation of which he was a citizen did not take the AIDS epidemic as seriously as does the United States. "He testified that drugs to treat his illness are either scarce or nonexistent in the Ivory Coast and Togo."

And that was that. The work of Congress was neatly undone. Now about three million or so African AIDS victims (virtually all of whose cases met the lenient criteria laid down in the Togo case) could be eligible for asylum if they could catch a flight to America.

As I noted, it seemed incredible to me that an act of Congress could be so neatly and cleanly reversed with little or no publicity. I began calling the Clinton people to find out who to congratulate.

I began by calling the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The spokesman there was only dimly aware of the policy. At first, he told me I must be mistaken. But once I read him the faxes, he agreed that the INS did indeed seem to have endorsed a new policy. He told me that they were just following orders, which had to have come from the White House.

So I called the White House and got a spokesman for the National AIDS Policy Office. He was a most unusual

type, a spokesman who couldn't speak. Everything he said was "on background." This seemed moderately nutty to me, but then so does the idea of permitting into this country people who are destined soon to become very expensive wards of the state. But I played along and asked if anyone had studied the financial impact of opening immigration to HIV-positive people. Not that he knew of, he said. How about the impact on the spread of the disease? Same thing.

Who came up with this policy? It must have been the INS, he said. I told him that the INS said it came from the White House. I cited the memo from INS General Counsel Martin.

At this point, the spokesman tried to assure me that the ruling, though undeniable, would have little impact. It would affect only a very tiny number of immigrants who would be admitted for humanitarian reasons.

I quoted the Togo case.

"Doesn't this mean," I asked my anonymous interlocutor, "that anyone from Togo could claim asylum in America?"

Not exactly, he said. Each case would be considered on an individual basis. True, I noted, but now that the hurdle had been set this low, virtually anyone could meet the cri-

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# The Corruption of Criminology

By Steven Hayward

People may laugh at the feminist who called Newton's *Principia Mathematica* a "rape manual," but ideas, even stupid ones, have consequences. This is particularly true of the politically correct ideas which afflict the world of higher education—not just in the humanities but in the sciences as well. Would you want to drive over bridge built by someone who studied politically correct engineering? Probably not. More to the point, would you want to live in a society whose criminal justice system was designed by people who give a whole new meaning to the term "P.C. Police"? Again, probably not. But the fact is that academic criminology has fallen into the same fever swamp of Marxist, deconstructionist, and race-class-gender bending that afflicts so many other precincts of the intelligentsia. But unlike, say, the takeover of English literature, where the only consequence is systematized silliness, the attempt to remake our attitudes toward crime and punishment has life or death implications.

How deeply penetrated the field of criminology has become by radical theory came to light in a recent survey of academic journals that Lance Izumi and I conducted as a part of background research for a study of crime and punishment in California. Our study was based on the fact that California, like several other states, has passed a tough "three strikes and you're out" law, sending third-time felons away for 25 years to life, and causing a drumbeat of criticism regarding the expense of building the prison space to accommodate the number of criminals who could be sentenced under this law. (Leftists and liberals say we can't "build our way out" of the prison space shortage, but they never say we can't "build our way" out of a school classroom shortage, or that we should only send kids to school for two hours a day because we don't have enough classroom space for all of them.) Our study demonstrated that because crime is very costly to society (a recent Clinton Justice Department report put the cost of crime to the U.S. at more than \$450 billion a year), putting habitual criminals behind bars is in fact highly cost-effective.

In doing our research, we had been prepared to find, as UCLA's James Q. Wilson has observed, that "many (probably most) criminologists think we use prison too much and at too great a cost and that this excessive use has had little beneficial effect on the crime rate." Liberal sentimentalism about the often deplorable social backgrounds of criminals is one thing; it is quite shocking to find a large body of so-called criminology that has little interest in actual criminal pathologies or the harm suffered by victims of crime. But we were not prepared for the discovery that criminology has become another forum for radical theory that is largely unconnected with the real world, let alone common sense.

It is naturally to be expected that the academic journals of criminology would have their share of mediocre and irrelevant offerings that find their way into print only because of

the "publish-or-perish" game. In addition to articles such as "Culture Conflict and Crime in Alaskan Native Villages" and "Police Officers' Perceptions of the Nigeria Police Force" (both found in the *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 1995), my favorite is a 1992 article in the *Journal of Criminal Justice* entitled "Liberty, Restraint, and Criminal Justice: Gerald Ford's Presidential Concerns," by George Felkenes, who teaches at my alma mater, Claremont Graduate School. The essay is full of profundi-

criminal offenses in the Soviet Union are administered in a consistent and rational manner, much as they are in other highly developed societies."

More recent offerings in radical criminology have retreated further behind the barricades of deconstructionist cant, but all the hallmarks of decayed Marxism are still evident. There is much talk of "late capitalism" and "accumulation," which is actually a snotty euphemism for prosperity. Even an article with a promising title such as "The Penalty of Hand Amputation for Theft in Islamic Justice" (co-written by Abdullah Alobied of King Fahad Security University!), in a 1994 issue of the *Journal of Criminal Justice*, turns out to be a paean to cultural relativism.

Topics worthy of investigation are often perverted. For instance, the *Journal of Criminal Justice* published an article in 1991 about "Public Versus Private Control: A Reassessment." Now here is a significant issue: as public law enforcement efforts have been overwhelmed by the huge increase in crime, the private sector has had to hire its own private security forces, and it has been asserted that private sector security forces now outnumber regular police officers in the U.S. Private policing may, in fact, be more effective than the regular police, because it avoids bureaucracy, etc. But what does this article have to say about this important topic? The rise in private police, the authors conclude, is mostly about "ideology and surveillance in late capitalist society," best understood through "Foucault's concept of 'surveillance.'"

In current criminology, "late capitalism" elicits more academic interest than "late (as in deceased)

socialism." Even *Crime & Delinquency*, by far the least corrupt of the academic journals (it is among the many solid journals in the Sage Publications stable, and has published many good articles on relevant current topics such as community policing and enhanced probation), contains a series of articles about the "corrections-commercial complex." Still getting mileage out of the Eisenhower era, one set of authors asserts that "corrections policy is fashioned within a corrections-commercial complex akin to the military-industrial complex that operates the defense industry." A more recent article in *Crime & Delinquency* (January 1996) decried the "monetary colonization of criminal justice" by corporations who offer to save the taxpayers money by privatizing prison facilities. The unstated premise of this essay is that we either needn't or shouldn't put people in prison. The authors of the "corrections-commercial complex" complain that "Spending for corrections is monumental and growing." Let's see: all levels of government in the U.S. spend about \$35 billion a year for prisons and jails; we spend over \$700 billion for health, welfare, education, and housing (not including Social Security and Medicare), and nearly \$300 billion for national defense. Spending \$35 billion for prisons is monumental?

Two other egregious articles in *Crime & Delinquency* about the supposed ideology of news media coverage of crime are worth mentioning. The lead author of both articles is Melissa Hickman Barlow, a professor at the Department of Social Change and Development at the University of Wisconsin.

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ties such as this: "Gerald Ford attempted to balance liberty with responsibility and restraint, and individual freedom with the needs of the nation." (What a statesman!) Professor Felkenes reminds us that Ford was unelected, which meant that "There was no consensus of the elaborate [sic—electorate?]."

Beyond this flatulence, however, lies an equally large body of self-described "radical criminology" that combines the worst of ideology, social science methodology and jargon. This radical criminology dominates many issues of academic journals, to the exclusion of topics that are worthy of academic scrutiny. Much of this criminology is generated by professors of sociology, and it has been going on for a long time. Raymond Michalowski, a professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, wrote in a 1982 issue of the now-defunct journal *Crime and Social Justice* that "any resolution to the contemporary crime problem will necessitate some form of transition to some form of socialism," because, as we all know, "crime in its broadest sense is based in class conflict." (Italics in original.)

*Crime and Social Justice* was a publication of the Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis in San Francisco. Before it folded in the late 1980s, the Institute published an article by a Soviet "criminologist" B.V. Korobeinikov, who was described with a straight face as "Deputy Director of the All-Union Institute of the Study of Causes, and Elaboration of Measures for Crime Prevention" in Moscow. In the "economically modernized" Soviet Union, the article proclaimed, "the ordinary problems of civil and

*Corruption of Criminology, continued from page 5*

Barlow and her co-authors argue that "media representation is ideological, in that it distorts the problem of crime in ways that support the interests of the capitalist class. . ." This has to be quoted at length to appreciate its full absurdity: "media portrayal of crime escalates the threat of crime and de-emphasizes the fact that most crime is simply property acquisition. . . . Perhaps even more telling is the finding that only 3 percent of references to the employment status of offenders in the crime news articles refer to offenders as unemployed. Given the relationship between unemployment and crime, this seems a particularly egregious inversion of the harsh social reality of crime in late capitalist society." But the worst problem of this ideological media bias, the authors state, is that criminals, especially criminals from minority groups, "are presented as predators on society."

These sentiments indicate the prevalence of the new academic trinity of "race, class, gender" in criminology. There is much huffing and puffing about how minorities are "overrepresented" among arrestees, as though we should have strict proportional quotas on arrests. The *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, published at Northwestern University School of Law, devoted a special issue in 1994 to "Gender Issues and the Criminal Law." One article pondered the radical dilemma of whether "gender is subordinate to class." The authors gloss over the fact that "Neither Marx nor Engels noted the gender regularity of criminality," i.e., men commit most crimes. This omission has "become a legacy of criminological Marxism." But of course, leaving the girls out of the picture is akin to being a class oppressor these days, so to correct this sexism the authors assert that "The relation between social class and crime is structured by gender." The reason that men and women commit crimes at different rates (they should commit crimes at equal rates?) is that "the mecha-

nisms of control exerted over males and females in the workplace are distinct." And this, of course, flies in the face of the first principle of correct thinking: that unemployment causes crime.

In "Race, Class and Support for Police Use of Force," an article in a 1994 issue of *Crime, Law and Social Change* (published in the Netherlands), two sociologists are shocked and scandalized to discover that "a pattern is found of groups with greater power, status and advantages (whites, males, the more educated and the more wealthy) being more likely to favor police use of force than are less privileged groups."

It is possible to find entire articles purportedly about crime that hardly mention the subject at all. Instead, they spend their time mulling over the necessity for better "etiology" of the root causes of crime, or about whether the university is in fact a force for the kind of sweeping social change that is necessary to transform society and rid us of crime. You have to look carefully to find scholarly articles exploring the cost-effectiveness of prison, investigating whether higher rates of incarceration reduces the crime rate, or discussing the correlation between welfare pathologies and crime—which are, of course, exactly the kind of investigations that would actually assist policy makers and legislators. There are no articles to be found on the subject of black-on-white crime, or on the growing phenomenon of racially motivated "jury nullification" such as we saw in the Simpson verdict. Also absent is any discussion of the oldest reason for prison: punishment. Criminology today is almost exclusively concerned with utility rather than justice.

One reason for this dearth of sensible scholarship is that scholars who do undertake such research are vilified for reaching politically incorrect conclusions. Princeton's John DiIulio has been blasted for his research into recidivism, high-rate offenders, and the cost-effectiveness of prisons. Most unforgivable in academic

precincts, DiIulio has said kind things about "three strikes" sentencing laws. He bluntly declares that the "root cause" of crime is simple: criminals. He quotes Ben Wattenberg's common sense rationale for locking up bad guys: "A thug in prison can't shoot your sister." But far from the right-wing ideologue he is accused of being, DiIulio is a Democrat, and recently received a \$250,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. Still, his peers claim that DiIulio "doesn't act like an academic."

The good news is that the public is utterly unconvinced by radical criminology, whether of the softer "root causes" kind prevalent in the Great Society days, or the newer, politically correct variety. As Joseph Bessette, a former Chicago prosecutor and official with the U.S. Department of Justice and now professor of political science at Claremont-McKenna College puts it: "There is currently in the American criminal justice system an enormous disjunction between reasonable public opinion about appropriate levels of punishment for serious crime and the actual levels of punishment meted out by our criminal justice institutions. . . . There is unmistakably in this country a deep sense that something is fundamentally wrong: that the guilty too often escape their just desserts, that the justice system is a revolving door, that our governing institutions have failed to protect the innocent."

The big question is whether the people trying to deal with crime and punishment will be able to continue to cut through the vapors escaping from the academy. Or will their pragmatism and good common sense somehow be able to withstand the toxic cloud?

Steven Hayward is vice president for research for the Pacific Research Institute, a San Francisco-based think tank. He recently co-authored (with Lance Izumi) a study of crime in California entitled *Crime and Punishment in California: Are We Too Tough Or Not Tough Enough?*

*Give Me Your HIV-Positive, continued from page 4*

teria, couldn't they? He didn't have a snappy rejoinder.

I also noted that INS General Counsel Martin works for Attorney General Janet Reno and Reno works for Clinton. Did this or did this not mean Clinton was responsible for the policy?

"The Clinton Administration stands by the policy," he said. Then he told me I couldn't use his name.

I tried the White House press office and the Clinton campaign "lesbian and gay affairs coordinator." No comment. The Clinton Administration stands by a policy that no one in that administration will admit responsibility for.

For good reason. This is a policy that would appall anyone with common sense, i.e., the average voter. Why spend billions fighting AIDS if we are going to import new cases? Even worse than the threat to our national interest, however, is the threat to the whole idea of democracy and the rule of law. If bureaucrats in Washington can, with no public notice, effortlessly reverse an act of Congress, then what's the point of passing laws?

And reverse it on such flagrantly false grounds. As the AIDS lobby never tires of telling us, anyone can get AIDS. (This isn't really true, but it's their argument, not mine). People with HIV have nothing in common other than their disease—which happens to be the very reason they were excluded under the 1993 law. What we have here is a sort of bureaucratic aikido in which the force of the lawmakers is turned against themselves to produce an opposite result.

Rosemary Jenks notes that this sort of weaseling is the rule rather than the

exception when it comes to immigration law. "This has been very typical," she says. "Instead of making a decision, they just create a new category. It's like a Christmas tree. Instead of taking anything away, they just put on another ornament."

Jenks says her personal favorite is a move by radical feminists to make women a "particular social group." This would make that half of the earth's population eligible for asylum.

"Political asylum is for state-sponsored persecution," she says. "They are leaving it purely in the discrimination of immigration judges, who tend to expand rather than narrow any guidelines."

Jenks says the next logical step will be for a potential immigrant with some other excludable disease to make an argument that he is being denied equal protection in the quest for asylum. "Any kind of disease that requires long-term medical care, they've got a claim. You could file a discrimination suit if you have tuberculosis and say, 'I can't get in and someone with AIDS is getting in.'"

Tuberculosis is more highly communicable than AIDS, of course. But again this is an area where the militant gays come smack up against their own rhetoric. For years they've been arguing that anyone, gay or straight, monogamous or libertine, risks getting AIDS if condoms are not used. Katherine Hanssens of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, a gay and lesbian advocacy group, told me, "Our position is that there are a lot of people in Congress who don't understand how HIV is spread. I think there is an assumption of people that they pose a threat to other people's health. The judgment about the ways in which people become HIV-positive is related to homophobia."

Actually, and fortunately, AIDS is

nowhere near as communicable as the gays would have us believe. But if HIV-positive immigrants acted in the same sexual way as HIV-positive citizens, they would infect other people at the rate of about 3 percent a year. So for every 10,000 such immigrants, we could expect about 300 additional infections a year.

Many Americans are also concerned that people with HIV will come to this country needing medical care won't be able to pay for it, Hanssens said. However, there is a provision in the law that persons with HIV who win an exemption must show they can pay for their medical care. The only exception is—surprise!—for those who are granted asylum. They can get free medical care, paid for by the taxpayers.

"Immigrants with HIV are not the straw that's going to break the back of the health care system," Hanssens claims. And perhaps she is right. However, it's hard to see how their immigration will do America any good. And it's also hard to see why the President's Advisory Council on HIV-AIDS, which is theoretically supposed to be reducing the number of AIDS cases in America, would seek an immigration change that can only increase that number.

These would make interesting questions for President Clinton. So far, however, no one's raising them. The only people who seem to be aware of the new policy are the lawyers for gay-rights groups. And they will do their best to widen the opening. Hanssens made clear to me the ultimate goal of Lambda and the other radical gay groups: "We shouldn't be excluding people at all on the basis of HIV."

Paul Mulshine is a columnist for the *Star Ledger* in Newark, New Jersey.

# Affirmative Racism, continued from page 1

Casting the deciding vote to bring Duke on campus was Vladimir Cerna, president of the Associated Students. Since entering the country illegally from El Salvador a decade ago, the sociology and Chicano-studies major has enjoyed something of a charmed life. He entered Roosevelt High in Los Angeles as Vladimir Ilich Funes then, because of a brush with the law, he explains, changed his last name to Cerna in 1990. He was hired by VISTA, a federal anti-poverty agency, to help launch Bill Clinton's new national service program. He spoke at an international conference about Proposition 187, the anti-illegal immigrant initiative of two years ago, on a bill with leftist Cuatemoc Cardenas of Mexico's Democratic Revolutionary Party and Ruben Zamora of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the political wing of El Salvador's FMLN guerrillas.

Cerna says his father and uncle were tortured and executed by the Salvadoran government but he declines to discuss their political affiliations. And in the May Day, 1995, *Los Angeles Times* he waxed nostalgic about the 1992 L.A. riots. "Yes, those were the good old days," Cerna wrote. "Isn't it amazing what a burning city can do? Think about it, what protests, elections, city councils and elected representatives could not do, smoke did in three days." Setting the city's ass on fire, so to speak, had prompted the government to pump in millions of dollars but now, alas, "the money has long stopped flowing. We are stuck with harsh new realities. . . we keep piling up reasons to be angry." No money, no peace, in other words.

The Duke invitation, Cerna and the others must have thought, was to create a syllogism that would overcome an initiative whose inspiration and basic language comes from the 1964 Civil Rights Act. David Duke favors Prop 209, David Duke is a racist, therefore anybody who votes for 209 is a racist. But the college administrators and student leaders hadn't counted on the arrival of By Any Means Necessary, leftists who refused the "progressive" label and also refused to go along with the charade. Even before Duke could begin to debate with Joe Hicks, a local black spokesman for the anti-209 forces, inside the Northridge Center Auditorium, the Berkeley radicals had begun banging on the windows, engaging in shouting matches with other leftists and finally pelting the police, and their horses, with rocks and bottles. When the police pushed them back, TV cameras caught the drama, but the script had been altered. The riot, not the debate, became the show.

As George Skelton observed in the *Los Angeles Times*, when the Berkeley vanguard turned its wrath on the police, it became the equivalent of anti-187 demonstrators waving Mexican flags two years ago, and in his opinion swung the spotlight away from Duke and swung voters toward a "yes" vote on the initiative as well.

When Phillip Leonard, whose actual title at Cal State Northridge is Director of Political Awareness, took the podium on debate day, September 25, the sound system was still piping in tenor man Ernie Watts' "Moonlight Serenade," a mellow but weird backdrop for the banshee wails from the communists outside. Leonard, who is black, urged everyone to look inside to see if there might be "a little bigot in each of us."

Judging by the dirty campaign thus far waged by anti-209 forces, there is a large bigot in many members of the California left. Consider a piece that appeared in the *Oakland Tribune*, which has positioned itself as a megaphone for the forces bashing the CCRI. "Let bigotry continue—only let it be redemptive bigotry. Let it smash that evil race which wielded it so effectively for so long," wrote Douglas Allen in the *Tribune*, which delicately headlined the piece "Ward Connerly is Wrong to be a Tool of Whites."

"No one is allowed to get away with being color blind or race-neutral," Allen stated in his piece about the black chairman of the CCRI campaign. "To judge the individual is pernicious and just shows how duplicitous people can be. . . the white man who would argue against racial preferences is obviously concerned to maintain the cen-

Cheryl Hopwood believed the University of Texas law school had discriminated against her on the basis of race and sued in 1992. In March, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled in her favor, stating that the UT Law School may not take race into account in admitting students. In July, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

## A Member of the Victim Class Speaks Out

*Judge Me by My Ability,  
Not the Color of My Skin*

By Cheryl Hopwood



Cheryl Hopwood

In 1992, I sued the University of Texas Law School because I thought it had discriminated against me on the basis of my race. Last month, a federal appeals court unanimously agreed that the law school's admissions program was discriminatory and unconstitutional, and ordered the school to stop using race to decide who would be admitted.

The admissions program was skewed by racial consideration in a way that most Americans would find offensive. In pursuit of numerical targets that one judge described as "virtually indistinguishable from quotas," African Americans and Mexican Americans were given preferential treatment. All others—including Asian Americans, non-Mexican Hispanic Americans, Whites, and Native Americans—were disfavored.

By evaluating test scores according to whether an applicant was a member of one of the "preferred" groups, some applicants were offered admission over others with substantially higher scores. The law school also made sure that no one running the admissions process forgot race, even for a minute. Application files were color-coded, for example, so that each applicant's race would be obvious at a glance. The law school even kept racially segregated waiting lists.

I did not expect, nor would I want, anything other than to be treated equally. I supported myself through college working 20 hours a week, earned a 3.8 grade point average, became a certified public accountant, scored high enough on the law school's index to be in the "presumptive admit" category, and was caring for a severely handicapped child. Yet because the law school wanted to ensure that at least 10 percent of its entering class were Mexican American and 5 percent Black, persons in these groups with scores in the "presumptive deny" range were admitted while I was rejected.

I'm not yet a lawyer, but I believe the Constitution forbids racial discrimination. We have learned in this country of the harm that racial discrimination does, and we can see its results in parts of the world where it is still permitted. We changed our Constitution so that government may not select winners and losers on the basis of skin color. That is the law, and it is the only fair way for our government to deal with all of its citizens.

What does the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment mean if it does not move us to a time when people are not discriminated against based on the accident of birth, and to scrap systems that rely on racially coded files and segregated lists? Doesn't it mean that we must deal with each other as individuals, not as members of fixed and competing ethnic groups? Doesn't it mean that government cannot discriminate against me today even if it wants to "make-up" for discriminating against someone else in years past?

I understand that people of all races can be exposed to discrimination in our society, and I have no illusions that the problem will disappear overnight. Individual victims of discrimination deserve a remedy, and nothing in the court's decision in my case keeps them from full relief. But insuring a fair opportunity to the actual victims of discrimination is very different from Texas' attempt to make up for discrimination practiced four decades ago by creating new victims of racial discrimination.

Universities use other types of preferences that some people view as unfair—preferences for athletes, for example, or for residents of the state, or for student body presidents or for the children of alumni. I personally have reservations about many of these policies as well, but the existence or abolition of such policies is not relevant to the discussion of racial preferences. We as a nation have decided that race preferences are sufficiently harmful that we prohibited them by Constitutional amendment; we have decided, and rightly decided, that race is a uniquely evil and highly destructive basis for any government action.

"Affirmative action" is a term that means different things to different people. I believe that there is nothing wrong with government assistance to individuals who may need help as long as the beneficiaries of these programs are not selected by race. There remains much that Texas can do to help the truly disadvantaged. Those who are poor, who come from broken homes, who have had to support themselves from an early age, can and perhaps should receive recognition of accomplishments in the face of adversity. More may be done to improve education for all people at early levels and more may be done to insure that recruiting for law schools and other opportunities reaches all segments of society. If there are more students who want to go to law school in Texas than Texas can accommodate in its law schools, perhaps Texas can help with tuition grants to other schools. But it may not award admissions to its law school according to race.

I personally bear no ill-will toward anyone who achieved admission to the University of Texas because of its discriminatory system, but I do believe that resentments are created by these programs and that long-term harm is done by government programs that set people against each other according to racial classifications, stereotyping, and race-driven competition for government-sponsored activities. As we have learned from our own bitter history, if we perpetuate these practices in our own house, "we shall inherit the wind."

tures-old power structure that keeps the black man down. The black man standing shoulder-to-shoulder with him is a lackey." Allen was at least willing to openly champion state-sponsored bigotry against the white devils. But other anti-209 bigotry did not prove so redemptive.

Richard Alarcon of the Los Angeles City Council, which twice took a vote to officially declare 209 "racist," has compared CCRI to *Mein Kampf*. San Diego City councilman George Stevens, who believes that "racism is the foundation of this country," called 209 "the most racist initiative that has ever been put on the ballot." Norm Hoise of the ACLU called the measure "a Republican tool to draw out the xenophobes and hatemongers."

In the real world, however, the hatemongers all seemed to be on the other side. In one campus appearance, black 209-supporter Shelby Steele (*The Content of Our Character*) was called a "house slave," just one of a number of colorful epithets he has faced. Likewise, black businessman Ward Connerly, the UC Regent who led the fight to ban affirmative action at the university, has been smeared as an "Uncle Tom" so many times he has lost count. Sen. Diane Watson attacked him for the crime of being married to a white woman, accusing him of not wanting to be black. Former Communist Party USA presidential candidate Angela Davis, who has spent her life defending white communist dictators, toured campuses denouncing Connerly, whose front lawn was recently vandalized by students from UC campuses. Unknown assailants also plastered Connerly's office with graffiti and shot out his windows.

The *Oakland Tribune* published a cartoon showing a dry-cleaning shop, "Connerly's Ethnic Cleansers," with Klan-like robes hanging inside. During the church burning furor, the *Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* in San Francisco showed two gleeful men labeled "CCRI," gas can in hand, fleeing a burning church labeled "affirmative action." The *L.A. Weekly* ran a photo of Klansmen burning a cross, captioned "Unidentified CCRI supporters celebrate the recent advances in their struggle for Civil Rights," and a picture of Duke captioned "Support Prop. 209 Demand Your Civil Whites!" An accompanying interview featured Filiberto Gonzalez, chairman of CSUN's chapter of MEChA [Movimiento Estudianti Chicano de Aztlan], which includes Vladimir Cerna. MEChA is the irredentist group that believes the American southwest belongs to pure members of the Raza and must be ethnically cleansed of Anglo filth. "David Duke, Pete Wilson—they're one and the same," Gonzalez said, adding irrelevantly that an unidentified "reporter" had just told him that "the second-largest group of contributors to David Duke's campaign are from the San Fernando Valley."

Supporters of race preferences also forged a letter from Duke to Ward Connerly, on Duke's letterhead, thanking him for encouragement and adding "your financial contribution was also very generous." But the attacks were not limited to Connerly.

"These two professors may have white shirts on now, but by the time we're done with them, they'll be pretty dirtied up," growled Democratic Party adviser Bob Mulholland, referring to CCRI authors Glynn Custred and Tom Wood who, though constantly slandered, have remained models of decorum.

Mulholland is a protégé of Tom Hayden and learned his trade in the push for rent control and "economic democracy," Hayden's quaint euphemism for socialism. Mulholland's plan to check whether Wood and Custred have "paid their taxes, inappropriately touched students, or ever been involved in lawsuits" got him denounced as a slime peddler by the *Sacramento Bee* and *San Francisco Chronicle*. Spared such scorn was San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, who as an assemblyman sponsored a measure to have California's university graduation rates, as well as admissions, reflect the demographics of the state's population. A Democratic legislature passed a bill mandating the absurd scheme, which, although vetoed by Pete Wilson, prompted academics Wood and Custred to draft the California Civil Rights Initiative in the first place.

Brown urged students at Cal State

Hayward, where Custred teaches anthropology, to "just terrorize him." In the early going, Brown said that if CCRI passes "it won't be on the basis of anything except pure, unadulterated exploitation of racism." Longtime observers of Brown see the San Francisco mayor as the one who tried to leverage corporate power against 209, as exemplified in the closet drama of Pacific Gas and Electric's coming out in opposition to the measure.

The San Francisco-based Greenlining Coalition, which represents a number of minority advocacy groups, had for some time blasted PG&E for the way it awards contracts to minority-owned businesses. In 1994, the Coalition gave the utility a "D" for its record with Latinos. Partly as a result of this attack, San Francisco politicians have discussed replacing PG&E with a city-owned municipal utility. Enter Willie Brown, who has enjoyed a long-term relationship with the utility giant. As Assembly Speaker, he pressured PG&E to award a \$3 million contract to a firm whose black owners included Johnny Cochran, the dapper O.J. Simpson lawyer who has also contributed financially to the anti-209 campaign. So when PG&E boss Stanley Skinner came out against 209—a measure which deals only with public entities and would not affect this private company—many again saw the hand of Brown, who, as the city's new mayor, wields enough clout to keep the company's lucrative monopoly in place.

Brown and the Greenlining Coalition also tried to pressure California corporate heavyweights Hewlett Packard, ARCO, Levi Strauss and Southern California Edison to join PG&E in a group that would have formed a potent force against 209. But after Skinner came out of the closet, Gov. Pete Wilson put on the gloves and thumped the utility boss for his hypocrisy in saying he opposed quotas while opposing a measure that would do away with them. Since then the corporations have remained for the most part on the sidelines of the 209 battle, leaving the feminists to man the barricades.

One reason that the 209 battle has not galvanized the imagination of the entire country, as initially predicted, is that the opponents of the measure have not joined the issue and debated the merits of affirmative action. In the early stages of the campaign, they tried to frame it as an issue of racism. But that did not resonate with voters, with the proposition retaining its two-to-one support. Then, late last spring, opponents abruptly changed their line. What was wrong with the California Civil Rights Initiative, it turned out, was not so much that it was racist but that it would send women back to the Stone Ages.

Jesse Jackson and others who saw California as a battleground fell into line, also claiming that white women would be the 209's chief victims because of the proposition's Clause C, which does not prohibit "bona fide qualifications based on sex which are reasonably necessary to the normal operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." Jackson parroted the feminist line that 209 would "gut" protections for women and introduce a new sexist reign of terror based on gender bias.

Willie Brown crowed on CNN that CCRI opponents would defeat the measure by putting "a white woman's face" on the initiative. And radical feminists Eleanor Smeal, Patricia Ireland and others did assume leadership of the anti-209 campaign, issuing scare warnings to their sisters up and down the state. The only problem was that intelligent, successful women on the other side, both Republicans and Democrats, pointed out the fallacy of their argument. As CCRI co-chairs Pam Lewis and Gail Heriot noted, the language of Clause C had been taken right out of existing law and had been put into the initiative to prevent such scenarios as male prison guards strip-searching female prisoners or allowing boys to compete on girl's sports teams.

"I have absolutely no respect for those who make this argument about the clause. It is completely, utterly, totally false, and I don't say that lightly," said Eugene Volokh, UCLA law professor, who gathered signatures from 25 law professors around the country, including Lawrence Alexander of the University of San Diego, George Christie of Duke, Steven Eagle of George Mason, Sanford

Levinson from the University of Texas, and Michael McConnell from the University of Chicago. The group included liberals and conservatives, and many who actually opposed 209, but all said that protections for women would remain intact under the measure. Even liberal Joseph Grodin, retired state Supreme Court justice, opined that "If I were on a court that had to interpret the clause, I would interpret in such a way that it did not diminish protections for women."

By summer, the Clause C argument had been so battered that it was not clear whether 209 opponents would keep it in the forefront of the anti-209 campaign. Not only was the legitimacy of the Clause C argument being harshly scrutinized, in fact, but the entire stitching of the anti-209 coalition was beginning to unravel.

Patricia Ireland and the Feminist Majority assumed that the patriarchal legions would flood money into CCRI, but that the anti-209 forces, though outspent, could prevail through the "people power" of grassroots organizing. The big bucks never arrived for 209, but the measure did pick up exactly the grassroots support the feminists had wanted for their position. The feminists' "Fight the Right" rally last April in San Francisco, a kind of gay Woodstock calling for "lesbian rights," proved more a source of jokes than a blow against the initiative. In a talk at UCLA, Ward Connerly openly welcomed similar demonstrations. And the "Freedom Summer," which absurdly tried to link the anti-209 campaign to freedom riders of the Civil Rights Movement, failed to arouse much enthusiasm among students or to tilt the polls against 209. The gender warriors found themselves confused. The people just weren't getting it.

"The polls have been about the same for two years. How are we going to move that?" asked NOW's Elizabeth Toledo, who also observed that there was no agreement on a statewide message and that people targeted by the campaign were so diverse that "one message wouldn't work."

Other feminists argued that the grassroots approach would fail and that the campaign's only hope was to take the low road, leaning on Clause C and other casuistry. Around Labor Day they split into "Defeat 209" and "Stop 209" factions. The Feminist Majority's "Stops," aligned with the National Rainbow Coalition and United Farm Workers, appeared to concentrate on a "people" campaign, while the "Defeats," aligned with the YWCA, the NAACP and the California Teacher's Association, raised money for a more mainstream statewide TV and radio blitz under the direction of Ted Kennedy-aide Bob Schrum.

Both the "Stops" and the "Defeats" stonewalled reporters who asked about the reasons for the split or how different groups wound up in each faction. But as the *Los Angeles Times* observed, it was indeed a schism and meanwhile, the ethnic and racial factions remained suspicious of middle-class white feminists, the biggest beneficiaries of affirmative action and a group whose accredited victims-status remained in doubt with true "people of color." Yet the feminists, as Connie Rice of the NAACP complained, had failed to convince the traditional big money machines of Hollywood, business and the Democratic Party to break open the wallet. By mid-October, the Stops had raised \$500,000 for radio ads and it was clear that the dirty-tricks faction would prove dominant.

"There's not a dime's worth of difference between David Duke and Ward Connerly on 209," said Pat Ewing, campaign manager of the Defeat 209 faction. And when not trying to link Connerly to Duke, the feminists tried to plunk pubic hair into Connerly's coke by casting him as the return of Clarence Thomas.

On October 9, Donna Ransom, a disabled former employee of Connerly's firm, accused the 209 chairman of sexual harassment and discrimination. In a suit filed last May, Ransom accused Connerly of subjecting women to unwanted sexual advances, verbal abuse and humiliation. An accompanying declaration by Debbie Rafter, another former employee (both women are white) accused Connerly of seducing her and "aggressively touching my body in sexual ways," all of which supposedly led to hospitalization for suicidal depression.

Though filed in May, Connerly was not

served until September and news of the suit, which seeks at least \$2.5 million in back pay and damages, was leaked to reporters one day before none other than Anita Hill, Miss *J'accuse* herself, was to appear at an anti-209 fundraiser in Los Angeles. Woopi Goldberg and California Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer chaired the gala event, which featured Eleanor Smeal and Patricia Ireland.

Connerly told reporters that "every word of it is a lie. It's dirty, it's just outright dirty" and pointed out what was obvious to all but the willfully blind, that the whole affair was a shabby piece of political theatre. Connerly had actually loaned Ransom \$8,000 to help her out of her problems and

a judge recently ruled that she had to begin repayment next year. Ransom's lawyer Thea Offenbacher, interestingly enough, shares office space with Alice Huffman, a former California Teacher's Association lobbyist and a longtime confidant of Willie Brown. Offenbacher denied any connections to the anti-209 campaign and told this reporter that "I don't even read the newspapers."

Meanwhile, as the mud flew and the sisters squabbled, pro-preference academics were planning a power play of their own.

An affirmative action official at California State University at Sacramento notes that campus president Donald Gerth has made race and gender

preferences his official mantra and the cornerstone of campus hiring policy. In a letter to Michael Fitzgerald, chair of the academic senate, Gerth lamented recent court decisions against affirmative action and portrayed CCRI—which actually leaves all private and federal affirmative action programs in place—as a rejection of "California's commitment to Affirmative Action" (upper case his). In his days as chairman of the accrediting commission at WASC, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, Gerth sent schools the message that if they wanted to retain their accreditation they had better be politically correct. Long accustomed to wielding power, he duly appointed himself official spokesman on CCRI for the entire Cal State

## Connerly Keeps the Faith

The thing most that has always aggravated Ward Connerly's critics isn't that he engineered a successful drive among the University of California regents to ban racial preferences at the University of California. It isn't even that he led an uphill battle to put the California Civil Rights Initiative on the November ballot. To his critics, the most aggravating thing about Connerly is that he did all this as a black man.

It left them so furious they called him everything else instead. "The preference cartel," Connerly says, denounced him as everything from a sellout, Uncle Tom, self-hating house slave to a "renegade African-American point man" who "collaborat[es] with apartheid" and "thinks with his glands." He got "profane and . . . threatening" letters. People called his office and demanded to speak to "that hypocrite sellout Connerly." Student demonstrators showed up on the lawn of his Sacramento consulting firm waving signs that read "Ward is an angry oreo" and chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Ward Connerly has got to go." Someone firing a gun or using a slingshot made two holes in a leaded-glass window, prompting Governor Wilson temporarily to order the Highway Patrol to provide Connerly with round-the-clock protection.

But it would get worse and he knew it.

"They are going to find someone who is willing to lie and bring some sort of charge against me and identify me with Clarence Thomas," Connerly told me when I visited him in Sacramento in April. He knew, because a former employee by the name of Deborah Jane Rafter called him around the first of the year in what he regarded as a not-to-subtle attempt at "extortion." Rafter had worked for Connerly's firm four or five years earlier. "She said my opponents had approached her," Connerly told me. "She hadn't been working for six months. She respected me and she didn't want to say anything against me. But . . ."

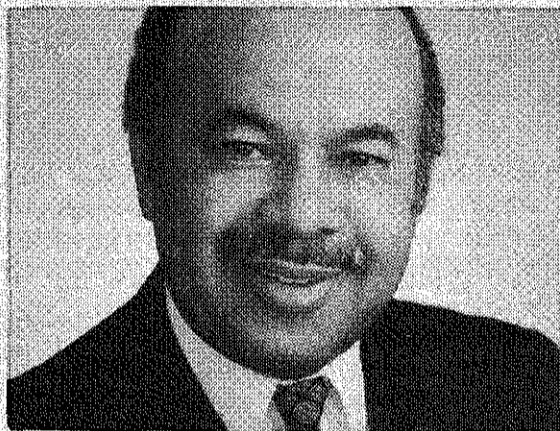
A week or two after that, Connerly said, one of his current employees happened to run into an attorney who said he represented Rafter. The attorney was drunk and full of braggadocio. "You wait till May," he announced. "We are really going to fry Mr. Connerly's goose."

A month later, in May, someone did file a lawsuit against Connerly. But it wasn't Rafter. It was a disabled former employee (Donna Ransom) who charged Connerly with violations of the Americans with Disabilities Act. "She complained that I wouldn't allow her to move her desk from the second floor to the basement," says Connerly. But the complaint didn't say word one about sexual harassment. At the time, Connerly says, he didn't even know it had been filed. And neither did virtually anyone else. No reporters saw it and there were no stories in the press.

But then on September 18, Ransom filed an amended complaint, this one with explosive new charges. The lawsuit asserted that Connerly treated women condescendingly, paid men more than women and gave special consideration to Connerly's "sexual consorts."

To bolster the charge that Connerly slept with his female employees, the complaint included a declaration by Deborah Jane Rafter, the woman who Connerly claimed had tried to extort money from him earlier in the year and who now alleged that he had "seduced" her, "first by showering me with workplace favors and then aggressively touching my body in sexual ways." Because she was both flattered and fearful of losing her job, said Rafter, she began a year-long affair with Connerly. "I was indulged in favors, visits to my home, phone calls at all hours, gifts, as well as extra time off for sickness and personal matters and a larger salary than other . . . females at Connerly & Associates were paid."

After leaving Connerly & Associates four or five years ago, she called Connerly's wife, Ileen, Rafter said, and told her of Connerly's office affairs. "Ward retaliated by personally threatening to have me killed and stalking me for several months," said Rafter. "I have been hospitalized for severe depression . . . and have moved repeatedly as I attempt to hide from Ward."



Ward Connerly

These were incendiary charges. The fact that they came the day before Anita Hill was to visit California to speak against the CCRI, Proposition 209, suggested that they were meant to harrow up other sensational charges involving a black man who had stepped out of political line.

For his part, Connerly was aghast. The lawsuit, he told reporters was a "frivolous," "unfounded," and "dirty" "lie." As to the notion that Ransom's lawsuit had nothing to do with trying to derail Prop. 209, Connerly is openly disdainful. Why, he asks, if the suit were not politically motivated, did someone call both the Associated Press and political reporter for the *Sacramento Bee* (not the legal reporter) to tip him off to the lawsuit's existence? Why did the tip about the filing of the lawsuit come the day before Anita Hill was to visit California to campaign against 209? Was it merely a coincidence that the attorney representing the complainant shared offices with Alice Huffman, a longtime Willie Brown confidant and fierce opponent, like Brown himself, of Prop. 209? How was it that the day the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story on the lawsuit that a group of Republican women received letters from a supposedly disgruntled Republican woman who claimed that news accounts of Connerly's supposed infidelities left her "embarrassed," "humiliated" and "disgusted"? And yet, when Connerly's people tried to reach the letter writer, they found she wasn't listed in the phone book and her return address was phony. The people behind this are the "sleaziest bastards" in California, says Connerly. They can't attack 209 on the issues because people aren't buying it, he says, so they're trying to beat it indirectly by attacking him instead.

Although Connerly's opponents always accuse him of being a hypocrite—someone who personally benefited from affirmative action and now wants to slam the door on everyone else—he started life with few advantages. Born in Louisiana, he was abandoned by his father when he was two. At age four his mom died, whereupon Connerly was raised by his grandmother, a full-blooded Choctaw Indian, in a black neighborhood in Sacramento. His grandmother sold eggs and his uncle worked in a sawmill. Money was so short there were times when Connerly ate sweet potatoes three times a day.

Ambitious even then, when Connerly was 13, he found a job as a stock boy in a fabric store and has been self-supporting ever since. After graduating from Sacramento State in 1962 (he was class president and met his wife there), he went to work at the County Redevelopment Department and, later, the State Housing Agency. In 1962, Pete Wilson, then a young assemblyman, asked Connerly, an apolitical novice at the time, to become a consultant to the Assembly Housing Committee. Five years later, Wilson suggested to Connerly that someone with his ability was wasting his time working for the government. Connerly subsequently quit his job and started a business helping cities and counties draft the housing-element portion of their general plans. Then in March 1993, Wilson named Connerly to an unpaid 12-year term as a University of California regent, and the fireworks began.

Initially Connerly had no particular agenda. But in August 1994, a La Jolla statistician named Jerry Cook came to him with information about preferential minority admis-

sions at the University of San Diego which, in Connerly's words, was really rather "shocking." When Connerly asked the university president's office for an explanation, the one they did provide to the regents left Connerly furious.

"They did not deny Cook's contentions," he says. "They rationalized them. Their manner was very patronizing. I was angered by the arrogance of the institution—they thought they could just pat me on the head as a regent and think I would just go away with their little explanations that 'We need educational diversity and diversity equals excellence and we have got to bring these people in to serve their communities' and all that crap."

In fact, says Connerly, what the proponents of racial preferences have really done is spread "intellectual corruption" throughout the university. "They don't care about the truth. They will twist words. They will manipulate the information. They will mislead you, give you half truths. And it all starts with the big lie—'race is only one of many factors.'"

Connerly was naive enough to think that the regents' vote last year to ban racial preferences throughout the UC system was the end of the issue. Actually, it was just the beginning. In the weeks and months that followed, students staged demonstrations, protests and sit-ins. The academic senates at all nine campuses called on the regents to rescind the ban. Two thousand of the university's 7,000 tenured professors signed an on-line petition urging the regents to reconsider. And a seven-member panel of the American Association of University Professors announced an investigation, proclaiming that "the future of higher education is at stake."

Although Connerly has been attacked by people across the entire affirmative action spectrum, the most vicious attacks have come not from whites but from other blacks. Willie Brown described him as not even rising to the level of an Uncle Tom. Jesse Jackson called him a "house slave." Leonard Pitts, a columnist for the *Miami Herald* savaged him as "an identity-challenged Negro" who would feel right at home "in a Howard Beach pizzeria, a Simi Valley courthouse, or in any bar where skinheads in Army fatigues gather to shoot the bull and, occasionally, the black."

Despite the attacks on him, Connerly maintains that the most depressing thing about the whole campaign isn't the lies, mudslinging or even the physical threats (though, he says, worrying about him has taken a major toll on his wife and kids). It's what the issue reveals about the nation's moral state. "For a country that prides itself on the democratic traditions of free speech and freedom of opinion," says Connerly, "we really practice them in a very frightened sort of way." The minute the opposition cries "racism" his supporters cut and duck and run for cover, which, he believes, gives bigots a free hand.

Earlier this year, state Senator Diane Watson, herself a black, accused Connerly of being disloyal to his own people: "He is an African American," she told a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*. "His wife is white. He wants to be colorless. He has no ethnic pride." Connerly's wife, he says, was furious. "Her response was, 'What does that have to do with anything?'"

Besides, says Connerly, his critics know a lot less about his race than they think they do. Of his four grandparents, only one was black. The others were Anglo, French, and full-blooded Choctaw. And yet he's expected to be black, act black, support a black activist agenda or risk being called a traitor.

And what about Connerly's son, he asks? His son's mother is white and his wife is half-white and half-Vietnamese. What does that make Connerly's granddaugher? "Why," he asks indignantly, "should she have to give you a description of what group she fits into?"

In Connerly's view, there's no need for all this classifying by race, ethnic box-checking, governmental threats, lawsuits, executive orders, set-asides and consent decrees. "Real diversity is happening," he says. "It's happening naturally."

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University system.

On July 10, he wrote to other Cal State officials that "Blenda Wilson of the Northridge campus and I are coordinating the preparation of a position paper and public document on behalf of all the California State University presidents and hopefully on behalf of the campus chancellors." But Barry Munitz, chancellor of all the Cal State campuses, quickly pointed out that the board of trustees had not taken a position on the measure, and cautioned the 23 campus presidents against making a collective statement opposing 209.

The academic brass at the University of California treated the issue with more delicacy but left little doubt where they were coming from. In his days as chancellor of UC San Diego, Richard Atkinson showed himself an avid partisan of race and gender preferences, whose beneficiaries included Eric Massey, the privately schooled son of wealthy black UC Provost Walter Massey, a physicist and former director of the National Science Foundation. And Atkinson remained silent when radical Chicanos published an article "Death of a Migra Pig," celebrating the accidental death of a Puerto Rican border patrol agent. ("We're glad this pig died," they wrote, lamenting that more "pigs" had not died with him.)

Now president of the entire UC system, Atkinson sent a note about the elections to "all employees" on Sept. 25. His wrote as though holding his nose, certain that the unwashed masses would pass 209, with dire consequences for "diversity," the *summum bonum* of the academic world. "Our goal will be more difficult to accomplish without taking race, ethnicity and gender into account" he said. He urged UC workers to speak out, on their own time, "without the use of university resources."

But anti-209 campaigners, in the best tradition of the left, proved adept in hijacking other public money for their cause. The Community Coalition for Substance Abuse, Prevention and Treatment is a recipient of funding from Los Angeles County. Through its South Central Youth Empowered Thru [sic] Action, the group

diversified into political activism. After CCRI qualified for the ballot last spring, group leaders dragooned high-school students to demonstrations outside of CCRI's Los Angeles office, handed them bullhorns, and set them chanting "CCRI, you liar, we'll set your ass on fire" and "1-2-3-4, get CCRI on out the door. 5-6-7-8, change your name on the legislature." When asked what "change your name on the legislature" meant, the coalition's "youth coordinator" Solomon Rivera shrugged and said he didn't know.

But none of the 209 opponents held a monopoly on ignorance and incoherence when it came to the California Civil Rights Initiative, which is why they failed to seize the opportunity 209 offered to re-examine affirmative action's first principles. For starters, are social sins such as prejudice collective and inheritable? What moral code can be invoked to punish someone who has committed no wrong, to reward someone who has suffered no injustice? Is "diversity" just racial? Or does the concept include Catholics and Irish Americans, conservative blacks as well as black radicals, Republican Hispanics as well as Chicana lesbians?

But this dialogue never happened. And the press, for its part, was content to report primarily on sideshows like the David Duke appearance. In an era in which reporters fancy themselves "investigative journalists" in tune with the post-Watergate rule of "follow the money," there was little or no interest in the question of *cui bono*? Who benefits from the current system?

Race and gender preferences are indeed a lucrative business. According to the estimate of 209's fiscal impact on California's official ballot statement, based on the state's Legislative Analyst, the measure affects state and local programs "that currently cost well in excess of \$125 million annually." By the accounting of Tom McClintock, a former candidate for state controller, "the price tag in California runs from a low of \$343 million to more than \$677 million, strictly to maintain a system of racial and gender discrimination in state law." This includes,

McClintock says, \$155 million in yearly costs to state government alone for administering and implementing race- and gender-based programs, \$47 million spent annually for race-based programs in the state's two university systems and another \$10 million in the public schools and community. He also notes that some \$82 million is spent on voluntary desegregation programs in the schools, even though no finding of past racial discrimination has been made.

Opponents of 209 have grown accustomed to being on the receiving end of race and gender preferences and have come to expect and demand positions of influence, choice school admissions, and fat government contracts, for which they don't even have to be the best qualified or lowest bidder. Those who defend race and gender preferences, whatever their pretenses to progressivism, are the reactionary establishment, and the anti-209 forces can no longer pretend, as the left has in the past, to speak for "the people." Now they must speak for blacks, white feminists, Chicanos, gays and lesbians, and they must tailor a correct line to each audience. The old esperanto of Marxism is gone, replaced by the polyglot babble of a balkanized utopia.

Pat Ewing of the Defeat 209 faction says, "There was never going to be a campaign that could be all things to all people." Actually there was such a campaign, the one being run by Ward Connerly. George Skelton of the *Los Angeles Times* was one of the few in the press to recognize that reality. While the left chanted, debated strategy and threw stones at the police, Skelton wrote, Ward Connerly had the luxury of being able simply to climb onto the hood of his car and read the initiative's fundamental language: "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting."

Equal treatment under the law. One message for all the people. Just like in the 1960s.

—K.L. Billingsley



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*Kafka in Vermont, continued from page 1*

tures of minorities whenever possible because of a Gannett corporate policy, the All-American contest, that essentially judged the executives of the chain's 85 newspapers on how well and how often they portrayed minorities. My colleagues knew about it too, and the way the *Free Press* searched out the few minority faces public events in Vermont offered became a standing joke in the newsroom. (About a year after I joined with *Free Press*, I saw this goofy form of social engineering backfire on Wilson at a news meeting to discuss the previous day's paper, when a bland picture of a black city worker raking leaves, put in to help raise the All-American quotient, was criticized by editor Ron Thornburg who said it was an example of racial stereotyping—a black man performing manual labor.)

The All-American contest was never discussed at staff meetings, although it remained a hidden mandate on which editors were evaluated by their corporate bosses. But another program, News 2000, Gannett's master plan for the next 100 years, was trumpeted with unending fanfare. News 2000 was structured on what Gannett called the building blocks of a good newspaper. There were ten of them, including such principles as "Compelling Presentation," "Evokes Emotion," etc. But in the fall of 1991, Ron Thornburg, who was on the phone to Virginia several times a day trying to justify himself and us to the people at Gannett, held a meeting in which he said that the paper needed to focus on one of these building blocks at a time, lest it be overwhelmed by trying to do them all at once, and not surprisingly he suggested that we tackle "Requires Diversity" first.

So I heard of All-American contests and News 2000 all during my stay at the *Burlington Free Press*. But I had never heard of a "media-free zone" until the night of March 29, 1993, when my strange ordeal at the paper began.

It was 7 p.m. and I was leaving the newsroom to cover a public meeting on racism in Burlington. As I went out the door, Metro Editor Rob Eley told me that the organizer of the meeting, black assistant to the Mayor Rodney Patterson, did not like or trust the local media. At a meeting several days earlier to set ground rules with editors from local news organizations, Eley told me, Patterson had insisted that half the room at the racial forum be designated off-limits to the media, and that any time someone from that section came to the microphone to speak, all pens, notebooks, cameras, and microphones were to be put aside. In other words, the people in the "media-free zone" were not to be quoted or photographed.

Never having heard of a newspaper giving away its First Amendment rights, I said I thought it was inappropriate and unprofessional on our part, and probably newsworthy that a public official should try to impose such a condition. Eley was clearly irritated. He said that Judy Diebolt, *Free Press* managing editor and head of the paper's racial diversity efforts, had made the decision.

"All the damn media agreed to it," Eley growled.

He was a classic gruff, chain-smoking city editor, who had been in the business for years and had little use for Gannett's relentless pandering to minorities. Several editors sent in over the years by the corporation had targeted Eley for termination, but he had somehow outlasted them all by a simple strategy of showing up early and leaving late—six and sometimes seven days a week.

I tried to continue my protest, but Eley stormed off to the smoking room. So I headed off to the meeting at the Lawrence Barnes Elementary School in Burlington's hardscrabble Old North End.

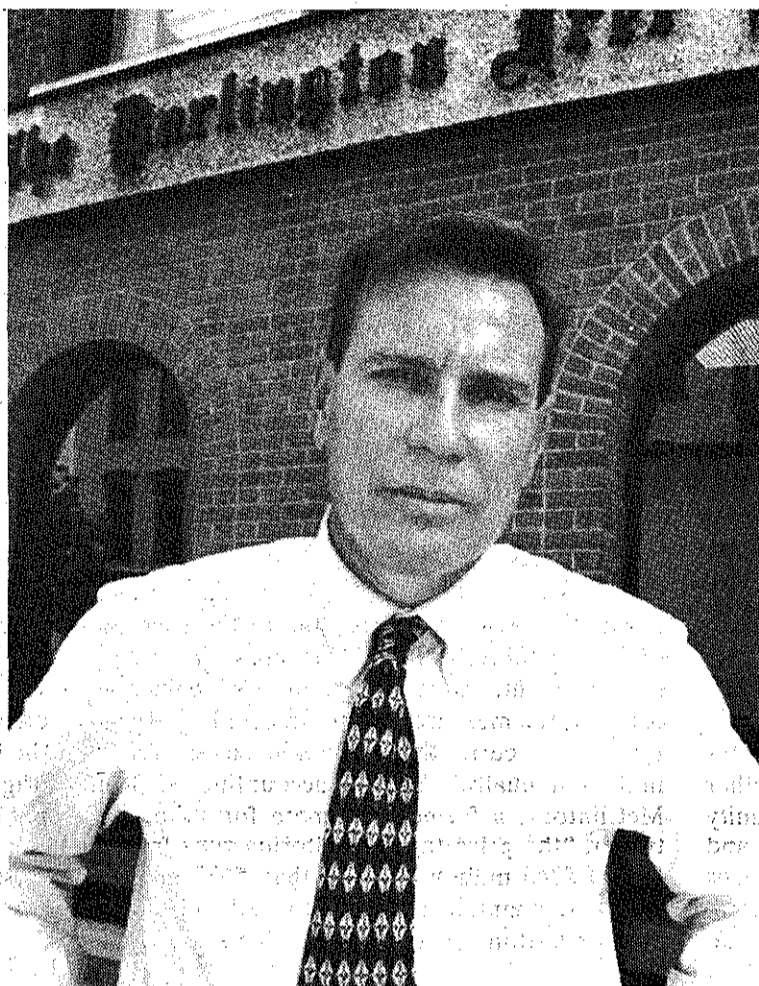
I got there at 7:20 and the first person I saw was Mike Richards, a cameraman for Channel 5, the local NBC affiliate. "This media-free zone is bullshit," he said as I came in. "This is the first time I've ever been told at a public meeting where I can point my camera."

Next I saw Christina McKenna, a talented

and attractive reporter for Channel 3, the local CBS affiliate, who later wound up at KIRO-TV in Seattle. "Have you heard about this media-free zone?" she asked. "It's outrageous."

McKenna looked over at the panel of community leaders, which included her boss, longtime Channel 3 anchor Marselis Parsons. "I don't have any choice," she said. And then, gesturing at my boss Judy Diebolt, also on the panel, she added, "And it looks like you don't either."

Before we could discuss the issue farther, Rodney Patterson took the microphone. He explained that the meeting was being held for minorities to tell their tales of racism. He also explained the



**Paul Teetor**

media-free zone and thanked the media for its cooperation. (Three years later, at the trial which was the direct result of this meeting, Patterson chuckled in the videotaped deposition and said he couldn't believe the media had ever agreed to what Diebolt testified was "a bonehead idea.")

The first hour of the meeting went just as Patterson said it would—members of minority groups stood up and told tales of local racism, many of them having to do with Police Chief Kevin Scully, while the panel of community leaders, including members of the media, listened intently. Then, suddenly, a classic case of racial discrimination—a woman being told she couldn't speak because of the color of her skin—occurred. I knew instinctively it was a news story, and the buzz that swept the room confirmed it. What I didn't know was that writing the story would cost me my job as an investigative/political reporter at Vermont's largest newspaper.

It was around 9 when the incident took place. I was in the front row with other reporters and photographers. Up at the microphone, Ellen Norton was ignoring the implied ground rules of the evening—only people of color can speak about racism. It was a taxpayer-funded event at a public building, and Norton was intent on having her say.

"I'm a fifth-generation Vermonter," she began, "and I didn't grow up with many blacks or Puerto Ricans. This is the whitest state in the nation, people. Give us a chance to get to know you."

Norton, a low-income white woman carrying her baby in a blue Snuggli, told the mostly minority crowd, "We're not bad people, and neither are you."

Patterson interrupted her: "Tonight's forum has specifically been designed for people of color. If you're coming to the microphone, we want you to come as a person of color to share your ethnic experiences."

"I'm afraid it will turn into a hate white thing," Norton continued.

Patterson interrupted her again, and continued to cut her off each time she tried to resume her plea for racial understanding. Finally he called for two assistants to escort her out of the room. The man next to me, Bill Aswad, president of the city council, shook his head in disgust: "I can't believe it. He's cutting her off."

As a three-time winner of the Reporter of the Year award from the Vermont Press Association, I at least knew a good story when I saw it. Irony has always been the quality that separates good journalism from mere stenography or gossip, and this incident was loaded with irony: a white woman subjected to discrimination by a black public official at a meeting on racism! In my mind, the *Free Press*' 130,000 readers counted on reporters like me to record this moment of confrontation that was so different from the pre-cooked, politically correct monologues that had come to pass for communication between the city's 95 percent white citizenry and the minority community.

The next speaker at the microphone, a black man named Roscoe Miller, reflected the sentiments of many in the room: "The lady's got something to say. Everybody should be allowed to say what's on their mind. That's what we're here for." Listening to him with one ear, I followed Norton—and my news instincts—out into the lobby where she had been hustled by Patterson's people. She was surrounded by several people trying to calm and keep her from crying by saying things like, "Try to understand how black people feel."

"Why are you crying?" I asked her.

"Because I was basically told to shut up because I'm white," she replied. "It was reverse racism."

One of Patterson's volunteers pointed out that the meeting was designed for people of color to describe their experience with racism.

"Yes, but I read the poster advertising the meeting and it didn't say anything about whites not being allowed to speak," said Norton, still in tears. "That's reverse racism."

Suddenly I was spun around by a large, heavy-set black man I had never seen before. "This interview is over," he said while trying to guide me away from Norton. "She's not saying anything else to you."

"Get your hands off me right now or we're going to have a major problem," I said in a low voice as I brushed his hands off my 10-year old brown tweed jacket with the missing buttons. "I'm Paul Teetor of the *Burlington Free Press*. Who are you?"

"My name's John Tucker, and I'm telling you that this interview is over."

I decided to let it go. It was almost 10 o'clock and I knew I'd have to get a response to Norton's charge of reverse racism and write my story by the 11 p.m. deadline.

I headed back into the cafeteria and looked for Patterson, whom I knew from covering the University of Vermont, where he had been the Director of Multicultural Affairs before taking the job as the mayor's top assistant.

"Rodney, why did you interrupt her?" I asked him.

"Because she wasn't speaking to the issue of racism."

"Come on, Rodney," I pressed him. "She was talking about racism. Why did you cut her off?"

"Because she wasn't speaking to the issue of real racism," he said.

Burlington is framed by the silvery blue water of Lake Champlain and the stoic majesty of the Green Mountains, and it's often named in those lists of the ten best places in the country published by glossy outdoors magazines. It's a postcard style, human scale New England city with six colleges, a thriving arts scene, and three viable political parties, one of which, the Progressive Party, has ruled City Hall for 13 of the last 15 years.

There was only one editor on duty, Julie Warwick, as I walked into the newsroom at 191 College Street. We quickly huddled to discuss the length and content of the story. It was now 10:33. I had 27 minutes to deadline. I told her the story