

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



FIRST FEM PRES IMPEACHED

The impeachment trial of William Jefferson Clinton may be a spine tingling drama of law and bad feeling, but it is also a story of another sort: the implosion of our very first feminist government—the first of its kind in our national history—as it cracks under the strain of its own constantly regendered deviance. In this bizarre spectacle, the feminist male is revealed as a serial abuser, defamer, and groper of women; the feminists denounce their own laws and precedents; and the First Lady—hailed at the start of the administration as the apotheosis of an empowered Strong Woman—is adored now as an old kind of feminine victim, and seeks a new path to redemption and power as the most mistreated woman in the world.

Make no mistake about it: 'feminist' is the only political label Bill Clinton has ever consistently earned. Elsewhere, his place on the political spectrum has been both diffuse and ambiguous; he has been both a New and the oldest of Democrats; on different sides of many tax issues; in theory at least for both big and small government. His "issues," such as they are, have been small, feel-good measures, poll-tested so as not to offend anyone. The divisive, definitive, emotion-charged and hot button parts of his governance—abortion, Joycelyn Elders, gays in and out of the military—have all been gender-based. Similarly, the one thing that gives Clinton his interest is his wife and his marriage, which gives his story its tension and texture. Many big



books are in the works about Hillary Clinton, and why not? By himself, Bill is a bore; but she is allusive and protean and evocative. It is she who gives the story a plot. It is she who disconnected Bill from the gender norms of the good old boy.

Clinton ran in 1992 on Anita Hill's ticket, surrounded by stars of the "Year of the Woman," and buoyed by his feminist wife. "I believe Anita Hill," said then-Governor Clinton, clapping hands with Carol Moesley-Braun, Patty Murray, and Lynn Yackel, who ran a one-note jennie campaign against Arlen Specter for expressing doubts about Hill. (Doubts, as it worked out, that were far milder than what later came out of Clinton's White House about the women who had challenged him.) All agreed in 1992 that exploitation of female employ-

ees deserved rigorous censure. Who was to know that, one year later, a woman would claim that, in May of 1991, Governor Clinton had sent his state troopers to bring her—then a clerk making less than \$5 an hour from the state of Arkansas—to his hotel room in Little Rock, where he exposed himself to her? Or, that another woman would later charge that on November 29, 1993, when she, an unpaid White House aide, had gone to the president to ask for a paid job because of grave financial and personal problems, her friend the president had grabbed her, and forced her hand to his crotch?

Continued on page 8

INSIDE

*I, Rigoberta
Menchu, Liar*

*Black Quotas
Victory*

*Where the
Buffalo Roam*

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT HAD IT WRONG THE WHITE PAPERS REAPPRAISED

by Stephen B. Young

Last year, a series of momentous thirtieth anniversaries from the Vietnam era were marked—Tet, LBJ's withdrawal from seeking re-election, and the riots at the Chicago convention. The war, once so contentious, has now receded into memory, even into nostalgia, as a generation congratulates itself once again for doing what the North Vietnamese never could have—defeating the United States. History, as they say, is written by the victors, and the victor in this conflict was the American anti-war movement. It is no wonder, then, that our national recollection of the war matches that of the New Left. It is no wonder too that certain questions are no longer asked, chief among them the question, a central one thirty years ago, of whether the U.S. involvement resulted from a tissue of lies

Washington was spinning out even before the Gulf of Tonkin incident, or whether its factual assessment of conditions in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and its consequent policy response to the plight of the South Vietnamese people was rational and justifiable.

The official American threat assessment of the causes of war in South Vietnam was contained in two White Papers that the State Department issued in December 1961 and in March 1965. These White Papers alleged that Hanoi was directing a campaign of overt and covert subversion and aggression against an independent South Vietnam. As the war began to escalate in 1965, these White Papers became the subject of a ferocious attack by the anti-war movement, which insisted as its chief arguing point that the war was a civil war between U.S. puppets and an indigenous resistance in South Vietnam. In fact, denial of a North Vietnamese presence in the South was holy writ for opponents of the

Continued on page 10

COMMUNIQUÉS

A Tale of Our Times

When I was in the armed services, I found what I believed to be the only truly equal society, at least as seen from the "belly of the beast." There many of my superiors were minorities. They were provided with the training and tools that were needed to succeed and they did so with pride, hard work, and enthusiasm. They accepted the responsibility for the training and lives of their fellow members. Even though many still chose to associate with their own race, there was an understanding that we all depended on each other and needed to work as a team in order to succeed regardless of race or gender.

Returning home after my active duty, I found that my county job had not been held for me. I began attending college at the State University of New York.

I later needed help understanding my math and found that there was an organization, Educational Opportunity Program, on campus to help the students. I saw many whites helping minorities but there were no whites being helped. I asked the man in charge if I could get help with my math. He told me that the help available was for students with low income and (just looking at me) I did not qualify. After telling him what my income was, he admitted that it was certainly low enough, but I did not come from a "ethnically deprived background." This was determined without any consideration to the fact that I was below the poverty line, married with a small child, and had been on my own for over ten years. It was enlightening to me that just by looking at me and without completing any paperwork showing my income, or that of my parents, he determined that I was not eligible. He did not have to say it was based on race, it was obvious.

After graduating I started my first "professional" position with a small company as a purchasing agent. There, I was in charge of purchasing and receiving. At a whopping \$14,500 a year, my salary was such that the uneducated employees in the plant earned more than I did. I was still proud of what my wife and I had over come with a lot of hard work, dedication and responsibility. Our family had lived through some very hard times, we knew there was no where to go but up.

A few years later, the hard work and the responsibility which I had accepted paid off for me again when I was promoted to materials manager. In this position I was responsible for purchasing, inventory control, shipping/receiving and interacted with production control in several additional locations. I continued my work ethic which in turn provided me and my family additional rewards. After five years, I decided that it would be a good time to look at other opportunities with larger organizations. My search lead me to an opening with a large utility company, headquartered in Rochester, NY.

As a candidate for the position of purchasing agent, I was asked if I had the following qualifications:

1. A four year degree in the field of business management
2. Three to five years previous experience in the field of purchasing management
3. National Association of Purchasing Management Membership
4. Certified Purchasing Manager certification
5. Previous experience with computers and purchasing software.

I exceeded the above requirements, and began

work as one of two corporate purchasing agents. During the interview process I was told by the senior manager that they were also looking to promote me into my supervisor's position within the next year.

My work went well until I made several recommendations to my female supervisor to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the department. She snapped back at me saying that I should forget all that I had learned about the business and purchasing world since none of it was applicable here.

Shortly thereafter, I was passed over for promotion for my supervisor's position as she was promoted out of purchasing into human resources. My new supervisor was another very intelligent lady, but she did not know anything about purchasing or business practices. My past supervisor and I worked very hard with her to show her the basic concepts so she could get by in her new position. She was a quick study, but it was impossible to provide her the years of experience and training which I had. I later found that she did not have a college degree and did not meet any of the requirements above.

Then I met with the other purchasing agent to discuss the hiring and promotion discrepancies at the

ing equipment and supplies. When word of my success reached the vice president, they decided to give me an award for my outstanding performance. This was the highest award given to an employee with the company but when I received it I saw clearly that it was all would get. It became clear to me that I would not receive a promotion working in this department. I realized that moving to another department would make a difference.

In mid 1992, I was transferred to internal audit to enhance my opportunities for promotion. In early 1993 a new audit director was appointed. He brought with him new objectives from senior management for the department and company. My perceptions of hiring and promotion objectives were now clearly outlined. The company's primary priority was to quickly enhance the diversity of the company. At first the employees supported this policy, until we learned that management was looking to replace some of the current white male employees to accomplish this objective. This mission was confirmed in our staff meetings and documented in the corporate and departmental objectives. At the time of my termination, I believe that I was discharged because of my race. This practice could also be statistically verified throughout the organization.

I along with 12 past employees have filed charges with the EEOC for discrimination against this company. Others did not file as we were told that if we did not make any trouble we may be brought back into the organization if needed. This never occurred.

Recently my case came before the Federal Court. The judge opened the discussion by stating that my case appeared to be a case of reverse discrimination. He said that no matter how this case turns out, he wanted to let me know that my attorney had done a good job representing me. These statements were all given even before the opening arguments were delivered by either side. No decision has been given as of today, eight (8) months later, and five (5) years after filing with the EEOC.

During my job search, I have slept on floors, been thousands of miles away from home and my family (even through the holidays). Over two thousand (2,000) resumes and five years later I am still unemployed. I hired a private investigator to see if they could uncover the reason that I could not get any job. They found that the public utility that laid me off has been giving negative references, some of them illegally referring to the charges filed with the EEOC, to potential employers.

Twenty four years ago I left the life I had built because my country needed me to serve in the military and again today they are requiring me and my family to make another sacrifice. Perhaps elected officials should carry the same unjust burden to better understand why suffering their actions create here in the real world. I am not angry, I just want change.

In closing I would like to ask at what point will we stop paying for a debt we never owed? When will people who say that they are against racism/sexism stop using it for their own gain? When will we demand equal standards, and equal help for all students? Sometimes wonder if anyone in authority knows what a level playing field looks like.

This is an overview of what (non)equal employment has done to my life, a white male, with over twenty years of business management experience. I am not angry, I just want change and equal treatment for everyone.

Name Withheld Via Internet

HETERODOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES

WRITE TO US

Send your comments to
Letters Editor, *Heterodoxy*
P.O. Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067
or email (bkepple@cspc.org)

This double issue only counts as one
against your subscription.

company. He confirmed my suspicions by pulling out of his desk the company publication showing the promotions for the previous six months. It appeared that about eighty percent of the promotions were women and minorities. This certainty was not representative of the company employee population and documented the problem.

A few months later, the other purchasing agent retired. He was replaced by a woman who also met none of the five requirements I was asked to meet. She did have a college degree, but it was in psychology. Again I worked, along with the retiring agent, to give her some information from which to work.

Shortly after she was brought on, I became known as "the token." This name was given to me by my supervisor as I was the only male in the work group. This title was used frequently by my supervisor and subsequently by my colleagues. Additionally, I also became aware of subtle differences in the way I was treated. Perks such as a new larger office, newer computer and telephone equipment, and less accountability were given to the female employees. Interestingly, it appears that given the opportunity, women and minorities exploit people as badly as those they complain about.

I continued to work hard and this was ultimately noticed by the management in other departments. Working with other management personnel, and the end users in product standardizing, I slashed hundreds of thousands of dollars from the costs of purchas-

Editors
Peter Collier
David Horowitz

Literary Editor
John Ellis

Staff Writers
K.L. Billingsley
Benjamin Kepple

Art Director
JP Duberg

Illustrator
Carl Moore

Circulation Manager
Bruce Donaldson

HETERODOXY (ISSN: 1069-7268) is published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. The Center is a California 501(c)(3) institution.
Editorial: (530)265-9306. Fax: (530)265-3119. Subscription: 12 issues, \$25. Send checks to Center for the Study of Popular Culture,
P.O. Box 67398, Los Angeles, California 90067. Visa and MasterCard accepted.

Inquiries: (800)752-6562 or visit our Web site at WWW.CSPC.ORG

Heterodoxy is distributed to newsstands and bookstores by Bernhard B. DeBoer, 113 East Centre Street, Nutley, NJ 07110.

REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

TEACHING PC: Is there any subject that can't be taught in the PC university? Apparently there is. Sanford Pinsker of Franklin and Marshall writes of the case of Bowling Green University Sociology professor Richard A. Zeller, who, after a poll of students revealed that they thought courses were filled with left politics, decided to teach a course called "Political Correctness" that would investigate the phenomenon. Perhaps because his book list included works such as Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*, and Christina Hoff Summers' *Who Stole Feminism?*, Professor Zeller was turned down flat—first by his own Sociology department, then by the American Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Psychology departments. No matter that Mr. Zeller doesn't happen to agree with everything these authors propose—or, most important, that he is committed to teaching about political correctness in an even-handed way—his colleagues would have none of it. The course was deemed illegitimate, although in another department, Bowling Green once offered a course in the roller-coaster—complete with field trips. Pinsker called Gary Lee, chairman of the BGSU Sociology department, who likened Zeller's proposed course to an "infomercial," one that would end up with taxpayers footing the bill for advocacy rather than education. (As if this were not already standard operating procedure.) He also believed that Zeller would grade students on the basis of how much they agreed with his politics, although no student or administrator has ever complained about Zeller in the more than twenty years he has taught at Bowling Green. As it stands, Zeller may be the only professor in BGSU history who has been so systematically stonewalled. Even his offer to teach "Political Correctness" as an "overload" (not counting against his teaching requirement) and without compensation got Zeller nowhere. Perhaps he should try again some time. He could title his next course offering "Diversity Unmasked."

VICTORIAN HOOTERS: Posted on the internet by Rebecca Stern of Ball State University's English Department as a call for papers to "Victorianists" planning to attend the MLA conference. The special session is to be called "Victorian Breasts: Functional vs. ornamental breasts; erotic breasts; classed breasts; imperial and/or colonized breasts; nationalist breasts; aging breasts; beauty and the breast; medical breasts; and other related topics considering representations of the breast in Victorian Britain." If they could see us now.

N-WORD CENSORS AMOK: New York city schools removed two books intended for classroom discussion because they contained the word "nigger"—despite the fact that the books were highly regarded and contained a positive message encouraging tolerance of people of different races. Principal Linda Faucette threw out the Alex Haley-edited *War Comes to Willie Freeman* and Christopher and James' Collier's *Days of Courage: The Little Rock Story* in an apparent attempt to avoid the controversy that had surrounded another children's book, *Nappy Hair* (which also featured a message of positive self-

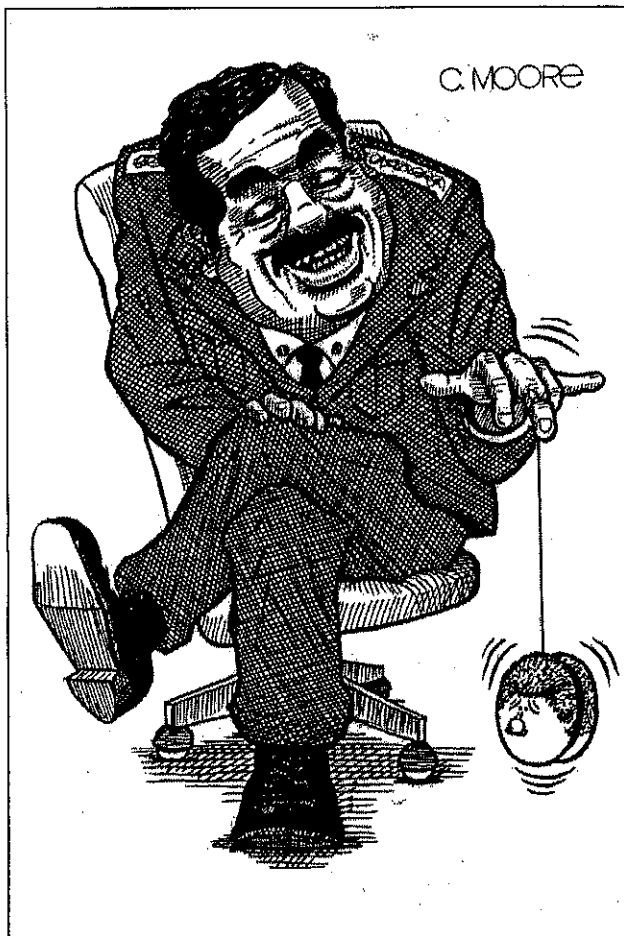
esteem but incensed a small number of black parents who were having a bad hair day.) Who's next—Ralph Ellison? Richard Wright? When this linguistic version of ethnic cleansing gets started, nobody's safe, not even America's first affirmative action Nobel Prize winner, Toni Morrison.

SELF HATE CRIME: It was bound to happen. At St. Cloud State University, a lesbian student committed a hate crime against herself. Claiming she had been attacked and beaten after a candlelight vigil—what else?—because of her sexual ori-

progressive change." Then he pumped his fist in the air and shouted, "All power to the people!" Instead of this worn out slogan, he should have tried, "First as tragedy and secondly as farce!"

DAZED AND CONFUSED: According to a CBS Poll released in late January, high school juniors, by a margin of 62 to 33 percent, describe race relations in the United States as good. While 34 percent of those students polled think race relations will get better over the next four years, 11 percent think they will probably get worse. However, when asked if there will always be a lot of prejudice in America, more than half say yes. Most students have a positive view of affirmative action. Of those polled, 64 percent say it is necessary to have laws to protect racial minorities from discrimination in hiring and promotion, while 72 percent think government affirmative action programs in hiring, promotion, and college admissions should be continued.

REHABILITATING RACISTS: CNN, which tilts so far to the left that it has earned the title "the Clinton News Network," outdid itself recently when it featured notorious racist Louis Farrakhan as a spokesman against racism (!) in its "Voices of the Millennium" spot. In the spot, which ran in mid January and was sponsored by United Airlines, Farrakhan appeared with reputable figures such as Sen. John McCain and Rep. J.C. Watts. The decision to showcase an unrepentant anti Semite who has also spewed messages of hate about whites, gays and even other black leaders, created a sense of bewilderment and cognitive dissonance on the part of many observers. The Anti-Defamation League issued a statement saying that Farrakhan was "part of the disease; he is certainly not part of the cure." The League might have said the same about CNN itself, which at the same time it presented Farrakhan was also giving us a multi-part history of the Cold War in which it was impossible to tell who the good guys were.



entation, St. Cloud senior Jennifer Prissel, 22, was found in a subsequent police investigation to have self-inflicted her injuries and to have lied about the entire event. Something like this happened with a similar hoax a few years ago, when Tawana Brawley claimed to have been attacked and desecrated by white men. In that case, Bill Cosby and others sprang to Brawley's defense. In the case of Prissel, something similar happened. The St. Cloud community rallied to her support, with 600 students and faculty holding, you got it, another candlelight vigil against hate crimes. She could become an even bigger martyr now, however than if the charges had been true. Prissel now faces a hearing before the school's disciplinary board for violating the Code of Student Conduct.

THE VISION THANG: In an exceedingly early announcement for a local election, former Black Panther Field Marshal David Hilliard has announced he will run for the West Oakland/Downtown seat on the Oakland City Council and have Bobby Seale as his campaign manager. Standing on the steps of the high school he attended, Hillard, who was temporarily in charge of the Panthers in 1969 when the other leaders were in exile or in jail, said, "I want to resurrect our dreams and return to a vision for

MORE NEWS ABOUT BLACK RACISTS: In Oxford, Ohio, Miami University officials came to the reluctant conclusion in late January that it was two black student leaders who were responsible for racist messages posted at a campus black culture center. The fliers were posted several months ago and attacked blacks and homosexuals. This was seen as more evidence of white racism and homophobia, and resulted in demonstrations that disrupted campus life and led to seven arrests. But a painstaking analysis of the offensive fliers revealed the fingerprints of Nathaniel Snow, President of the Black Student Action Association—who met with university officials after the initial incident to demand that something be done about campus racism, and Brad Allen, one of the students arrested during protests over the incident. Showing once again that the contemporary ideal for university administrators is a cross between Saul Alinsky and Neville Chamberlain, Miami President James Garland found this moral in the story: "I believe that most of the students who participated in the demonstrations did so because they had legitimate concerns. And we need to remember that those concerns need to be taken seriously."



What Happened to John Goode

Black Quotas

by Marc Levin

When John Goode received notice that his contract to sell food during special events at the Austin, Texas, Convention Center was terminated because he did not qualify for a racial quota, he was outraged and determined to fight back. It was the same reaction displayed by countless others who have been the victims of reverse discrimination. Why me? What racist act have I been guilty of to suffer this injustice? But there was something different about this case. John Goode is black. The racial quota, which was intended to work in his favor, has destroyed his life. And this destructiveness, he believes, is the essence of that pathology which goes under the name of affirmative action.

The 53-year-old Goode should have been a local hero, instead of a victim of Austin's municipal racial bureaucracy. His is an "up by the bootstraps" story. When he was born in Austin after the war, his father was 14 and his mother was 16. Since his parents were kids themselves, Goode was raised by his widowed grandmother. She taught him not to look to his past for reasons to fail. For her, the road to success was always under construction. Even at a time when blacks were still second class citizens, she made her grandson believe that the American Dream, although incompletely realized, was still spacious enough for him.

"I was always very entrepreneurial," Goode says. "I had a newspaper route beginning in the third grade, delivering over 100 different papers every morning at 5 A.M. It grew to the point that I had to hire two other kids to help me. I had a custom paint and body shop. I had a peanuts business. I have always done something legal to make it. It is in my blood, I guess. I have the original bill of sale from my great-grandfather who bought 55 acres of land in 1865 in Texas. That was the year of the Emancipation Proclamation. If my great-grandfather could buy land in 1865, why can't a black man accomplish anything he wants? That has always been my inspiration."

Goode's first love was the restaurant business. After working as a waiter in nearly every Austin restaurant, he went to San Francisco, where he started a French restaurant. After selling that enterprise, he returned to Austin to start Jacob's Restaurant and Jazz Bar in 1985, which soon fell victim to the Texas oil bust. In 1989, Goode opened Mr. Bones Barbecue in North Austin. He was soon approached by a company called Volume Services and asked if he would be interested in setting up a barbecue stand at Palmer Auditorium, the City Coliseum, and the Convention Center to sell food during special events. Goode jumped at the opportunity, and entered into a contract with Volume Services in which he was given the exclusive right to sell barbecue at the city facilities in exchange for giving Volume Services a share of his sales.

In June of 1995, Austin took the concessions contract for city venues away from Volume Services and gave it to the Fine Host Corporation. Goode says, "I was at the City Council meeting the night they were awarded the contract. I was approached by either an attorney or lobbyist for Fine Host who had been the lobbyist for Volume Services. He said they had heard a lot of good things about me. He said we hope you will consid-

er staying on. I will never forget their exact words."

Fine Host tried to squeeze 30 percent of his sales out of Goode, even though unlike Volume Services, they refused to pay for his required one million dollar cumulative liability policy. (They ultimately came to an agreement on a one year contract providing Fine Host with 25 percent of Goode's sales and requiring him to carry his own insurance.) But then, early in 1996, the Austin City Council passed an ordinance implementing racial quotas for city contracting.



JOHN GOODE: A VICTIM OF RACIAL QUOTAS

The law requires contractors with the city to give a certain percentage of their business to certified minority subcontractors. In the case of the concessions at city auditoriums, Fine Host had to meet a 25 percent quota of minority subcontractors. It was a requirement with teeth: a contractor who is found not to be in compliance with these "goals" can be barred from city contracts for up to five years, assessed fines, or sued for breach of contract.

Fine Host began asking Goode to certify himself as a minority owned business shortly after the Council's action. "I explained to them that I did not believe in set asides and affirmative action," Goode says. "I also did not want to certify because the program was invasive into my personal life. It required me to submit three to five years of my financial records and tax returns, a list of all my assets, employee data, and all kinds of personal information. I didn't see the purpose of it. That confidential information doesn't do anything to determine whether it is minority owned. I told them you all know I am black and that I own the business. I told them I wouldn't do it, that I would never certify."

Goode's problem was as much what he believed as it was what the Austin City Council believed. "I am definitely and openly a black conservative. I see a lot of social programs as doing more damage than good. The only blacks that seem to benefit from affirmative action are upper-income black professionals' children. The blacks in the slums and projects don't benefit from it. For example, busing did nothing but destroy the black community. What the NAACP and other organizations need to do is demand better teaching materials and schools." He believes that "affirmative action will come back to haunt future genera-

tions of young blacks. They don't feel they really have to try hard anymore because they think they will get in because of affirmative action, but you can't sell that argument to our so-called black leaders."

Speaking of black leaders, Goode believes there hasn't been a real one since Martin Luther King. He says, "A lot of blacks don't admit Jesse Jackson is one of the biggest poverty pimps to ever set foot on the ground. He promotes the Texaco and Denny's lawsuits, but has anyone ever heard of a working class black getting a franchise? Who gets all the money? The poverty pimps. As a result, many bright black kids end up selling dope. They don't see a future. It is not the white man's fault; it is the leaders in the black community."

In August of 1996, Fine Host sent a letter to Goode canceling the contract. Goode was shocked by the letter. He went to see Fine Host and asked if his contract could be considered under the "Specialty Business" category instead of the "Minority Owned Business Enterprise" category. Fine Host responded, "This would not benefit us," meaning that it wouldn't help them make their racial quota.

The termination came at a very bad time for Goode. The North Austin branch of Mr. Bones Barbecue was doing well, but he was in the process of building another Mr. Bones in South Austin to take advantage of increased traffic to the new airport. He was counting on the profit from the stand during the remainder of 1997 to help finance the expansion. Goode says, "I was paying for everything as I go. I had no loans from institutions. The termination caught me at a point when I was totally financially wiped out. The months between September and December were the busiest ones at the city facilities. I had counted on those four months for \$25,000 to carry the new location. Timing is what killed me."

Goode was forced to decide which location to keep. Even though the original Mr. Bones was established and making good money, the new one had the best chance for long run success, because of the new airport and an option he had to buy the property at a very good price. He was evicted from the original location—which he had put \$100,000 into—because he could not pay the rent. He managed to keep the new location open for a year. "It did real well for the first five months," he says, "but it died down when winter came."

After receiving word of the termination by Fine Host, John Goode sought legal representation. He first approached former Democratic Congressman Craig Washington, who expressed interest in the case, but demanded a substantial retainer which Goode could not afford. Goode then tried University of Texas Law Professor Lino Graglia, a well known opponent of racial preferences, who had been skewered by the state and national media for his politically incorrect remarks on affirmative action in connection with the *Hopwood* case at a 1997 press conference. Graglia's secretary advised Goode that Graglia no longer accepts cases.

Goode finally got in touch with the Institute for Justice, a Washington, D.C. public interest law firm that litigates against repressive economic regulations, restrictions on free speech, and racial quotas. The case wound up at the Texas Justice Foundation, a San Antonio based non-profit group that provides free legal assistance to plaintiffs fighting for economic freedom, religious liberty, and equal rights. This past March, Austin attorneys Tom Hutchinson and Keith Lauerman, working *pro bono*, filed suit against the City of

Austin and Fine Host Corporation before the United States District Court in Austin. However, Judge Sam Sparks dismissed the action in December, flippantly declaring, "The plaintiff does not have standing to assert his discrimination claims against the City and Fine Host because he suffered no injury in fact."

Goode was depressed by the outcome: "I was disappointed not for losing, but for what I viewed as his clear lack of understanding of what the program is, how it worked, how it functioned, and how clearly discriminatory it was. It has caused me to question my faith in the legal system." He points out that white-owned businesses did not have to go through any certification process, and while Judge Sparks pointed out that he had an equal opportunity to compete with non-certified white businesses, the fact is that Fine Host replaced him with a certified minority business that got a free ride.

Sparks did rule that Fine Host was guilty of a breach of contract for not giving Goode 30 days notice of his termination, which was required by a clause in their contract. However, Sparks refused to award Goode any damages for this, because he claimed that it could not determine exactly how much money Goode would have made from the barbecue stand during this time.

Observers were not surprised by the bizarre reasoning. As one Austin attorney says, "Sparks has made a name for himself as a left-wing activist from the bench. He is the judge who dismissed the *Hopwood* suit challenging racial

quotas at the University of Texas Law School." In this historic case, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overruled Sparks, which declared the Law School's quota system unconstitutional.

Goode is hoping for a similar result in his case. When, on January 15, Sparks refused to reconsider his dismissal of the case, the Houston based Campaign for a Color-blind America began the process of finding additional counsel to assist Lauerma in handling Goode's appeal to the Fifth Circuit. But even if he is vindicated somewhere down the road, this case has already taken its toll. After losing his entire barbecue business, partly as a result of the termination, John Goode was no longer able to employ his two grown sons in the enterprise. "The situation drove them to where so many other young black males are—in prison," he says sadly. "One is still there. It was for drugs. They worked hard, seven days a week, for my barbecue business. After I was forced to shut it down, they said there goes the whole business of trying to get respect from white men by working hard. I never thought my sons would sell drugs."

Goode had to sell his home after losing his business. He can no longer afford a car, which is a necessity in the spread-out Texas landscape. He scrapes along to take care of his eight-year-old son and the 81-year-old aunt who lives with him. He now fights high blood pressure and is a borderline diabetic. To add insult to injuries which have come to resemble a Biblical plague, Judge Sparks ordered him to pay \$7,800 in legal bills for the City of Austin and Fine Host Corporation

after the dismissal of his suit. Goode says bitterly, "From 1989 to 1996, the City of Austin and Fine Host received \$70,000 from me as a percentage of what I made at the barbecue stand, and now I get the bill for their legal fees."

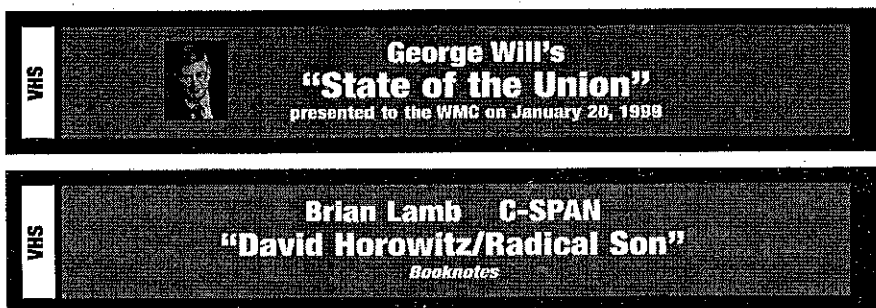
But John Goode is still optimistic about his ability to claw a path for himself through this toxic landscape of bureaucratic rules and regulations. He was recently invited by Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to testify about what had happened to him. (Goode recalls, "A black lady sitting next to me who owned a computer consulting company in San Jose seemed very uncomfortable at my presence. She was there complaining that minorities were not getting enough contracts when her company was making over \$5 million a year. I thought to myself, why does she need a preference anyway?") He is now working as a temporary employee 12 hours a day, six days a week, for the Westinghouse Motor Company. They have offered him a permanent job. But that old dream of entrepreneurship still lives.

"I will either get back in the barbecue business or open a Mexican restaurant," Goode says. "My plan is to start out with a mobile trailer. I figure if I don't get back in the business they will have defeated me. I will not let that happen. If I kill myself working, at least I'll know I was working."

Marc Levin is Publisher & Editor of the Houston Review and Editor Emeritus of the Austin Review.

Two Encounters You Won't Want To Miss

\$14.95 plus postage



To order these videos, call
(800) 752-6562 ext. 209
or visit our website at
www.frontpagemag.com

I, Rigoberta Menchu, Liar

by David Horowitz

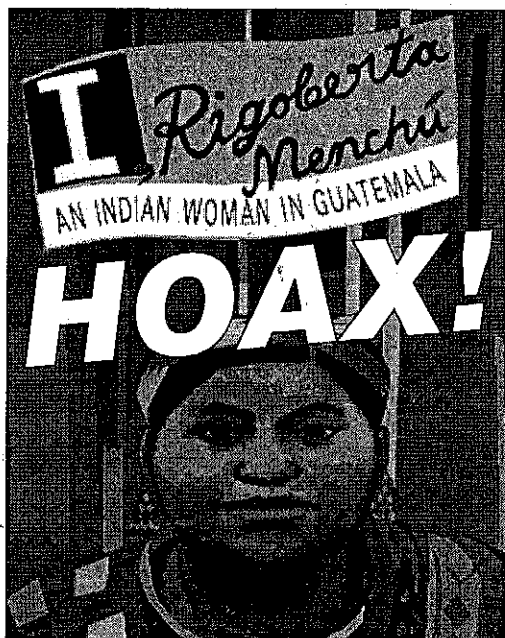
The story of Rigoberta Menchu, a Quiche Mayan from Guatemala, whose autobiography catapulted her to international fame, won her the Nobel Peace Prize, and made her an international emblem of the dispossessed indigenous peoples of the Western hemisphere and their attempt to rebel against the oppression of European conquerors, has now been exposed as a political fabrication, a tissue of lies, and one of the greatest intellectual and academic hoaxes of the 20th Century.

During the last decade, Rigoberta Menchu had become a leading icon of the university culture. In one of the more celebrated "breakthroughs" of the multicultural left, a demonstration of left-wing faculty and students at Stanford University, led by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, had chanted "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture's got to go!" The target of the chant was Stanford's required curriculum in Western civilization. University officials quickly caved before the demonstrators, and the course title was changed simply to "CIV." Works by "Third World" (mainly Marxist) authors previously "excluded" were now introduced into the canon of great books as required reading. Chief among these was an autobiography by an indigenous Guatemalan and sometime revolutionary, *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, which now took its place beside Aristotle, Dante and Shakespeare as the Stanford student's introduction to the world.

Published in 1982, *I, Rigoberta Menchu* was actually written by a French leftist, Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, wife of the Marxist, Régis Debray, who provided the "foco strategy" for Che Guevara's failed effort to foment a guerilla war in Bolivia in the 1960s. The idea of the foco was that urban intellectuals could insert a military front inside a system of social oppression, and provide the catalyst for revolutionary change. Debray's misguided theory got Guevara and an undetermined number of Bolivian peasants killed, and as we shall see, is at the root of the tragedies that overwhelmed Rigoberta Menchu and her family, and that are (falsely) chronicled in *I, Rigoberta Menchu*.

As stressed in this autobiography, the story of Rigoberta Menchu is the stuff of classic Marxist myth. The Menchus were a poor Mayan family, living on the margins of a country from which they had been dispossessed by Spanish conquistadors. Their descendants, known as ladinos, try to drive the Menchus and other Indian peasants off unclaimed land that they had cultivated. As she tells her story, Rigoberta is illiterate and kept from getting an education by her peasant father, Vicente. He refuses to send her to school because he needs her to work in the fields, and because he is afraid that the school will turn his daughter against him. So poor is the Menchu family, because of their lack of land, that Rigoberta has to watch her younger brother die of starvation. Meanwhile, Vicente is engaged in a heroic but ultimately hopeless battle with the ladino masters of the land for a plot to cultivate. Finally, Vicente organizes a resistance movement called the Committee for Campesino Unity to advance the land claims of the indigenas against the ladino masters. Rigoberta becomes a political organizer too.

Enter the Guevara-Debrayist guerrilla foco. The indigenous resistance movement organized by Rigoberta's peasant father links up with an armed revolutionary force—the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (ERG). Now the peasants have a fighting chance. But the ladino descendants of the conquistadors call on the brutal Guatemalan security forces to crush the rebellion and preserve the status quo of social injustice. Vicente Menchu is killed. The surviving family is forced to watch Rigoberta's brother burned alive. Rigoberta's mother is raped and killed.



As told by Rigoberta, the tragedy of the Menchus is "the story of all Guatemala's poor." The author of *I, Rigoberta Menchu* makes this linkage explicit: "My personal experience is the reality of a whole people." It is a call to people of good will all over the world to help the noble but powerless indigenous peoples of Guatemala and other Third World countries to gain their rightful inheritance. Made internationally famous by the success of her book, and by the Nobel Prize she was awarded in 1992, Rigoberta is now head of the Rigoberta Menchu Tum Foundation for Human Rights and a spokesperson for the cause of "social justice and peace."

Unfortunately for this political fantasy, virtually everything that Rigoberta has written is a lie. These lies, moreover, are neither incidental nor accidental. They are lies about the central events and facts of her story, and they have been deliberately concocted to shape its political content and to create a specific political myth. This myth begins on the very first page of Rigoberta's text:

When I was older, my father regretted my not going to school, as I was a girl able to learn many things. But he always said: 'Unfortunately, if I put you in school, they'll make you forget your class; they'll turn you into a ladino. I don't want that for you and that's why I don't send you.' He might have had the chance to put me in school when I was about fourteen or fifteen but he couldn't do it because he knew what the consequences would be: the ideas that they would give me.

To the trusting reader, this looks like a perfect realization of the Marxist paradigm, in which the ruling ideas become the ideas of the ruling class, which controls the means of education. But, contrary to her own assertions, Rigoberta was not uneducated. Nor did her father oppose her education because he feared the schools would indoctrinate her in the values of the ladino ruling class. According to classmates, teachers and family members, Vicente Menchu did send Rigoberta to school. In fact, he sent her to two prestigious private boarding schools, operated by Catholic nuns, where she received the equivalent of a middle-school education. (In a telling irony, it is most likely there that she was recruited to the Marxist faith and became a spokesperson for the Communist guerrillas.) Because Rigoberta was indeed away at boarding school for most of her youth, moreover, her detailed accounts of herself laboring eight months a year on coffee and cotton plantations and organizing a political underground are also probably false.

These and other pertinent details have now been established by anthropologist David Stoll, one of the leading academic experts on Guatemala. Stoll interviewed more than 120 Guatemalans, including relatives, friends, neighbors and former teachers and classmates of Rigoberta Menchu, over a ten-year period, as the basis of his new biography, *Rigoberta Menchu And The Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. To coincide with the publication of Stoll's book, the *New York Times* sent reporter Larry Rohrer to Guatemala to attempt to verify Stoll's findings, which he was readily able to do.

Perhaps the most salient of Stoll's findings is the way in which Rigoberta has distorted the sociology of her family situation, and that of the Mayans in the region of Uspantán, to conform to Marxist precepts. The Menchus were not part of the landless poor, and Rigoberta had no brother who starved to death, at least none that her own family could remember. The ladinos were not a ruling caste in Rigoberta's town or district, in which there were no large estates, or fincas, as she claims. Far from being a dispossessed peasant, Vicente Menchu had title to 2,753 hectares of land. The 22-year land dispute described by Rigoberta, which is the central event in her book leading to the rebellion and the tragedies that followed was, in fact, over a tiny, but significant, 151 hectare parcel. Most importantly, Vicente Menchu's "heroic struggle against the landowners who wanted to take our land" was in fact not a dispute with representatives of a European-descended conquistador class, but with his own Mayan relatives, the Tum family, headed by his wife's uncle.

Vicente Menchu did not organize a peasant resistance called the Committee for Campesino Unity. He was a conservative peasant insofar as he was political at all. Even more importantly, his consuming passion was not any social concern, but the family feud with his in-laws, who were small landowning peasants like himself. It was his involvement in this family feud that caused him to be caught up in the larger political drama enacted by students and professional revolutionaries, that was really irrelevant to his concerns and that ultimately killed him.

At the end of the Seventies, coinciding with a global Soviet offensive, Cuba's Communist dictator, Fidel Castro, launched a new turn in Cuban foreign policy, sponsoring

and arming a series of guerrilla uprisings in Central America. The most significant of these were in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, and followed lines that had been laid down by Regis Debray and Che Guevara a decade before. The leaders of these movements were generally not Indian peasants but urban Hispanics, principally the disaffected scions of the middle- and upper-classes. They were often the graduates of cadre training centers in Moscow and Havana, and of terrorist training camps in Lebanon and East Germany. (The leaders of the Salvadorean guerrillas even included a Lebanese Communist and Shi'ite Muslim named Shafik Handal.)

One of these forces, Guatemala's Guerrilla Army of the Poor, showed up in Uspantán, the largest township near Rigoberta's village of Chimal, on April 29, 1979. According to eyewitnesses, the guerrillas

tion of the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City by a group of guerrillas and protesting peasants. Vicente Menchu was the peasant spokesman. The occupation itself was led by the Robin García Revolutionary Student Front. A witness described to David Stoll how Vicente Menchu was primed for his role:

They would tell Don Vicente, "Say, 'The people united will never be defeated,'" and Don Vicente would say, 'The people united will never be defeated.' They would tell Don Vicente, 'Raise your left hand when you say it,' and he would raise his left hand."

When they had set out on the trip that brought them to the Spanish Embassy, the Uspantán peasants who accompanied the student revolutionaries had no idea where they

were going, or what the purpose of the trip actually was. Later, David Stoll interviewed a survivor whose husband had died in the incident. She told him that the journey originated in a wedding party at the Catholic church in Uspantán. Two days after the ceremony, the wedding party moved on. "The señores said they were going to the coast, but they arrived at the capital." Once there, the student revolutionaries proceeded with their plan to occupy the embassy and take hostages, with the unsuspecting Mayans ensnared. Although the cause of the tragedy that ensued is in dispute, David Stoll presents persuasive evidence that a Molotov cocktail brought by the students ignited and set the embassy on fire. At least 39 people, including Vicente Menchu, were killed.

As a result of Stoll's research Rigoberta Menchu has been exposed as a Communist agent working for terrorists who were ultimately responsible for the death of her own family. So rigid is Rigoberta's party loyalty to the Castroist cause, that after her book

was published and she became an international spokesperson for indigenous peoples, she refused to denounce the Sandinista dictatorship's genocidal attempt to eliminate its Miskito Indians. She even broke with her own translator, Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, over the issue of the Miskitos (Burgos-Debray, along with other prominent French leftists, had protested the Sandinista attacks.)

Rigoberta's response to this exposure of her lies has been, on the one hand, "no comment" and, on the other, to add another lie—the denial that she had anything to do with the book that made her famous. But David Stoll listened to two hours of the tapes she made for Burgos-Debray (which provided the text for the book) and has concluded that the narrative they recorded is identical to the (false) version of the facts in the book itself. Of course, Rigoberta did not disclaim authorship of the book when she accepted her Nobel Prize.

The fictional life of Rigoberta Menchu is a piece of Communist propaganda designed to incite hatred of Europeans and Westerners, and the societies they have built, and to organize support for Communist and terrorist organizations at war with the democracies of the West. It has also become the single most influential social treatise read by American college students. Over 15,000 theses have been written on Rigoberta Menchu: the world over—all accepting her lies as gospel. Rigoberta herself has been the recipient of 14 honorary doctorates at prestigious institutions of higher learning, and the Nobel Prize committee has made Rigoberta an international figure and spokesperson for "social justice and peace."

Almost as remarkable as the hoax

itself, and indicative of the enormous cultural power of its perpetrators, is the fact that the revelation of Rigoberta's mendacity has changed nothing. The Nobel committee has already refused to take back her prize, the thousands of college courses that make her book a required text for American college students will continue to do so, and the editorial writers of the major press institutions have already defended her falsehoods on the same grounds that supporters of Tawana Brawley's parallel hoax made famous: even if she's lying, she's telling the truth.

In an editorial responding to these revelations and typical of press reactions, the *Los Angeles Times* glossed over the enormity of what Rigoberta, the Guatemalan terrorists, the French left, the international community of "human rights" leftists, the Nobel Prize committee fellow-travelers and the tenured radicals

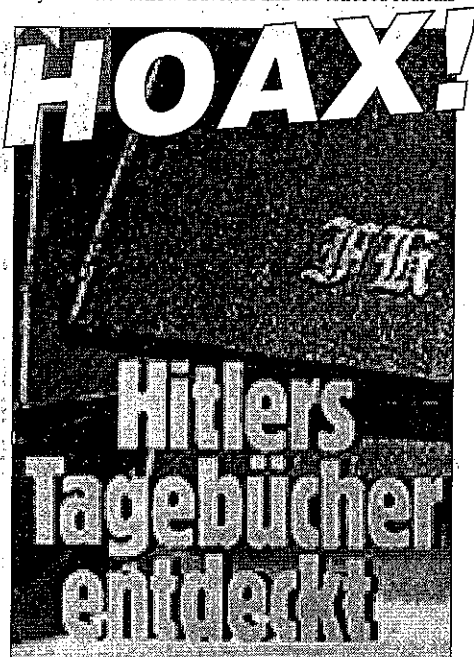


painted everything within reach red, grabbed the tax collector's money and threw it in the streets, tore down the jail, released the prisoners, and chanted in the town square, "We're defenders of the poor," for fifteen or twenty minutes.

None of the guerilla intruders was masked, because none of them were local. As strangers, they had no understanding of the situation in Uspantán in which virtually all the land disputes were between the Mayan inhabitants themselves. Instead, they perceived the social problem according to the Marxist textbook version, which has now been perpetuated by Rigoberta and the Nobel Prize committee through Rigoberta's book. In their first revolutionary act, the guerrillas executed two local ladino landholders.

Thinking that this successful violence had established the guerrillas as the power in his region, Vicente Menchu cast his fate with them, providing them with a meeting place, and accompanying them on a protest. But Guatemala's security forces, which had been primed for Castro's Soviet-backed hemispheric offensive, responded by descending on the region with characteristic brutality. The killings that ensued were abetted by enraged relatives of the murdered ladino peasants seeking revenge on the leftist assassins. The trail of violence left many innocents slaughtered in its wake, including Rigoberta's parents and a second brother (whose death Rigoberta sensationalizes by falsely claiming that he was burned alive and that she and her parents were forced to witness the act).

The most famous incident in Rigoberta's book is the January 1980 occupa-



who dominate the American academic community have wrought. While recognizing that something has gone amiss, the *Times* concludes that it would be wrong to tarnish the entire cause because of the excesses of Rigoberta's book. "After the initial lies, the international apparatus of human rights activism, journalism and academia pitched in to exaggerate the dire condition of the peasants when a simple recounting of the truth would have been enough."

But would it? If a simple recounting of the truth would have been enough, then Rigoberta's lies would be unnecessary. So why tell them? If there was any truth in the myth itself, the Guatemalan guerrillas would not have been wiped out in two or three years. The fact is that there was no social ground for the armed insurrection that these Castroists tried to force, any more than there was for Guevara's suicidal effort in Bolivia years before. Ultimately, the source of the violence and ensuing misery that Rigoberta describes in her destructive little book is the leftist intelligentsia itself, for whom this Guatemalan poseur was a Marxist heroine waiting to happen.

Rigoberta Menchu made a fool of the credulous defenders of Third Worldism on the Nobel Prize committee, and of her feckless academic sponsors at Stanford and other universities, all of whom were looking for such a fraud to legitimate their fantasies. Along with the Castroite agents of disinformation behind this project, they all made a monster in *Rigoberta Menchu*, which now stands alongside the *Hitler Diaries*, a bird of a similar political feather, as the great literary hoax of our age.

Fem Pres, Continued from page 1

Could this be happening? It could. The feminist president broke feminist law, and damaged himself, his wife, and their allies, with the tools they had used to win power. Few desserts were ever so sweet, or so fitting. Few dramas ever had their *dramatis personae* so scrambled.

Bill Clinton

Bill Clinton is our "first female president," novelist Mary Gordon said at an anti-impeachment rally in New York. (This was at about the same time fellow fiction writer Toni Morrison said he was the first black President.) This may be stretching it. But if not quite a female, he is the next best thing to it, our first feminist, even a feminine, president, so cued to emotion and feeling, so alert to nuances that may become crevices of opportunity. Few ever stepped out of the "prison of gender" so much as Bill Clinton, the mama's boy, sheltered by so many strong women, and so secure in their protective circle that at times he has seemed to be one of the girls. In many ways, most of his traits seemed to be female: He cried. He emoted. He hugged without mercy. He never stopped talking. His m.o. was seduction, not conquest. He tended to whine, and not threaten. He seemed to dislike, even fear, the armed forces. His physical presence appeared soft and squishy. He had a weight problem. People made fun of his thighs. True to form, he followed the feminist line on all points of theory. He gave them a Cabinet that looked the way that they thought that America ought to, not only with people of varying color, but of fierce-looking women and tame-looking men.

But all was not peace in this feminist Eden. This man, who won feminist hearts when he married the plain girl in glasses, was also drawn to the "wrong" kind of woman—all tight clothes, thick makeup, big hair. As it turned out, their new man was an old kind of problem, and one they had dealt with before: like Ted Kennedy, of Chappaquiddick, Palm Beach, and serial incidents; like Bob Packwood, the serial groper; like Gary Hart, the model new sensitized candidate until caught with a blonde on a boat. All were in tune with the gender agenda, finding new "rights" where none had existed. All took some hits in their way from the feminist culture. But none flouted so openly what Clinton campaigned on, and none broke a feminist law.

Was it the Hill-Thomas furor that sensitized Ms. Jones to her own sad outrage, and to its great possibilities? Was she moved by the words of Ms. Hillary Clinton, who praised Ms. Hill so much for her "courage," and urged other abused women to speak out? Jones spoke and exploded one feminist theory: that males, even the squishes like Clinton, can be schooled out of wanting women who do not look much or act much like men. "The sensitive New Man turned out to be just another old-fashioned masher and skirt-chaser," wrote Camille Paglia in the *New Republic*. "The irony is that Bill's aw-shucks, Huck Finn rap is one of the most effective womanizing styles of all time." Clinton's real legacy, such as it is, may be this insight into sexual politics: that one can be the worst kind of abuser and lecher, while being in no other ways like a man. Carrying an 'L' on his forehead—for having lied about sex, in a harassment case, of all possible ironies—he will lurch forever through the halls of history, his pants at his ankles, as he is in so many skits and cartoons. So much for androgyny. So much for empathy. So much for Feminist Man.

Hillary

"Hillary Clinton is the lodestar of this administration, magnetically attracting its core constituencies and repelling its die-hard enemies," Michael Barone perceptively wrote in 1994, calling her "a hugely important symbol for feminists".

... the personification of the ideas and personal choices implied by the name." Indeed, she, not her husband, was the soul of the enterprise. He was a man, like so many others. She was the difference. He was just old stuff. She was the new. She was no Jackie, changing the furniture. She was no Nancy, staring up doe eyed. She was no Barbara Bush, leaving college to marry her war hero and bear his six children, volunteering thereafter in hospitals. This was no Little Woman. This was no Lesser Life.

"She represented all the hopes of women who woke up and got angry," said an approving Susan Faludi, author of *Backlash*. And anger at what? At being used, abused, and discounted by men, used as backdrops in campaigns to assure their own future, while being privately cheated on. Rose, Joan, and Jacqueline Kennedy were blasted as doormats, as was Lee Hart. In fact, in 1987, Gary's wife, after feminism had been around for a



FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON

while, came in for a good deal of sisterly bashing. How could she stay? How could she stand it? How could she campaign for him? "Her conduct," wrote Ann Grimes in *Running Mates*, her book about the wives of candidates in the 1988 elections, "was questioned by many and countenanced by few. . . . Her faithfulness in the face of infidelity, and her husband's hollow words—'She has always believed in me, and she has a remarkable ability to detach her relationship to me as my wife from my roles as a candidate'—hit women especially in the gut."

Grimes quotes a feminist who said that Lee Hart, like Joan, Jackie, and even Eleanor Roosevelt, could not be blamed because they had been brought up in benighted eras to be dupes, doormats, and housewives, unlike such luminaries as "Gerry Ferraro [and] Eleanor Smeal." Such indignities, the writer implied, could not happen to a Smeal or Ferraro because their feminism would prevent it. Or, to a Hillary Clinton, who would burst on the national scene four years later, and now is defended by both of them. Such things could not happen to a Hillary Clinton, who demanded, and got, such respect from her husband. But they did.

Hillary Clinton—strong woman, co-president—first met the American public on Super Bowl Sunday in 1992, sitting beside and supporting her husband as he (falsely) denied an affair with Gennifer Flowers, one of the many, many women with whom Clinton never had sex in his life. Now here she was again, on January 26, 1998, telling the *Today Show*, and all the rest of us, that if her husband had had an affair with an intern in the White House that would truly be "extremely serious," but "that will not be proven to be true." Hillary Clinton was credited at the time with having rescued her husband's unraveling

presidency, but almost immediately her image had started to change. Angry pieces appeared in *Tim*, the *New Republic*, *New York*, the *New Yorker*, and such glossy monthlies as *Capital Style* and *Georg*. She was called an "enabler," a battered wife, and "feminist beard," allowing her husband to go on and abuse other women. Her credentials and bargains were called into question.

"Hillary's power seems derived largely from her ability to extricate him from sex scandals," wrote Mary Jacoby (who once worked for the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock). "Hillary has been playing second fiddle for a long time." Eve left-wingers attacked her. "Someone needs to tell this woman that the first time a wife stands up for an allegedly adulterous husband, everyone thinks she's a saint. The second or third time . . . she begins to look disturbingly complicit," wrote Barbara Ehrenreich. And the redoubtable Andrea Dworkin complained, "Being a feminist has to mean you don't use your intellect and your creativity to protect a man's exploitation of women."

But if Hillary lost ground among female writers, she also gained many new friends. Among them were the angry white Southern males, who once strongly detested both of the Clintons, but now found place in their hearts for them both. Of course, he fooled around—as they would. Mary McGrory reported. Of course, he lied—as they would. "Then Hillary came out and defends him. Every man should have a wife like that . . . Hillary Clinton once regarded as an uppity Yankee shrew has become something of a heroine among the Bubbas, who relate more to Tammy Wynette than to Eleanor Roosevelt. They once thought of her as . . . 'too smart for a woman,' but now she's a good ole girl, who stands by her man, and understands 'guys' things' better than they thought."

She also gained ground among other women—the traditional housewife she once had disparaged, who bonded along lines of suffering. As conservative Maggie Gallagher wrote, "Homemaking women . . . identified with Hillary, and . . . began to swing to Clinton's side when she made her remarkable defense of 'my husband,' understanding too well what I meant to rely upon a philandering breadwinner." Gallagher traced the Clintons' support to "the same mechanisms that led to the Victorian double standard," in which "men were granted a special sexual license," while wives defended them, attacked "other women" as tramps and con artists, and otherwise turned a blind eye.

Hillary's numbers, which started to rise with her winter defense of "my husband," really took off after his August 17th non-confession when it at last became clear to the country that not only had her husband cheated repeatedly in their home (on Easter, and on their anniversary) with a girl young enough to have been their own daughter, but had also sent her out to lie for months or end. Now twice the victim, and played for a sap Hillary's polls shot to new heights of approval. She was victimhood squared. At the same time, whatever her role as a backstage advisor, her public profile had shrunk to the worst kind of First Lady fluffery: going on meaningless "historical" visits patting small children at classroom occasions, editing children's letters to her cat and dog. And posing for *Vogue*, looking stunning and glitzy, alongside a long puff piece extolling her "dignity," with little mention of what this dignity has been called upon to overcome. "Her approval rating is at a record high, even as her actual achievements are at a record low," said Wendy Wasserstein, who used to adore her. "Hillary is moving at breakneck speed away from even the appearance that she's doing something meaningful for the lives of Americans," wrote an unadoring Andrea Peyser in the *New York Post*. "Instead, she's chosen to cast herself in the image of a sad, abused, misunderstood, and, above all, glamorous princess," a shorter, less attractive, Princess Di.

Even her recent November successes, when she helped to elect some favorite

Democrats—Chuck Schumer in New York, against her old enemy Al D'Amato; and her in-law and favorite, Barbara Boxer—were less an assertion of feminist power than odd re-assertions of this dynamic of grievance. Democrats who still liked Bill Clinton could rally to her as his consort and surrogate. But people appalled and repelled by his conduct could register this against him, not his party, by supporting her as his single most visible victim—a win-win formulation all around. No First Lady not so abused by her lout of a husband could have had such electric and staggering impact, the perfect example of weakness as strength. No doubt this dynamic will weigh in again, should she decide to seek elective office. This killer-lawyer-co-president has never soared higher, than as a symbol of feminine weakness. "Mrs. Clinton has gone from seeming too controlling for some to seeming unable to control her own husband," says the *New Yorker's* Jane Mayer. "Thanks to Monica, Hillary is, finally, one of the girls."

Who ever guessed that Hillary Rodham, who came to town as the empowered gender-avenger, would end up (for the time being, at least) as the stiff upper-lipped 50's matron, standing up once again for her man? No wonder Wendy Wasserstein says mournfully that "her current popularity seems a bridge to the past, rather than the future." Wasserstein's oeuvre is the story of Hillary's cohort, as it moves from uncommon feminist promise to the confusions of modern reality. Is *The Hillary Chronicles* the next stage in the canon? Stay tuned.

The Feminists

Bill and Hillary Clinton will probably hang on in office, however diminished, but whether they do or not, their allies in the feminist movement will have taken a hit. Joined at the hip to both of the Clintons, they have smashed their own codes to follow the First Couple's gender gyrations, and as a consequence have endorsed two of the stereotypes they once opposed—the clinging, forgiving, Victorian doormat; and—the compulsive and abusive lech. Functioning as a tail to the Clinton kite, the feminists have been forced to explain why harassment, which they once saw under every bed, was not always what it looked like, and why some abused women were actually just reactionaries. "She wasn't killed. She wasn't harassed. She wasn't fired," said Betty Friedan of Paula Jones. "It's a diversion. I abhor the use of a sexual issue this way." And on the Willey front, Gloria Steinem invoked her "one free grope" theory, in which assault was not harassment, and not really criminal, as long as it stopped short of rape. Meanwhile, she would not deign to judge Mr. Clinton, as she was not blameless. How could she hold him to a higher standard than herself?

What a transformation. "There is no room in the job description for Chief Womanizer," Ellen Goodman once wrote during the Gary Hart scandals. Betty Friedan—then—agreed. "This is the last time a candidate will be able to treat women as bimbos," she told *Time* in 1987. "There's an implied denigration of women, a lack of respect of [their] values." But "So what?" she says now. "What's the big deal?" Here is Ellen Goodman again, in 1987 during the Hart affair: "Is sex the only thing that's off limits? . . . much has been changed. . . . The old-boy tolerance of dalliance—men will be men—has been changed by the admission of women into the political system; the gentlewomen's disagreement. . . . A slogan of the women's movement—the personal is political—has become a common sensibility. We are more willing to admit the importance of something called character. And less willing to accept a character that is split between public and private life."

But things haven't changed, quite as much as she thought. "Compartmentalization" is now hailed as a virtue. Men will be men, Geraldine Ferraro told Rep. Tillie Fowler, asking her not to vote for impeachment. And Friedan describes the Jones and Willey episodes as being part of Clinton's private life.

Likewise, the girls have turned cartwheels, trying to keep up with their evolving (devolving?) First Lady. What was repression and

shame in Lee Hart and Rose Kennedy is maturity and strength in her. "She demonstrated what a partnership is in a marriage," says a spokesman for the Feminist Majority, incredibly. "The public sees a woman who has conducted herself with dignity and strength and courage in the face of adversity, and their respect for her will only increase."

And maybe it will, but around March, respect for the feminists dropped like a stone, and still has not recovered. They will always retain the support of core members, but respect for them as supporters of women—all women, not just their special allies—is gone. They no longer have the automatic support of the mainstream, the attendant non-members, who once assumed that all women shared the same interests: equal pay, equal rights, better treatment of rape victims, and keep your big hands to yourself. Now, questions on the Sunday talk shows appear largely focused on the duplicity of the feminist movement, and feminist talking heads often find themselves opposed not by guilty males but by disgusted conservative women. Gloria Borgia bailed out. Richard Cohen defected. In *Vanity Fair*, Marjorie Williams, a self-confessed feminist and a Democrat, raked the sisters over the coals for an unseemly defense of their president. Even Margaret Carlson was moved to speak out: "If Clarence Thomas laid Coke cans end to end, each with a public hair on top, sufficient to encircle the Capitol, his behavior would not have been as offensive as the Governor of Arkansas, inviting an employee to his room, dropping his trousers, and asking her to kiss it," she said.

This is what happens when a group loses its moral authority, and sinks from the status of noble cause to that of fringe interest group, predictably partisan. In this case, the feminists have lost the ability to speak out for the interests of women in general, to carry their case to the general public, and even to press further harassment cases without fear of looking ridiculous. Probably, they have been like this for a very long time—in their very soft treatment of Senator Kennedy; in their very long silence on Senator Packwood; on their silence in 1996 upon the discovery that Dick Morris, Bill Clinton's then-pollster, was also doing work for one Alex Kelly, the one-time teen fugitive, now convicted for several rapes. But it wasn't brought to light so vividly until this year. "It took a Hillary to raise a president," said Gail Sheehy, meaning it took her discipline to whip her boy into shape. And it took a Bill Clinton to bring down the feminists. Always look out for your friends.

Their face is not the only thing feminists have lost in their defenses of Bill and of Hillary Clinton. They have shot holes all through the harassment statutes—their signature issue—as well. This may be good, or bad, or perhaps both and neither, but it is certainly happening. How can they enforce laws upon Tom, Dick, and Harry, when they waive them on behalf of their Bill? What they have been doing throughout this scandal in defense of their hero has been to give him leave to break the laws that they sponsored, and more, that they urged him to sign. It was their idea to make harassment law this important; their idea to give the woman's attorney the right to ask the male defendant all those nosy, pesky, invasive questions about aides and/or interns, and who touched who where. Friedan-esque weaseling, all about privacy, would quickly unravel this fabric. "To say . . . that it's forgivable for the defendant to lie about sex in a sex harassment case is to trivialize and ultimately delegitimize sexual harassment claims," said Heather Higgins in the *Wall Street Journal*. "If . . . Mr. Clinton should be excused from perjury and obstruction in these matters because the disclosures would have been embarrassing . . . so too should that standard apply to embarrassed business executives . . . and if workplace relationships that are either embarrassing or consensual are therefore deemed 'private' and thus either off limits or okay to lie about, then sexual harassment law as written will soon be a farce."

But mere days after the scandal broke, the harassment culture had started to crumble; as men started to realize it was all right to leer. "I can now revert to my old, bigoted form," said one cheerful executive. "The current scandal might

send men a new signal," ran a *New York Times* story, "a sign that the time is now ripe for a more relaxed, less rigid, climate." The *Times* quoted a harassment consultant as having said of his clients: "They are looking at this case as a test case. If the same groups that pushed sexual harassment policies on to the agenda are now giving the president a pass, then maybe something has changed."

"Bill Clinton has been bad for women," wrote Suzanne Fields in the *Washington Times*. "He's brought back the old stereotypes: the tramp, the conniver, the vamp, the seductress, the avenger, the patient wife, who will accept anything but public admission that her husband's a cheat, the vulnerable ingenue on the casting couch, who will accept any kind of degrading behavior to keep an affair going with a powerful man." Since the feminists made it their calling to change all these images, Clinton hurt them most of all. He reinstated the Victorian model of the cheating man and long-suffering consort. He shredded their laws, tarnished their image, and reduced their role model to a brave little wife.

But if it took a Bill Clinton to damage the feminists, it took the feminists to tarnish their Bill. Without their work over the course of a generation there would have been no scandal; no trial. They would not be exposed, Hillary Clinton would not be embarrassed; and President Clinton would not be impeached. How did this happen? Committed to the harassment issue after the Hill-Thomas hearings, feminists, with two friends in the White House and many more in the Justice Department, began to press for large expansions in harassment law. People were now fined, or fired, for what some considered harmless, or commonplace, language. A chance remark, or an off-color joke, could be considered harassment. A picture that someone disliked was considered harassment. So was the "wrong" magazine. Laws were tipped sharply in favor of plaintiffs: including one that made it possible for a woman's attorney, on the grounds of seeking a pattern of conduct, to investigate all the defendant's sexual contacts with people once in his employ. It was this provision, a recent departure, that gave Paula Jones's lawyers the right to seek and to find one Miss Lewinsky, and ask Clinton the questions that caused him to lie.

Conservatives claimed that this law was excessive, but feminists said it was needed. At their behest, Clinton signed it again into law, when he reaffirmed the Violence Against Women Act in February 1998. Conservatives might also have thought the Paula Jones case was not legal harassment, as she seemed to have suffered no consequence; but the Anita Hill spectacle had a different message. Feminists claimed then that the alleged conduct itself was legal harassment, and it was on these grounds that the Jones case gained its legitimacy. "These are principles embraced not by the enthusiasts of Ms. Jones," wrote Philip Terzian, "but by the president's friends and colleagues in the academic world."

And so they were. The complaints uttered by feminists against the "sexual terrorism" used by conservatives in the Jones case were a little bit specious, as they had invented these tactics, and approved of them heartily when they were used against their enemies. Their real complaint was that these measures were used on all the wrong people. They were set up in large part to catch pro-life judges, not their own weepy Bill. They are like terrorists whose bombs have blown up in their own faces. "Their rules were designed to trap a Wilbur Mills or a Clarence Thomas," wrote Barbara Amiel. "What feminists never anticipated was catching one of their own."

But they did. One of the arguments made by Clinton's defenders, Arthur M. Schlesinger among them, was that Clinton had the 'right' to lie to the lawyers, as those were questions no one had the 'right' to ask of him. But they did have the right. He gave it to them. He, and his feminist friends. Never has justice been so sweet, or poetic. Whatever the outcome before the Senate, Bill Clinton, at the urgings of his wife and their allies, managed to impeach himself.

Noemie Emery wrote "Fashionably Left" in the October 1998 issue of *Heterodoxy*.

White Papers, Continued from page 1

war. The White Papers were portrayed as worse than propaganda—a calculated campaign of disinformation, tantamount to intellectual treason. Destroying the credibility of these White Papers was a chief objective of the anti-war movement and the first step in its ultimate victory over U.S. policy. But now, thirty years after the fact, it appears that the government view was one of those truths that are the first casualty of war.

The 1961 White Paper put it boldly: the Viet Cong were not indigenous freedom fighters; Hanoi was behind a growing guerrilla war in South Vietnam: "... Seized documents, propaganda pamphlets, and indoctrination leaflets picked up throughout South Vietnam make clear that the Lao Dong (worker's) party, that is, the Communist Party, is the vanguard of the 'liberation' movement. As those familiar with the Communist movement know, this means that the 'liberation' movement is directed by the Communist Party ... Clearly, the Liberation Front is Hanoi's creation; it is neither independent nor southern, and it hardly seeks what most men would consider liberation. The only accurate word in the title of the organization is 'front.'" (pp. 11-15)

When it issued this White Paper on Vietnam, the new Kennedy Administration had been humbled by Khrushchev in Vienna and by the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs invasion failure in Cuba, and it had given in to Communist military pressure in Laos. Kennedy decided, therefore, that Vietnam would be where he had to draw the line of containment against Communism in Asia. The White Paper served to make his case that assistance to South Vietnam was legal, moral and in all other ways proper.

Further evidence for its belief that the guerrilla war in Vietnam was part of a Communist effort to subjugate independent people was found in the confessions of North Vietnamese agents arrested at sea on June 5, 1961; a Hanoi agent placed in the South prior to 1955; documents found in Communist mountain infiltration stations; pictures found on dead Viet Cong soldiers of the men in North Vietnamese uniforms; diaries documenting infiltration experiences; and documents captured from the Viet Cong.

All this evidence offered by the Kennedy Administration 1961 White Paper may not have been a "smoking gun," but it did justify the conclusions of the White Paper.

Kennedy's resolve to assist South Vietnam and his steps towards that end did not stop the tide of conflict. In November 1963, just before his own assassination, South Vietnam's government collapsed in a murderous *coup d'état*. Guerrilla forces took advantage of this opportunity and expanded their efforts to seize power in South Vietnam.

The new American president, Lyndon Johnson, and Kennedy's surviving advisors stood by the earlier policy of support for the South Vietnamese. By early 1965, the war was going even worse for the Americans and their allies. Introduction of American military forces for the bombing of North Vietnam and ground fighting in South Vietnam was becoming unavoidable. So, a second White Paper was released in late February 1965 to once again make the point that the war was caused by Hanoi's policy of conquest.

The 1965 White Paper stated that: "South Vietnam is fighting for its life against a brutal campaign of terror and armed attack inspired, directed, and controlled by the Communist regime in Hanoi. This flagrant aggression has been going on for years, but recently the pace has quickened that the threat has now become acute." (p. 1)

Appendices to the 1965 White Paper show copies of North Vietnamese passports and

travel documents used by Viet Cong officials. Organization tables for the Communist political and military organization of the war in the South were provided. There was a document captured in 1962 showing that the new People's Revolutionary Party in South Vietnam was subordinate to the Lao Dong Party in the North.

The front page of this soon-to-be-disparaged White Paper contained this quote from President Johnson: "Our purpose [in Vietnam] is to join in the defense and protection of freedom of a brave people who are under attack that is controlled and that is directed from outside their country."

Here Johnson tied his objective in Vietnam—defense of a non-Communist government—to the conclusions of now two official White Papers.

The 1965 White Paper concluded: "It [is] established beyond question that North Vietnam

Department of not presenting the war as "a rebellion in the South, which may owe some men and material to the North but is largely dependent on popular indigenous support for its manpower, as it is on captured U.S. weapons for its supply." Stone then blamed South Vietnam's first President, Ngo Diem, for the war: "It was this campaign [to wipe out opposition] and the oppressive exactions imposed on the peasantry, the fake land reform, and the concentration camps Diem set up of political opponents of all kinds, which stirred ever wider rebellion from 1958 onward in the grass roots before North Vietnam gave support."

Stone's sole source for his view of the origins of the war was a 1962 article by Philippe Devillers, a Frenchman who had sympathized with Ho Chi Minh since 1946.

Other critics of Johnson's Vietnam policies then began to pile-on as Stone's critique became a party line. In December 1965, Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden visited North Vietnam. They found Hanoi's Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, to be "not part of an 'other side', but part of that great cross-section of humanity that today is emerging from misery to independence."

The struggle of the Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam, Lynd and Hayden felt, had strengthened the traditions of community and democracy which are rooted in Vietnamese history. They explained the Resistance to the South Vietnamese government as arising from deep personal stakes: "There is a revolutionary force in Vietnam. It is simply the aspiration to rise above misery, because people have realized that misery is not inevitably their condition."

But it was not only movement figures like Lynd and Hayden who assaulted the White Paper. In 1965 Hans Morganthau, one of the respected establishment gray-beards in foreign policy, bitterly criticized American participation in the Vietnam war: "Let it be said right away that the White Paper is a dismal failure. The discrepancy between its assertions and the factual evidence adduced to support them borders on the grotesque. The United States has decided to change

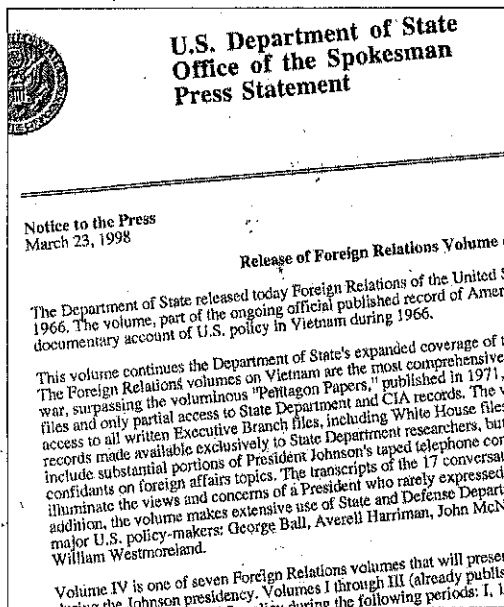
the character of the war by unilateral declaration from a South Vietnamese civil war to a war of 'foreign aggression'."

The Frenchman Jean Lacouture, who would become something of an icon to the anti-war activists, had his work, *Vietnam Entre Deux Paix*, translated into English in 1966. The influential journalist Joseph Kraft wrote an introduction to the English translation. Kraft used Lacouture's work to support his conclusion that "in short, like almost all rebellions, the Viet Cong revolt was not set off by some master planner working from the outside. It was generated basically by local conditions. ... It was only after the [National Liberation] Front was already in motion, in September 1960, that Hanoi gave it explicit support."

Lacouture himself said: "The argument of the [1965] White Paper was not impressive and proofs of Northern intervention were weak ..." His version of how the war began was summarized in his observation: "Invasion of South Vietnam? Of course not."

These ideas had consequences. While Arthur Schlesinger had been an advisor to President John Kennedy, he had supported the Kennedy call for militant opposition to Communist expansion in the Third World. But after Johnson became President, Schlesinger's views on Vietnam began to change. The former Harvard professor adopted the Izzy Stone, Lynd, Hayden, Morganthau, Lacouture view of the war.

Schlesinger saw the logic of Johnson's policy of continued escalation as arising from a need to put military pressure on Hanoi until it pulled out its forces or allowed the war to fade away, a strategy of forcing Hanoi to question whether the war was worth the price. He rejected



STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS RELEASE

is carrying out a carefully conceived plan of aggression against the South. Hanoi continues to press its systematic program of armed aggression into South Vietnam. This aggression violates the United Nations Charter. It is directly contrary to the Geneva Accords of 1954 and of 1962 to which North Vietnam is a party." (p. 29)

The leaders of the anti-war movement not only rejected the conclusions of the White Papers but boldly replaced the government's argument with their own version of events in South Vietnam, the intellectual equivalent of anti-matter meant to annihilate the substance of the Johnson Administration's call-to-arms. Simply, the anti-war leaders denied the fact of North Vietnamese Communist aggression in South Vietnam; in order to take Vietnam out of the arena of containment policy.

The war was described by journalists and academics in teach-ins and in congressional hearings, but it was described as a struggle of indigenous peasants suffering oppression from an illegitimate government.

I. F. (Izzy) Stone, later revealed to have been friendly to the Soviets, wasted no time challenging the 1965 White Paper. On March 8, 1965, he published a searing critique in his *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. He took for granted the fact that North Vietnam "supported" the guerrillas in South Vietnam just as the United States "supported" the South Vietnamese government as a way of deflecting the charge of the two Administration White Papers that Hanoi "directed" the war inside South Vietnam.

Stone accused the 1965 White Paper of "withholding all evidence which points to a civil war" in South Vietnam. Stone accused the State

that strategy: "The illusion that the war in South Vietnam can be decided in North Vietnam is evidently a result of listening too long to our own propaganda."

"Our government has insisted so often that the war in South Vietnam is, in President Johnson's phrase, 'a vicious and illegal aggression across this little nation's frontier' that it has come to believe itself that the war was started in Hanoi and can only be stopped there."

In 1967 Cornell Professor George Kahin, along with co-author John Lewis, contributed a seminal text to the anti-war movement, entitled *The United States In Vietnam*. First appearing in June 1965, their material had been extensively used in the teach-ins, and events had escalated anti-war sentiment from fringe protests to a respectable political undertaking.

Kahin passionately believed that: "In sum, the insurrection is Southern rooted; it arose at Southern initiative in response to Southern demands. The Liberation Front gave political articulation and leadership to the widespread reaction against the harshness and the heavy-handedness of Diem's government. . . . Not surprisingly, they [southern former Viet Minh cadres] lost patience with the Communist North and finally took matters into their own hands. Hanoi, despite its reluctance, was then obliged to sanction the Southerners' actions or risk forfeiting all chance of influence over the course of events in South Vietnam."

Kahin concluded: "Contrary to U.S. policy assumptions, all available evidence shows that the revival of the civil war in the South in 1958 was undertaken by Southerners at their own—not Hanoi's—initiative. There is no evidence to assert, as does the U.S. White Paper of 1965, that 'the Liberation Front for South Vietnam . . . was formed at Hanoi's order.' This assertion is merely a convenient assumption and is quite as devoid of actual foundation as is Secretary [of State] Rusk's dependent assumption that the civil war 'could end literally in 24 hours . . . if these people in Hanoi should come to the conclusion that they are not going to try to seize Vietnam and Laos by force.'"

The book event in which the anti-war critique culminated was *Fire in the Lake*, published by Frances Fitzgerald in 1972. A national best-seller that won the Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and the Bancroft Prize for History, the book proposed a view of the war that was actually derived from the writing of Paul Mus, a French colonial educator and scholar. Mus had been another sophisticated cultural apologist for Ho Chi Minh in 1945 and 1946, when DeGaulle's Free French party had attempted to use Ho Chi Minh in the interests of a renewed French colonial presence in Vietnam. Though she spent some time in Vietnam in the mid-1960's, Fitzgerald saw all things Vietnamese through those erudite, French colonial eyes.

Fitzgerald's derivative position was that the Saigon regime was "inauthentically" Vietnamese. She made the following reference to the 1965 White Paper: "In this paper, State Department officials claimed that the NLF was no more than an instrument of North Vietnam working against the hopes of all the South Vietnamese for peace, independence, prosperity and freedom. Had these official claims been true, they would have delineated a situation not very different from civil war in Nigeria or Pakistan. . . . But the Vietnam War was not a civil war; it was a revolutionary war that had raged throughout the entire country since 1945. . . . The leaders of the NLF worked in close cooperation with the north, . . . but it was not until the intervention of American combat troops that they became dependent on the north for war materials and for men. . . . It is difficult to imagine that with its own resources and material, the NLF had no influence in Hanoi. . . . If the north was indeed trying to conquer the south, it was doing so by politics and culture but not by force."

She described the NLF, or Viet Cong, as a "national movement with appeal for the great mass of the rural people." She said: "The NLF was the counterbalance without which the society

would not have been complete—the yang to the yin of the government." She concluded her book with the thought that victory for the Communists would be "the only way the Vietnamese of the south can restore their country and their history to themselves."

It is interesting to compare the anti-war movement's attack on U.S. policy in Vietnam, and particularly on the 1965 White Paper, with the "Summary of Facts" about the war completed in 1987 by Hanoi's Military History Institute. A hand-typed presentation copy of this Summary first given to Hanoi General Vo Nguyen Giap was later given to me in 1995. This document of several hundred pages describes key decisions made by Hanoi regarding South Vietnam from the Geneva Conference in 1954 until the final conquest of Saigon by the Communists on April 30, 1975.

General Giap is still the great military hero of the Vietnamese Communists for his 1954 defeat of the French in the mountain valley of Dien Bien Phu. That defeat had broken the will of the French to fight the Vietnamese Communists. The French then agreed to the partition of Vietnam between the Communists in the north and the non-Communists in the south, as had been done in Germany and Korea.

The Summary confirms the two American White Papers and utterly refutes the position of the anti-war movement.

Hanoi's document reveals how, step by step, the Vietnamese Communist leadership in Hanoi made the decisions to foment a war in South Vietnam and then, again and again, to escalate that conflict without regard for casualties.

In September 1954, after the Geneva Conference had divided Vietnam into two independent, autonomous states, the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party made a decision to begin a peaceful struggle (*dau tranh hoa binh*) against the new non-Communist government of South Vietnam. In the opinion of the Communist party leadership, Vietnam had been divided by the accords reached in Geneva into two independent states only temporarily. While the North would build socialism, the South needed a new kind of struggle appropriate for new circumstances to, as the Party leadership expressed it, "complete the democratic revolution, liberate the south and unite the fatherland." (p. 10)

So, right from the start of South Vietnam's existence, Hanoi was resolved to crush its autonomy and bring its people under Communist rule.

According to the Summary, the initial efforts to conquer the South then developed in a cumulative sequence of three phases: phase one, from 1954 to 1956, was a political effort to demand implementation of the Geneva Accords; phase two, from July 1956 to 1958, was continued political struggle with the addition of armed propaganda and armed self-defense; phase three, from 1959 to 1960, saw the revolution in the South move to the offense, implementing regional uprisings to overthrow the political strategy of the Americans.

The Communist Party's efforts in the first phase of purely political activity were a failure. From 1954 to 1956 the Ngo Dinh Diem government in Saigon resettled nearly 1,000,000 refugees from Communism, built an administration, and began economic development. Diem refused to surrender his country to Communist leadership as the Communists thought would happen if the Geneva Accords were implemented along Communist lines.

Recognizing its failure at political agitation in the South, but not giving up, the Party experimented after 1956 with various ways to use force and undermine the Diem government. Key Communist leaders met in April 1956 and June 1956 and decided to escalate activities in the South by combining political struggle with armed propaganda and armed self-defense. Assassinations of local South Vietnamese teachers and officials began. In October of that year, two headquarters were established by Hanoi

inside South Vietnam to command the growing military efforts there. In the middle of 1958, a third separate command headquarters was established for the Mekong Delta region.

Positive results for Hanoi were now being achieved under the new policy of armed violence. In August 1958, rising Communist leader Le Duan presented to his colleagues in the Hanoi leadership an action plan, calling for further escalation of the fighting in South Vietnam. In January 1959, the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of Vietnam's Communist Party was convened. Decisions (*nguyet* 15) were then taken about affairs in the South. Le Duan's arguments carried the day. The method of developing the revolution was to use violence; depending on the situation, the power of the people directed into political action would be the tactic of first preference, but such political steps were to be combined with armed action, less or more, depending on tactical needs, to overthrow the government authorities.

All this actually happened just as the 1961 White Paper told the American people it had happened two years later. For example, the 1961 White Paper explained: "After 1958 the use of terror by the Viet Cong increased sharply. The control organizations in the North expanded and their techniques were refined. Political cadres and military replacements were sent South in increasing numbers. Infiltration systems—by sea and by land—were expanded. Local recruitment, through terror and propaganda, became a priority assignment for all units. Communications between North and South were modernized." (p. 4)

The Decision of the 15th Plenum meeting of the Central Committee set in motion a strategy of local uprisings, as political dissidence was upgraded to open, armed rebellion. To implement Decision 15 of the Central Committee, many agencies were established to help the leadership in Hanoi direct and coordinate the revolution in the South and military efforts in Laos.

In March 1959, the Politburo directed that a base be set up in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam to provide secure communications and other links with the North. In April 1959, the Ministry of Defense established Group 559 to manage transportation between the North and the South over the Ho Chi Minh trail running inside Laos. In July 1959, Group 759 was established to manage transport via sea to South Vietnam. At the same time, training was begun for soldiers and cadres to be sent into South Vietnam.

When Decision 15 was received, in various provinces of the southern part of South Vietnam, revolutionary efforts took off immediately. The party commissar for Byn Tre Province organized and led an uprising from January 17 to January 21, 1960. Government officials were overthrown in the villages of three districts in that province, and people's administrative committees were established to provide for control of these villages.

After this, uprisings were organized in the provinces of Can Tho, Kien Phong, Tra Vinh, An Xuyen and Ca Mau. The regional and provincial party commissars in Tay Ninh province organized a successful armed attack on a large GVN military base. People's revolutionary governments were set up in 563 villages. (p. 22) Then, in 1960, revolutionary forces fought 1,602 engagements in southern South Vietnam and 70 in the central provinces. Liberated areas were established in mountains and jungles, and bases for guerrillas were secured in the midst of government territory.

The Third Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party convened in September 1960. To build on the success of the regional uprising strategy used after 1958, the Congress decided to unite all the people in the South to resolutely struggle against the Americans and make uncompromising war to overthrow the Ngo Dinh Diem government. (p. 28) The Congress decided to establish the Central Office for South Vietnam to directly lead the revolutionary struggle in the South.

"Following the road set out by the Party Congress, on December 20, 1960 the People's Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam was established." (p. 28) The NLF, or Viet Cong political organization, is thus revealed by the Summary as having been the creation of Hanoi's Communist Party.

That one little sentence in Hanoi's Summary retrospectively converts the passionate assertions of anti-war leaders like Kahin and Fitzgerald into falsehoods. If anything, the first American White Paper underestimated the impact in South Vietnam of Hanoi's decision to go to war.

The decisions of the September 1960 Party Congress were further implemented in actions taken by the Politburo in January 1961. The Central Military Commission and a new Unification Office in Hanoi were tasked with helping the central authorities direct the struggle in the South. The Politburo also decided to augment the leadership of the Central Office for the South and the various other regional commands in South Vietnam. (p. 29)

On February 15, 1961 all Communist organized armed units in South Vietnam were unified into the Liberation Army of the South.

The first main force regiment of this new army was constituted in August 1961. Communist military forces, which had been 1/17th the size of South Vietnam's army (ARVN) at the end of 1960, grew to 1/10th the size of the ARVN by the end of 1961. By the end of 1962, the ratio grew to 1:7 and a total armed force of 42,500 men had been organized by the Communists in South Vietnam.

By the time of the 1961 White Paper, Hanoi had put in place a political and military structure to subvert South Vietnam and suppress the independence of its people. The 1961 White Paper assessed the intentions of Hanoi with complete accuracy, and had described the nature of Hanoi's war effort with gratifying precision.

Even the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem's government by the South Vietnamese Army on November 1 and 2, 1963, did not divert Hanoi from its ultimate objective. The Central leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party met in December 1963 and issued a Decision that the revolutionary war in the South must develop in steps leading to a general offensive and general uprising. (p. 37)

The decision was to prepare for a protracted war with even larger military forces deployed. Political opposition would be augmented to take advantage of instability in South Vietnam after Diem's overthrow and murder. There would be no effort made for a peaceful settlement with the South Vietnamese nationalists by Hanoi at the end of 1963.

The Summary reports the Communists' great success in having 20 million people take part in different political protests in the cities of Saigon, Hue, and Danang, which forced government pacification efforts to collapse back to the provinces around Saigon only, and in expanding military operations from battalion level to regimental levels, and even multi-regimental levels on occasion.

Now Communist military efforts took on the character of campaigns covering large geographic areas. By the beginning of 1965, Communist armed forces in the South consisted of 11 regiments, 15 infantry battalions, local units, commandos, engineers and logistics units.

By this point in time, the Summary concludes, the government in Saigon had been brought to the edge of complete collapse.

Now the survival of South Vietnam was in the hands of Lyndon Johnson, just elected president of the United States in his own right. Would he fight in Vietnam or would he abandon the government in Saigon? Hanoi had put him in that dilemma.

The 1965 White Paper asserted that: "A special infiltration unit, the 70th Transportation group, is responsible for moving men from North Vietnam into the South via infiltration

trails through Laos. Another special unit, the maritime infiltration unit, sends weapons and supplies and agents by sea into the South. . . . since 1959 nearly 20,000 VC officers, soldiers, and technicians are known to have entered South Vietnam under orders from Hanoi. Additional information indicates that an estimated 17,000 infiltrators were dispatched to the South by the regime in Hanoi during the past 6 years." (p. 3)

The 1965 White Paper relied upon interviews with Communist soldiers such as Tran Quoc Dan, Vo Thoi, Nguyen Thao, Nguyen Viet Le, Nguyen Truc, Nguyen Cam, Nguyen Hong Thai, Dao Kien Lap, and Tran Ngoc Linh. These men reported that they had received military training in North Vietnam for fighting in the South, and were then given official orders to fight in South Vietnam. Finally, they were taken into the South by an organized structure of camps and transportation facilities.

I.F. Stone, torch bearer for the anti-war movement, dealt with the facts of cadre and troop infiltration from North Vietnam by pointing out that only 6 infiltrates of North Vietnamese birth were identified by name in the 1965 White Paper. From this observation Stone triumphantly concluded: "It is strange that after five years of fighting, the White Paper can cite so few."

In their 1965 book, Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden reported without comment the deceitful reply of Prime Minister Dong that "the so-called presence of forces of the DRV in South Vietnam is a sheer U.S. fabrication in order to justify their war of aggression in South Vietnam." In the bibliographical version of a self-fulfilling prophecy, Lynd and Hayden then cited I.F. Stone's article as further refutation of the 1965 White Paper, even though they admitted that a substantial movement of soldiers from North to South may have occurred after the United States had escalated its participation in the war in February 1965. So they concluded: "We suspect that the much-celebrated aggression from the North in fact amounts to the return, after the escalation of February 1965, of several thousand Vietminh soldiers who had regrouped to the North under the Geneva Agreement."

Yet other new documents from Hanoi show just how credulous these spokesmen and tastemakers of the anti-war movement were. An undated statistical table from Hanoi's Ministry of Defense, Section K4, sets forth the "new" soldiers (replacements, or tan binh) sent into South Vietnam from 1959 to 1975. The one-page table, typed with a blue ribbon, was given to me along with the "Summary of the War" described above. The table is not complete; footnotes indicate that it does not include the original armed units sent to the front in the central part of South Vietnam and the replacements for those combat elements.

The following chart compares the data of the 1965 White Paper with Hanoi's numbers of men sent south for the war effort:

	1965 White Paper	Hanoi's Figures
1959	0	542
1960	1,800	1,217
		(1,759 total)
1961	3,700	5,521
1962	5,400	7,293
1963	4,200	8,719
1964	7,300	17,475

The 1965 White Paper underestimated the manpower Hanoi was sending south. The American government erred only in small degree, and on the side of caution.

The total number of men disclosed by the table as having been sent south by Hanoi during the war in another country is nonetheless impressive: 976,849 soldiers.

The 1965 White Paper stated quite plainly that: "In addition to providing a channel for troops and agents, the infiltration routes from

North Vietnam into the South are used to transfer supplies and equipment. There is also regular traffic across the mountain trails and by seagoing junks which supplies the VC with material clothing and uniforms, medical supplies, communications equipment, tools, generators, and the many things required by a fighting force the field." (p. 10)

It also noted that, while the Viet Cong depended heavily on weapons captured from South Vietnamese forces, by early 1965 the pace of war had quickened to such a degree that it had changed. In particular, semi-automatic carbines, light machine guns, and assault rifles from Communist China were seized from Communist soldiers. In February, 1965 at least 100 tons of war matériel that was produced in Communist countries were discovered near a ship sent south from North Vietnam (p. 16)

Undertaking to "explain" this issue weapons used by the Communists in South Vietnam, Izzy Stone, in his refutation of the 1965 White Paper, belittled the fact that of the 15,179 weapons captured from the Communists since 1962, only 179 had been reported to neutral observers in the International Control Commission as having been made in Communist countries outside Vietnam. Then, to dismiss the significance of the 100 tons of war supplies moving south found on just one ship, Stone pointed out that 12,000 vessels were searched by the South Vietnamese Navy each month with little military contraband found. So, Stone concluded: "The lone case of a whole shipload of arms puzzling," leaving an inference that the United States had planted the evidence to justify its policy.

But regarding supplies for its war in the South, another newly acquired table from Hanoi's Ministry of Defense reveals that from 1965 to 1975, Hanoi successfully sent along south over the Ho Chi Minh trail 1,777,027 tons of supplies, including fuel and lubricants for vehicles. This was the tonnage which made it south; much else was destroyed in transit by American interdiction efforts.

This figure does not include, apparently, supplies sent by sea via Cambodia into southern South Vietnam. The supplies sent via Laos appeared to have constituted 65 percent of the war matériel Communist forces used in the South Vietnamese theater of operations.

Unlike the two other Hanoi documents, this table does not give information on supplies sent south prior to 1965. But we know supply organizations existed in Laos and the sea from 1959. We may assume that the North Vietnamese officers and men were not sitting around twiddling their thumbs waiting in 1965. They were moving goods south as much they could.

What conclusions are we to draw from the boastful North Vietnamese documents released after their triumph both on the field of battle and in the history books of the U.S.? First that the much maligned White Papers of 1954 and 1965 were correct. In fact, they underestimated the scope of North Vietnam's effort to conquer South Vietnam between 1954 and 1975. Secondly, that the credibility gap was not created by the mendacity of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, but rather manufactured by the anti-war movement.

The first White Paper had correctly concluded that: "For the people of South Vietnam, the meaning of a Communist victory is obvious. Absolute political control would rest with the Communist Party. In short, the pattern of Communist domination and dictatorship would be imposed over the entire country and 14 million able and energetic people would find themselves in the 'socialist camp.'" Given the truth about events in Vietnam up until April 30, 1975, when Hanoi imposed its rule throughout South Vietnam and for all, these words turned out to be prophetic, not propaganda.

Stephen B. Young is a Minnesota attorney who has written extensively about Vietnam.

The Way We See It

THE ABILITY TO DEFINE AN OPPONENT IS UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED AS A DECISIVE EDGE IN POLITICS. In America, liberals have come to possess that ability through their pervasive influence in the culture. As a result, the political spectrum runs the gamut from "liberal" to "moderate" to "conservative" and then "right," without the balance of a political "left." No one—not the *New York Times*, nor the *Washington Post*, nor the Republican leaders of the House—refers to Minority Whip David Bonior or Black Caucus chair Maxine Waters as leftists. But everyone refers to Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott as men of the right.

IS THERE A LEFT IN AMERICA? Liberals regularly deny it. But fifty-eight Democratic members of the House (including Bonior and Waters) have formed the Congressional Progressive Caucus to work on a left-wing political agenda.

IT IS TIME TO RE-EXAMINE THE LABELS THAT DEFINE AMERICAN POLITICS. It is too late to restore the term "liberal" to neo-conservatives or Goldwater Republicans, where it belongs. But it is not too late to stop calling people who are actually leftists, liberal. That's the way we see it at *FrontPage*.

LEFT

FAR LEFT

LEFT

LEFT LIBERAL

MODERATE LIBERAL

Noam Chomsky	Hillary Clinton	Al Gore	Bill Clinton
Malcolm X	Stokely Carmichael	Martin Luther King	Gene McCarthy
Jane Fonda Hayden (1909)	Jane Fonda Turner (1908)	Eleanor Clift	Jane Fonda Vadim (1908)
Kawame Ture	Sen. Paul Wellstone	Sen. Ted Kennedy	Sen. Tom Daschle
Catharine MacKinnon	Patricia Ireland	Donna Shalala	Geraldine Ferraro
Z Magazine	The Nation	New York Times	The New Republic
Covert Action	Village Voice	Washington Post	WSJ Feature Pages
Pacific Radio	NPR	CNN	ABC, CBS, NBC
Homer's mother	Lisa Simpson	Mayor Dumbo	Marge Simpson
Revolutionary Communist Party	Congressional Black Caucus	Democratic Party	Democratic Leadership Council
Greenpeace	Both NEAs	Urban Institute	Brookings Institution
Campus Organizing Committee	MacArthur Genius Awards	Ford Foundation	Carnegie Endowment
Verso	Most University Presses	99% of Book Publishers	The Free Press
Queer Studies	English Lit.	Political Science	Languages
Order of Oke	National Book Award	Pulitzer Prize	Humanitas Awards
Louis Farrakhan	Toni Morrison	Spike Lee	William Raspberry

RIGHT

MODERATE CONSERVATIVE

CONSERVATIVE

RIGHT

FAR RIGHT

Bob Dole	Ronald Reagan	Pat Buchanan	David Duke
Richard Nixon	John F. Kennedy	Barry Goldwater	George Wallace
Jane Fonda Fonda (1908)	Blit Bennett	G. Gordon Liddy	Jared Taylor
President George Bush	Newt Gingrich	Gary Bauer	Lou Sheldon
Elizabeth Dole	Lynne Cheney	Phyllis Schlafly	Marge Schott
The Economist	American Spectator	Human Events	Middle American News
Readers' Digest	WSJ Editorial page	Chronicles	American Renaissance
Fox	Firing Line	Most talk radio	Radio Free Idaho
Homer Simpson	Bart Simpson	Ned Flanders	Sideshow Bob
American Reform Party	GOP	U.S. Taxpayers Party	Freemen
Hoover Institution	Heritage Foundation	Rockford Institute	John Birch Society
Nixon Library	Bradley Foundation	Von Mises Institute	Liberty Lobby
Yale University Press	Regnery	Spence	Barricade Books
Business	Physics	Football	Eugenics
AH Club Badge	Templeton Prize	Edmund Burke Award	Burning Cross
Shelby Steele	Ward Connerly	Reggie White	Louis Farrakhan

View the whole list or make your contributions to the list by logging on to

*** www.frontpagemag.com**

(a magazine of the web, updated daily, edited by David Horowitz & Chris Weinkopf)

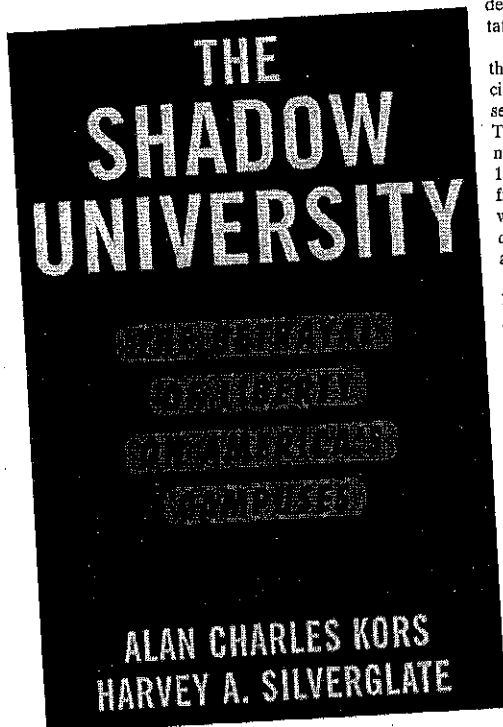
Published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture at P.O. Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067 1-800-732-6562

REVIEW

Where the Water Buffalo Roam

The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses
by Alan Kors & Harvey Silverglate
(Free Press, 1998, 320 pp. \$27.50)

REVIEWED BY CANDACE DE RUSSY



Bliss was it, in that very dawn to be alive. Setting foot on an American campus in the 1950s, according to one professor, was like "entering into paradise." But there are few among us who would dream of waxing so loftily about the American academy in its present incarnation. But then, the professor who spoke so numinously about the American academy of yesteryear was Jacob Neusner, the preeminent Judaic scholar who would have been all too aware of the destruction of freedom within the German university at the hands of the Nazis. Surely for Neusner, as for the many scholars who actually sought refuge from the hell that Germany became on this side of the Atlantic, the American academy was indeed paradise—a citadel of open-mindedness and light. And the high regard in which Neusner and others held the American university is, I believe, still shared by many today. For most Americans are still content in their assumption that our colleges and universities are dedicated to the task of educating students in an objective, open-minded way—that is, in an enlightened way, in the way that is open to the light.

Alan Kors and Harvey Silverglate would disabuse them of this assumption. For in fact, the erstwhile citadel of light has become what they call "the shadow university." Kors and Silverglate are concerned not with the incoherent and politicized curriculum currently offered on so many campuses, though Kors fully recognizes the "intellectual catastrophe" that besets, above all, the humanities. Rather, their focus in *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses* is on the Kafka-esque ways in which university

administrators impose politically correct thought and behavior on the students under their care. In this, one of the most impressive works in recent times on the academy's troubled soul, Kors and Silverglate mount a wall of evidence that displays a most sinister side of contemporary academic life. They trace a maze of speech codes, sensitivity seminars, freshman indoctrination, and innumerable other means for controlling students' minds. And their analysis is devastating.

Kors, a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, is a specialist on the intellectual history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To my mind, he is also one of the nation's most electrifying speakers. In 1993, Kors' commitment to student freedom galvanized at his own campus with his involvement in the *cause célèbre* known as the "water buffalo" affair.

This convoluted incident began when Penn freshman Eden Jacobowitz, attempting to write a class paper, was disturbed by a boisterous group of female students celebrating in the early hours beneath his dorm window. Exasperated, Jacobowitz threw open his window and shouted, "Shut up, you water buffalo!" Because the revelers were black, he was soon hauled before Penn administrators on charges of racial harassment. He was threatened with expulsion, even though the words "water buffalo" were not shown to be racist. (More exactly, as the *New York Post* recently noted in an editorial that showcases *The Shadow University*, the term is a translation of "behe-ma," a word in Jacobowitz's native Hebrew used to describe someone as obnoxious.) After much-publicized hearings that brought a new wrinkle to the accusation "McCarthyite," the campus retreated and Jacobowitz was exonerated. Throughout all this, Kors was one of his most stalwart defenders.

Kors' co-author, Silverglate, practices criminal defense and civil liberties law in Boston. He is also a civil liberties columnist and has been active throughout his career in the American Civil Liberties Union. As noted in *The Shadow University*, the two men are close friends and undertook this work as a consequence of many years of collaboration "in defense of students threatened with the new tyrannies."

Kors and Silverglate show that the "water buffalo" incident was not an isolated attempt at repressing and punishing speech. Rather, it was part of a pattern of suppressing ideas on campuses—suppressing those unruly ideas that do not conform to the left-leaning, multiculturalist straitjacket that constricts academic freedom and stymies debate. According to the authors, the hundreds of intrusive speech codes that hold sway on campuses share a common premise regarding what constitutes "unacceptable" and "acceptable" speech: namely, that to ensure that "disadvantaged" students participate equally with "advantaged" students—all defined by blood and history—speech must be restricted. This underlying orthodoxy is quintessentially captured in the code at the University of Vermont: "Each of us must assume responsibility for becoming educated about racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia/heterosexism and other forms of oppression."

Such "education" on behalf of favored categories, anti-individualist in the extreme, frequently has sexual overtones. When the University of Maryland at College Park, for example, forbids "unacceptable verbal behaviors," its ban extends to "sexual slurs, sexual innuendos," "provocative compliments," "sexual teasing," and "idle chatter of a sexual nature." The "unacceptable gestures and nonverbal behaviors" banned at College Park include "licking lips or teeth" and "holding or eating food provocatively." Syracuse University bans "leering, ogling . . . [and] sexually derogatory jokes." The code at West Virginia

University, or WVU, outlaws "insults, humor . . . and/or anecdotes that belittle or demean an individual's or a group's sexuality or sex." "DO NOT," the code orders, "tolerate jokes which are potentially injurious to gays, lesbians and bisexuals." "DO NOT determine whether you will interact with someone by virtue of her or his sexual orientation." Rather, it commands, "Value alternative lifestyles" and "use language that is not gender specific." And what kind of gender-neutral newspeak does WVU ordain? "Instead of referring to anyone's romantic partner as 'girlfriend' or 'boyfriend,' use positive generic terms such as 'friend,' 'lover,' or 'partner.' Speak of your own romantic partner similarly."

Many of the codes favor charging a student with sexual harassment even if his intent is innocent. As Herbert London, a dean at New York University, observes, "Accusations are based on 'impact,' not intention, therefore, the accused is guilty, if the accuser believes him to be guilty." Bowdoin College in Maine, for instance, proclaims that "no one is entitled to engage in behavior that is experienced by others as harassing." But not even the existence of a harmed party is essential. At the University of Puget Sound, speech or expression can be considered sexual or racial harassment even if the alleged "victim" of the offense did not object to the speech or expression at all.

Not only students, but faculty members who express views in political disfavor become ensnared by the codes. In addition to the cases catalogued by Kors and Silverglate, *Insight* magazine describes an incident exposed by Daniel Shapiro, a professor of philosophy at WVU. Shapiro was reported to the campus' Office of Social Justice for using the word "wife" in the classroom. He was instructed that the word "wife" is "sexist" and advised instead to use nonsexist terms such as "friend" or "partner." As Shapiro notes, he had been unaware of the existence of the WVU code until this complaint was made against him, and, in fact, the code was concocted without the knowledge of the University's faculty. For, as *The Shadow University* systematically demonstrates, it is weak and unprincipled administrators who bear primary responsibility for the codes, though acquiescent faculty and a public slow to anger also are to blame.

Speech codes with sexual overtones are just one means by which campuses mandate a panoply of "appropriate" views. Freshman orientation, too, is exploited to this end, and Kors and Silverglate show the vast extent to which the initiation of freshmen into college life has been transformed into a tool for imposing an official moral agenda. For example, in 1990, Smith College gave every freshman a guide to "identity" and "oppression." Included in the canon of "oppressions" were "ABLEISM: oppression of the differently abled, by the temporarily able . . . AGEISM: oppression of the young and the old, by young adults and the middle-aged . . . CLASSISM: oppression of the working class and non-propertied by the upper and middle-class . . . [and] LOOKISM: . . . oppression through stereotypes . . . of both those who do not fit [a standard of beauty] and those who do." At Oberlin College in 1992, incoming students were told about "differences in race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and culture" and subsequently separated into different orientation sessions for blacks, Hispanics, Americans of Asian ancestry, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals.

In addition to many other programs, campuses intrude upon the private minds and consciences of students by establishing "educational" sessions in their residential lives. At Penn, from 1988 to 1990, such thought reform was set in motion in every residence via an initiative named "Challenge for Change." It consisted of, in the words of Kors and Silverglate, "a veritable wish list of ideologically uniform indoctrination." Some of the topics to be covered in dormitory indoctrination sessions included "racist behavior . . . racial supremacy groups . . . race as a social construct . . . definitions of heterosexism and homophobia . . . coming out . . . internalized homophobia . . . religious stereotypes . . . abortion/contraception . . . sexism/women clergy," and so on, and so forth.

REVIEW

At Haverford College, in 1993, under the direction of the dean of the college, upperclassmen engaged in "games" (involving the trading and acquiring of chips) bearing on race relations in freshmen residences. The purpose of these exercises, according to organizers, is "to raise student awareness of racial and ethnic diversity." Their true purpose, as Silvergate states in an interview with *The Washington Times*, is to "train" students to believe that they are products of a "male-dominated, heterosexist, European, Eurocentrist society that has spawned different classes and that these classes are entitled to redress for the historical wrongs that they and their ancestors suffered."

The "training" of campus residence advisers (RAs), who are to function as agents of moral change in the dormitories, is biased precisely along these lines. At the University of Cincinnati, at a mandatory "Cultural Diversity Workshop" for RAs in 1993, the "sensitivity facilitator" announced that "all whites were racists" but that white males, in particular, hold all power and oppress everyone else. And what is deemed to be the appropriate response—the response of white males—to this barrage of attacks against them so reminiscent of the Chinese Cultural Revolution "re-education" tactics? How does a diversity trainer know he has achieved his objective in sensitivity training? The following answer was provided by one such trainer to a reporter for *Insight*: "[I know I have succeeded] when I see white male students feel guilty and cry."

Campuses have instituted a range of disciplinary procedures for punishing those stiffnecked students and faculty who refuse to conform to the codes and other policies that seek to censor their thought and speech. For starters, those tagged as guilty of violations can be forced through kangaroo-court proceedings and ordered to attend "re-training" along the lines just described. Funding for student activities deemed politically incorrect can be cut off. Students can be suspended or even expelled. Faculty and administrators can be deprived of promotions and salary increases as well as fired. Sarah Lawrence College, for instance, found a student, Marlin Lask, guilty of "inappropriate laughter" and sentenced him to read the text "Homophobia on Campus" and to view the videotape "Homophobia." A whole fraternity at Montclair State University was sentenced to 150 hours of community service after one of its members hung a Confederate flag in a cafeteria for 15 minutes. An RA at Carnegie Mellon University, Patrick Mooney, refused on religious grounds to wear a pink triangle during mandatory gay and lesbian sensitivity training. For this, the University's office of housing fired him.

Not surprisingly, as Kors and Silvergate also show, restrictive policies do not apply equally to all students. Although most speech codes profess to uphold freedom of speech and diversity, they do not protect white fraternities, Catholics, Protestant evangelicals, and Orthodox Jews. Under many codes, a heterosexual male cannot call a gay person a "queer," though a gay person can with impunity call a heterosexual man "a disgusting homophobe." The rationale given for this double standard, says Silvergate in *The*

Washington Times, is that "homosexuals don't have the power to discriminate because they are minorities." In 1994, the University of California-San Diego (UCSD) presented each new student with an essay entitled "Combating Racism." It pronounced: "No individual can be racist in isolation [from power]. . . . Blacks cannot be racists." In 1997, at Pennsylvania State University, Catholic students protested a campus exhibit of a quilt, "25 Years of Virginity," made up of 25 pairs of panties with crosses sewn into the crotches. Claiming that the quilt created a "hostile environment" for them, and that Penn State's speech code protected them too, the students asked that the quilt be removed. The University President's response was: "I can't imagine any circumstances under which this university would want to encourage censorship." This and many similar cases bolster the view of J. Stanley Oakes, president of the Campus Crusade for Christ's International Leadership, that comments by Christian students and faculty members are commonly assumed to be "hate speech." However, the vilification and denunciation of Christians by other groups are not.

Nor do campus inquisitors mete out punishment equally. The words of Morton Halperin in 1989, then of the American Civil Liberties Union, apply more than ever today: "There are no cases where universities discipline students for views or opinions of the left, or for racist comments against non-minorities." Kors and Silvergate document the "pandemic" theft and destruction of student publications by people who object to one or more articles in them, frequently because these articles are at odds with multicultural nostrums. What a Dartmouth College spokesman said after a number of such incidents in 1993 reflects the reaction of many administrators: Trashing free copies of the offending publications is permissible because the copies were "litter." The reaction was the opposite at Wabash College when, in 1995, a conservative student journal criticized an African-American history course for promoting an attitude of victimization rather than historical exploration. The student senate withdrew funding for the journal and transferred the money to the College Democrats' publication.

It is true that more students and faculty are openly resisting such selective and subjective assignment of free speech. Moreover, as the authors show, since World War I the courts have moved toward near-absolute constitutional protection for all to express their views. It is also true, however, that most people on campuses have been cowed into silence, not only by formal speech codes and similar instruments, but also by a generalized climate of suppression based upon too great a critical mass of acceptance of restrictions and too great a general will to censor. "Freedom," as the authors caution, "dies in the heart and will before it dies in the law."

How did higher education come to be so enmeshed in a political correctness so coercive as to smack dangerously of totalitarianism? Kors and Silvergate, as well as other critics (such as Roger Kimball), focus on the large numbers of New Left radicals of the 1960s who went on to receive graduate degrees and then tenure within the academy.

Having always had an exalted perception of their right to wield power and impose their utopian vision on others, and incensed by the Reagan revolution of the 1980s, these radicals—counterculturalists whom Kors does not shrink from calling "new Stalinists"—have arrogantly and cynically imposed their ideology on the academy, an institution over which they have control. "It's an irony and a hypocrisy," observes Kors. "The generation that demanded free speech at Berkeley . . . now installs speech codes for students. . . ."

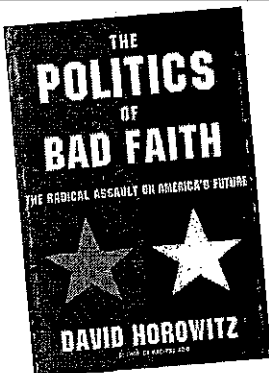
He and Silvergate trace as well the Marxist origins of the speech commissars' double standards, placing particular emphasis on the seminal influence of the radical political theorist Herbert Marcuse, who gained a following in the New Left movement. The liberal ideals of free speech and tolerance, Marcuse held, are mere smokescreens for hiding the basic inequalities caused by capitalism. Because this "repressive tolerance" benefits only the powerful and the wealthy, the weak should not be required to play by the same rules but "would have to get information slanted in the opposite direction. . . ." Only then, according to Marcusean logic, could the weak be liberated and a socialist heaven on earth emerge.

And what are the implications of this "slanting" of speech in the academy? The aim of the Left, warns David Horowitz, is to "replace the American legacy, which is of unfolding freedom to the world. Even in China, where the students came out in Tiananmen Square with a Statue of Liberty. It's a symbol of freedom everywhere in the world except on American campuses. . . ." In pursuit of its own power, the left has "poured acid into the fabric of the body politic."

The conclusion of *The Shadow University* is equally uncompromising—and shattering. "Universities have become the enemy of a free society," Kors and Silvergate conclude, "and it is time for the citizens to recognize this scandal of enormous proportions and hold these institutions to account." Stalwart defenders of individual liberty that they are, the authors rightfully abhor all forms of counter-censorship as a response to institutional violations of thought and speech. The best remedy, they insist, is public exposure—"sunlight is the best disinfectant." When asked, however, what actions society and those with institutional fiduciary responsibility might properly take toward campuses that refuse to ensure freedom of speech, Kors replies, "Society absolutely has the right to remove its subsidies from such institutions, and trustees absolutely have the right, within the law, and at the appropriate time, not to renew the contracts of administrators who do not ensure such freedom."

The song of the peat bog soldiers dispatched by the Nazis to work until they died was, justly, "Thoughts are free." Free thought. Freedom of the inner self. Private beliefs. These truly are the holy of holies of liberty. "No moral person," the authors proclaim, "would pursue another human being there." And no institution of higher learning should be permitted to do so.

Candace de Russy is a Trustee of the State University of New York.



Receive both *The Politics of Bad Faith* AND *Radical Son* for \$35!

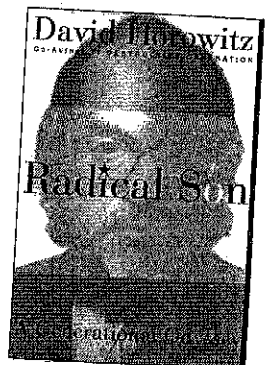
"A passionate and insightful book."

—Francis Fukuyama

"One of the best political memoirs I have ever read."

—P.J. O'Rourke

To order call (800) 752-6562 ext. 209
or visit our website at www.frontpagemag.com



Court Rules on Flag Display

by Judith Schumann Weizner

Judge Thomas Kleinkopf has directed the members of the Albany, Massachusetts Police Department to remove all American flag insignia from their uniforms. The order is a by-product of last week's trial of Jorge Bandera, the Albany car wash attendant acquitted of multiple felonies when jurors found him to have been justified in resisting arrest.

Six years ago, Bandera, a 28-year-old native of the tiny Caribbean republic of Pequeña Dominica, arrived in the United States in the hold of a freighter, intent on realizing his life-long dream of becoming a major league baseball player. He hoped to follow in the footsteps of his older brother, Ernesto, a free agent reportedly about to sign with the Toronto Blue Jays. Within a year of his arrival, Jorge was pitching for the Albany Petrels, but because his fastball rarely topped sixty-eight miles an hour, he was let go at the end of the season. Discouraged, he went to work in a car wash to support the woman he had married during his journey to America, while in his free time working to improve his fast ball.

Several months later, his wife left him for the Petrels' catcher, Chuck Bunting, and he began to harbor deep resentment toward the team, whose logo is a petrel with an American flag in its beak. That image, with all it had seemed to promise, mocked him. His humiliation increased daily as he imagined his wife rooting for his former teammate at Petrel Park on Saturday afternoons while he toiled in the car wash, unable to ignore the broadcasts of the games on his co-workers' radios.

Shortly after the start of spring training, he learned that his wife had abandoned Bunting and moved in with the second-string right fielder. When he overheard two of his fellow workers discussing the news, Bandera lost his composure and smashed the windshield of a Mercedes he was simonizing. After pulverizing the windshield, he calmed down and, according to eyewitness accounts, cracked jokes with his co-workers while waiting quietly for the police, but when they arrived, he again fell into a frenzy, clubbing one officer to the ground with his own nightstick before being subdued. He was charged with the attempted murder of a police officer, assaulting a police officer, resisting arrest and malicious destruction of property.

Bandera's attorney entered a plea of not guilty by reason of self-defense.

At the trial, one after another of Bandera's co-workers described the way Bandera had lost his temper upon hearing the news about his wife's new love interest, and how he had addressed the Mercedes' windshield with the bat he had kept with him constantly since leaving the Petrels. Several of them were able to repeat jokes

and successful treatment extremely rare.

Dr. Pennante reiterated that at the time of his brush-off by the Petrels, Mr. Bandera had suffered a grave diminution of self-esteem, subsequently compounded by his wife's having left him for a teammate. Furthermore, his patient admitted having entered the United States illegally, and, although he had been granted citizenship under the Courageous Immigrant Tolerance and Amnesty Act of 1998, he still perceived his immigration status as uncertain; this, coupled with his inability to speak English, predisposed him to an unnatural fear of the American flag, the symbol of the authorities, making his case extremely difficult to treat.

Quoting from his book, "Negative Emotional Transference Syndrome and You," Dr. Pennante told the court that during the treatment period it is of the utmost importance that the victim not be subjected to negative stimuli, explaining that the American flag had been removed from the courtroom to avoid any possible provocation. He said it was not at all surprising that his patient had become enraged at the sight of the American flag patches on the officers' sleeves, and that in his opinion, Mr. Bandera had been convinced that he was acting legitimately in self-defense when he struck out at them, seeking only to preserve what remained of his manhood and to

resist their attempt to impose their national outlook on him.

The jury found Mr. Bandera not guilty by reason of cultural self-defense, and, in an unprecedented move, petitioned the judge to direct the Albany police to remove the flag symbols from their uniforms.

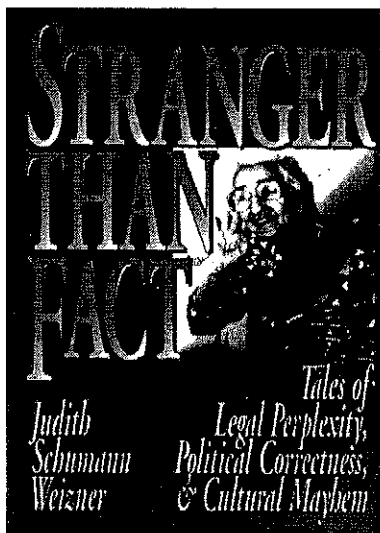
In an unscheduled interview following the announcement of the verdict, Mayor Keith Bannerman declared his intention to establish a commission to consider whether, in the light of a recent three-fold increase in the immigrant population of Albany, it is not a form of cultural harassment to fly the American flag outside public buildings. "When a tragedy such as this one occurs, it compels us to acknowledge that a lack of sensitivity can adversely affect people's lives in very serious ways, and we are constrained to question the wisdom of forcing our symbols on them," Mr. Bannerman told reporters as he left City Hall this afternoon. "I want to personally assure Mr. Bandera that I will do all I can to prevent what happened to him from happening to anyone else."



JORGE BANDERA

he had made while waiting for the police, and the three who had been standing closest to him testified that they had heard him mutter under his breath, "No mas!" just before he seized the cop's nightstick and beat him into a coma.

The defense called only one witness, Dr. Paul Pennante, Director of the Heightened Sensitivity Syndromes Foundation and Clinic, who testified that he had begun treating Mr. Bandera for Negative Emotional Transference Syndrome (NETS) shortly after his arrest. (Negative Emotional Transference Syndrome is a transfer of negative emotion from the original object of that emotion into heightened sensitivity to a second object, resulting in episodes of violence toward anything associated with the object of the transfer.) Dr. Pennante explained that Mr. Bandera had first associated his feelings of worthlessness with the Petrel logo, but that subsequently, the American flag itself had become the symbol of his failure. He emphasized that the syndrome can be cured only if it is caught soon after the transfer occurs, but typically, victims of NETS are not aware of the transfer, making early diagnosis



ISBN: 1-86642-05-3, 191 pages, \$12.95 cover price

Get the collection of
Stranger Than Fact
 Judith Schumann Weizner's tales
 of legal perplexity, political correctness,
 & cultural mayhem for only

\$3⁰⁰

Please call (800) 752-6562, ext.209, to order.
 Visit our web site at www.frontpagemag.com