HETERODOXY
ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES

BURNED CHURCHES COMMISSEAR

A leftist propaganda officer flees from Marxist Grenada to Soviet-bloc Czechoslovakia, to Castro’s Cuba, to an insurrectionary New York tabloid, to Ben Chavis’ radical NAACP, and then, after witnessing (and arguably contributing to) the demise of nearly all of the above, he finds sanctuary with the National Council of Churches.

It sounds like a fable for our time, but it is also the true story of Don Rojas, who now directs the Council’s Burned Churches Fund for torched black houses of worship. If Rojas’ strange odyssey illustrates the shrinking universe in which doctrinaire adherents of the totalitarian left must now perform, it also once again underlines the way in which the flagship organization for America’s mainline churches has become a final haven for the Marxism that the rest of the world has rejected.

It is, in a way, the perfect meeting of a man and an institution, for it is the National Council of Churches, after all, that was the primary architect of the Great Church Arson Story of 1996. In the scenario it created, a series of reprehensible, but isolated, cases of burned black churches in the South were suddenly transformed into evidence of a resurgence of white bigotry and of a racism that was out of control. It was a scenario that allowed the National Council to raise over $10 million to deal with what it insisted was a “systemic” problem, not only from its own Protestant and Orthodox denominations, but also from the U.S. Catholic Bishops and various Jewish groups, and Ford, MacArthur, Rockefeller, and other large foundations. It was also a scenario that would be adroitly manipulated by the Clinton administration for political leverage in the election after an NCC delegation met with the President, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Attorney General Janet Reno last summer to demand federal action.

In a campaign designed to kindle public outrage, the NCC made flamboyant claims that more than 120 black churches had been struck since 1990. But the organization failed to note that, according to insurance industry figures, more than 4,000 American churches, generally, were hit by arson during this same time period. By the National Council’s own statistics, more than 20 percent of U.S. churches are black, which means that the 800 black churches would have needed to have been burned just to equal the rate of non-black church arsons from 1990 to 1996.

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INSIDE

GET THEE TO A BEST-SELLER LIST
OPHELIA SELF-ESTEEM PROBLEM
By Barbara Rhoades Ellis

"I made me want to take my daughters and live on a desert island," confesses one worried mother. A sixth grader says it made her "really scared about how people kind of use girls as objects." Library Journal finds it frightening. English Journal says it's heartbreaking. The women's movement must be calling it a bull's-eye. Or a cow's eye. Or whatever. Because finally a book of pop-feminism has hit the bigtime outside the feminist fold.

Revising Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls is a commercial sensation. Speeches by its author, Mary Pipher, Ph.D., are booked through 1997, and her appearances draw overflow crowds of anxious parents, teachers—the heart of the soccer moms. For two years Ophelia has been at or near the top of the New York Times paperback best-seller list, and bookstores are still receiving bulk orders.

Press accounts describe Pipher as down-to-earth, sincere, plain-spoken. She's a middle-aged clinical psychologist from Lincoln, Nebraska, married, with a daughter and son. In fact, the only option is lack credibility to Pipher and to Ophelia's dire message that cultural forces are causing catastrophic losses of confidence and personal identity in today's teenage girls. This message landed Pipher on Oprah and the Today show and got her written up in Time, Newsweek and People. When she spoke to a crowd of 500 at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., the head of the Cathedral's all-girls school read a letter to her from Tipper Gore (herself the mother of three girls): "Your books are like a lamp on a dark night, reminding us that we are not alone in the quest to raise thoughtful and caring human beings." Hillary Clinton has plugged Ophelia in her newspaper column and even had Pipher

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Alger’s Long Goodbye

May an exiled Cold Warrior, one of some half-dozen officials purged across the borders by the Hungarian government, the last one out being American Minister Seldon Chapin, during the months which culminated with the trial and conviction for treason of Cardinal Mindszenty in February 1949, have instigated a few critical comments regarding the Hiss-Chambers confrontation discussed in your December issue?

1. Both John Haynes and Peter Collier, invisibly refer to the subsequent trial and execution of the Rosenbergs in passing. I, for one, have difficulty in understanding why Hiss has not been brought to account in their case. Mr. Quayle, however, has the responsibility for the failure of President Truman and Eisenhower to condemn their sentences to life imprisonment. Indeed, had Alger admitted his role as explained by Chambers, the Rosenbergs would probably have gotten off with a prison term. The atmosphere of the time, unduly influenced by Alger’s partisans, proved fatal to them.

2. John Haynes offers his essay on the Hiss fraudulant manipulation of Dimitri Volkogonov in getting him to state that Russian archives, in effect, proved Hiss innocent. The American liberal media were all over the banners defending this accusation. Yury by Volkogonov’s retraction in the back pages. Haynes, however, misreads the episode by one year, a very telling year. This occurred not in 1991 but in 1992. Lovestall went to Moscow when it became apparent that a Democrat would be returned to the White House in the person of Bill Clinton. Clinton never assumed that the Hiss case would be brought against anyone, if he became president, as they had been against the Bush.

3. I am all in favor of Collier’s advocacy of a Whittaker Chambers posthumous state. But if it did not come about during the Reagan administration it may be too late now. Collier seems to assume that Reagan did award Chambers posthumously a Medal of Honor. The publicity which occurred brought about recognition of him as a rehabilitated individual. The public is not to be blamed for not realizing the relation between the fraudulant Hiss, and the falsification of history which has been our party-line since 1945 by means of a fantasy published in Time magazine. I believe you may have erred on this.

R.E. Samsen
Oregon

The article on Alger Hiss by John Haynes is excellent. However, the reference to the book by Allen Weinstein which would have made little difference if Haynes had noted that in the introduction, Weinstein said that when he began his inquiry he had assumed that Hiss had been francised.

Alex Drengart
Professor Emeritus
University of Oregon

John Haynes’ “The long Goodbye” of Alger Hiss,” December 1996, brings to mind some little known facts of cold war history and its sequelae that should not be forgotten. One of the most dedicated and persistent supporters of Hiss was Cordell lavender’s National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), which funded a “Whitaker Chambers and his associates” in the headquarters of the historic Flatiron Building in Manhattan displays art which displays Hiss as a Christ-like figure and pictures of him as a crucified victim. It is a veritable shrine to Hiss and, of course, to fellow-traveler Lavrentiev himself. In a long article on Hiss’s death in the Houston Chronicle for November 16, 1996, by Doug L. Swanson of the Dallas Morning News, it is stated that “one close friend and defender was John Henry Faulk, a broadcaster from Texas who was himself blacklisted in the 1950s for alleged leftist connections.” I had not heard of Faulk several times, and, no one occasion, he instigated on the innocence of the Rosenbergs and rallied militancy against those who had convicted and executed them as atomic spies.

Saul Alinsky, author of Pitcairn’s death, the main public library in Austin, Texas, has been named in his honor, and there is a John Henry Pitcairn Memorial Theater in town. A generation hence, histories will have great difficulty figuring out who was on the winning side and who was on the losing side in the Cold War.

We need not only a postage stamp commemorating the role of Whittaker Chambers, but also a number of museums and libraries to collect, interpret, and display the materials necessary to reconstruct an accurate account of the Cold War era and its villains and villains. A start might be made by coordinating, for possibility the headquarters of the NECLC in New York City and its remarkable documents and artifacts, to be designated Villains of the Cold War, while some philatelist could create a commemorative stamp for the Hiss of the Cold War.

Lawrence Cranberg
Austin, Texas

Gay Conservatives

Prompted by KBOO radio’s morning talk show host Les Rogers—who aptly characterizes himself as a man to “drive the liberals crazy”—my gay lover (yes, there are gay conservatives living in the heart of San Francisco’s Castro District) and I invited ourselves of your offer of a complimentary subscription to Heterodoxy. So impressed were we with the issue-oriented October issue that within days, we ordered a stack for a year’s subscription. Because my lover dined at political parties to bulleltionary Propaganda 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), and we both individually and jointly made considerable contributions to it, we were especially interested in Paul Cott’s insightful essay on one of America’s most courageous public servants, Ward Connerly, Regent of the University of California. Arriving within days of federal district judge Thumen Hecht’s egregious intrusion in the implementation of Prop 209, Mr. Connerly’s profile of Connerly stands as a study of a man who believes in more than just the ideals of opportunity without discrimination and preference based on race and gender; Connerly—his liberal detractors and Judge Henderson notwithstanding—also gives suppress respect and recognition to the duly expressed will of the American people through the ballot box. Together with Ward Connerly and the over whelming majority of Californians, my lover and I (by the way, we’re engaged and are currently as Americans just happen to be gay) that—is with the Maxell obstructionist tactics of the liberal left (are you listening, Judge Theodore Hamburger?—both the letter and the spirit of the California Civil Rights Initiative will prevail if we do not move forward.)

Gay conservatives—read “affirmative action”—are no less constitutional as they are un-American.

Thomas Edwards
San Francisco CA

Closed Minds

In his review of The Opening of the American Mind, John Erlich Vightlight shows holes through the academic insulation, if one can even call it, that Lawrence Levine’s book. His own closeted paragraph, however, needs a little shooting at as well. As his assertion that the Enlightenment has done anything to such the personal best, and other horrific sins of humanity is laughable. Need be reminded that the Holocaust was perpetrates by one of the most civilized and scientifically advanced nations of the day. Or that wholesale execution of people, in Soviet Russia, Communist Vietnam and Cambodia were brought about by the elite ruling class, all of whom suffered to some extent from their "enlightened" minds. Nor should we forget the more than 20 mil lions now lost to abortion in our own country. As for the "unique role" Europeans played in the abolition of slavery, this is hardly due to those abolitionists and who led the way. British abolitionists and their American allies are due considerable credit.

As for "this world cultural revolution," it is being led by much of what was unleashed precisely during the Enlightenment. Namely by the spasm of nationalism which is not absolute truth. A tragic misconception which was spawned at that time, and the only thing to come to a close complete state after "two hundred years."

Randall O. Young
Via eMail

Faux Rape

Thanks to Heterodoxy and K.L. Billingsley for the article "A Lamb to the Slaughter?" Russian Lamb has been a close friend for many years and I have followed in detail the dark and dangerous passage he and his family have been forced to navigate. As an outsider, one can never verify beyond doubt the facts of a given situation. But, having witnessed much of the dark court proceeding between Dr. Lamb and Ms. Gretzinger, and having followed, over the years, the development of evidence to the case, I can say that Dr. Lamb’s excommunication was not only inappropriate but preposterous, vivid and grotesque, as satisfyingly cut as life usually is. Ms. Gretzinger’s assertions, largely non-evidentiary case held together in almost none of its details. No one on the jury was fooled. Ms. Billingsley did the fact that, while Ms. Gretzinger’s charges were not only completely refuted, she herself was proclaimed by the jury guilty of slander, portraying another picture in a false light with malicious intent, and misuse of the legal process. Your article is refreshing and welcome artifac. Our own community media were not up to the job. Unfortunately, they displayed equal parts of fear mongering and bias, rendering their journalistic efforts virtually meaningless.

Don Hallock
Huntsville, Texas
REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

CAN AL GORE DO IT? It is everywhere, comrades.

The latest hit music and dance. Yes, it is the MARXIST. It is played exactly the same way as the former regime in Eastern Europe, with exactly the same motions and movements. But the Marxism makes you feel PROGRESSIVE, and part of the struggle for Socialism. So get into your disco clothes and do the MARXIST. Ready. Get your groovers together. Now, the MARXIST.

LUNA BEACH

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore

*100,000 for a night in the Lincoln bedroom? That's kind of old hat, all my friends have already done that but what will $200,000 get me?*

RED VIOLINITY: Suppose you are an American consular in a giving mood. Where do you go to get a bang for your buck after the fall of the wall? The Broderick-Schmitt Foundation of San Diego, "established to advance the principles of socialism," has identified worthy objects for its philanthropy. According to documents filed with the Federal Election Commission, the group hands out the Niebyl-Preyer Marion Library for Socialist Research along with the Democratic Socialists of America and the Communist Party USA. In fact, the foundation raised a health $10,000 to help the Communist Party hold their convention last April. The foundation also funds The Nation magazine for subscriptions to high schools and gives money to the ACLU. Who said the dream was dead?

ALL THINGS LITERATURE: Zeinab Khalid, the Cairo bureau chief for National Public Radio has hit the government's taxpayer-supported network with its fourth discrimination lawsuit in two years. Khalid, a Muslim and NPR's only black female reporter, charges she was refused a promotion twice, the first time given to white reporters, paid less than most white NPR overseas reporters, and denies a promotion she had been promised. Khalid says that Khalid's job performance is the problem and viene to fight it is. But NPR Vice President Kevin Jackson has admitted "perverse racism" at the network, including a two-tiered salary system for black and white. It's just not racist problems with the folks who produce All Things to attain from it before marriage. Awarded by this revolvet, Learer paced a comma before bringing up a more delicate topic. Some people said that during her husband's time she gave aid and comfort to the enemy. Given the fact that she had new ideas about slavery, had the older-generation women about her past support for Harriet Tubman and the American anti-slavery movement, Learer's perspective was important. "Among other things, there was no enemy. Everything I did was to get America out of that terrible war," Learer asked her if she had ever met Sen. John McCain, one of those who was being toasted at the party with a communist anti-aircraft gun, "No, I haven't," she said, ready to return to the subject of sex before marriage.

GAY RIGHTS: The Southern California Bisexual Council has voted to accept the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (MCC), a homosexual denomination which performs same-sex weddings and ordains 35,000 members in 35,000 members in 35,000 members. The movement is composed of long established churches. The Bible is a primary source of its beliefs, and homosexuality is viewed as a sin. However, the MCC official added "some things mean anything at all." But MCC officials have rejected Nader's view that increasing acceptance of homosexuality within liberal Protestantism would eliminate the need for the Metropolitan Community Churches. "Hate of black churches are not going out of existence," said the Rev. Nanci Wilmore. "There is still tremendous hate. A lot of unrepentant gay and lesbian people won't go to a mainline church. They go to worship in a community identified with their community."

PUBLIC CERVIX ANNOUNCEMENT: The spring and summer catalogs from Duke University Press feature as interesting book entitled Private Performances: Gynecology from the Body to the Speculum, written by Terri Kapsalis, a professor of "Performance Studies" at Northwestern University. The description of the book declares that "gynecology is not simply the study of women's bodies, but also serves to define and constitute them." Accordingly, the author "decodes the gynecological exam, relating it to the performance, and discourse, and discusses "processes of the pelvic examination outside the bounds of medicine," including a performance art piece called "Incredible Cervix Announcement," which is intended to "reveal the protean cultural attitudes and anxieties about women, female bodies, and female sexuality that pervade the discourse of gynecology." Since context is everything, the author suggests a "verse form which challenging, alternative performances can be sung." The Duke catalog leaves the precise dimension of the male prostate exams unmatched.

WHITE LIKE ME: Jeff Hitchcock is a 45-year-old psychologist who has dealt with race issues both in his career as a diversity consultant, conducting cultural sensitivity workshops for companies, and in his inter-racial marriage to a black woman. But Hitchcock was unprepared when an interview subject, discussing what seemed to be various cultural needs to do to get along in a multiracial world, said that white people needed to be more aware of their own whiteness. According to an Associated Press story, Hitchcock, "had been half-listening" until that statement. But then he took note. More than this, in April 1995, Hitchcock started the Center for the Study of White American Culture, operating out of a small office in his Roselle, home, the Center has an Internet and a newsletter. Last year, it sponsored a conference that brought together about 50 people from around the country to discuss the issue. "The only models we have for discussing whiteness are coming out of the KKK, the KLAN and the Aryan Nations, and that's not right," Hitchcock says. "We have to examine what it means to be white, but in a non-racist, non-patriarchal way. The organization's goal is to get white people to talk about and recognize themselves as a distinct cultural and racial group and to examine what role that group plays in the larger American society. Hitchcock hopes studying the issues will help whites gain a positive self-identity. "Many whites feel they have no culture, or they feel ashamed to be white because it's only about oppression," he says. "That shouldn't be the case. People should feel proud and alive because all cultures have good and bad points. We're not interested in building up the white culture, but we're not going to let it fall down, either." But Hitchcock's 900 page he might be a little surprised by another school of thought about whiteness, known as the New Abolitionist movement, which is gaining support in the multiracial community. There is no possibility of a positive white identity, says Noel Ignatiev, a lecturer at Harvard and an editor for Race Today, the journal of the New Abolitionists. "There is nothing to be positively redeemed about European culture, and whiteness is purely about the maintenance of privileges. "Working-class people accept the benefits of being white over the benefits of a better work situation. Instead of working with us, they work with us in the same position, they say, however bad we've got it, at least we're white."
Crime is going down and getting worse

Natural Born Killers

By Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley

Data showing juvenile crime arrest rates down 2.9 percent and murder arrest rates down 22.8 percent. He portrayed this as a result of his gunned down crime bill, which set out to put 100,000 new cops on the streets. But reality is far less rosy. Those new cops on the street—though the number is far less than 100,000—may have made life more difficult for street criminals in places like New York, where there has been success, not only in getting some more vehicle and package thieves off the street, but also in creating an atmosphere which indicates that public safety is being taken seriously. Three-strike laws and new prison construction in rate, and a new emphasis on an elaborate statistical public policy is under way and that the states, too, are getting

murdered. Residents of Los Angeles are less likely to die from a bullet than a traffic accident. A resident of a large American city, today, is more likely to be a victim of homicide than the average U.S. soldier in World War II. Chicago Fire collected statistics on gang-related homicides in 1964, when there were ten. By 1994, it was 242, "one every business day" says Nick House of the Illinois Department of Corrections. Responding to Clinton, Princeton, and New York, John Dillio, (Body Count), notes the actual number of serious violent crimes topped 4 million in 1992. Security measures and gun control were on the increase, Dillio notes, but laid not translated into a drop in crime. Last August, Bob Dole was picked for the cause of crime as "criminals," but criminologists and police reformers bring more definitions to its forensic realm. They warn of the "superpredators," a class of criminal hard-wired and programmed for violence, like Arnold Schwarzenegger's robotic "terminator." "As high as America's body count is today, a high tide of youth crime and violence is about to lift even higher," says Dillio. "A new generation of street criminals is upon us—the youngest, biggest, and bloodiest generation any society has ever known." This generation, he says, comprises "radically impulsive, brutally remorseless youngsters, including most of the prosecuteable boys, who murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal deadly drugs, join gun-toting gangs and create serious communal disorders." They will commit the most innocent acts for trivial reasons, such as a perception of "disres-pected." Nothing matters to them but sex, drug and money, and as long as their futile efforts hold out, they do, they are what comes "naturally." They are "radically present-oriented, and radically self-regarding. They lack empathy; they kill or maim or get involved in other forms of serious crime without much consideration of future possibilities or risk to themselves or others. The stigma of arrest means nothing to them."

Likewise, the fear of death. Like kamikaze pilots, or the Ayatollah's mar-tyrdom-seeking human bombs, the new breed of killer does not fear being killed, but rather exploits. The is the creed of John, the teenage murderer in River's Edge, who strangled a girl because he could have "total control over her," and later explained, "I have this philosophy, you do shit then you die." As Dillio and his co-authors William Barnett and John Walzen rate in Body Count, while the rate of murders by adults has declined more than 25 percent since 1985, the homicide rate among 12- to 19-year-olds increased by 0.1 percent and the rate of homicide committed by teenagers 14-17 more than doubled. Males 14-24 are now about 8 percent of popu-lation but represent 27 percent of all homicide vic-tims and 48 percent of all murderers. Between 1985 and 1992, the rate at which 14-17 committed murder increased by about 50 percent for whites and more than 300 percent for blacks.

"I laugh at the news about crime going down," says Sgt. Wes McBride of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, a national authority on guns. "Those violent little monsters out there and we are making a whole generation of them. A priest said don't demonize them. I say that's what they are." McBride says that the up-and-corners often strike fear into the hearts of even older gang members. "The older guys say we can't just go out and walk our cars." And if the young thugs decide to shoot it up they "can't talk anybody." James Q. Wilson, the nation's premier crimi-nologist, describes the young folk of today as "oral pre-social beings" and estimates that by the year 2000 there will be one million more people in the 14-17 bracket, which now counts 7.5 million boys. Some 6
A 16-foot, 8-inch, 300-pound Jean Edward Paschal of San Diego could easily hold his own with the biggest NFL linemen. But it was not his practice to pick on people his own size. One night last October, the 21-year-old Paschal snatched his live-in girlfriend Bridget Read 61 times. Then he dragged her body into the living room, picked up the phone, and positioned a nationwide phone call on the local cable outlet. As he watched the defensive line on the screen, he stripped the sashes from Read's tail-waves body and had sex with the punctured, bloody corpse, as the couple's two boys, ages two and three, lay screaming in the corner. At 5:20 a.m. the next day, a man on a bicycle looking for a lost dog came to the house where she had been last seen. He saw her lying on the floor and called police, who arrived and found the body. Read's mother, who had been watching the game on television, ran to the house and found her daughter's body. She was buried in a cemetery near where she had been last seen.

Read was widely covered by a bewildered media. Other cases are not. On September 8, 1992, Rodney Eugenio Solano and Bernard Eric Miller, two young men from Washington, D.C., boarded a train from New York to Miami. They attacked a black man in a bar and beat him. The attackers tossed a 30-year-old mother of two, Serita, into the street, then dumped the body by the side of the road. The attackers then drove away.

Earlier this year, a 40-year-old woman driving down a street in Orange, California, saw two men spraying graffiti on a garage and approached them, hoping to stop them. They shot her, wounded her, and then fled.

In January, a 3-year-old girl died in a fire at her home. Her body was recovered in her bed. The fire was caused by a candle.

The week after the girl died, a man was arrested for murder.

In 1999, a 16-year-old girl was hanging out with a group of friends when she was attacked by a group of young men. She was taken to the hospital with life-threatening injuries. The attackers were charged with attempted murder.

This is not true of the teenage gang of today. On Halloween night, 1993, in Pasadena, Herbert McLeish, 26, Lorenzo Newman, 26, and Karl Holmes, 21, gunned down Stephen Costs and Roger Crawford, both 14, and Edgar Evans, 13, all promising students. The victims died only yards from their homes. According to witnesses, the two killers "appeared to be calm" as they left the scene.

It is said of gangbangers that they are "cruel and cold." This is not true of the teenage gang of today. They are human beings, just like us. We are all capable of empathy, of caring for others, of actinghumanely. We are all capable of love, of friendship, of community. We are all capable of making a difference in the world.

The age of the victim is intrinsically

The next time you see a teenage gang member, think about what you can do to help. Think about how you can make a difference in the world. Think about how you can be a part of something greater than yourself. Think about how you can be a part of something greater than yourself.
brutality. The answer requires tracing consequences back to their original ideas.

"Since the late 19th century there has been a prevalent opinion that society is more to blame for crime than the criminal," writes psychiatrist Stanton Samenow in Inside the Criminal Mind, grappling with a problem that is part of the genetic structure of the Left. More recently, "criminologists assert that the inner-city youngster responds with rage to a society that has excluded him from the mainstream and made the American dream beyond his reach. Social control, that crime is a normal and adaptive response to growing up in the soul-searing conditions of ghettos like White and the South Bronx. The only trouble with this social theory, Samenow found, was that they did not square with reality.

It was "unanswerable and racist," Samenow said, to assume that because a person is poor or a minority he is inadequate to cope with his environment and therefore could not become a criminal. He found that violent criminals come from all strata of society and just poor areas, that they had rejected their parents, the other way around, and that they were not forced into a life of crime and violence but rather chose it. Criminals know right from wrong and believe that whatever they want to do at any given time is right for them. Their crimes require logic and self-control."

He concludes that "crime resides within the minds of human beings and is not caused by social conditions." Further, "there are people who are exploitative, harmful, and violent no matter what the laws are.

And no matter, one should add, how much the government spends. The rise in crime in Los Angeles paralleled a five-fold increase in social spending since the 1960s. Lack of money is not the problem. Ecologist Bob Dale, Samenow says that criminals themselves are the problem. Criminals are "at heart a minority" and believe that taking a job means "to sell your soul, to be a slave." The criminal "believes that he is entitled to whatever he desires... Many of the criminal's fantasies range beyond what is feasible, but once he comes up with an idea that seems plausible, he nourishes it until he is positive that he can enact it without a hitch... Wherever the criminal is, he is visualizing people and property as opportunities for conquest." Criminals "crave power for its own sake, and they will do virtually anything to acquire it. Ineptitude in their desire for power and weakness in their exercise of it, they care very little whom they injure or destroy.

Every step of today's juvenile justice system, says Paul McNulty, a former Department of Justice official, reflects its orientation toward treatment and rehabilitation and away from accountability and punishment. In this system, one finds not criminals but "delinquents," who are not assessed but "taken into custody," not convicted but "detained," not charged with crime but "referred to the court," not tried but given a "hearing." There is no sentence, just a "finding of delinquency" and a "placement" in a detention center or residential facility.

Morgan Reynolds, director of criminal justice for the National Center for Policy Analysis, says it is "neither justice nor a system" and calls for abolition. Carniously, the juvenile system began in 1899 in Cook County, Illinois. Today, the juvenile court system is a win or lose system, which means it is a win or lose system. It is a win or lose system. The government can build prisons, but it cannot obliterate the moral povery that causes violent crime. It is a win or lose system. The government can build prisons, but it cannot obliterate the moral poverty that causes violent crime. It is a win or lose system. The government can build prisons, but it cannot obliterate the moral poverty that causes violent crime.

"A lot of the factors I cited as myths are still there, particularly in juvenile cases," he says. "There is still more than ever the tendency to look at factors outside the individual." This, in effect, makes crime more easy to occur and the effect on juvenile criminals is predictable. "They know the system and do what they want to do," he says. The system, in effect, has become the producers' bridge to the twenty-first century.

Out on the front lines, Wes McBride has watched as 16 years of gang warfare have claimed 7,300 lives in Los Angeles. This body count of human suffering has prompted tough, federal anti-gang legislation from Dianne Feinstein. But the Los Angeles city council, locked heavily by the criminals-are-victims crowd, including a liberal priest who stumped Dolores Huerta's criminal-cause cause as an "argument of the clumsiest uncertainty ever made on crime in America," rejected the measure as a plot to throw children in jail.

"They didn't believe youngsters should be locked up and held responsible," McBride says. "They are assigning blame for everybod's but the things themselves. We need to start making the little things take responsibility." For some, that may entail denying them for long terms sooner, rather than later. But such warnings seem to go unheeded. So what will it be like in 2001?

"We will be in the midst of anxiety with homelessness in the streets," says McBride, citing the movie Defiance Man. "We already have little cities forming, gated communities. That's where we are planning to move.

Call it the violence inherent in the system.
Tales From The Black Studies Ghetto

BY ANITA SUSAN GROSSMAN

Black Studies 300 is one of nine core courses required of undergraduate majors. The San Francisco State University catalogue describes it as follows: "Early African civilization and the pre-colonial era, survey of the history of the ancient empires of Nubia, Ethiopia, Congo, Zimbabwe, Zululand, etc. History of colonialism; pattern of annexation, the journey of Africans from Africa to the Caribbean, Latin and South America and the United States."

In the summer of 1973, the late Dr. Ola T'Shaka, formerly known as William Bradley, a name he disdained during the days of the Black Power movement, T'Shaka is perhaps the single most influential figure in the Black Studies program at San Francisco State. As chairman from 1966 through 1968, he helped shape the curriculum, and he served as its spokesman both on campus and in the wider academic community. Although his chief interest is politics and not "melanin theories," T'Shaka occupies a niche at San Francisco State University similar to that of Leonard Jeffries at City College of New York. T'Shaka is no anti-semitic, but he resembles Jeffries in the extremity of his rejection of white America and his promotion of Afrocentric "scholarship." He has contributed to the corpus in recent years by his own writings, such as The Art of Leadership and his most recent book, Return to the African Mother Principle of Male and Female Equality, Vol. I (1995).

Although he had only a B.A. from San Francisco State, T'Shaka began teaching at his alma mater in 1972, and after a series of promotions achieved the rank of full professor and head of the department. By 1991 he had also acquired a Ph.D. from the Institute for Research, an institution in Berkeley, California, that is not accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. The first meeting gave an overview of the course, but it was less a coherent presentation of particular subject-matter than a revelation of Professor T'Shaka's teaching style—one characterized by abrupt jumps from topic to topic and a rapid-fire delivery of offhand allusions that frequently remained unexplained.

The course, Professor T'Shaka announced, would deal with ancient African history and civilization. The Americans, he said, "in the absence of black history, we will deal with in a certain way." What this "certain way" was, he did not explain. He became clear as the class progressed, however, that there would be a good deal of crossbreeding between the ancient and modern world, and that any comparisions involving present-day America would redound to the latter's discredit.

We were told that Kesh was the Biblical name for the world's most ancient civilization, a land called Ti-Set or Nubia by the Egyptians, and Ethiopia by the Greeks. T'Shaka then narrated an event about William Leo Hansberry, the black historian whose work we would be reading. Hansberry, we were told, had wanted to pursue a doctorate in ancient African history but the project was killed because the scholarship establishment, according to "Reiner" at Harvard, deemed the validity of Hansberry's research project on ancient black history as "unrealistic." According to "Reiner," the ancient Egyptians were white people, and Hansberry's claim to the contrary was not reliable, "isn't he more reliable than you?" Hansberry is supposed to have returned, Hansberry went on to Cambridge University only to be told there that they had no way of evaluating his work on such a topic, so he had instead at Howard University.

We were given no historical context for this jumble of anecdotal details and outright allusions. What precisely were Hansberry's claims concerning the existence of ancient "black" civilizations? What evidence was presented for them and has it been accepted by competent archaeologists and historians? Who was "Reiner"? [I.e., George Reiner, a distinguished Egyptologist and archaeologist] and when did the exchange with Hansberry take place? Professor T'Shaka failed to explain who Herodotus was, or why his supposed remark about the ancient Egyptians being Negroes is accepted only by Afrocentrists.

T'Shaka said that "Keshet" (Egypt), which emerged as a world power in 2000, is the oldest daughter of "Keshab" (Ethiopia). T'Shaka remarked parenthetically that the name "Europe" comes from the Queen of Cardisage, a black woman (a claim which seems to be a total fabrication). Keshet is to Africa what Greece is to Europe, he informed us. Referring to what he called "the mothering influence of Keshet," he explained that "the flowering of civilization occurred in Egypt," whose civilization was "the greatest single achievement." The instructor made no attempt to cite the civilization of Babylonia or Sumerians, ancient contemporaries of the Egyptians, by way of comparison.

Instead he merely asserted that the Egyptians' accomplishments, buttressed by "power above most of them," that is, "Keshet," his "mother." T'Shaka added that Eurocentric education, with its Greek bias, is a recent invention, and that Socraes, Plato, and Pythagoras—which he mispronounced as "Pythagoras"—all went to Keshet for their education. These claims, as Mary Lefkowitz (Not Out of Africa) and other scholars have shown, are patently untrue.

The West is proof of what happens when...
scientific knowledge is used for materialistic ends, T'Shaka informed the class. As examples of this misuse of knowledge, he observed that Henry Ford financed Adolf Hitler, and that major corporations had been "in bed" with Hitler. He noted that the 1930s decade was born in this country and dropped on an Asian people.

The "mystery system" of ancient Kemet, we were told, involved a set of temples and higher education—it was a "sacred science" as opposed to secular education today, which is unspiritual. T'Shaka instructed that the mystery included slavery and disrespect for the role of women. Ancient Egypt also had slavery, he conceded, but it wasn't the foundation of society.

One of the great mysteries of ancient Kemet, he added, was the name of his country. Kemet, in the ancient language, would soon be known as Saudi Arabia was called Sameria in ancient times, he declared, adding that Persia was Africa in its very beginnings. (Since Persia is in Asia, next to Afghanistan, it was unclear what he meant by this.) Egypt is in Africa, he reminded the class, although Western historians don't stress the fact. Moreover, the biblical Moses was black, as were the original Jewish people. In fact, Moses was a student in the mystery system, which involved the purification of the mind. This is something that black people can understand, T'Shaka explained. People can get the message. D.K. and you believe in the King if they don't possess the knowledge of the self.

On the subject of music, Prof. T'Shaka praised rap as a cultural innovation of black people. Classical music didn't originate in Africa; he observed; the one musical art found developed by white people in this country is still music. European music was written for the white man—only the blues and the blue are black, but when they're interpreting it, reproducing the form but not the substance of the music.

We also were informed that Indians lived in harmony with nature, and that the United States is the most warlike of all countries. According to Prof. T'Shaka, our government is based on the Iroquois confederacy, for Franklin and Jefferson had no model in Europe for uniting the thirteen colonies. However, while they adopted the form of Indian political life, the Founding Fathers did not absorb the true spirit of freedom in the Iroquois confederacy, which had extended equality to women—unlike the U.S. Declaration of Independence, which merely said, "All men are created equal."

The instructor then turned to the topic of voodoo, to which he pronounced "voodooism" and said derived from ancient Egypt. (There is, of course, no credible evidence that the pharaonic Egyptians influenced the animalistic beliefs of the West African blacks from whom American blacks are descended.) Speaking of the survival of African music in New Orleans, T'Shaka remarked, cryptically, "We hid it behind the Othirhas." Prof. T'Shaka did not define Othirhas for the class, although in his book The Art of Leadership he stated that Christian figures were a "cover"

He made bewildering references to "eaters" in ancient Kemet, which likewise went unexplained.

Prof. T'Shaka briefly touched on Nat Turner's slave rebellion, describing Turner as a minister who "spewed" [sic] the slaves. In seconds we had moved to the subject of the Gulf

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**Black Studies 201: Black Involvement in Scientific Development**

Black Studies 201 was the title of the course until 1991, when its name was changed to "Kemet, Afrocentricity and Education." From 1990 through 1996, BLS 201 was taught by Grant Venerable, who embarked also on an ambitious project to enlarge the science-connected offerings of the Black Studies Department. In 1994, three other such courses were introduced, all taught by Venerable: Black Studies 211 ("Kemetic Strategies in Physical Science I"); BLS 213 ("Kemetic Strategies in Physical Science II"); and BLS 401 ("Kemet, Afrocentricity, and the Structured Whole."). While three of Venerable's courses helped fulfill general education requirements toward graduation, none of them counted toward a science degree at San Francisco State.

Prof. Venerable announced his dissatisfaction with this state of affairs in an interview in the student newspaper, The Golden Gator (May 12, 1996). The College of Science and Engineering (despite its 1970 doctrine in chemistry from the University of Chicago), Venerable left San Francisco State in August 1996 for Chicago State University. That school would immediately transientize the Departments of Ethnic Studies and Chemistry, as well as the post of Associate Provost for Academic Affairs. In part from San Francisco State, Venerable accosted the College of Science and Engineering of being "deeply entrenched in white supremacy" (The Golden Gator, Oct. 3, 1996). In a subsequent letter to the Gator (Oct. 24, 1996), he denounced their "foolish judgments on what constitutes science," and alleged that the Chemistry Department was "failing over itself to hire every undistinguished non-black that comes along at part-time.

Black Studies 201 is one of nine core courses required of Black Studies majors at San Francisco State. The class meeting of "Black Involvement in Scientific Development" I attended began with Dr. Venerable directing the students to stand hand-in-hand in a circle. We were asked to recite, in unison, the names of our mothers, grandmothers, and so on, as far back as we could; and to do the same with our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and so forth. Dr. Venerable also pointed out, naming the various generations of his family and moving with the students in a circle, first clockwise and then reversing the direction. He explained that in his directer movement we were both engaging and summoning the "Nubian Vortex."

Dr. Venerable gave no explanation of the term, except that it was an ancient cosmic cycle of 17,700 years, and "collecting life on earth, as well as the larger scheme of things."

While walking slowly around the room, the students were to listen to the heartbeat of their heart and to focus on the "center." The instructor chanted in a deliberate, repetitive manner different from his normed speaking voice. Among other things, he intoned:

> Energy is always alive, radiating, vibrating. ... A person's name is energy, not a material, say the knowledge-hold- ers. All existence is cosmic energy, say the knowledge-holders. All energy vibrates, all energy is connected, say the knowledge-hold- ers. ... Energy brings distinctive- ness to each individual body, says the knowledge-hold- ers. The child seen as material cannot be raised, say the knowledge-hold- ers. ... The child seen as material is destined life, says the knowledge-holders. This is the Nubian Vortex.

When the students returned to their seats, they were told to talk with their nearest neighbor in the room and find out each other's name and astrological sign.

Dr. Venerable announced that the university was governed by two principles, namely, "of being self-constructed, self-generated, self- regulating, and self-organizing..." (How this made three principles and not four he did not explain.)

Venerable told a story about the fall of Luxor, which had been damned by God for refusing to bow down before "the human group, a special creative one" that God had asked its seniors to honor. Satan told God, "You are my top lover," and refused to worship "the human group." For his loyalty, he was sent away, and afterwards the phrase "Go to HELL" reminded Satan of "the love of his life." Venerable said that his legend was recounted in Joseph Campbell's The Power of Myth, but he gave no hint of its ultimate derivation. He also claimed that the word "Satan" was the etymology of the Egyptian deity Set.

A group, we were told, is a special kind of "closed" set. The term "closed" has two different meanings over time. It now connotes "protoplasms," but originally it had to do with:

- constructive completeness, generalis- sation, the ability of the set to self-construct, to self-construct, what that means, if the set is closed, you have closure... its closed to degenerative stuff. So closure means if you have an element A of a set, it acts upon element B of the set, it creates an element C, and that ele- ment C also belongs to the same set as A and B, then that set constitutes a group by definition. We are a set unto ourselves, and we are the group. We're a subgroup in here of humans, the whole human genus.

When you were born, he told the student's parents, you were named as "a mem- ber of the set" and declared "that the set must be a group." Therefore, "people had the mathemat- ical right to call themselves groups, espe- cially when they gathered together like this."

The interaction of different properties of different people can produce interesting effects, he continued. Property a may be compatible with reciprocally or complement [he wrote this out in mathematical notation as a x e] and when those two come together, thereof recognition of reciprocity. What comes out of it is that you may find a sociometric in a stronger in a process whereby a quality in you compliments a quality in the other, and "all kinds of spiritual energetic flows off of it." In algebra it is called "bichromy" and "this is a multiplicity group when you're multiplying these things."

An "additive group" was another kind of unit formed of two people. People are looking for people with a certain income level, they find them, and that person is looking for somebody of a certain appearance, qualifications, they find them [he wrote on the blackboard the equation: a + a = (a + _a) = 0]. Those two qualities comple- ment in an additive way, produce a unity called zero in algebra.
Was, which T’Shaka said was being waged "against people who look just like you."

In a discussion of the syllables, consisting of eight unnumbered pages, Prof. T’Shaka pointed to the present age of Spanish history was under the Moors from 711 A.D to 1491, a time when black people ran Spain. According to T’Shaka, Spain was "the last great power world we had."

By the year 2003, according to Professor T’Shaka, people of color will be a majority in the United States—that is, added, if we have been dominated color is "color." The college, as he noted, was not of color, and operated in a Eurocentric framework. Hence they advocate the adding of just a little multiculturalism.

Next on the agenda with was known classic Greek-bashing. Aristotle wrote 400 books, so good how could be, T’Shaka asked the class. Better to be written that many books who he said he no teacher in mathematics in Greece.

Aristotle said that the earth did not move around the sun, presumably we were to take this as evidence of his badness.

The Afrocentric writer John Henik Clarke, whom T’Shaka referred to as a "great black thinker," said that slavery structured our capacity to dream. We need a vision of a better society, he asserted—and almost anything would be better than the one we have now. As evidence of the flaws in our society, Prof. T’Shaka pointed to the homeless people in the streets—adding that "this is not his brother." Moreover, the white population of the country is hardly reproducing itself, and there is vast nonwhite immigration. How do you level off the nonwhite population, but ask him answered his question with the example of Vietnam, when "they past a farm on the front line"—meaning that blacks were put in the most dangerous positions. This course, we were told, would show us how to "use the past for the present." Prof. T’Shaka assured us that "African people aren’t perfect" and that "this isn’t a course in romanticism."

Considering all that had been said during the class period, the disclaimer was not particularly convincing. No reading was assigned at this or the next meeting. We later learned that texts would not be in the bookstore for another two weeks.

The Second Class Meeting

The class period was devoted to Middle Eastern history by way of background for the Gulf War. Prof. T’Shaka presented the class with a stopgap recital of facts and figures on the Middle East in the twentieth century. He stressed the importance of the October War and the satellite countries. Further, the Western countries had been among the first to recognize the Seven Sisters, were comments on the ancient and middle Near East.

The selected readings covered the tenor of the day’s lectures. Prof. T’Shaka reminded about how his father had been called up for military duty during World War II. The elder Bradley told his draft board that no Japanese had ever tried to淋巴 him or called him insulting names, and promised "if you arm me, I’m gonna shoot my real enemies." According to

As can be seen, Dr. Venerable employed the language of mathematics to embolden what were actually obscure observations about human relationships. Terms like "group," "collection," "set," and "identity," borrowed from everyday speech, have been developed by mathematicians with specific and specialized meanings. Venerable reversed this process, returning them to colloquial parlance. Since he had explained to his class the algebraic reasoning for the terms he used, the jargon served only to mystify his audience, when nothing profound had been said. Thus the multipli-
cation process of a group, which yields the number 1, is made to represent romantic love or spiritual union; the addition of a number with its neg-a-
inve produces a zero is apparently used to nullify more external (e.g., physical, social) bases of attraction.

The instructor also resorted to peculiar analogies from biology. The child is born without an identity because of what Venerable described as a defective immune system. Other animals don’t get identity like human get [sic] identity, so their immune systems are built differently.

They’re made aware so they’re self-con-tained; everything is inside, portable, separable, easily controlled. . . . A baby [is] born through a chemical iden-tity cause they have no official person-al (individual) identity yet. The immune system functions on the outside, Without identity, there’s no immune system, so the child is packaged with a myxomatous gland that produces antibodies for it.

Returning to the Bible, Dr. Venerable said that Adam and Eve were actually "discreti-
cial elements within yourself"; by "discrivial," he meant that "they’re complementing the other with different facets of your self." (Probably he was mistaking "discrivial" for "discriminant"—both the Hebrew and, to a lesser extent, the Greek versions of the word "Adam" derive from the Egyptian word "Atum," the “ chancellor,” he claimed—and he linked these with the Greek and English word "anomia," which has to do with "some elementary property of life." These were "all the same word," we were told. Once again Venerable’s etymology was erroneous; "anomia" in classical Greek means "a thing out of place," "inharmonious," it would be from the "a" prefix ("not") + "nomos" (from "nomos," meaning "to cut.")

According to Venerable, Cain and Abel represented different facets of humanity. The Hebrew words "Cain" and "Abel" meant, respectively, "carpenter" and "breath," with the latter meaning given how he called the "animal part of us... Just breathing, living, breathing, and existing." (This etymology is half-right: although the Hebrew word "Abel" indeed means "breath," the word "Cain" is actually "soil," "trashworker," or "craftsman." Venerable’s interpretation of the principles represented by Adam and Eve came together, their union cre-ated immortal human properties. Cain was "a man in spiritual terms who is taking care of "the" (the organism) "cassowaries" came into being and overpowered the unconscious, gentle animal nature that lives in nature. And those two were meant to be beloved, not one dominating the other." The general drift of Venerable’s remarks was that Eurotopia have allowed their technology to run amok, destroying the natural harmony enjoyed by non-Western cultures."

"The Bible is full of black people," Venerable went on, and claimed that white writers of the past two hundred years have totally misinter-
terpreted the phrase on Cain when they argue that Cain’s descendants were "all" intended to be black, and that was intended to be a curse." He did not elaborate on which white writer ever argued this point, but merely declared that on the contrary, the situation was quite the opposite. Cain was "the conscious approach to the structured whole." Although Abel was killed in the Biblical account, the Abel quality lived in subsinu-
sion to the Cain quality in our relative selves. And different societies has [sic] put different amounts of this quality over and under. In European society, Cain has been established and raised to the hillsops more than in other societies. In the so-called Third World societies, Cain is more kept on a plane before they were intruded or by colonialism. So these were more in balance.

The Cain and Abel story that is an Afrocentric allegory, with Cain representing Western culture, technology, and science, and Abel the natural world unstructured to logical analysis. Instead of the two co-existing with the logical theory—one element is allowed to dominate the other.

Cain’s descendant Jubal was the mythical inventor of the organ, we were told. (There is in fact no such account to the brief mention of Jubal in Genesis 4:21, where Jubal is simply described as an "instrument of parallel and the structured whole," having "complementarity duality built into its operation." By this meant that the organ allows us to do "two paradoxically impossible things to do together," namely, to play with both a stringed instrument and a wind instrument. This union of opposites is the reason that his friend Terence Stanford named his equation "Jubal." He wrote the so-called "Jubal equa-
tion" on the board, explaining that it was:

The last class meeting was devoted to the theory of relativity. The instructor introduced a new concept called "the concept of contiguity." He explained that if you interconnect [sic] can travel with another that cannot be together. They’re total opposites, they’re total in different world. This less you play the flute and the stringed instrument together, changes occur, holds them together in the same space.

The equation Venerable wrote out was:

Unfortunately, anyone who raise his high school algebra, this is mathe-
matical gibberish, it produces resultslike 2 = 0, and 2 = 1.

Dr. Venerable contrived Afrocentric unity of thought symbolized by the Biblical equa-
tion with the instability of what he called the "Greek" or "Ecoocentric" mind to reconcile opposition. Whereas in Wagnarian opera, for example, good and evil are constantly battling to kill each other, in "Kemetic" myth the inter-de-pendence of universal opposites is stressed. The godess Isis allowed Set, the killer of her husband Osiris, to escape punishment, Venerable explained, because "the [Set] was a discrivial element needed to maintain the bal-
ance of nature. He continued.

Set represented the dryness of the Nile Valley; Osiris represented the moisture. You can kill dryness. Moisture can get out of control, and you have constant flooding. If you kill moisture, dryness can get out of control, and you have drought constantly.

The Jubal equation offers space and time, Venerable continued, likening it to Einstein’s theory of relativity. "Mathematicians never want to deal with it, didn’t want to know what it meant. It had popped up in Germany. Einstein was aware of it."

Dr. Venerable’s bracketing of Brainwashed, a high school mathematics teacher and Einstein’s only discovery of his mathematical universal order is bizarre, to say the least.

For the next class meeting we were going to think about special relativity. We were to come in Thursday prepared for a thrill and we have your mind blown away." Somewhat alarm-
antly, Dr. Venerable advised us not to eat too much breakfast or before the class.

The next meeting did indeed bring fur-

—A.S.
T"Shake, as a result of "cousin out the draft board," his father received a 4-F classification. "I followed in my father's footsteps," he added somewhat cryptically.

In discussing the Middle East, Prof. T"Shake explained that "Tigris-Euphrates means 'between two rivers' because it splits off, and so Iraq is known as 'the nation between rivers.' (This is of course wrong: the word he was searching for is 'Mesopotamia.') Iraq had a great civilization called Mesopotamia, he went on, and said that some historians "stretch it back as far as 3,500 B.C.E." But he said "we know it doesn't go back that far." The reason for the disagreement is that experts on ancient Sumeria, which, he explained, was a black civilization located in the area that is now Saudi Arabia, "try and date Sumeria before Egypt." Such historians "put Sumeria at 4,000 B.C." But Egypt didn't arise until 3300, he stated, "and we know Egypt precedes Sumeria, even as Ethiopia precedes all of them, so there's some problems with dates...."

In fact, historians and archaeologists concur in describing Sumerian civilization as being at least coeval with that of ancient Egypt, and their cuneiform writing as antedating hieroglyphs. Moreover, ancient Sumer was not located in what is now Saudi Arabia, but in modern-day Iraq, and even to say that Iraq "had" a great civilization called Mesopotamia is to imply a direct cultural and biological continuity between the ancient and modern inhabitants of this area which does not exist. (Today's Iraqis are Arabs, who are a Semitic people; the Sumerians were not a Semitic people, were not Africans, and were not Negroes.)

On the subject of why Germany and Japan were prohibited from sending large military forces abroad, T"Shake said that he understood why the Japanese would probably be reluctant to engage in such activities:

"Because this was a country that had two nuclear bombs dropped on them after they surrendered in World War II. Did you all know that Japan had already surrendered when we dropped those bombs on 'em? And the reason they dropped those bombs on them was, one, they were a yellow nation—because they [the U.S.] had had those bombs and couldn't have dropped them on Germany.... There was a lot more reason to drop them on Germany, but they didn't. And remember, the Japanese were put in concentration camps in World War II; the Germans were not. So I think that Japan would have reluctance to enter into a war in which they'd be doing in other people of color."

Of all the misrepresentations of historical fact I heard in Black Studies classes at San Francisco State, Prof. T"Shake's remarks here are probably the most outrageous. Here we have the Big Lie (two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan by the U.S. after Japan had surrendered) surrounded by a cloud of smaller ones, such as the claim that the bomb was available to drop on Nazi Germany but was deliberately not used because of feelings of white racial solidarity.

Dr. Anita Suren Grossman has taught at several universities. She wishes to thank Dr. John H. Bunzel of the Hoover Institution for his help in this project. An article co-authored by Dr. Bunzel and Dr. Grossman, focusing on other classes at San Francisco State, will appear in the spring 1997 issue of The Public Interest.
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Don Rojas—Revolutionary Tourist

In route to Angola, Rojas read a message from the official new agency of the Angolan regime, that the capabilities of the news agency were "impressive." And he noted, as a tip that should be implemented back home, that radio broadcasts are punctuated "frequently" by short speeches from "party leadership.

Historically, Angola has been a key staging point for socialist movements, and it was not unusual for Rojas to receive training from Soviet news agency, Radio Free Georgia, the outlet. And he agreed to provide a regular flow of Soviet videos for Soviet media. Novosti, another Soviet news agency, agreed to supply copy and printing materials to the Ethiopian regime.

During an April 1983 visit with Soviet officials in Moscow, Rojas was taken to be a "template" for the English-language weekly, "Soviet News Agency." Rojas arrived for Granada's journalists to receive training from Soviet news agencies.

Rojas described Manley as "warm, buoyant, and on the surface, regular." But his impressions changed when, in subsequent meetings with other Jamaican leaders, he was told that Manley was shifting the party's "right" in order to position himself as a "centrist" in the international community. The socialists condemned Manley's opportunistic "red-baiting." Afterward, Rojas described Jamaica's newly elected, pro-U.S. prime minister, Edward Seaga, as "the only one who understands the need for change in Jamaica."
nized the organization's first "fact-finding tour" of black U.S. journalists to the Soviet Union, East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

After years of tense relationship with the S.O.C., Rojas lived in Cuba, where he had formed lasting relationships during his service with Maurice Bishop. He was named secretary for propaganda and information of the Anti-imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. The group had been founded in Havana in 1984 to oppose "imperialist military intervention of our region." Members included the Cuban Communist Party, the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua, and the FMLN guerrillas of El Salvador, along with most other major Marxist movements in the Caribbean region.

In 1988, Rojas edited a booklet for the Anti-imperialist Organizations called We Are People From One, One Caribbean, to oppose "Washington's criminal invasion of Grenada" and its "murderous neocolonial war against Nicaragua." It was meant also to assert the fact that Puerto Rican was still under direct U.S. colonial rule." Rojas boasted that the Grenada revolution had "helped pave the way for our collective unity," since it had been the first "anti-imperialist revolution" of the English-speaking world. He had the "victory" of the Cuban, Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions for creating a common vision for the Caribbean people. Rojas also stated that his group had come to Nicaragua in 1986 to honor the 25th anniversary of the Sandinistas' victory.

Rojas, a revolutionary tourist, looked toward the U.S. in 1987 when he made a tour on behalf of the Anti-imperialist Organizations, speaking to "U.S. left and progressive groups." The tour was in 1988 as the special guest of the Panamanian Democratic Revolutionary Party. Rojas rejoiced that U.S. efforts to overthrow Manuel Noriega had so far resulted in a "stalemate defeat for U.S. imperialism." He delivered a speech on his native St. Vincent to a meeting of the Anti-imperialist Organizations in which he denounced the U.S. "flagrant strategic objective" of creating a "pro-Western, anti-communist bloc in the Caribbean" that would isolate "left forces in the region." He condemned anti-Marxist movements in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola as "benigns, criminals and counterrevolutionaries."

By 1990, Don Rojas, in the pages of the Socialist, went back to the war's environment, taking a job in New York as editor of the Amsterdam News. He had worked for the paper, which once described itself as America's largest black weekly, in the late 1970s as its Brooklyn editor. Journalism was a way of practicing revolution by other means. In 1992, Rojas addressed 3,000 demonstrators in New York for "Peace with Cuba." But now he saw that the conflict that counted was not the one in the international arena, those issues having been decided by the fall of the Berlin Wall. What was important now were the campuses and other cultural sites in America. In 1991, Rojas helped organize a 1991 demonstration in defense of radical professor Leonard Jeffries of City College of New York. Jeffries had aroused controversy for calling whites "slave people" and for his anti-Semitic statements about "Jewish laws," but Rojas insisted that there was "overwhelming support for Professor Jeffries in the black community."

In 1992, he told USA Today that, "People are looking for a new Malcolm X, and there isn't one on the horizon. The objective conditions out there are just as bad if not worse as in Malcolm's day." However, the incendiary rhetoric in Rojas' writings was not creating increased circulation. And so Rojas looked for his next handbook and, in 1993, he was hired by new NACCP President Benjamin Chavis to be his director of publications.

The appointment, because of Rojas' ties to Maurice Bishop and Pascual Castillo, aroused concern within the non-racist civil rights organization. But Chavis, who also hired a former journalist to Louis Farrakhan, did not apologize. "The criterion that I used was not whether these persons were associated to controversial persons," Chavis told Time magazine. He also called Bishop's Marxist regime "one of the most progressive governments there has ever been in the Western Hemisphere." Rojas and Chavis forced the NAACP into a hard left turn. In 1994, Rojas helped organize a "secret conference" involving Leonized Jeffries, Al Sharpton, Sister Sojourner, Angela Davis, Stokely Carmichael and Cornel West. A later meeting included Louis Farrakhan. Rojas defended the encounters to the press and denied that the NAACP board had been "unified." But Chavis proclaimed, "The African-American masses are ready to follow Farrakhan," and also made it clear that he stood by a decision to honor rapper Tupac Shakur, despite the allegations of sexual assault.

A distressed NAACP board required Rojas and Chavis to attend sensitivity training to rend them of the organization's policy of not aligning with controversial Marxist, separatist and black Muslims. Rojas later criticized the board's "red-baiting," which he likened to "McCarthyism." He complained to The Washington Post that the board had treated him like a "red vixen.

Later in the year, when the NAACP fired Rojas for his involvement in payoffs to a woman to a woman's relationship with a congresswoman, Rojas was fired as well. (He later complained that the letters on his office had been changed without any advance warning.) Rojas remained with Chavis as an advisor at Chavis' request against the NAACP for breach of contract.

Later on, some who had followed Rojas' career were stunned that someone with such a background, and no experience whatever in church work, managed to get a job with the National Council of Churches. He had been hired by the NCC's solicitor "racial justice office," Charles Mac Jones. A Kansas City pastor, Jones was an outspoken political activist with his own controversial past. In 1996, he had joined the NCC delegation that traveled to Baghdad to sue for peace with Saddam Hussein after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Jones briskly fired Rojas as a favor to his friend Benjamin Chavis, whose status as a United Church of Christ minister allows him to maintain his status in left-wing church circles. (Just this month, Chavis announced that he had converted to the Nation of Islam.) Rojas' past was not hidden from the NCC officials who hired him. His résumé on file at the NCC listed his employment with Maurice Bishop and his later work in Soviet-occupied Czechoslovakia. (Interestingly, however, he did not mention his time in Cuba.) Rojas has cur- rently served with the National Council's general secretary, Joan Brown Campbell, by saying that he disagreed with Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitism and the Nation of Islam's "polities towards women."

He has also claimed to Campbell that the regime in Grenada for which he worked was never Marxist-Leninist.

Given Rojas' background, it is as surprising that the NCC's Black Churches Parish was meant as much to propagandize as to church reconstruction. The Parish is slated to sponsor a series of seven "anti-racists" conferences around the nation in 1997. This past fall, Davis billed himself as the subject of a series of events, which he attended a Fund-organized "Rise-Up" forum in Columbus, South Carolina. Speakers, including anti-imperialist Communist Party USA activist Aimee Ambrose, were called for capitalism's "defeat" and proclaimed, "We are revolutionaries.

At this get-together, welfare-reform and anti-crime legislation were equated with racism. Drug legalization was advocated, and the CIA was blamed for crack cocaine's popularity in urban America. As one speaker proclaimed to enthusiastic applause, "The rifle is the black man's best friend!"

In the midst of the conference, Charles Mac Jones, who has recently been promoted to associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, locked Rojas in a bar to cut stage, amid cheers.

I had met Don Rojas for the first time earlier that month at a meeting of the Burned Churches Parish in New York. "You know more about me than I do!" he exclaimed, as he introduced himself with a fieldhand handshake. When I asked him if he had someone on working for the Maurice Bishop dictatorship or the other Marxist movements of his past, Rojas replied, "Maurice Bishop was a Social Democrat." I asked him later what he considered central handlers on the Central Committee. When I asked him about his ties to the Cuban Communist Party, he demurred whether the Cuban regime could be considered progressive. "I'd take Brzezinski over Fidel," he countered. "I'm not a friend of Cuba, but I don't live there." He insisted that if most Cubans did not support Castro, "They would overthrow him, just like they did in the U.S."

"My past employment has no bearing on my work here at the NCC," Rojas told me. Under pressure from Jewish groups because of his support for Farrakhan and Leonard Jeffries, Rojas made a show of submitting his resignation to the NCC in September. But NCC General Secretary Joan Brown Campbell, after several weeks of hesitation, declined his offer.

Before talking to Rojas, I spoke with Pierre Lellis, the editor of Grenada's only newspaper, the Grenada Voice. (During the layday of the New Jewel Movement, he was imprisoned by Bishop, who shot down the Voice) Leslie laughed, when I told him that enunciator Rojas was now busy with church work in the U.S. "How do these communist find jobs with churches in America?" he asked.

Leslie's question deserves an answer. So far, Joan Brown Campbell and her colleagues have offered none. But whatever breed of moral obfuscation she uses to justify the employment of Rojas, she should be at least a little concerned about one thing. For nearly 20 years, every institution to which he has entrusted himself to in the world of radicalism has become irrelevant or collapsed. Now that the Marxist version of Typhoid Mary has joined the National Council of Churches, should the organization begin to worry about its future?"
to the White House for coffee. (In Ophelia's Preface, Hillary, Tipper, Janet Reno and Marian Wright Eedy each wrote a foreword, all of them, on the subject of "saving the alarm of concern for our daughters.") Pipher's secret weapon is that she speaks the language of teenagers, who may have overheard acceptable feminism but have nonetheless been traumatized by a quarter century of feminist apathy. Here is a softcore feminist who wraps herself around their wounded, sometimes petulantly attempt to understand and protect their teenage daughters. The usual feminist textbooks are here, but they are made to seem to bludgeon soccer moms apparently find them palatable. It is for this reason that Christina Hoff Sommers, author of "Who Stole Feminism?" calls Ophelia a "Trojan horse." Another conclusion that can be drawn from the runaway popularity of this book is that the more strident feminism we've all come to know, with its Marxist undergirding and hysteria to marriage and the traditional family, is now a turnoff to most women. Can anyone pluck Suey Pile Hall and other pioneers of the women's movement drawing the crowds of ordinary parents and teachers that flock to hear Mary Pipher? Before entering Ophelia's imaginary world of girls, it is prudent to earn oneself with a few facts: that the author is genuinely close to girls—fact that utterly undercut her message about young women suddenly wilting and falling behind during adolescence because of inaudible and subtle social messages. Although Pipher writes of plumping grades and I.Q. scores, the fact is that fewer girls than boys drop out of high school, more girls than boys go on to college, and women are fast closing the gap in medical and law schools. More boys cut classes, fail to do homework, and have disciplinary problems in school. They are more likely to be in trouble with the police. More boys than girls have serious drug problems, and although more girls attempt suicide, five times as many boys actually succeed in killing themselves. Today's teens have serious problems—what focus on Ophelia's Why? What about revisiting Hamlet and Horatio and Laertes? To promote Ophelia, Ballantine has offered a unique deal with two related books and a "Take Your Daughter to Work" button. One of these other books is the more hardline feminist Meeting at the Crossroads by Carol Gilligan and Lynne Hackett Brown (see Heterodoxy, October 1993). Their basic thesis is that pre-teen girls are naturally confident and exuberant. But when they enter adolescence they are "silenced" by "good women"—mainly white, middle-class mothers and teachers—who, having been themselves brainwashed by the patriarchy, do the same to their daughters and students. If this theory were to gain wider acceptance, it would deeply undermine the trust, affection, and continuity between generations. Fortunately, only doctrinaire feminists and the occasional self-flagellating woman take it seriously. These are many women and find this book antifeminist. Pipher adopts part of the Gilligan-Brown theory and exposes it in less radical rhetoric. Pre-adolescent girls, she explains, "not yet burdened with caring for others, have a brief respite from the female role to be tomboys," a word which promises courage, vanity, and reverence. But "something dramatic happens to girls in early adolescence. Just as places and ships disappear mysteriously into the Bermuda Triangle, so do the schools of rich girls go down in droves. They crash and burn in a social and developmental Bermuda Triangle." Those girls "lose their voices" and are labelorated into the role of princesses. And now to the girl who breaks these unwritten rules. "Girls who speak frankly are labeled as bitches. . . . The rules are enforced by the labeling of a woman like Hillary Rodham Clinton as a "bitch" simply because she's a competent, healthy adult." (Another spot of coffee, Mary? How about some of this delicious pounding?)

Like Crossroads, Pipher's book is a collection of case studies. But Lyn Brown, Crossroads' co-author and herself no weak when it comes to keeping tabs on behalf of teenage girls, told the Washington Post that she finds Ophelia "not very encouraging. . . . A lot of girls really fight for the life of their minds and to stay connected to their bodies, and a lot are really successful. These girls are too passive." This is not surprising, since the pretty is valued over all else. Pipher quotes feminist artist Wendy Santiago: "Every day in the life of a woman is walking Miss America Contest. But this is nothing new (writes Pipher): "Helen of Troy didn't launch a thousand ships because of her hard workers. (Did she escape with Paris because she thought he would be a good provider?) Juliet wasn't loved for her math ability. (Unlike Romeo, Renaissance girls)"

"Monica," who is very bright, overweight and suffers from acne, sums it up: "All five hundred boys want to go out with the same ten妮娜 transitional girls. I'm a good musician, but not many boys are looking for a girl that plays great Bach preludes." She? Yes, for Monica and her parents. But not exist material. Besides, hardly anyone is in peace with her looks. "Christy" says that being too pretty and too smart can get you in trouble. "I hide my books and my intelligence. Here is one of the hoariest myths in feminist doctrine: bright girls (we're told over and over again) are socialized to hide their brains. But Pipher underlines it when discussing food disorders: 'Beautiful young woman, like their aunts, are over-socialized in the feminine role. They are the little people-pennants. Most are attractive with good social skills. Often they are the cheerleaders and homecoming queens, the straight-A students and pride of their famililies. But how can this be? Is it only girls with eating disorders who can get away with being both bright and popular?" But this real answer: more obvious and nuanced—that, yes, some groups of girls hunger at society and intellectuality, but others don't. Being a straight-A student is still high status, and intelligence per se is hardly a death sentence for one's social life. And young women are going to college, graduate school, and professional schools in droves. (Pipher offers no comment, no speculation, on what it feels like socially to be a nerdly teenage boy. That would ruin her story line.)

The reader must endure anecdotes about the author's own stifled intelligence, become self-deprecating about her identity as a female writer. "Once was a date, I was particularly insecure to myself. At an A&W Drive-In... Donny asked me what I wore. I said, 'What, I was married I painted my nails a small Ccke. (Nige girls didn't eat too much.)' Then he asked about my six-weeks degrees. I had made As, but I said I had two Cs and was worried my parents would be mad. I can still remember the look of visible relief. The story is meant to demonstrate how oppressive the culture is for girls, so the teenager Pipher is defined by her character. Being a feminist means never having to say it's my fault, no one else's, sometimes I've really been a jerk. Pipher also confides that when she received the Bausch and Lomb science award at a school assembly she "almost cried with embarrassment." And we learn that when she was in college she got strung out, but not because she was an ingrate. "I was so insecure that I could barely feed myself. I was a junkie. I was never so weak..."

Pipher can talk a feminist message from anything. Here is her theory as to why so many young girls become vegetarian: yes, they love animals—but also they "are responding to animals' lack of speech and powerlessness..." Divorce, we're told, "is particularly difficult for teenage girls, who are already structured by cultural forces." Why Pipher feels this need to make the implied comparison with boys is puzzling, since she admits to having little professional knowledge of them. (In fact, there is little reason to postulate the opposite: divorce more often cuts kids off from their fathers than from their mothers, and a boy about to become a man is especially in need of the support and love of a mother.) Adolescent girls need "more public places in our culture, not sex objects but at intere
eating and complicated human beings." Clarses Clinton, we're told, has become a hero for many teen girls because he's "not a sex-object or villain." (Well, if these are not the reason for her popularity, what is it?) Let's hope it's not that her parents are famous—that would be terribly elitist.) Pipher lamented that aside from Olympic athletes, no other adolescent girls are public figures. (Can you think of any boy who is not? Henry W. Prince, William, of course, but he's famous parents too.)

Girls "move into a culture with a Constitution that gave white men, not all Americans, the right to vote. It was a dance to pass an equal rights amendment. They join a culture in which historical documents proclaim the rights of man."

"Newellah, Ms. Pipher. You can vote now."

What others would a culture she in mind where women have more freedom. It's no surprise when Pipher admits that her daughter pronounces history and bearing. All those kings and generals killing each, she asks—where were the women?

But Ms. Pipher, hasn't the women's movement made our country a better place for girls? To an extent, says Pipher, but "in some ways the progress is confusing...""The lip-service part of equality makes the reality of discrimination even more confusing." Apparently there is no news that's good enough for women and girls.

Opheelia is brimming with complaints just as whiny and trivial as those—which raises the depressing question: what will this book be like in twenty years? 

How fast Pipher begins to girn to thousands of readers who place themselves outside the feminist fold? We know: her same comments to the crowd that reading Opheelia will solve their own teen years, rekindle old hearts. Some probably turn out the feminism as they enjoy their lollers in the past. But there is a subtler reason for the book's appeal: on its surface, today's feminism, often anecdotal, respectful, self-playing, is not far removed from the kind of casual coffee klatch gatherings growing amongst housewives and homemakers that women have always engaged in—and enjoyed. Probably some readers are intimidated by Opheelia's self-serve feminism; and because it's superficial, reminiscent of daytime talk shows, it seems innocuous. They don't see the slippery slope.

Readers respond to Opheelia for reasons that go beyond recreational bellyaching. Pipher has tapped into parental entitilies that are more substantial, issues of contemporary culture that many parents find confusing; teenage sex and drug use, the precipitous decline and coining of our pop culture in the past 30 years, and its cynicism and nihilism. The controversial Calvin Klein ad for "The Fragrance," with its screwy, tawd, graisy-haired, junky-looks is model is every parent's nightmare for what a daughter could become. Ads for "kid" clothing (Bruno and Filleo infant and Guadalupe jeanswear) are similar; teenage boys show up in these ads, as well, looking just as seedy and used. Columnist John Lee calls it "pedophile cinema." And while the "whack-whoop" of Madonna, pop icon who (in)famously has special cachet among many radical feminists (particularly those in academia), who applaud herassy independences and identities for her generation's bisexual and kinky exhibitionism.

Pipher describes, sometimes luridly, a grubby teenage culture (remember, though, her source is her patients, therapy). One girl tells of eight grubs wearing low-cut dresses to parties where there's no breeze and sex. Another reports feeling threatened and degraded, "sexually harassed" by boys at school who make lewd remarks, sometimes even touching or grabbing girls' breasts. As further evidence, Pipher cites the American Association of University Women's report. "Hostile Hallways." Based on a Harris poll, this study found that our schools are the setting for a lot of insecurity, and even violence, and it suggests—

ad that many kids are erotically overstimulated. But what Pipher fails to mention is that, according to this report, sexual harassment goes both ways: boys are the victims about as often as girls.

Pipher lamented the lack of agreement upon standards for sexual behavior: There is "no established or easy way to stop a sexual encounter. Thus some girls avoid dates and touching because they do not know how or when to draw the line, or to say stop."

But other girls, "desperately for approval, succumb to the pressure to have sex, sometimes with boys they hardly know. For some, losing virginity is considered a rite of passage."

"Viewing this through the prism of feminism, Pipher does not see the conflicts that have confronted young women since 1968.

But at least Maria’s talk "reminded me of my friends from the sixties. I couldn’t resist asking her if she was a Grateful Dead fan."

Indeed, Maria likes "The Dead" and lists that "the lead had a town in the Sixties when people were idealistic and free." She laments "what’s happened to our sexual culture, let us help her out with a brief review. Various forces, including The Pill, brought about the sexual revolution. The role of sex was played by frequency. Utopian by instinct, they clamored for sexual freedom unencumbered by traditional economic arrangements, that is, marriage. Plenty of guys, even those who were s-political, generously volunteered their time to help women liberate themselves, and casual sex soon became plentiful and cheap.

Women who preferred the old dating game rules—love and sex in exchange for commitment—were angry to find themselves sidelined as equals. Meanwhile, the women who joined in the new game were surprised and dismayed when men who wished they had casual sex treated them casually. And they complained that the more permanent boyfriends they were sleeping with—and cooking for—and cleaning up after—were afraid of commitment. Maybe for the first time in civil society men could enjoy the sexual benefits of adults while retaining children. "Men are jerks" became the female mantra of the Seventies: support groups were born, harboring homes for unhappy single mothers. They swapped bitter tales about the men not quite in their lives, while their biologi
cal clocks ticked away. Normally.

A wave of sad, angry lipstick
wives soon joined them, out loose from theirmothers by the newly liberated divorced women. (Plethora of men are uneasy in this restless world. But Opheelia is about girls and women, so it sticks to the feminist perspective.) Presumably the feminism that helped start the revolution hadn't foresaw that it would be so tough on women. But the snow wasn’t all bad—all this anger turned out to be a window breaking genus for the women's movement.

And what happened to popular culture?

Did the new openness, the demystification of sex, achieve healthy, healthy attitudes, as the utopians had predicted? For some, it probably did. But the downside was disaster helped along by the boomeranism, bizarreness and "do your own thing" cults of that decade, the new frankness brought a tolerance for raunchiness and cruelty in popular culture no one could have dreamt of before the Sixties. Soon feminists were railing against the exploitation and degradation of women that their utopian utopias had helped unleash. Again, the women’s movement benefited—more outraged women were more zealous. As for kids growing up, and anyone imagined that college students' demands for sexual freedom wouldn’t soon seep down into the high schools—which brings us to today’s guttered, coarse, sex-denigrated popular culture, which Mary Pipher, Ph.D., says is poisoning our daughters. The women’s movement to which she clings and whose message she desperately reports in this book has as much to blame as anyone—it’s as if they bulldozed the foundation of a great edifice, imagining that the rest of the building could remain intact; and now they blame others for crumbling walls, making sewer drains, windows ajar."

"Had Mary Pipher taken account of all this in her analysis, she might have written a book of real substance. But it would have been about more than just the unhappy teenage girls she’s spent the last few years talking to."

Barbara Rhode gives written on the radicalization of AAUW and other sources for Heterodoxy.
The Legacy of Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen: A Biography

By Jarvis Anderson


Reviewed by Ralph Rader

In a time when the intellectual and political leaderships of the current black American leadership are widely acknowledged and when the spirit of Al Sharpton, Louis Farrakhan, Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton try to assume the mantle of leaders like Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X, it is appropriate to reconsider the life of Bayard Rustin. Although better known thirty years ago, Rustin is today a relatively unknown black American leader, whose life and times coincide with the heyday and eventual collapse of the civil rights coalition that produced the Movement's great victories.

An outspoken and courageous activist, by the full tide of the Civil Rights Revolution in the early 1960s, he had already served as a full time activist in the pacifist and socialist movements. Rustin had been one of the founders of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and helped organize CORE's credit committee for black economic development. CORE was an opponent of black separation and nationalism that was dedicated to the end of the Cold War. Rustin had also been an advisor to Martin Luther King Jr. But as Jarvis Anderson shows in this new biography, Rustin's roots in the Movement went back decades before King's arrival on the national scene. Anderson has had unlimited access to Rustin's papers, as well as the full cooperation of his many friends and comrades. Indeed, Mr. Anderson knew Rustin and served for a time as his research associate at the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

His desire to see the world through Rustin's eyes is admirable. But it makes this biography fail to explore some serious political questions that are desperately in need of investigation.

Rustin, as Mr. Anderson reveals, had virtually moved through the entire spectrum of American radicalism. Born into a middle-class black family in West Chester, Pennsylvania, he attended a white school, was raised in the Quaker tradition, and never had the opportunity to attend college. But during the psychological whipping stick of so many black radicals. Evidently, Rustin was driven on by the sexual attraction to men, a fact that he confessed to his grandmother, who made it clear that her love for him would be no loss if he chose that sexual path. Rustin attended two different colleges, and despite great academic prominence, he left unqualified.

Rustin was also an accomplished musician with great talent and a gorgeous tenor voice. Skilled in both the classics as well as traditional Negro folk ballads, Rustin was for a time even possessed of a quartet with the well-known blues singer, Josh White.

When he later took courses at City College of New York, then a repository of urban radicals, Rustin gravitated toward the Communist Party. Indeed, organizing for the Young Communist League was his real reason for attending CCNY. It was the era of the Scopes trial, a case of D?toon races that was held in America. As Anderson writes, "what had chiefly attracted Rustin to the communist movement was its progressive stance on issues of racial injustice."

Rustin worked on a Party campaign to oppose segregation in the armed forces. When Rustin Germany invaded Soviet Russia and put an end to the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Rustin received his orders—disband the campaign which he had worked to establish. Now, at the height of World War II, Rustin realized that the Party's primary goal was not justice for the black masses, but rather the global war against the Soviet Union, which conflicted with the need for a struggle for racial equality. That knowledge caused his early break with the American Communists.

Despite the difficulties, Rustin reentered later years, as a result of persistent grass-roots organizing for the War Resisters League and his pioneering work for racial integration. He founded the War Resisters League in A. Philip Randolph, the socialist leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Not only was there a labor leader, but also the prominent civil rights leader of the 1940s. He had attended a March on Washington for an integrated army during the war, a threat that he called off when E.D.R. agreed to creat a Federal Employment Practices Committee. As a pacifist during a popular war, Rustin not only refused to fight, but also refuted the option of civilian public service, which he saw as submission to the military apparatus. Instead of doing his time in civilian public service, Rustin chose jail voluntarily, and spent more than two years in Federal prison. That act alone made it clear—did his later willingness to abide by the principles of Gandhian satyagraha and endure beatings from racist opponents—that he was willing to endure the consequences of his convictions. Rustin worked as a military draft resister that led him to break with his mentor Randolph. When the labor leader called off his scheduled March on Washington, Rustin accused him of appeasement, and demanded that he be released from prison for immediate desegregation of the armed forces.

Decades later, Rustin would acknowledge that Randolph's call was the death knell of the modern civil rights movement, and that thinking strategically was not the same thing as selling out.

With breaking with Randolph, Rustin worked full time for the War Resisters League, a radical pacifist organization. His movement's history at the time of Randolph and the writer Lillian Smith urged Rustin to make contact with a young minister, Martin Luther King Jr., who had become the most trusted and major advisor to the young Reverend. He instructed King not only on the practical matters involved in organizing the Montgomery bus boycott but also on the necessity of a principled non-violent philosophy. Anderson reveals how Rustin, visiting the King's home, discovered that King kept a finely carved sign in his home for protection. He learned that King was so close to the sign that no act could destroy the moral efficacy of his Movement, and King promptly gave up the weapon.

Yet, despite his life as a trusted advisor to King, Rustin's past led him to stay firmly in the background, lest his youthful communism and his homosexuality be used to discredit the gains the Movement had made on the eve of going to join civil rights struggle. It was not surprising that King would pick Rustin to organize and run the 1963 March on Washington, an effort which scholars are finally in agreement that he was taken place if not for Rustin. When King went to Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, it was Rustin who made him one of the most visible Movement figures asked to accompany him to Oslo for the award ceremony.

Nevertheless, Rustin was soon to find himself at odds with both King and the Movement's black-power revolutionaries. The latter group made known their hostility to Rustin after the 1964 Democratic Party convention, when they condemned the "back of the bus" sentiment, and the Mississippi Freedom Democrats by the Johnstone administration. They had asked that they accept two representatives from the black and white regular Mississippi Democrats. Rustin, along with King, Hubert Humphrey, and others, argued that they had won a victory, since failure of the Movement would be thoroughly integrated with the Movement, and no racist delegations could receive credentials. Urging that the Movement shift its direction from "fron at politics," Rustin argued that for the creation of a multi-racial coalition for social change, based on a coalition of the black movement with the labor movement. This call came at a very moment when young black militants were expressing their disillusionment with white liberals, and beginning to express black power as well as black separatism. Rustin was to suffer the charge of selling out the while establishment, a charge that would be leveled against him time after time, especially after his alliance with Al Sharpton and the United Federation of Teachers during the racist Brownsville affair in 1961. What would the black community brought for what it called "community control," an approach funded by the Ford Foundation, Sharpton and Rustin waged a battle to prevent local black militants from firing out Jewish teachers as a test, without due process and for no sound academic reasons.

In the latter part of his career, Anderson takes a controversial position that many of the events that virtually beg for an explanation. In particular, he strangely enunciates Stanley Levinson from any ties with the American Communist Party, and does not deal candidly with attempts to make inroads in the black freedom movement. Mr. Anderson writes: "In its later campaign to distance King and the black civil rights movement, Stanley Levinson had an affiliation with the Communist movement."

He then goes on to write that Rustin "saw nothing
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Chewing World Culture in Small Bites

The dictionary of global culture
(An unfinished project by John W. Polanyi & others)
The global citizens' guide to culture, explaining the achievement of the anti-Western world—what every American needs to know as we enter the next century.

Here is a representative sampling of the revisionist history the editors intend to serve up: "It is a... fact that five-hundred-old-years ago a certain Christopher Columbus, an Italian sea captain (whose first name, appropriately enough, means the 'Christ-bearer'), an adventurer in the service of an Italian monarch, set off to look for a new route to the Indies and discovered America by his on way. For the cultures of Christian Europe this represented the discovery of a New World. It was... that Scandinavians had been in North America much earlier; perhaps Africans had sailed to America before Columbus. Certainly for the people then living in the New World—the Celts in the 'West Indies' and the people who came to be called 'Indians' in honor of Columbus' covetousness—the arrival of Columbus was another discovery of a new world but the beginning of the end of an old one."

Notice how skillfully the editors merge the 'perpetual' Hispanic source with that of earlier African ones. Talk about context! This is a book that novices in the multiculturals' olives will be required to read in the company of disinterested experts—that is, those able (and willing) to separate plausible cases from dubious claims. Last but no means the least, I do not count Gates and Apple in this number.

None of this, of course, matters a fig to those who ride the midculural express. The point is that no respectable, self-consciously correct American can afford to be without a copy of The Dictionary of Global Culture. Why? Because it will tell him or her (notice what I haven't lost already) everything there is to know about the wilder American West..."

"No doubt some readers are already muttering about our dodges. After all, subjects such as, "global culture" is well, large—larger even than the Westerner who boasted that he contained multitudes. But not to worry, the editors tell us, their dictionary is designed to be by no means more exhaustive than exhaustive; moreover, its aim is rather analogous to thumbing through a dictionary of Swahili while one prepares for a visit to Montecito. So, a dictionary that introduces you, however splendidly, to a few of the central ideas and objects in many of the world's civilizations, I believe, is a good beginning for our lifelong travel through the multiculturals' cultures."

Granted, tourist who flipping pages of a Swahili dictionary hardly count themselves as fluent Swahili speakers, just as those who browse around The Dictionary of Global Culture will not know much about the people, places, and things they encounter in a quick succession of short, largely superficial listings. But they will no doubt feel better about what they don't know, and thus, I am told, matter a good deal these days.

Small wonder, then, that I find myself turning crank as I turn this book 700 pages. Not only do I feel that I've been fed like a moose, apple pie, and the flag, such multiculturalism as this gives no choice but to buy, but also that genuine study ought to be fashioned from stories, more rigorous stuff. But these days of disenchantment goes the saying when I consider the central assumption that undergirds this effort—namely, that one culture can..."

The result is a volume longer on commercial appeal than on thoughtful design or rigorous scholarship. Per better would have been a book with the essays about Asian, African, or Middle cultures. As it stands, however, the essays are far too disparate and far too brief (most run in the neighborhood of 300 words). The editors hope that those tidbits about culture, when one accepts them, the book the book itself provides no direction for its reader. Study (no bibliographies, in a word) my hunch is that this is a project which builds in a mighty fine foundation. And that is a good thing. This is a project that should have been at once richer and more challenging. Alas, it wasn't.
Police Mom Gets Bravery Medal

By Judith Schumann Weizner

Police Officer Thelma Debile, a 26-month veteran of the New York Police Force, has been awarded the Mayoral Medal of Valor for her heroic actions in a confrontation with two groups of rival gang members. The twenty-nine-year-old officer, who had recently returned to active duty following maternity leave, was seriously injured in the encounter.

Officer Debile and her partner, Sergeant Louise Schweitzer, were on patrol in the early morning hours of July 5, 1995, when they were summoned to investigate a report of shots fired. At the scene, an elementary school playground, they found a group of young men yelling and shooting at each other. Following new departmental guidelines, they asked the young men to hold their fire and advised them that even one stray bullet would be sufficient to kill a child. According to witnesses, the men stopped long enough to point out that it was nearly two o'clock in the morning and that no children were present, before resuming their dispute.

Officer Debile, unable to make herself heard above the din of gunfire, took a bullet from the trunk of the squad car and informed them that they were all in violation of Section 7.3 of the city's Firearm Restriction Law, which bans the possession of firearms within five hundred feet of an elementary and one hundred feet of a high school.

At that point, witnesses said, the shooting stopped and two of the youths, a member of the West Side Piranhas, approached the two officers with his hands outstretched as if to greet them. When Officer Debile stepped forward and cuffed him, Pueria spie quickly firing her against the concrete wall on the other side of the playground. Sergeant Schweitzer retreated to the safety of the squad car and radioed for assistance. Eventually, Mr. Puertes and nine other men were arrested on charges of weapons possession and resisting arrest to a handicapped youth on a female police officer and multiple counts of attempted murder.

Mr. Puertes swore that he had neither resisted arrest nor assaulted a police officer, but had offered his hand to Debile in a gesture of cooperation, splashing around in response to a shouted warning from one of the other gang members who was anxious to resume the fight. He remarked that he had been surprised at how easily officer Debile had taken flight, and expressed regret that she had suffered a broken neck and two dislocated shoulders but insisted adamantly that her misfortune was the inadvertent consequence of his reflexive response to the shouting warning.