

# HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



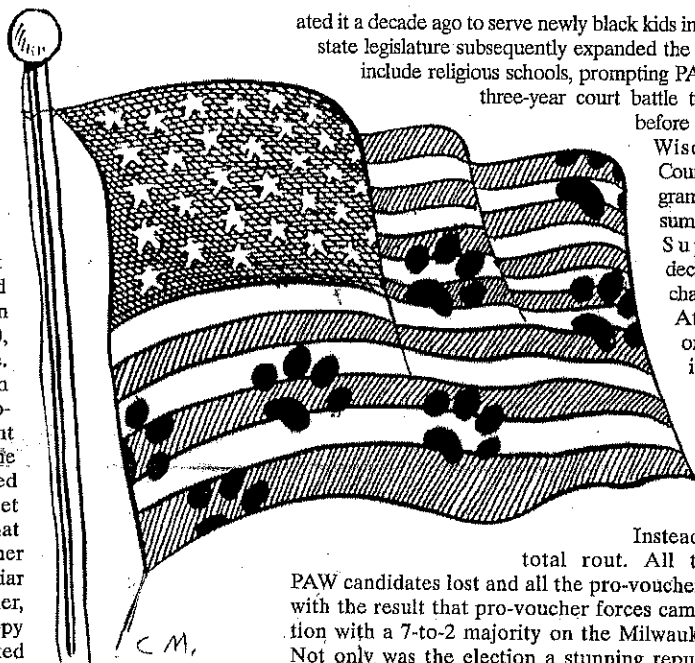
## BIGOTS FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

A funny thing happened to People For the American Way (PAW) in Milwaukee last month. They came to town determined to defeat a pro-voucher slate running for the local school board. But they were so obsessed with the notion that somewhere, someone might be sending a child to a religious school with tax dollars that they completely misread the mood of the people. Their kickoff rally, on which they spent nearly \$20,000, attracted no more than 150 people. "And it all went downhill from here," says John Gardner, a pro-voucher school board incumbent PAW targeted for defeat. On the assumption that everyone hated vouchers as much as they did, they set up phone banks to tell voters that Gardner was pro-voucher. Gardner was thrilled—"Throw me in that briar patch again." In the end, Gardner, who originally would have been happy just to eke out a bare majority, walked away with 60 percent of the vote.

For PAW, the election had been a must-win. If vouchers had succeeded in Milwaukee (and no school system in the country had a better case for having them), it would open the door to school prayer, values instruction and what PAW saw as the slippery slope issue towards more religion in public life. Unfortunately for PAW, it was hard to portray the Milwaukee voucher plan as another racist plot. (Black activist Polly Williams had cre-

ated it a decade ago to serve newly black kids in the inner city). The state legislature subsequently expanded the program in 1995 to include religious schools, prompting PAW to wage a fierce three-year court battle to kill the program

before it spread. But the Wisconsin Supreme Court declared the program constitutional last summer and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear any challenge to the case. At this point, PAW's only hope for derailing the voucher plan was to sweep the school board races and kill the plan politically.



Instead, PAW suffered a total rout. All the anti-voucher

PAW candidates lost and all the pro-voucher candidates won, with the result that pro-voucher forces came out of the election with a 7-to-2 majority on the Milwaukee school board. Not only was the election a stunning repudiation of PAW's long held contention that most people shared their belief that vouchers would irreparably wreck the wall between church and state, it showed—if proof were needed—that despite all the advantages of 300,000 members, a \$10 million annual budget and the patronage of people like founder Norman Lear and board director Alec Baldwin, PAW was an organization adrift, on the wrong side of history and deeply out of touch with the values of everyday Americans.

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## A PRESIDENT RICH IN ENEMIES HATE STORY

by Noemie Emery

Compulsively friendly, hungry for love, Bill Clinton has become, paradoxically, a fountain of hatred, a Johnny Appleseed of discord and turmoil, sowing contention wherever he treads. People hate him, beyond the bad feelings engendered by far more contentious political figures. People hate Clinton who seldom hate anyone. Backers of Clinton hate Clinton haters. Hatred of Clinton haters is in fact the main emotion in the defense of Clinton by friends, if he does have friends.

It often seems he has less friends than the people who are his friends because he is their enemies' enemy. So Clinton is the friend of those who might otherwise loathe him, or at least, take no interest. And who are Clinton haters, themselves? To those who hate them, they are racists and fascists, white men in suits

who want to send women back to the kitchen, gays back to the closet, and blacks to the back of the bus. Clinton's friend Taylor Branch said, most disgracefully, that the people backing impeachment were the same ones who once backed segregation. (Never mind that most of the people who backed segregation are dead.) Three incidents before last year's mid-term election, which probably helped turn out the base of the Democrats, suggested to some that Clinton's enemies were people who tied blacks to cars and then dragged them for miles; hung gays up on fences and left them to die there; tracked down abortionists and shot them through windows in front of their sons. In an impeachment process that was largely marked by indifference—indifference to Clinton, and to his pursuers—such feelings powered the small Clinton rallies, attended by people at war with the right. The talk there was anti-right, not pro-Clinton. A defense of Clinton was not for something as shoddy as Clinton himself, but for other causes: 'civil rights' (affirmative action), 'choice' (unchecked abortion), federal

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## COMMUNIQUÉS

## PEOPLE McNUGGETS

I am writing concerning Mr. Horowitz's article in the March 1999 issue of *Heterodoxy* titled "The Reds and the Blacks." While I wholeheartedly agree with the main thrust of his article, I disagree with the statement, "The simple truth that the rhetoric of bad faith is designed to obscure is that blacks are not oppressed in America, nor is anyone else." I think that some examples drawn from my personal life and the current state of affairs in the land will suffice to demonstrate this fact.

I am a black man. It has been thirty years since I was last arrested for being a black man in a brown shirt and therefore fitting the description of a violent criminal sought by the police. Today, I am much more likely to be packing a pacemaker than a peacekeeper. As he correctly points out in his article, I am one of the free-est black people in the world today, because I am an American. Furthermore, being an executive in a prestigious financial services firm, I am also one of the richest black people in the world. My work involves a significant amount of international travel. I have been amazed at the discriminatory and oppressive behavior of the U.S. Customs Service. I often travel overseas with a colleague who has a Hispanic surname. His name derives from a Castilian paternal grandfather. His physical appearance is rather less "foreign" than yours. We are both native born Americans. It is remarkable how often he and I are singled out for special attention by customs agents, while our colleagues who are not pigmentationally impaired or burdened with "foreign" surnames breeze through customs. Were this an occasional event, I would dismiss it as an aberration born of too many laws enforced by too few bureaucrats armed with too little intelligence.

While I live in New Jersey, I work in New York City. Last year, I paid New York City thousands of dollars in taxes. Yet, I have no right to vote on how this money is used or which people will become the elected officials that dispense this largesse. Need I remind you of the list of facts delineated in the Declaration of Independence to support the claim that "The History of the Present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States?" Included amongst these is, "For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent." Our nation has spent the last forty days conducting war against Yugoslavia. We have spent much of this decade conducting war against Iraq. Last year we attacked, without warning, Afghanistan and the Sudan. While little would warm my heart more than for Slobodan Milosevic and Saddam Hussein to be turned into party-size servings of "People McNuggets," I think the direct involvement of American armed forces

in achieving such an outcome is a valid subject for debate. Such an outcome may not actually be in the best interests of the United States. Such a debate is supposed to take place in our Congress as is specified in section 8 of our Constitution. Yet no such debate has taken place. Placing Americans in harm's way, and spending my money to do so, without such a debate is oppression.

Are these oppressive acts on a scale of the crimes committed against the Jews in Germany or African slaves in America? Of course not! Are armed men raping my daughter, killing my son and expelling me from my home? No! Do these acts merit my taking violent action? Certainly not! Nonetheless, and contrary to your claim, we are oppressed. Thank goodness we are possessed of the vestiges of a republic in which I am still free to

Teller would not be elected dog-catcher by its members. If the American Physical Society were "conservative" it would not have rejected my offer of an American flag for display at its headquarters with no explanation given, or have celebrated its recent Centennial with a cover on *Physics Today* that emphasized its opposition to an anti-ballistic missile defense and its vehement defense of J. Robert Oppenheimer when he was denied security clearance. Physicists may not be as far to the left as English professors, but you have placed them much too far to the right in the interest not only of accuracy, but of national security. If physicists were all as conservative as Edward Teller, for example, we would probably have far fewer security leaks in our atomic weapons programs.

Lawrence Cranberg  
Austin, TX

## HETERODOXY

ARTICLES AND ANSWERS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES

### WRITE TO US

Send your comments to  
Letters Editor, *Heterodoxy*  
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This double issue only counts as one  
against your subscription.

petition my elected representatives and subscribe to journals such as *Heterodoxy* in an effort to end this oppression.

Kevin P. Tyson  
Marlboro, NJ

PS. I think your error stems from what Malcolm X and Barry Goldwater stated in 1964, "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." Your extremism is indeed not a vice, but as the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, I feel compelled to object to what I perceive as an error.

### LIBERAL PHYSICS

I am in general agreement with "The Way We See It" in your December/January number, but emphatically disagree with your characterization there of physicists as conservative. Individually, physicists span the entire spectrum from Edward Teller and Eugene Wigner on the right to J. Robert Oppenheimer on the far left. But if we look at the record of the sole organization that represents physicists, the American Physical Society, the short answer is that Oppenheimer has been its President, but

### ACCIDENTAL ASIANS

I just finished reading Kenneth Lee's review of Eric Liu's *The Accidental Asian*, (February 1999), and I have just a minor quibble. Mr. Lee, in discussing the voting habits of Asian-Americans, refers to Asian-Americans as "... not being wedded to either party ..." Well, I usually prefer to vote for neither party, if the two parties to which Mr. Lee refers are the Republican and the Democratic parties. I usually vote Libertarian, and I wonder how Governor Jesse Ventura and those who elected him feel about statements such as this, implicitly referring to only two choices. Just a thought.

Enjoyed the review and *Heterodoxy*.

Dan Holmes  
Via Internet

### LETTERS ABOUT LETTERS

This is in response to two of the "Communiqués" in your March 1999 issue. As a certifiable male chauvinist pig (who is not a cold fish), fascist and heaven-bound person, I just had to react to Ms. Nellye Meintsma's little homily concerning the hateful content of your tabloid. Don't you just get sick hearing from these folks who have managed to become so super-sensitive that there's no longer any room for humor? On the other hand, Prof. Eric Graf expresses his concern regarding the absence of "editorial space for us lefties" in your tabloid. How typical of the "religious left" always whining about how they're denied access to the media. It's somewhat analogous to those "vegans" in San Francisco who wanted Burger King to offer "veggie burgers" on their menus. If Eric needs a place to get published, maybe he could start his own little magazine.

Harvey Mallory  
Via Internet

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# REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

**ANNALS OF APPEASEMENT:** In the good old days at the University of Massachusetts, you could always draw a crowd by pushing for racial preferences in student admissions. In the spring of 1997, for instance, militant students illegally occupied Goodell Hall for six days and extracted concessions from appeasers in the administration for a strengthening of the twenty percent minority quota. But this spring, in an attempt to repeat those victories of the past, when large bands of demonstrators paraded through the campus vowing that there would be no peace if there were no increase in the minority quota, a strange thing happened. The administration and the campus police made it clear that no disruptions or takeovers would be tolerated. The protest immediately petered out.

It would be nice to think that this was the beginning of a national movement. But quite the opposite outcome was reached at UC Berkeley. Since mid-April, radicals had been agitating for more positions for the school's moribund ethnic studies department which one student, insisting on anonymity, described as "one of those departments everyone wants to have but no one wants to take courses in." Chancellor Robert Berdahl seemed on the verge of hanging tough. There had been 135 arrests since the mid-April takeover of a campus building and students seemed almost as shocked by Berdahl's ability to get a spine as he himself did. But then six students went on a hunger strike and lachrymose liberalism took over. When the students reached the eighth day of their strike, an epidemic of hand wringing about their health spread across the campus. Berdahl began to dither, unable to decide whether his role was that of Chamberlain or Quisling. Finally he caved, saying that he was fearful that the hunger strikers might expire. The agreement student radicals extracted from him was more than they expected: eight more full time faculty positions for this department in which no one wants to take courses, along with

**PARKS THAT LOOK LIKE AMERICA:** The National Park Service has decided that a major problem exists with the national parks—too many white people are visiting. This has led Bob Stanton, the director of the agency, to devise a program that will make the parks supposedly more hospitable to minority visitors and make the visiting population—now currently over 90% white—representative of America, which is only 73% white. Stanton's reforms will force park rangers to include more "untold stories," such as the trials and tribulations of black and female prisoners at Andersonville, the infamous Confederate-run POW camp. Minority hiring will now be an element in the performance reviews of park managers, and one national park, the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, has launched a Web site in Spanish as well as English in order to draw more Hispanic visitors. What's next, a transgendered

Smokey the Bear? A quota for black wolves at Yellowstone?

**PORN 1A:** At Wesleyan University, students in a course called College of Letters 289 had an interesting final project. Everyone in Professor Hope Weissman's class were required to create a work of pornography as a final project. One student submitted a short film that focused on a man's eyes while he masturbates. Another student created a scene in which a female student acts out a scene of sexual bondage. Wesleyan President Douglas Bennett did not condemn the course requirement. That would be too much to hope

copies of the newspaper, yet when one of the group's leaders went on record denying the theft, she told journalists "it's within my First Amendment rights to steal." When the group tried burning their bras on Hewitt's front porch, they were foiled due to their bras' fire-retardant fabric.

**POISONED IVY:** Despite the irrefutable evidence showing that *I, Rigoberta Menchu* is the biggest fraud since Piltdown Man, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute has found that the Ivy League universities—all eight of them—are still teaching *I, Rigoberta Menchu* in one forum or another. At Princeton, Politics 431 students ("Seminar in Comparative Politics: Power and Protest") are forced to read the work as part of a requirement for a political science degree. Harvard's David Maybury-Lewis has kept the book on his reading list for Anthropology 184, "Ethnicity in the Americas: The Indian Question." The emerging defense of *Rigoberta* is familiar to all who know the Left: she was wrong for the right reasons.

However, it's no real surprise. Such coddling of student protestors is a shameful but all too common occurrence at major universities these days, in which administrators and a handful of students on the far left compete to see which can be more "progressive." After a short while, the university administrators, perhaps feeling nostalgic, cave in. Unlike the 1960s, the goals of the student protestors and the administration are no different—and why should we expect any resistance to strengthening ethnic studies from the people who thought it up in the first place?

## LIVING UNDER COMMUNISM:

During the infamous Kitchen Debate between Nixon and Khrushchev, Khrushchev made the assertion that Nixon's grandchildren would live under communism. Nixon shot back that Khrushchev's grandchildren would

live in freedom. Khrushchev's son, Sergei, has managed to achieve both at the same time, which is a rather impressive achievement. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Sergei came to the United States and is currently applying for citizenship in the most free nation in the world. However, before conservatives become too gleeful about the son of a former Soviet dictator coming to these United States, it should be noted that he is a professor at Brown University, possibly one of the last vestiges of communism on the planet. This may be, to paraphrase Christopher Buckley, an irony that only a Russian could truly appreciate.

**MINIMUM DALY REQUIREMENT, II:** Last issue in this space we reported on Boston College's wrangling with radical feminist Mary Daly, who had gone ballistic when the College attempted to force her to accept two male students in her "Introduction to Feminist Ethics" class. Daly had gone on a leave of absence, and it appeared the matter had been resolved. However, Daly then sued Boston College over the fact that the school had "erased" her from the course catalog and is telling people that she has retired.

In a stunning defeat for Daly, a Middlesex Superior Court judge has ruled that Boston College has adequate cause to outright fire her for her constant refusal to admit men into her women's studies courses. Judge Martha Sosman noted that "Daly took the position that she would rather resign than admit male students to her class," and it is gratifying to see that Boston College took her up on her offer.



for in this season of administrative appeasement. But as word leaked out about Weissman's course, he did send a letter to all faculty in which he mused about "the appropriateness of this course in the Wesleyan curriculum."

**GORE FOR UNPRESIDENT:** Al Gore, who is starting to make Dan Quayle look grave, sober and intellectual by comparison, has reiterated that "there is not a single passage" in his ecotopian book, *Earth in the Balance*, "that I disagree with or would change." This means that Republicans will be able to make hay simply by reading passages from this volume, Gore's version of Revelations. The book even freaked out the Democratic National Committee back when Al first became Vice Presidential material. According to then-DNC staffer Jonathan Sallet, "Al Gore . . . is a radical environmentalist who wants to change the very fabric of America." Sallet noted that Gore "criticizes America for being America—a place where people enjoy the benefits of an advanced standard of living." He also "has no sense of proportion; he equates the failure to recycle aluminum cans with the Holocaust." Finally, though, the DNC was concerned that Al "believes that our civilization, itself, is evil."

**THE GANG THAT COULDN'T BURN STRAIGHT:** After Bob Hewitt, a cartoonist for Ohio State University's student newspaper, *The Lantern*, satirized the Women's Studies program, campus feminists called for students to harass him and the paper's other staff. The day after the cartoon ran, the feminists stole some 15,000

# What Happens When Students Promote Western Civ The Decline of the West at Duke

by Benjamin Kepple

**D**UKE UNIVERSITY freshman Jay Strader first knew there was something wrong when he returned home after class. Vandals had broken into his dorm room and left an ominous message on his computer monitor—"We're going to kick your ass."

Soon after this jarring event, Strader was shooting pool with a friend in the dorm's recreation lounge when a dormmate noticed him. "That was a real asshole of a letter you wrote," the young man snarled, referring to a letter Strader had recently written to the *Chronicle*, Duke's student-run daily newspaper. The two exchanged words and insults, and the conversation became increasingly heated. Finally, Strader shot back, "Well, you're really not defending your point by threatening me."

"Shut up!" the other snapped. "I'll just come over there and beat you up!" at which point he raised his fist.

Berin Szoka, a freshman and a friend of Strader's, submitted a letter to the *Chronicle* supporting him. For Szoka, the response was even harsher. The evening the letter appeared, three students came by his room and, standing outside the doorway, began screaming at him. It continued for at least ten minutes, and when Szoka attempted to shut his door, they blocked his path. Only when Szoka threatened to call the police did they leave. Two days later, Szoka received an anonymous death threat.

What did Strader and Szoka do to make their fellow students so furious? They wrote letters to the *Chronicle* arguing against the creation of a Hindi major on campus, and offered spirited and provocative defenses of Western Civilization and its values.

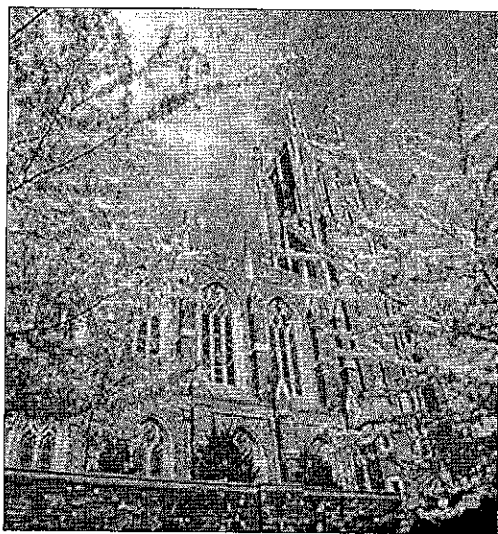
Strader and Szoka thought their letters would encourage debate. Instead, they encountered a backlash so fierce that Duke's police are now conducting an investigation of the affair. It has raised questions not only about the treatment of Western Civilization on campus, but also about Duke administrators' double standards in dispensing racial justice. For Strader and Szoka are white, and their harassers are Indian.

**D**uke's Indian students have been pushing for a Hindi major for some time, and the issue came to Strader and Szoka's attention through *Chronicle* articles detailing the debate. Supporters advocate upgrading Hindi from its current status as a minor because, as the *Chronicle* noted in an editorial on April 7, it "would establish an accommodating climate for Hindu culture." It would also "help create a sense of community among students interested in the field," and while the proposed Hindi department would be small, "this should not deter administrators from recognizing the diversity of interests among the student population." One supporter, Dharmen Mehta, told the *Chronicle* on April 6 that "the value [of Hindi] would be great because there is a large Indian population at Duke and it would be a popular second major for many people."

Jay Strader, however, found that the reality was quite different from what supporters were saying. Despite the supposed demand for a Hindi major, only two students at Duke are even minoring in the subject. And in a letter to the *Chronicle's* editor on April 15, Strader noted that even though most of the stu-

dent body had registered for the Fall 1999 term, a full 73 percent of the seats offered in the university's Hindi courses were still available. His mistake was to compare the study of Hindi to the study of statistics: "The former is a language spoken in a Third World country overwrought by disease and poverty, while the latter is a science of proven, inestimable value in all branches of industry and science, especially medicine—an area very important to many students."

As *Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby later remarked when the doings at Duke had become public, this was "strident . . . but clearly relevant and well within the bounds of cam-



AT DUKE, NOT ALL IS WARM AND FUZZY

pus discourse." But the multiculturalists on campus went ballistic. Diya, Duke's student group for Southeast Asian students, organized a letter-writing campaign to the *Chronicle* and posted a message on four Internet newsgroups asking that Strader be deluged with hate mail. These letter-writers attacked Strader as "ignorant," "blatantly racist," and possessed with a "low level of thinking." He began to receive hate mail and was soon after threatened by his dormmate.

But if Strader's letter was like turning on a tap, Szoka's was equivalent to spraying someone with a garden hose. In a scathing polemic to the *Chronicle*, he argued that:

"The values of the West—the power of reason, the sanctity of individual rights and the unfettered pursuit of happiness—are superior to the values of a primitive and impoverished country like India . . . were it not for the British, whatever 'ancient traditions and rich culture' existed before their arrival would be enjoyed only by the very top of India's feudal caste system."

Within two hours of the *Chronicle* hitting the stands on April 23, Szoka began to receive hate mail. He was also derided as "blatantly racist," "profoundly ignorant," and "xenophobic" in later editions of the *Chronicle*. Two days after the three Indian students confronted him outside his room, he received the following e-mail from an anonymous (and obscene) address:

"So . . . you think your neo-Nazi racist attitude is cool, huh? Well I've got news for you MR. 136 RAN-DOLPH. You are a cock sucking, dick

licking, shit eating son of a bitch. If I were you, I would never leave your room (until of course you return home to BETHESDA MD). You see, it's pretty simple. If we ever see you out of your room around East, WE WILL BEAT YOU WITHIN ONE INCH OF YOUR LIFE and step on you like the little shit you are. Don't be surprised if between now and the end of the year, bad things start happening to you and your room . . . we will find you, and when we do, you could only wish that you had never learned to write, you little prick. That's it, have a nice day!"

This harassment made both Strader and Szoka understandably concerned for their safety.

"Are you kidding? I carry Mace around campus. Of course I'm scared!" Szoka says. "I'm especially scared because the University does not care. I've run into some of these characters around campus," he says, noting that several angry students have made threatening gestures towards him.

And neither student was reassured when, during a chance encounter with Duke's president, Nan Keohane, Strader told her of the situation they were in. Her response was to declare that the threats were "probably just a scary way of blowing off steam."

John Burness, Duke University's Senior Vice President for Public Relations, strongly disputes that account.

"There's much less here than meets the eye," he says. "It's clear that some of the students at Duke were upset by some of the descriptions [Strader and Szoka used] in this case, and they hit

back big time." He also claims that University administrators and the University's police department are investigating the entire affair, although both students say they are less than satisfied with the university police department's handling of the case. Strader says the police investigation "doesn't seem as if [it has] been really quick or really intense," as one might expect in a case like this.

As for Strader's account, Burness declared it "patently false," saying that Keohane "was just attempting to calm him down, and that she immediately contacted the appropriate University officials."

But if University officials are investigating the matter, Strader and Szoka don't know about it. Both say they've received one phone call—from Duke's student counseling office. Since then, they note, there has been no further communication—oral or written—from the University. As Szoka bitterly points out, there has been "nothing. Nada. Zilch. They don't care."

"They want to have it on the record that they contacted us," he says. "I have absolutely no reason to believe the University is going to do anything and I have no confidence in them whatsoever. I expect they will do what they need to do to protect their image. Beyond that, they won't do a thing."

Furthermore, Strader says that while President Keohane went through the motions of condemning the death threats and harassment, she certainly didn't appear to take the situation seriously. "I think that they're trying to cover their tracks. She said it in such an off-hand manner! That's exactly what happened!"

The students believe that the University would be treating this situation much differently if they were minorities.

"It would have been amazing," Strader says. "There would be an instant response," he argues, with hundreds of letters to the University and to the *Chronicle*, outside leaders brought in to bemoan the state of racial tension, and most notably, "it's possible some kind of action would be taken" against the people harassing him.

Szoka agrees. "Nan [Keohane] would be out there screaming bloody murder," he says, "if I were Indian, gay, black—anyone but a straight white male."

"I can see the candlelight vigil they'd be having," he quips. "I'm surprised they didn't bring me up on hate-crime charges!"

Indeed, Duke University officials have been particularly aggressive when it comes to condemning and investigating such complaints when minority students or staff are the victims. In 1996, the University's Institutional Equity office organized an immediate investigation of three voice mail messages containing racially inflammatory rhetoric left for a black assistant professor, an affair that warranted the attention of the University's provost. In May 1997, University President Nan Keohane devoted "first-order attention" to racial incidents on campus, which included slamming the conservative student-run *Duke Review* for its "Gala Employee Bashing Issue" which, despite never mentioning race, supposedly mocked black employees and portrayed them as lazy and incompetent.

"It is a regrettable aspect of contemporary American life that members of minority groups all too often are treated in stereotypical ways . . . Such stereotypes were at work in the recent article in the *Duke Review*, which made unfair generalizations about an entire group of our employees, for example . . . I cannot stress strongly enough the degree of pain these incidents have caused many at Duke," she told the *Chronicle* on May 22, 1997, "and particularly our African-American students and employees."

In November 1997, University officials declared the mock lynching of a black doll drenched in tar to be "offensive" and "a hate crime," a situation that blew up in the University's face when the culprits turned out to be two black undergraduates. In April 1998, the campus was in an uproar when, according to the *Chronicle*, three "white men of student age" shouted racial epithets at an Asian student from their car, and staff did everything to make two black female students

is clear in Public Relations chief Burgess' carefully worded statement: "As repugnant as some members of the university community might find some of the language or sentiments used by authors of various letters, it is not the place of the university administration to restrict what people say in letters to the editor in a student newspaper. The antidote for obnoxious speech is generally, in our view, more speech, not less speech—speech which challenges the premises and arguments of others and which enables people of independent views to assess those arguments and make up their own minds."

Many observers, such as Professor John Staddon, the James B. Duke Professor of Psychology at the University, weren't surprised that a campus controversy over the creation of a Hindi major happened.

"Every group has been told that it should be represented in the curriculum. Duke has an African and Asian Studies program. Why shouldn't the Indians get theirs? The controversy arose partly because [Strader and Szoka] wrote perfectly civil, but confrontational, letters criticizing India and defending the colonial West. But their defense is that they have had to listen to the equally strident views on the other side—and these represent the educational establishment."

But despite the casual attitude of Duke's educational establishment towards the situation unfolding around Strader and Szoka, the entire affair has made them all the more determined to

speak out. "That one sentence in one letter could make people physically threaten me is something I didn't expect," Strader says. It's something that Szoka didn't expect either, but he points out there is a larger problem that needs to be addressed. "(Students) come out of here not appreciating Western tradition. The only people who appreciate it anymore are immigrants. America is the only country not based on race, culture or ethnic origin—but based on an idea. That's what kids aren't being taught, but should be."



NAN KEOHANE

"comfortable" after a racial epithet was scrawled on their door in September 1998.

And while Keohane wrote in the September 15, 1998, edition of the *Chronicle* that "each of us has a responsibility to behave in ways that do not threaten others and a special obligation to work hard to foster a university that is just, fair, and inclusive," it would appear that the University has decided that some incidents are more newsworthy of condemnation than others. In the matter of Strader and Szoka, the University's new hands-off position, tailored for the situation,

## What's Left of Western Civ

Western Civilization has declined at Duke, and the college's hoped Curriculum 2000 project is not likely to improve that. It's an overhaul of the present curriculum, and will require that a student take a number of "exposures" in a number of "Areas of Knowledge" with emphasis on, among other things, "Cross-Cultural Inquiry," "Ethical Inquiry," and "Foreign Language."

Peter Fish, a Political Science professor and chair of Duke's Curriculum Committee in the Arts and Sciences College, says that while the program will "create a substantial tightening of the requirements all across the line," it represents a fundamental shift in how courses are viewed.

"The courses are to be fitted into the curriculum," he says, as opposed to the courses making up the curriculum. It's a change he views dimly, and he points out that "the American courses don't do well. American politics and American history (will be adversely affected) unless they have some kind of creative component or an analytical component."

But not all the courses studying the United States will be adversely affected. "One of the requirements is Cross-Cultural studies, which benefits the departments and courses that treat different cultures. . . I think even the American [politics] and American history courses that treated minorities would get a cross-cultural coding," and hence would benefit from the new curriculum.

Curriculum 2000 is also not a core curriculum—something Duke has not had in a very long while. Fish notes that while some professors grew up with an introduction to Western Civilization that was a staple of a Columbia University education in the 1950s, "Duke has never had anything like that . . . maybe before the 1968 curriculum, but not since then." He also points out that Duke does not have a Great Books curriculum similar to that of St. John's University. One thing that Curriculum 2000 does do, like previous curricula at Duke, is allow for students to choose the courses that will fulfill these requirements.

"A student can go through Duke and take the kind of courses students took 35, 40, or 50 years ago, or a student could go through and take

what they call the more 'cutting edge' courses," says Kenny Williams, a professor of English at Duke.

Peter Fish notes that these types of courses have expanded over the past fifteen to twenty years. "Western Civilization has declined relatively, in the sense that we have a broader (range) of course offerings." He attributes this to the changing nature of the student body and an increased interest in the sciences, but also changing interests on the part of the faculty.

And while Williams is diplomatic in describing these academic oddities, John Staddon, the James B. Duke Professor of Psychology at Duke, is far more blunt. "The humanities seem to be adrift on a sea of fad and fashion," he says. "Sexual perversion—incest and the Elizabethans," the "anus" in "Coriolanus" and the like—is in because it's novel and because it shocks the bourgeois," describing what he calls the "middle-ring school of English criticism."

It's a trend in the humanities that has led to the promotion of those professors who favor these in-fashion topics over those who teach traditional subject matter.

"Again, fashion is all," Staddon says. "The humanities, I think, suffer from adopting the science model, in which novelty is all important and being the first to study (for example) anal eroticism in Jane Austen gets you bonus points."

And while Kenny Williams says that she hadn't had any negative experiences as a result of this trend, she did make some interesting observations about her work. At Duke, Williams teaches a number of seminars and courses on 19th century American literature.

"They're not spectacular, I guess. They're not driven by theory, but they're driven by a basic love for the work and reading the work, rather than on theory," she says. But she only teaches undergraduates.

"I don't teach graduate courses any more," she says. "For one reason or another, we've all been drummed out of the graduate program."

When asked why that was, she said with an air of resignation, "I guess we're not 'cutting edge' enough."



# Pastors for Castro

by Mark Tooley

Fidel Castro's circle of open admirers may be contracting, but there are some American *fidelistas* who continue to keep the faith. Chief among them is a New York-based Baptist minister, the Rev. Lucius Walker, who, with his fellow "Pastors for Peace," continues to function as a public relations agent for the aging Cuban dictator and lobbies tirelessly for full U.S. relations with our hemisphere's last major outpost of tyranny.

Early this year, Walker helped organize what he describes as the largest U.S. congressional delegation to visit Cuba. Representatives Maxine Waters (D-CA), Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX), Earl Hilliard (D-AL), Julia Carson (D-IN), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), and Barbara Lee (D-CA) all joined in the trip, some of them as full partners in Walker's enthusiasm for the Cuban caudillo, some of them duped by the veil of humanitarianism which the Reverend has placed over his work for Castro.

"I would be honored to have a person like Fidel as president of my own country," Walker enthuses to me in a recent interview. "He's a person of great integrity." Walker commended Cuba's wisdom for not rushing to multi-party democracy, which he believes would allow the U.S. to buy elections there as it has, he insists, elsewhere in the Third World. "I think democracy is expressed in [Cuba's] current system," Walker says placidly. "Arguably it's among the most democratic in the world."

A former executive with the National Council of Churches (NCC), Walker organized "Pastors for Peace" in 1988 from his hospital bed, while recovering from wounds he claims were inflicted by the Contras during a visit he made to Nicaragua. Its self-professed purpose was to support the "victims" of "low-intensity warfare" waged by the United States and its proxies against oppressed Third World peoples.

Walker had been fired as the NCC's Associate General Secretary for Church and Society in 1978 for chronically overspending his budget. He blamed his dismissal on the NCC's "drifting to the right." Thereafter, Walker became executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO), a group founded in 1967 ostensibly to combat civil rights injustices, although in reality, IFCO promoted Black Panther-style radicalism under the aegis of "self-determination" for the inner city. Under Walker's leadership, it increasingly agitated on international justice issues, such as combating U.S. "colonialism" in Latin America and supporting Marxist liberation movements in Central America. Despite its status as an agit-prop organization on the fringes of the Christian community, mainline church groups, such as the United Methodistists, supported IFCO financially during the 1980's.

Walker's Pastors for Peace, which is an IFCO project, took a special interest in Cuba after the Cuban government invited him on a fact-finding tour. "We saw a country that had suffered under a dictatorship, a dictatorship that had been supported by the U.S.," he lamented. He was speaking of the Batista dictatorship, over 40 years ago now. But for Walker, the clock never moves: he still blames all oppression in Cuba on the United States.

Since 1992, Pastors for Peace has been challenging U.S. trade sanctions against Cuba by organizing seven "Friendship Caravans" of material aid for Cuba and refusing to apply for a U.S. Treasury Department license. "To send simple aid

to our Cuban brothers and sisters we shouldn't have to ask the permission of their enemy," Walker has explained.

For his efforts, Walker and his colleagues received medals handed out personally by Castro in 1996. Upon receipt of his reward, the Baptist pastor from Brooklyn hailed Cuba's communist system as exemplifying the social values preached by Jesus. Castro responded: "I do not have words to express the highest appreciation for what they have done." He called Walker's work "one of the most beautiful stories of solidarity ever written."



REV. LUCIUS WALKER

The reason Cuba is a "pariah," according to Walker, "is because it will not bow to U.S. corporate interests or U.S. government policy, but is committed to giving all that it can to its people." Cuba offers an "example to the rest of the Third World which the developed countries cannot abide because it places people ahead of corporate greed."

Walker has said that Castro's communist revolution ushered in an era of equal rights, universal education, and health care. "Cuba has chosen to seize its own destiny, not to be a puppet of the United States. It has not bowed to the United States in the face of hardship from our economic blockade."

He has defended Cuba's one-party system, saying it permits two or more (Communist Party-approved) candidates to run for some offices. And Cuba's limitations on free speech he blames on pressures Castro feels from his enemy, the United States: "Cuba is a country under siege." Walker has said the trade embargo is part of America's "racist immorality," since Cuba is a majority black nation. "The U.S. uses human rights only to oppress."

In 1994 Pastors for Peace organized a historic meeting between 100 U.S. church leaders and Fidel Castro when the Cuban dictator visited the U.N. "We did not want the revolution to be anti-church or anti-clergy," Castro patiently explained to an appreciative audience. "We fought within the Party to establish that even those with religious beliefs should be able to join the Party and participate in government."

"Sometimes the church has issued strong pastoral letters against the revolution," Castro added. "We do our best to be tolerant." He effusively thanked Pastors for Peace. "Like the early Christians, they have been willing to stand up for their beliefs, even against those who would crucify them." Castro told the assembled church lead-

ers representing 20 Protestant, Roman Catholic and ecumenical groups: "We love you very specially and always welcome you to our country."

Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of Churches and a leading participant in the meeting, afterwards admitted that Castro's regime has detained "some pastors" and closed churches. But she expressed her appreciation that Cuba "has made a priority of caring for the poor." Working for closer ties between Castro's regime and U.S. church leaders, such as Campbell, is a major goal for Walker. But breaking U.S. trade sanctions against Cuba with illegal caravans of "humanitarian aid" is an even stronger objective.

Pastors for Peace's most hair-raising caravan adventure was in 1996, when the U.S. Customs Service decided not to ignore Walker's open violation of U.S. trade policy towards Cuba. A 30-vehicle caravan carrying 200 activists and 300 computers was blocked at the Mexican border south of San Diego by U.S. Customs officers. To back them up, some 100 San Diego police officers and California Highway Patrolmen in riot gear lined up at the border, in case the caravaneers should attempt to cross the border on foot.

True to expectation, Pastors for Peace activists dismounted from their vehicles and began running their computers towards the border, trying to ram through Customs officials and police officers. Ten members of the caravan were arrested, and seven others were detained after resisting attempts to seize the computers. The melee injured one protester and four Customs inspectors, three of whom required hospital treatment. According to Pastors for Peace, their activists had been trained in "non-violent techniques." Walker later said he had never seen law enforcement behave so brutally.

Not loath to miss an opportunity for publicity, Walker and three colleagues began a hunger strike on February 21, 1996 near the Mexican border crossing. In April, they moved their fast to Washington, DC, where they camped out in the United Methodist Building on Capitol Hill, strategically across the street from the U.S. Capitol and the Supreme Court.

"I'm 65," Walker melodramatically pronounced, "I simply don't want to live any longer in a country that continues to hurt people the way my country does." He professed to be living on a diet of water, lemon juice and maple syrup.

"Our government has pursued a policy of death toward Cuba for half of my life time," said Walker. "Working with [U.S. policy] is to be in complicity with killing our neighbors 90 miles south of Florida. I'd rather lose my life than lose my soul." He contrasted himself with "right-wing groups" that are sending computers to "dissident" groups in Cuba.

Representative Charles Rangel (D-NY) joined Walker in a press conference, where he announced the support of 60 congressmen for the release of the computers. Walker's Salvation Baptist Church is located in Rangel's district. The congressman commended Pastors for Peace as "dedicated Americans" who were trying to "ease the suffering of the Cuban people."

Neither he nor Walker acknowledged that the food, clothing and medicine for humanitarian purposes could be shipped legally to Cuba if licensed under the Trading with Enemies Act. Nor did they explain why the computers could not have been shipped quietly through Mexico or Canada without the fanfare of caravans and civil disobedience.

Also attending the press conference were

Rep. Esteban Torres (D-California), Rep. William Coyne (D-Pennsylvania), Rep. Sam Farr (D-California) and several officials from the left leaning church establishment, including Joan Brown Campbell. The ecumenical leader called U.S. policy towards Cuba "inhuman bondage." Thom White Wolf Fassett of the United Methodist Board of Church and Society called the United States an "outlaw nation" because of its sanctions against Cuba.

During his hunger strike, Freedom House, a Washington-based human rights monitor, sent Walker a list of 1,000 political prisoners, including Christian clergy, who were detained in Cuban prisons. Walker responded by contrasting "Cuba's example of good will to its own people" with the "outpouring of hatred, abuse and violence by our own government against us." He claimed the "U.S. is committed not to democracy but to the destruction of democracy." And he blasted "right-wing Cubans" who left their homeland to live in Cuba's enemy. Unlike exiled Cubans, Walker said he would remain in his native land, despite the "hegemony and abuse of power" by the U.S. government.

Walker's hunger strike was enormously successful. Congressman Rangel and mainline church groups repeatedly lobbied the Treasury Department to release the confiscated computers. In late May, the Treasury Department finally acquiesced, turning the computers over to the United Methodist Board of Church and Society, in whose building the hunger strikers were encamped.

"This is the making of a new ecumenical coalition to address the moral issues around our policy on Cuba," boasted Congressman Rangel, who commended the United Methodist, American Baptist, and Episcopal Churches, the National Council of Churches, and the Catholic Archdiocese of New York for their help. "Rev. Walker and his stalwart supporters risked their lives to make a moral point about the right of Americans to help people in need wherever they may live."

"We are thankful to God," announced a grateful Walker. "Together, we have made an effort to appeal to the soul and integrity of our nation." The computers were finally shipped to Cuba in September 1996. In solidarity with Pastors for Peace, United Methodist officials insisted they never asked for a license. But the Treasury Department still granted one to the church so as to close the issue. Walker still saw it as a victory.

During one meeting with Castro, Walker

recalled to me that the Cuban dictator called the Bible a "living book," which Walker called "real good theology." Walker added that "in some ways it [the Bible] is still being written through the work of people like Pastors for Peace. What we've done through the caravans has been nothing less than writing a new page in the Bible."

In an effort to nudge divine revelation once again, Walker more recently has involved Pastors for Peace in the conflict in Chiapas, Mexico. "The contempt that these Nazi ranch owners expressed towards the indigenous people reminded me of stories my father would tell me about the way plantation owners treated blacks when he was a young man," he has explained of the economic situation there. Walker's group has hailed the revolutionary Zapatista groups for promoting "land, education, economic justice and health for the indigenous population."

Last year, Walker strenuously denied reports from the Mexican government that Pastors for Peace was helping the Zapatistas establish a "Radio in Resistance" that would lead towards a Zapatista-run "free zone." He insists that his role in Chiapas is largely humanitarian. But his solidarity is directed exclusively toward the one group that has taken up arms to advance its agenda. Walker has much less to say about the many other democratic groups in Mexico that pursue peaceful change.

But even though he has made forays into other revolutionary settings, Cuba remains the issue closest to Walker's heart. And his interest is by no means limited to the effect of U.S. sanctions on Cuba. He explained his motive to a 1995 "March on Washington to End the U.S. Economic Blockade of Cuba:"

Ending the blockade against Cuba is part and parcel of freeing our own country from some of the most despicable evil policies that this country has ever known. We cannot ultimately have what we need in this country until we recognize what Cuba has in its country and until we join with Cuba in celebrating that revolutionary principle and way of life which Cuba represents in the world. We have never had a true revolution in the United States. What did we have? At best we had a coup. We had a take-over by the rich white men who had come to the United States from the rich white men who had stayed back in England.

Walker concluded his rousing oration by promising: "Today we end the blockade against Cuba. Tomorrow we end the blockade of the ghettos, of the poor, of the political prisoners in our own country. Our vision is a broad, large vision. We are the people who will build the new United States!"

It would seem that this revolutionary rhetoric would be alien to Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba, a new coalition organized by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which includes corporate leaders like David Rockefeller and Wayne Andreas, former administration officials, and former congressmen of both parties who argue that open trade with Cuba will ultimately undermine Castro. But included in this coalition—and giving it a whiff of moral uplift—are the left leaning church leaders like Joan Brown Campbell of the National Council of Churches who have dressed the wolfish Walker in sheep's clothing and who themselves are hardly motivated by opposition to Castro or, for that matter, enthusiasm for the principle of free trade.

Mainline church leaders placed a half-page ad in the *New York Times* last year to plead for full U.S. relations with Cuba. Signatories included not only Campbell and Walker but a host of bishops, pastors, priests and nuns from mainline Protestant and Catholic organizations. The ad made no mention of human rights in Cuba.

The celebratory approach of some U.S. church leaders towards Castro ignited a poignant letter from a Cuban political prisoner several years ago. While then serving a 4-year sentence for disseminating "enemy propaganda," Joel Duenas Martinez wrote in direct response to the "ministry" of Rev. Walker.

"How can a man who calls himself a believer support the Mecca of atheism?" Duenas asked. "In this country [Cuba] religious people have been isolated, humiliated, turned into second-class citizens, expelled from universities, hunted down, and even imprisoned." Duenas invited Walker to his prison cell. "Will you persist in defending Fidel Castro after going through our hell?"

The Cuban hell has always been a radical heaven for Walker and his liberal church friends.

Marc Tooley is blah blah blah blah blah blah blah blah blah blah

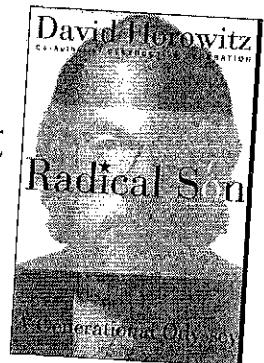
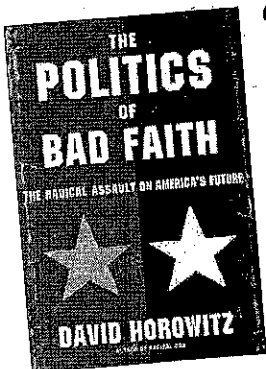
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# Bigots for the American Way, Continued from page 1

For an organization so profoundly at odds with the attitudes and values of most Americans, PAW has been involved in an astonishing number of battles over the years. Since it was founded in 1981 to fight the Christian Right, it has defended flag burning, battled creationism, challenged displays of the Ten Commandments, fought demands by parents to inspect classroom sex education materials and sued school districts that allowed their valedictorians to say a prayer at the commencement address.

Acting as lead counsel, co-counsel or a friend of the court, PAW has repeatedly fought for affirmative action, diversity, racial preferences, quotas, and homosexual rights. It campaigned for full funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, filed an amicus brief on behalf of performance artist Karen Finley's right to smear her body with hot chocolate at taxpayer expense and opposed the Communications Decency Act (apparently not so much on First Amendment grounds, though, as for fear the act might shut down gay and lesbian web sites).

For years, PAW has published an annual report, giving lists of "censored" books. It tapes every word that Pat Robertson (and any other prominent Christian leader) ever utters on TV. PAW subscribes to religious right publications such as *Focus on the Family* and the Family Research Council, attends religious right conferences and conventions, and, as it notes in its annual report, keeps "exhaustive records of what ultraconservative groups communicate to their own constituencies." For web-savvy members, PAW sponsors a counter-Christian website called Right Wing Watch, maintains a research library and publishes books on the right (such as "Hostile Climate," a state-by-state report on anti-gay activity with a forward by Alec Baldwin.).

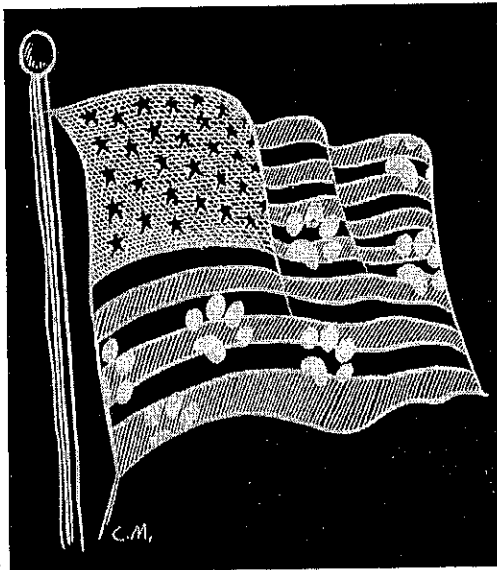
When the Catholic League protested gay activist Terrence McNally's "Corpus Christi" (a play in which Christ gets drunk with his apostles, slaps a priest, marries two gays and sleeps with Judas), PAW turned out such luminaries as Norman Lear, Arthur Miller and Wendy Wasserstein to demonstrate on the play's behalf. When Catholics objected to over-sexed priests in the NBC series, *Nothing Sacred*, PAW urged its members to send letters, faxes and e-mails, demanding that the network keep the series on the air. Just before last November's elections PAW paid for a \$58,000 open letter in the *New York Times* signed by 400 historians contending that Clinton's crimes in the Monica Lewinsky case didn't rise to the level of an impeachable offense.

At other times, PAW has supported gay marriage, opposed the Disney boycott, demanded confirmation of Bill Lann Lee as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights and urged full implementation of the motor voter law. It provided research materials for an infamous 1994 Anti-Defamation League report which called the Christian Right "bogus," "conspiratorial," "phony," "fevered" and anti-Semitic. More recently, it has started a campaign to defeat the house managers (called "RECALL THE RIGHT: POWERVOTE 2000"). In perhaps its greatest coup, PAW put together a \$1.2 million advertising and direct-mail campaign to sink Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork. As part of that campaign, Anthony Podesta, PAW's first director, advised Senator Ted Kennedy on how to derail the Bork nomination. (Kennedy charged that Bork would bring back coat-hanger abortions and make blacks stand in the back of the bus.)

In an all-out effort to keep Clarence Thomas off the Supreme Court, PAW assigned four full-time staffers, several interns and four field organizers to research the man's past. According to David Brock's *The Real Anita Hill*, PAW looked through videos of Thomas's speeches in hopes of finding one where, one rumor alleged,

Thomas mocked the mentally ill by imitating a chicken. More profitably, former PAW legal director Ricki Seidman joined Ted Kennedy's labor sub-committee where she begged, cajoled and (some say) tricked a skittish Anita Hill into telling Senator Howard Metzenbaum staffer David Brudney about Thomas's alleged sexual harassment of her. Brudney then told NPR's Nina Totenberg, who then told the world.

Over the years, their ends-justify-the-means practices have raised a lot of political hackles. "I don't care for the ACLU either," says Clint Bolick, litigation director of the Institute For Justice. "But they're forthright. What you see is what you get. But I don't like these people [at People For the American Way] at all. They are nasty ideologues who are not terribly honest about their motivations."



For his part, TV producer Norman Lear has never tried to hide his reasons for forming People For the American Way. "I was a Jewish kid growing up when Hitler came to power," Lear is quoted in Cal Thomas's new book, *Blinded by Might*. "As Father Coughlin ranted, as Carl McIntire ranted, I don't know why or how it came about that at age thirteen or fourteen on the radio I would listen to them. I didn't have any [friends] I could talk to about it because they weren't listening. I can't explain it, but I felt the threat as a Jewish kid." When WWII broke out, Lear quickly joined the Army Air Force and flew 56 missions as a radioman. "I couldn't wait to get involved," said Lear. "I love this country. I love this life and I love getting up in the morning."

Lear also loved writing comedies, a format to which, in the decades following WWII, he brought a highly original (and subversive) talent. By the late seventies, Lear was a wealthy and influential television writer/producer. His *All In The Family* comedy series, which featured the bigoted but lovable Archie Bunker, was largely based on Lear's own domineering father, who, according to former *Wall Street Journal* writer Dan Akst, spent three years in jail for securities fraud and berated his son, Norman, as "the dumbest white kid I know." The show was such a mega-hit it changed the face of situation comedy forever. Lear's subsequent shows (*Sanford & Son*, *Maude*, *The Jeffersons*, *Good Times* and *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*) featured themes like abortion, rape, homosexuality, anti-Semitism, racism, feminism and the war in Vietnam. Lear, it was clear, didn't just want to entertain people—if he could ridicule the religious right in the process that was icing on the cake.

In one episode of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, eight-year old evangelist Jimmy Joe Jeeter gets electrocuted when a television falls in his bathtub. In another episode, recounted by former Lear staff writer Ann Marcus, Lear illustrates ignorant anti-Semitism by having the dippily reli-

gious Loretta Haggars, Mary Hartman's best friend, blithely announce on *The Dinah Shore Show* how grateful she is to the Jewish agents and promoters who helped her Country/Western singing career. "I can't believe those are the same people who killed our Lord," she burbles.

In 1978, saying he wanted to "flex other creative muscles," Lear quit television to do a movie about television evangelists which he was tentatively calling "Religion." "I started to watch these shows eight, ten hours a week, Lear said in a 1992 *Commonweal* interview. "It was sobering. And I started to say, 'This is not my America.' They rallied against the Supreme Court, the public school system, secular humanism—often with thinly veiled anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic intolerance." Deciding to abandon the notion of a movie in favor of a head-on assault on the Religious Right, Lear prepared three or four 30-second commercials. "I had a working stiff like Archie Bunker," said Lear. "I always try to think what the average guy is thinking."

And what Lear had the average forklift operator thinking in one commercial was that he didn't much like it when preachers told him he was a good or bad Christian depending on how he voted—"That's not the American way." Lear showed the commercials to Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame, who introduced Lear to half a dozen other religious leaders who told him that since the political use of religion was becoming such an on-going problem he ought to institutionalize the attacks. Since the commercials all ended with the workman saying, "that's not the American way," Lear decided to call his new organization People For the American Way.

As it was clear to Lear that, as a Jew, he didn't have what he called the right "credentials" to attack the Christian Right, he signed up Hesburgh, assorted liberal priests, ministers, rabbis, political activists and movie stars to give his board of directors mainstream credibility. A harder part was keeping a lid on Lear's contempt for the Christian right. "The right doesn't bend over backwards to be fair," Lear once told the *Wall Street Journal*. "That is a particularly sick phenomenon of liberals I have no interest in."

That was more than clear from Lear's first fund-raising letter, which he described as the "most important" he would ever write if he lived to be a thousand. Shooting deliberately from the hip, Lear called the Christian Right "ominous," "dangerous," "single-issue zealots," "pernicious," and described their movement as "fascism masquerading as Christianity," "the ultimate obscenity" and "the spiritual pornography of a debased religiosity." (A subsequent more temperate brochure merely described the Christian Right as an "alarming new movement" which was teaching people "to hate but in a 'Christian' way.")

Given Lear's background as a comedy writer (and his single year of college) it's no surprise perhaps that when the Christian Right suddenly first burst onto the scene as a political force in the late seventies that Lear initially saw it as a bolt out of the blue, without roots or legitimacy. In fact, Lear, along with the rest of the secular left, didn't understand that the rise of the Christian right was actually a reaction to what born-again Christians saw as a 20-year assault by out-of-state attorneys, activist judges and biased media with its one-sided coverage and narrow-minded worldview. "The fundamentalist left has awoken the sleeping giant of American religious conservatism, which it never needed to do, notes Rabbi Daniel Lapin. It was the "fundamentalist's left's" profound "anti-Christian bigotry" that created the Christian right by aggressively pushing the boundaries and constantly demanding more.

"If we are talking about abortion," says Lapin, who is both an orthodox rabbi and author of a new book on America's Judeo-Christian heritage called *America's Real War*, "it was foolish to push the issue toward partial birth abortions because that is something that leaves almost



In fact, argues Prager, the greatest danger to Jews isn't Christianity, he contends, but the lack of it. In the March issue of *National Review*, Prager described a recent speech he gave to Jews in North Carolina. "When some in the audience mentioned their fear of rising religiosity among Christians, I asked these audience members if they loved living their city. All of them said they did. Is it a coincidence, I then asked, that the city you so love—for its wonderful people, its safety for your children, its fine schools and its values that enable you to raise your children with confidence—is a highly Christian city?"

It's good that America is a Christian country, Prager concluded. It's good for America and it's good for Jews. "Judaism-loving, Old Testament-loving, classical American Protestantism . . . has been the greatest social and moral engine since Sinai."

For his part, even Norman Lear realizes that something has gone wrong with American society over the last 40 years. Starting in the early nineties, he began to give speeches (to sometimes quite surprised liberal audiences) lamenting the decline of spirituality and spirit centered life, the country's decline into materialism and the disappearance of what he calls "our capacities for awe and wonder." Lear even seems (faintly) to understand the role that PAW played in creating the problem he currently deplors. "Civil libertarian arguments may have discouraged discussion," he told writer Thomas Landy in a 1992 *Commonweal* interview, plus "mainline churches were unsuccessful in reaching out to [born-again Christians]" thus leaving opportunities for the Christian Right to fill breach.

Lear candidly admits that when he first entered the political arena, he "reflexively" wrote off "anybody who called himself a 'born-again Christian.'" But he says in the *Commonweal* piece, "we didn't come this distance without learning something." And it soon dawned on Lear that, in spite of what he regarded as their narrow-minded, retrograde social/political stands, Christian right leaders still were—in some inchoate way—responding to "people's deepest yearnings."

For Lear it was a kind of revelation: "Everybody in what appears to be the opposing army is following a leader. When you try to find out why . . . you begin to discover that they have some of the same hopes and aspirations you do. You begin not to write off a whole section of America just because they are following something or someone out of their own needs. It is better to reach out to their needs. The religious right

taught us a lesson, in spite of themselves. . . . We must begin to make commitments to higher values, to live a moral code that connects us with each other and with eternity."

It's hard to know how sincere Lear is about his new found appreciation for religion's role in society (he declined to be interviewed for this story). Certainly, it's clear he takes great offense at Pat Robertson's assertions that he's "anti-Christian." Perhaps in reaction, as some reporters have noted, there are books about Christ on his office shelves. In interviews he frequently mentions his friendship with the University of Chicago Christian theologian Martin Marty and has been known to tell reporters that we'd all be better off if we followed Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

PAW itself has also sought to present itself in a kinder, gentler way in recent times. Four years ago it signed an "non-aggression" pact with 17 other activist organizations including the Christian Coalition to ratchet down the rhetoric and adopt a more moderate tone. Its web site couldn't look more middle-American (it features a patriotic collage of the American flag, Constitution, Capitol building and Supreme Court.) It's director, Carole Shields has six kids and is the daughter and granddaughter of Southern Baptist preachers. And PAW's general Counsel, Elliot Minberg—in contrast to the volatile Podesta—is more than ready to concede that fair-minded people might have other points of view.

("It's not surprising that they have very smooth spokespeople," says Bolick. "PAW has enough money to hire the very best. They don't have to be represented by people who can't hide their zealotry.")

On the other hand, there are other indications that when it comes to basic ideology, PAW hasn't changed at all. Last October, when the director of PAW's New York City office asked Norman Lear to march in defense of an anti-Christian agit-prop play (*Corpus Christi*) he was more than happy to oblige. And when Marshall Fritz of the Separation of Church and State Alliance attended a PAW "Threats to Democracy" workshop in Washington D.C. last May, he was, he says, "flabbergasted, pained, not quite distraught at how uninterested they were in new ideas, and how censorious and intolerant they were of views other than their own."

Though a few speakers, like Rabbi David Sapperstein warned (vainly) against the tendency to "demonize the right," and one educator candidly confessed she couldn't "in good conscience" tell needy black mothers not to avail

themselves of vouchers, others happily castigated the Religious Right as "hate groups" and "racist scum" indistinguishable from the Klu Klux Klan. The sense of moral outrage even permeated policy discussions as when PAW president Carole Shields attacked vouchers as an "idiotic" idea and suggested that even privately-funded voucher programs were nothing more than loss leaders designed to make "a profit on children."

Fritz, who is neither shy nor quiet, says he tried not to ask too many embarrassing questions, such as why PAW supported giving the poor food stamps to use at for-profit grocery stores but opposed giving the poor educational vouchers to use private schools. But he couldn't help himself, he says, when, on the final day of the workshop, Norman Lear himself got up to speak. "Interns were holding cordless mikes. I waited till the end. I'm the last questioner." But when Fritz tried to speak, a PAW staff member took the mike from the intern and handed it to another staffer, who came up with some puffball-type question to ask Lear—"Was it fun to do the Archie Bunker show?"

When she was done, Fritz tried to speak again, whereupon, he says, PAW staffers handed the mike to yet another staff member. "I didn't get it at first," says Fritz. "I was so naïve. I couldn't believe they would try to prevent me from asking a question." Finally Fritz just put up his hand and Lear acknowledged him. "I said, 'This room has great acoustics. We don't need a mike,'" says Fritz. "Then I reminded Lear of how, years before, he had endorsed a great book called 'Compelling Belief,' the first chapter of which had pointed out the need for the separation of school and state as a way of protecting the right of families to pass on their ideology without interference from the state. Then I asked him 'Do you still endorse this point of view?'"

Lear never answered the question, says Fritz. Someone had just earlier made a comment about reading and he played off that remark, saying, "oh, that must have happened before I could read."

Fritz left the conference thoroughly disgusted. PAW can talk all it wants about its opposition to "making a profit on children," he says, but the truth is a lot more simple. The reason People For the American Way hates vouchers is that it wants to keep kids in public schools where it can undermine their belief in God—"All the rest are cover stories."

Paul Clotti wrote "Reviving Hamlet" in the March 1999 issue of *Heterodoxy*.

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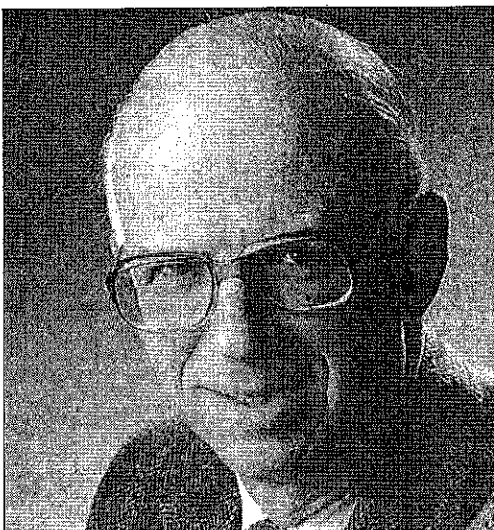
## Hate Story, Continued from page 1

day care, animal interests, clean water and air. "A vote against impeachment," frothed Alan Dershowitz, "is not a vote for Bill Clinton. It is a vote against bigotry. It's a vote against fundamentalism. It's a vote against anti-environmentalism. It's a vote against the Right to Life movement," a vote against "the forces of evil, genuine evil," a vote against "the radical right." But wrong as they are on so many key issues, the Clinton defenders are wrong about this too. The radical right is a small part of the story. The Clinton haters, in fact, are the soul of diversity, ranging in scope from far right to far left, with the most interesting group clustered not far from the center-left, the very ground Clinton claims to inhabit. Truly, it is a most rich, teeming cluster. Many are the reasons to look down on Bill Clinton. And so, let us count the ways:

1. It is the sex, stupid. "It's not sex," most Clinton haters have staunchly insisted, pointing to such other matters as perjury, corruption, obstruction of justice, etc. But there is a group to whom Clinton's sex life in itself is a just cause for removal from office, on the grounds that a) private and public behavior are completely connected; b) the head of state must be a role model in everything; and c) adultery in itself creates lies. So Cal Thomas, in the *Washington Times*, quotes psychiatrist Frank Pittman, "Philandering requires a life of duplicity, constant betrayals, sexual obsession, and gender preoccupation. It may be a good way to build seductive skills, but (is) not a good way to develop character or responsibility. Philanderers lie." These people think Bob Livingston was right to step down after Larry Flynt outed him; think JFK should have stepped down if uncovered; think George Washington should have fired Alexander Hamilton for his dalliance with Maria Reynolds in 1792. Others have a more nuanced reaction. "Adultery is wrong," says virtue czar William Bennett. "It is the betrayal of a solemn vow, and often does deep, lasting injury. . . . One can believe, as I do, that Bill Clinton should resign because of his squalid affair with a White House intern, and still not believe that every person who ever committed adultery should be disqualified from holding the office." He would forgive FDR Lucy Mercer, but not JFK his long string of bimbos and film stars, and surely not Clinton for this. Still others, who would not mind a discreet affair with a mature woman in private (like liberal libertarians Camille Paglia and Christopher Hitchens) are disgusted by this one, but they do not really belong to this grouping, as they believe that other of Clinton's transgressions take precedence over sex.

2. The Culture Warriors. These are the people for whom it is always the year 1968 at the barricades, and they are forever in the dean's office at Cornell—Yale—Columbus—Berkeley as it is overrun, trashed, and desecrated by scruffy, malodorous hordes. To them, Clinton is odious less as himself than as the puffy head of a thirty-years boil; less as the white-haired, baggy-eyed, fifty-plus president, wagging his finger as he lies to the nation than as the shaggy, hairy, unkempt, bearded student, slithering out of the draft to smoke pot and chase tail at Oxford, while his betters were being killed in Vietnam. Their flagship organ is *Commentary*; their policy arm is the Manhattan Institute; their second homes are the conservative think tanks in Washington. Their spokesmen tend to be neoconservatives: James Q. Wilson, Robert Bork, and David Gelernter among them. This group tends at times to an undue and over-wrought pessimism except for the most balanced and graceful among them, Michael Barone and John Leo, both now at the very mainstream *U.S. News & World Report*. Though Clinton reluctantly signed welfare reform, and enraged liberals by backing the death penalty, the culture warriors feel that the music of Clinton's personal style drowns out the lyrics, and they see him as the eternal rebel twit. As Michael Barone wrote nearly

five years before the fact, the Clintons "symbolize the unattractive boomer liberal traits: self-righteousness and selfishness . . . self-indulgence . . . and bossy social engineering . . . Clinton's transparent lies, his evasions, his whining about how hard he works all sound like a bright but erratic teenager struggling to impress his college counselor, not like a commander-in-chief." Meanwhile John Leo maintains: "The 60's cultural revolution moved the country from restraint to liberation, discouraging religious observances and encouraging divorce, abortion and drug experimentation . . . Many who want Mr. Clinton deposed think that a perjuring, sexually out-of-control president is the last straw in an any-thing-goes culture." It is not one Clinton sin—lies, sex, or money—that offends them so much as the whole of his being. Which brings them in line with group three.



DAVID BRODER

3. The unbearable Lightness of Clinton. This is a cluster of Tory grandees, George Will and Charles Krauthammer foremost among them, in love with the sweep and the grandeur of history, who find Clinton too banal to bear. Everything about him grates on their nerve-ends: his crying, his whining, his petulance; his clichéd way of speaking, his wee tiny programs, his triteness, his tears. To them, his presence in office is enough to demean it: he is quite literally beneath their contempt. Their view through the scandal has been that Clinton is too small for impeachment: the process should not be wasted on the likes of him. "Let him limp across the finish line. The great constitutional remedy should be reserved for weightier subjects," Will wrote last August. Krauthammer agrees: "Driving him from office would simply make him a martyr. He will finish out his term as an Oval Office OJ, . . . forever disdained as a liar and a louse." Will would even deny he hates Clinton, this fierce emotion seeming too much to waste on a man such as this President. For Will, "Clinton is defined by smallness," and deserves disdain, but not hatred.

4. The Catholic School Crowd: Groups one through three tend to be rightist in theory, and therefore opposed to Bill Clinton on policy, if nothing else. But in this group, one finds Clinton haters who are centrists or Democrats, people who might like Clinton's ideas, if he had any that went beyond self-preservation. It was William Powers in the *National Journal* who first diagnosed this grouping: "pundits from Roman Catholic backgrounds, most of whom have liberal-to-moderate Democratic leanings, and yet who have noticeably not come to Mr. Clinton's defense." Among them he counts Chris Matthews of the *San Francisco Examiner* and CNBC's *Hardball*, (who used to work for the late Tip O'Neill); Tim Russert of NBC News (who once worked for Cuomo and Moynihan); Cokie Roberts of ABC News, (daughter of the late Hale

Boggs, a Democratic majority leader); and, above all, Michael Kelly, fired from the *New Republic* for anti-Clinton crusading, perhaps the most vehement critic of all.

The angst of this group concerns morals, not policy. As Powers explains, "The source of Mr. Matthews' disgust with Mr. Clinton . . . has little to do with political ideology. Rather . . . it's about the dead-sure values of Catholics vs. the ethos of moral relativism that he identifies with Hollywood . . . and Mr. Clinton . . . You're supposed to tell the truth. You're not supposed to be perfect. You're supposed to have some shame when you don't do the right thing." . . . There's a 'measure of resentment' in this view, Mr. Matthews said. "Catholics are constantly having to examine their own behavior, balancing their desire for earthly pleasures and success against the church's moral values, and when they see someone blithely pursuing what he wants, and rarely holding himself accountable for his failings, it drives them nuts."

It drives Michael Kelly to utter distraction. "He must be impeached not merely because he is a pig and a cad and a selfish brute," Kelly wrote last year of Our Leader. "He must be impeached because he has an utter and absolute contempt for the truth, and for the law he has twice sworn to uphold." That was for starters. He later called Clinton a cancer, eating out the core of his party's liberal heritage. And then came this: "Lying corrupts, and an absolute liar corrupts absolutely, and the corruption spread by the lies of the absolutely mendacious Clinton is becoming frightening to behold." One of the reasons he really hates Clinton is that he thinks Clinton has turned the party that led us into World War II and world leadership, that gave us the original civil rights movement, and that stood up for the interests of those without money into the defender of Larry Flynt and of perjury.

They all overlap, but each group that hates Clinton tends to hate him for one particular reason: the sex police hate him for fornication; the culture warriors for breaking down standards; the Tory grandees for his total inconsequence. This Catholic group tends to hate him for sacrilege: for the commandments he breaks, for the religion he mocks, for the desecration he brings to the secular shrines of the country. He desecrates the Oval Office (Monica Lewinsky); the Map Room (the coffees); the Lincoln Bedroom (the donors); and Arlington National Cemetery (M. Larry Lawrence, et al.)

"The fight being waged today involves the sacred," Matthews wrote in 1997, long before Monica surfaced. The charge, he said, is not that the Clintons "failed to make the right policies, . . . but that they followed the policy of not protecting the office." Were Clinton "a true American president, he would have made a far more vigilant guardian of the country's holy places." Its "holy places." Its "shrines." In the eyes of this group, this has been our first truly blasphemous president. A view shared in part by group five.

5. The Policy People. Open the op-ed pages of the *Washington Post* any day during the past several years, and the chances are you will have run into one or more of the purer examples of Clinton aversion to be found in the country, if not in the entire world. And not only because of the presence there of Charles Krauthammer, George Will, and Michael Kelly, but through the influence of four other people, all far less partisan, and with no known agenda, who have been quietly hating Bill Clinton for years. These are Jim Hoagland and Fred Hiatt, who write about foreign policy, and David Broder and Robert J. Samuelson, who cover the political and/or the economic side. As befits their reputations for moderation and reason, they seem to hate Clinton for the best of all reasons: they care very deeply for sound government policy, and they have come to believe he does not. They believe he will—and has—sell out the long-term best interests of the world and the country for his fleeting political welfare: that he sees all issues as occasions of spin.

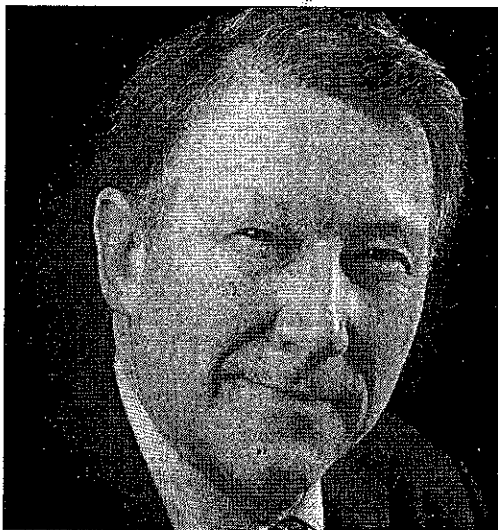
In foreign affairs, this consists of buying off dictators so as not to make trouble, at least not while he stays in office. Hoagland cites Clinton's "commitment to muddling through," instead of solving real problems. Hiatt writes, "while spin control can be effective in the game of domestic politics, it has a corrosive effect on U.S. credibility. . . . Other countries learn that they can push the U.S. around, and this country will simply call defeats victories." One example of this was last year's trip to China, a Clinton surrender sold as a photo op. "His China trip is being scripted around a set of fictions," said Hoagland, "Clinton joins the Chinese in manipulating himself for their purposes, which he mistakes as identical to his own." The greatest case came soon after that, over U.N. inspections of Iraq's war-making capacity. Faced with findings that would force him to confront the Iraqi leader, Clinton moved to suppress the inspections, causing Scott Ritter to quit. It was not Iraq that was scolded, but Clinton's own critics. As Hiatt wrote, "It is no surprise to find the Clinton administration treating any problem as a PR challenge, looking to spin instead of solve, vilifying critics instead of debating them . . . a half dozen times (Ritter) was pulled away from inspections on orders from Albright or other top administration officials. Once . . . he believed the team was about to uncover ballistic missile components. On another occasion, they were pursuing biological weapons. . . . Ritter believes the administration derailed these and other inspections because it did not want its bluff called . . . . Confronted with the reality of North Korea's nuclear program, the Clinton administration delivers the appearance of peace in our time." Dedicated to the illusion of safety in global politics, Clinton promotes a similarly false calm at home: misstating facts, obscuring choices, and undercutting the causes he claims to be trying to save. To gin up his base, he exploits racial tensions. He uses the entitlement crunch as a game. In 1995, his ex-friend Joe Klein called his approach "creative cynicism . . . a sleek tactical cunning . . . . He gives the appearance of taking stands—for some sort of tax cut, some sort of welfare reform, some sort of balanced budget—but these are only ploys, mirages; they exist only to undermine positions taken by the Republicans."

Broder, Samuelson, and the *Post's* editorial board agree. They feel that Clinton has been doing his best to prevent effective reform of entitlements in order to demonize his political rivals, and pose as the protector of the old and the middle class. After Clinton's 1997 State of the Union, Broder wrote, "He has used his unrivaled platform to mislead the public into thinking that painless economies will deal with the problem," while actually adding expensive entitlements, and trying to bury the cost. He "skirted almost all of the really difficult policy choices." Writing of this speech and the budget, Broder said: "Together, they represent a lost opportunity to mobilize public opinion to support the actions that must be taken if the government is to do anything more than mark time."

But marking time was the real purpose. "This is a budget that plays mainly on the fringes of the long-term structural problems," said the *Post's* editors. "It is not remotely the powerful document the president pretends." The deceptions continued, as did the blame-shifting. "He's now urging that the country prepare for the retirement of the baby boom." Samuelson said last November: "Good idea. The trouble is that Clinton has prevented a debate by attacking and isolating those who tried to start it," as he did in the election year of 1996. Then, this March, he derailed by one vote a good-faith effort to handle Medicare costs backed by Republicans and some centrist Democrats, including his DLC buddy, John Breaux. Broder expressed his "frustration and anger at the hollowness of the Clinton administration's posture on this critical issue . . . (he has) talked a good game about saving the health care program . . . but done precious little to help."

To Samuelson, this presents the "spectacle of a president actively striving to poison public opinion against a policy that he deems best for the country . . . . There is no other way to describe President Clinton's behavior . . . . He is not trying to navigate the shoals of public opinion to reach a desired policy. Rather, he is trying to inflame public opinion to improve his own political standing, even if it sabotages that policy; that he claims to think best."

There was no article voted out of the House Judiciary Committee calling the president unfit for office for putting his poll numbers ahead of the national interest, but for many people who backed his impeachment (and many who didn't), this is the worst of his many transgressions; far, far worse than a sexual misstep; worse even than provable lies. In the long eye of history, this will be



JIM HOAGLAND

the one sin that cements him in place as one of the worst of all presidents, and this group will be his most credible enemies. If David Broder hates you, there must be a good reason.

6. The Left. Implausible as it might seem to groups one and two, there is a renegade corps on the opposite side of the spectrum that hates Clinton for a reason conservatives find hard to believe: that he has not been liberal enough. The left hates his triangulation (away from them, as well as away from their enemies), his Dick Morrisizing, his verbal cooption of conservative values. They hate him for the things that kept his job ratings high through so much of the scandal: for signing the welfare reform act; for seeming tough on crime; for not following through on the whole gay agenda; for giving lip service to limited government; for not openly promoting for all the sexual free-for-all he indulged in for himself.

Said Christopher Hitchens in *Vanity Fair*, "The Clintons fired their surgeon-general, the brave and capable Dr. Joycelyn Elders . . . . They have both preached . . . that 'sexual abstinence' should replace contraception as a teen solution. The president signed a bill saying that poor women who could not or would not name the fathers of their children could be thrown off welfare. He also signed the gay-baiting Defense of Marriage act . . . . He says that gay men and women are not fit to wear their country's uniform unless—aha!—they are will to lie." In the *Wall Street Journal*, former Carter pollster Patrick Caddell weighed in on related Clintonian infamies: "The Effective-Death Penalty Act—a dastardly law, that quashes nearly all legal appeals from Death Row . . . the immigration bill . . . that virtually abolished due process . . . the 1996 welfare bill, which requires unwed mothers to name their children's fathers on pain of persecution . . ." There was also "the self-strangulation of the Democratic peace constituency," as a result of Clinton's oddly-timed bombing raids, which had the left wing of the party cheering for war.

In the *Washington Post*, Robert Kuttner

complained because the Clintons hadn't introduced more big government programs after health care imploded; he was especially angry at Clinton's proposal for a \$1,000 tax credit to offset long-term nursing home costs. "Clinton's cynical tokenism undercuts . . . support for comprehensive social insurance," he complained, adding that "bogus proposals such as this do far deeper damage. They reinforce the message that government isn't for real." Other old lefties call Clinton a sell-out, and think he disgraces the cause. As John Patrick Diggins maintains in the *Nation*, "The president's conduct both in government and in his personal life, rather than reflecting 60's values, marks a historic rejection of the ethos of that generation. But some 60's veterans and New Deal remnants cannot bring themselves to face the political Frankenstein of our time, the creation that ruins the hopes of its creators, the Democrat who out-Republicanizes the Republicans, and beats them at their own game."

Conservatives, of course, call all of this drivel, which just goes to prove one main point: people on all sides can feel had by Bill Clinton, a common bi-partisan sentiment. Agreement on this point is not hard to come by. In fact, it embraces much else.

7. Though these six different schools have their six separate and self defining reasons for hating Clinton, there are others on which they agree. First of all, Clinton fails the great Mensch Test: he treats other people like dirt. "Clinton is inconsiderate," wrote Mickey Kaus six months into his presidency, citing his chronic indifference to others, making crowds wait hours for him while campaigning, "making kids shiver waiting for him in the White House Rose Garden," making aging Holocaust survivors wait hours in an icy rain. Holding up traffic at LAX while he got his \$200 haircut was completely in character: "reporters know he does it all the time." His wife sacked seven long-term employees to make room for cronies, and then charged them with crimes, to make herself look better. She fired an usher for taking a phone call (about computers) from former First Lady Barbara Bush.

Joe Klein described them as "the Tom and Daisy Buchanan of the baby boom political elite . . . careless people . . . they smashed up lives and didn't notice . . . too many lives and reputations have been ruined by carelessness; too many decent people have been forced to walk the plank for trivialities, appearances, changes of mind." In times of trouble, they never hesitated to throw other bodies before them, to absorb the incoming fire. "How could the First Lady allow her Chief of Staff to spend \$140,000 [now \$200,000] in legal bills?" Klein asked, rhetorically. When Lani Guinier's nomination to a civil rights post put Clinton in (justified) political trouble, he not only dropped it, he dropped her—a friend, so she thought, of twenty years' standing. One does not have to belong to any political grouping to feel this is truly appalling behavior, unbefitting in anyone; disgraceful in the so-called head of a civil society, especially one who claims so to be "caring." As *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd has scolded, "What is surprising . . . given his hugging-and-sharing political style, is his absence of sentimentality when he cuts people loose . . . . What many people found most strange was that once Mr. Clinton dropped Ms. Guinier, he never called her again. Not when they were both on vacation in Martha's Vineyard . . . not in all the months since." Then there are the lies, which horrify everyone: Sam Nunn, Christopher Christopher Hitchens, Jack Newfield, Pat Caddell, Peggy Noonan, George Will, David Broder, The *Washington Post*. "Mr. Clinton did not just tell a lie," ran one *Post* editorial, "he bent the entire government out of shape for months to sustain it." He lied to the country, he lied to the world, he lied to his aides, he lied to the press, he lied to his cabinet, he lied—over and over—in court. Almost worse than the lies was the manner of lying: a form of evasion that enabled numerous whoppers, while still being

technically "true." Among many others, it was the liberal Jack Newfield who complained of "Clinton's ability to lie about the essence of something while seeming to tell the lawyer's kind of truth about the margins . . . it was a lie within the truth."

Talking about the same thing, George Will wrote of Clinton's "extraordinarily corrupting assault on the language"; David Broder of "the use of language as camouflage," to make odious things appear normal, or moral. Usually the very soul of restraint and of reason, Broder wrote last August that he had at first been repelled by the salacious details of the Starr Report, "but after watching David Kendall . . . smugly and condescendingly twisting words and denying reality, I can understand what drove Starr to dump every bit of trash he had collected onto the president's head."

What a pity there is no charge called Contempt of Country to go along with the contempt of court that is now part of the permanent legacy. It is what this administration is about. What a pity too that there is no charge of general tackiness, on which the House and the Senate could vote. Many people were horrified, not merely that Clinton would mess around with a woman, but that he would fool around with a

woman like that. As columnist Suzanne Fields wrote before Monica surfaced, "Bill Clinton may be our first kitsch president, displaying a spectacular garishness of spirit . . . Vulgarity and venality run through his taste in friends as well as many of his business and political associates . . . why shouldn't he sell the Lincoln Bedroom to the highest bidders? What else is the Lincoln Bedroom for?" Why shouldn't he hire Little Rock's answer to Sister Parish to redo the White House in early Belle Wailing? Why shouldn't he arrange for a photo op on the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day, concerning stones placed on the beaches of Normandy, so that he—a notorious evader of military service—could come on them 'by accident,' and bite his lip soulfully, as he fashioned a cross on the beach? Why shouldn't he make his best friend—and Hillary's partner—number three in the Justice Department, and then see him jailed for embezzlement? What other president has ever had so many friends like this? Does anyone remember John Kennedy, bored out of his gourd, manfully sitting through cello recitals, because he thought it was his job to elevate the tastes of the people? Clinton gives us sit-com queens, bouncing on Lincoln's bed in a fit of trashy exuberance."

"If you inspect the guest lists over time," wrote David Brooks in the *Weekly Standard*, "you detect a shift away from literary and intellectual types toward movie stars . . . Not only are the big Hollywood Walk-of-Fame celebrities getting invites, so are the middle-sized figures who in days of yore would have been happy to appear on Hollywood Squares." As John Taylor wrote in 1993 after the first Clinton inaugural, "The whole circus—a bedazzled president eagerly showing off Air Force One, feverish aides carrying camcorders to film roving celebrities, obnoxious friends . . . conveyed the impression of rubes run amok in the White House. It would have been hilarious if it wasn't so frightening."

"He trashed the place," David Broder told Sally Quinn, speaking of this administration's tenure in the White House, and then said, in his column, "Clinton acted—and still acts—as if he does not realize what it means to be president of the United States."

For this alone, everyone who honors his country should come in the end to hate Clinton. Clinton-hating is truly a labor of love.

Noemie Emery is blah blah blah blah blah  
blah blah blah blah blah blah



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**In 1992,** national security controls had not been lifted at the request of large presidential donors to allow missile technologies to fall into the hands of the Chinese Communists and their client states.

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# Feeling Stalin's Pain

by Newsom Pace

In the past decades far too many defenses of Stalin and Stalinism have appeared in the academic world. Most of these apologies, however, have been veiled by a fog of ambiguous phrases or postmodernist verbiage, allowing the apologist plausible deniability in the unlikely event that someone might actually challenge this defense of the most monstrous figure of the modern era. Such is not the case, however, with Theodore Von Laue's essay, *A Perspective on History: The Soviet System Reconsidered* which recently appeared in *The Historian* (Winter 1999). Von Laue unambiguously and vigorously calls on historians to appreciate both Stalin and Stalinism.

Von Laue is not, as might be imagined from such a commitment, a fringe figure in the academic world. He is a senior historian (professor emeritus at Clark University) who has written widely on German and Russian history. He is one of the authors of a much used textbook, *Sources of the Western Tradition*. Nor is the journal that printed his appreciation of Stalin a marginal publication. *The Historian* is the journal of Phi Alpha Theta, the national academic honor society in history. While perhaps not as prestigious as *The American Historical Review*, it is a respected scholarly journal with a large circulation among history teachers and faculty.

Von Laue's argument is unambiguous and his prose speaks for itself:

"But its [Russia's] vast Eurasian territories, populated mainly by uneducated peasants, did not contain the cultural resources necessary for building a modern state capable of holding its own with western European countries and the United States." (p. 384) "The liberal prescription, suspended during the war even among democratic countries, made no sense among what he [Vladimir Lenin] perceived as brute Eurasian masses . . . Peace and order, let alone territorial security for his country, could be established only by a determined dictatorship; popular support would follow." (p. 385) "Lenin's brutal repression, evidence of which has been well publicized in the West, has led to widespread vilification of his policies. But Western experience, evolved in relatively small and much more integrated countries, is inapplicable to the Soviet Union. No European country had suffered as much as Russia in the First World War; Soviet leaders were fighting to save their country from utter collapse in the face of popular incomprehension. Moreover, brutality has long been part of Russian life, and never more than during the Russian Civil War of 1921." (p. 385) "Regard for individual life was a necessary sacrifice in Lenin's ambition to enhance life in the future. In Russia, necessary changes could be accomplished only by a highly centralized dictatorship mobilizing the Russian masses with the help of the semireligious Marxist vision of human perfection. In the West, individual freedom has always been anchored in powerful if ethnocentric nation states; under the circumstances, ideals of individual freedom would have been an invitation to disaster in the

Soviet Union." (p. 385) "Can we then condemn a Russian patriot, determined to surpass the influence and success of Western nations, for wanting in 1920 to spread the Soviet model and reveal 'to all countries something of their near-inevitable future'? After the collapse of the Russian empire, in short, the Leninist model offered the only rational alternative to chaos if Russian were to regain some standing in global politics." (p. 386)

After this throat-clearing and ideolog-



ical foundation-laying, Von Laue gets to the point: "Like Lenin, his successor Josef Stalin (1897-1953) dreaded a repetition of the chaos of 1917. Stalin was terrified by the dangers to his country posed by expansionist nations like Italy and Japan. Germany soon would follow, he feared and American influence loomed even larger. Stalin therefore determined to modernize the Soviet Union in the shortest time possible, whatever the price." (p. 386) "In his grasp of global realities, Stalin clearly outshone all his contemporaries. Carrying Lenin's prescription to its extreme, he aimed at total control not for his own ego but to guide his ignorant country firmly through a necessary cultural transformation unprecedented in history. In attempting to transform anarchic peasants into cooperative urban-industrial citizens, Stalin forced them against the grain of tradition into a pattern of life utterly incomprehensible to most of them." (p. 386)

Of course, as the old saying goes, you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs; and the revolutionary omelet Stalin cooked up for the Soviet Union might have been slightly flawed coming out of the pan but was a "remarkable human achievement" nonetheless. Von Laue elaborates: "Inevitably collectivization provoked resistance, both unconscious and deliberate, and in his solitary vision and lonely life Stalin was haunted by real or imagined threats. Remembering his adversaries in the early days of Soviet rule, Stalin had reason to distrust his comrades, especially in this time of perilous change." (pp. 386-387) "Yet Stalin's style of leadership, although crude by Western standards, was persuasive among his disoriented peoples. The sophisticated design of Soviet totalitarianism has perhaps not been

sufficiently appreciated. However brutal, it was a remarkable human achievement despite its flaws. The Marxist ideology helped suppress the ethnic and national diversity within the Soviet Union in a common membership in the proletariat that promised a glorious communist future to follow." (p. 387) "But though he knew how to act his public role, Stalin himself retained a sense of fallibility and imperfection, remaining remarkably humble." (p. 387)

And, of course, there is the fact, used by Stalin's foreign fans ever since the Great Helmsman's heyday in mayhem, that much of his violence was understandably reactive: "Stalin has been greatly criticized for the extent to which he used terror as an instrument to transform traditional attitudes and to force submission to the discipline imposed by the Communist Party—far greater than under Lenin. There is no need here to go into detail on this subject as it has been highly dramatized. Suffice it to point out that Stalin has reason for fear. The experiment of reculturation in the 1930s was at its peak. In addition, external dangers were mounting: Japanese aggression in China, German rearmament under Hitler. While a terrorizing shakedown enforcing loyalty and discipline has been part of Bolshevik statecraft from the start, now the need became especially urgent." (p. 388) "Under the circumstances, a slower pace of reculturation, as suggested by some critics, would only have encouraged anarchy and retarded the process of mobilization just when external threats were rising. In any case, by 1938 the terror was scaled down, and Stalin himself admitted that 'mistakes' had been made." (p. 388)

And now, a transition from realpolitik to a plea for historical leniency: How then are we to judge Stalin? Viewed in the full historical context Stalin appears as one of the most impressive figures of the twentieth century. Born in obscurity, he rose to historic significance, a fallible human being of extraordinary qualities. He supervised the near-chaotic transformation of peasant Eurasia into an urban, industrialized superpower under unprecedented adversities. Though his achievements were at the cost of exorbitant sacrifice of human beings and natural resources, they were on a scale commensurate with the cruelty of two world wars. With the heroic help of his uncomprehending people Stalin provided his country, still highly vulnerable, with a territorial security absent in all its history." (p. 389) "But we, the proud source of Stalin's model, can hardly condemn the improvised imitation under non-Western conditions in perilously critical times." (p. 390)

Von Laue closes this essay with this admonition: "We need . . . to let a loving compassion open our eyes to the alien realities in Russian Eurasia and to the helplessness of its peoples, just as Goethe advised nearly 200 years ago." (p. 391).

Loving compassion. Feeling Stalin's pain. Von Laue's essay may read like a parody of scholarship, but one wonders how many of his colleagues, after finally seeing someone say the unsayable, cognitively pumped their fists upon reading it, and said to themselves, "Right on!"

Newsom Pace is the pseudonym of a leading Cold War historian.





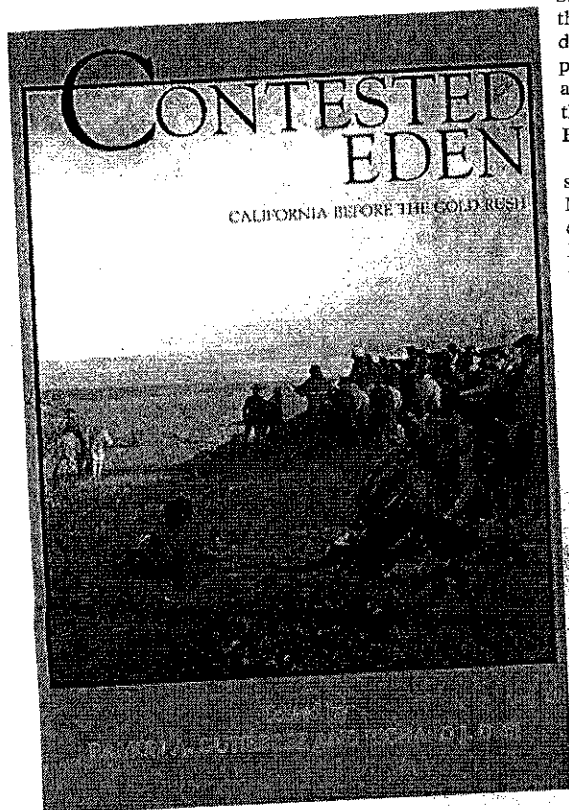
## REVIEW

## Noble Savage Redux

*Contested Eden: California Before the Gold*

edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez & Richard J. Orsi (The University of California Press, 1998, 396 pp. \$22.00)

REVIEWED BY BRUCE S. THORNTON



The imagery of a lost paradise, obvious in the collection's title, evokes not just the Noble Savage myth, but also the Biblical account in order to attribute the loss of the New World paradise not to the universal tragic consequences of migration and conquest, but rather to a bad choice on the part of human villains. In the multiculturalist academy, the Noble Savage takes his place in the anti-Western melodrama of innocent "peoples of color" whose paradise was destroyed by the willful wickedness of Europeans.

Another dimension of the modern Noble Savage myth is his elevation to ecologist living in balanced harmony with nature. In the current volume we are told, in the essay with the question-begging title "A World of Balance and Plenty," that California Indians "were an integral and essential agent in the creation of a balance of land, vegetation, and animal life." Their interventions "were subtle and improving and always conserving—they were stewards" who used nature "sustainably." The Indians, in the words of "Serpent in the Garden," were "indelibly fused culturally and spiritually to the land."

The problem, of course, is that any evidence for pre-contact Indian behavior is scarce and third-hand, vulnerable to present concerns not just of contemporary scholars but of the original travelers and settlers who too often filtered their experience through myth. A more important weakness concerns the issue of population densities. All human communities everywhere can "live lightly" on the land as long as populations remain steady and low. Once populations increase, however, so does the pressure to maintain caloric living standards. This means among other things a more intensified exploitation of resources, sometimes leading to the total collapse of the society, as happened with the Maya in Mexico.

The authors of these essays, however, never confront this key point about population size. Sometimes they fudge: California was "more densely populated than any area of equal size in North America," which doesn't tell us anything. When a number is given—an estimate of 300,000 made in the Forties—we are not told how it was arrived at. But even if we accept that figure, that gives each and every Indian in pre-contact California about half a square mile of resources. Obviously, in that case, the Indians would have been able to interact with their environment in ways that left little permanent impact. The real miracle is that California today supports 30 million human beings, and provides the food for countless millions more.

Throughout these essays we find academic myth, fad and fashion interspersed with useful, old-fashioned scholarship. The introduction rounds up the usual postmodern suspects such as the traditionalist straw-man who suppresses the "voice" of the oppressed, and the self-canceling fiction that history is a mere fable justifying power and privilege. "Historians and the the histories they write have always been the imaginative products of the period in which they were produced," we are told, a statement that, if true, would give us no reason to believe anything we are about to read, since all the following essays depend on documentary evidence, most of which was produced by the wicked European conquerors, and thus presumably is tainted by their various imperialist, colonialist, racist, ethnocentric, and sexist biases. These empty, postmodern rhetorical flourishes are so common these days that they have become the equivalent of the dedications to aristocratic patrons we find in Elizabethan poetry—conventional hyperbole that no one is expected to take seriously, but that helps pay the bills.

Likewise with another shaky idea uncritically endorsed in a few of the essays, the social construction of gender and identity, a theory blithely presented as fact without the slightest shred of awareness that it has been subject to intense critical analysis. In "Engendering the History of Alta California" we are told that Indian and mestiza women had their femininity and "subjectivity"—that is, "forms of personhood, power, and social positioning"—constructed by an all-pervasive, totalizing colonial ideology and its "imperial power matrix." But then the essay goes on to document and celebrate these women's resistance to that "matrix." The question begged is where, if their identities are mere epiphenomena of totalizing power structures, does their will and psychic resources to resist come from? Surely we are not to consider these women as integrated, autonomous "subjects" independent of their environment's power-structures—an idea that is arch-heresy to the Foucauldian social constructionist.

In contrast to such nonsense, many of the essays exemplify old-fashioned scholarship content to provide information supported by evidence. In its combination of empirical research and postmodern puffery this collection typifies a trend in academic publishing: most of the essays reflect traditional historical practice, and actually are quite useful, but the whole is packaged in the gaudy received wisdom of current academic fashion, complete with obligatory nods to postmodern quackery such as the social construction of identity or history as fable of power, and multi-cult victim-melodrama like the Noble Savage ecologist of "color." I'm not sure if this reflexive duplicity is a cause for concern, or whether it reassures us that despite the occasional forays into intellectual wackiness, the ideal of empirical research as a search for historical truth still dominates.



Bruce S. Thornton is the author of *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality*. His *Plagues of the Mind: The New Epidemic of False Knowledge* will be published this fall.

Ever since men started living in cities they have needed Noble Savages to soothe the pain of urban complexity. The Sumerians had the wild-man Enkidu, the Greeks idealized the "mare-milking" Scythians, the Romans contrasted their effete civilization with the hardy Teutons, and Europeans elevated the New World Indians into children of nature, "guiltless men, that danced away their time/Fresh as their groves and happy as their climes," as John Dryden put it.

This image of the Indian dominates the imagination of modern Americans as well, not just in popular fluff like *Dances with Wolves* or *Pocahontas*, but in scholarship as well, as the volume under review demonstrates. *Contested Eden* is comprised of twelve essays from a variety of perspectives, ranging from traditional overviews of California's geography, climate, and Indian tribes, to postmodern disquisitions into European colonial oppression and environmental degradation, with the obligatory identity-politics idealizations of California's "people of color." The tone of the whole, however, is one of regret that Europeans ever arrived in this Eden.

# Limo Driver Fighting Aggressive Driving Conviction

by Judith Schumann Weizner

This morning, Jeffrey Djoystyk, a twenty-four-year-old Bronx resident, achieved the unhappy distinction of being the first driver convicted in Federal Traffic Court under the 2001 Federal Uniform Road Rage Amelioration Act (FURRAA). If the conviction stands, Djoystyk faces a fine of \$2,500 as well as an increase in insurance rates of \$3,000 per year for fourteen years and \$1,500 per year thereafter. Depending on the outcome of his Standard Psychological Profiling Assessment he could also be banned for 60 years from operating any vehicle with more than 103.7 horsepower, which would effectively end his current career.

Djoystyk, an airport limousine driver for the RayCee Car Service, received a summons for aggressive driving on the Cross Bronx Expressway last April 1 as he drove his charcoal gray 1998 Elan limousine to his first call in upper Manhattan. The ticket specified that he had attempted to forge an additional westbound lane on the crowded highway at speeds greater than thirty miles an hour over the limit.

In court, Officer Dave Langsam testified that when he stopped the Elan, Djoystyk begged to be let go, explaining that he was late for a call for the first time in his career. Langsam said that while the limo driver's personality had not struck him as particularly aggressive, the combination of speed, weaving in and out and attempting to squeeze between two slower-moving cars was the textbook definition of aggressive driving under the new law, and left him no choice but to issue the summons along with a Class F warning to control his aggressive impulses.

Djoystyk's attorney, Nick Impetuoso, argued that the aggressive driving charge was unfounded, as his client's speeding had not resulted from any aggressive feelings, but, on the contrary, from Djoystyk's eagerness to pick up a passenger who was reputed to be a Sharon Stone look-alike.

A check into Djoystyk's employment record revealed no complaints about either his professionalism or his personality. Ray Zesta, owner of the RayCee Car Service, testified that Djoystyk was a consistently cheerful employee with many repeat customers. Likewise, Djoystyk's therapist testified that his patient could only be characterized as happy, bordering on manic.

Lacking any evidence of aggressiveness, Judge Robert Dasch reduced the charge to exuberant driving, letting Djoystyk off with a \$1700 fine and a warning to control his high spirits while he was behind the wheel.

Djoystyk's good luck made the news, however, and when his ex-girlfriend, Vivian Lebhaft, heard that the charges had been downgraded, she was outraged,

and immediately filed an affidavit describing a serious argument the pair had had that morning, which ultimately resulted in their breaking up. In her affidavit she stated that Djoystyk had slammed both the apartment door and the car door before speeding away.

With her affidavit on record, Judge Dasch reinstated the aggressive driving charge and ordered RayCee to place Djoystyk on suspension pending the outcome of a second hearing.



JEFFREY DJOYSTYK

At this proceeding, Lebhaft stuck to her allegations, adding that the argument had actually begun the night before, and that Djoystyk had raised his voice twice before suggesting that they call a halt and resume their discussion in the morning.

Djoystyk admitted having raised his voice, but explained that he was a person in whom aggressive feelings built up slowly; he testified that he had suggested the time out because he figured that if they continued the argument in the morning, there would not be enough time for him to become aggressive before leaving for work, no matter how intense the discussion might become.

Pointing out the remarkable degree of self-awareness exhibited by his client in attempting to minimize the possibility of developing aggressive feelings that might become the cause of incautious driving, Impetuoso moved to have the charge reduced from aggressive to insensitive driving, which would reflect more closely the true state of his client's mind.

Judge Dasch denied the motion, noting that the true state of Djoystyk's mind was a matter of some disagreement, and declared a recess, during which investigators were ordered to locate additional witnesses who might shed some light on Djoystyk's temperament.

The hearing resumed a month later with testimony from Djoystyk's ex-girlfriend's ex-sister-in-law regarding an argument she had witnessed between Djoystyk and her ex-husband, who had been the home plate umpire at a softball game at which Djoystyk had been called out on strikes. She swore that Djoystyk had yelled at her ex-husband after the call, even though he had been in good humor only moments before. She remarked that she had been surprised to see his mood change so quickly, but under questioning, she admitted that while she had certainly been taken aback at the vehemence of his reaction, she had not really been amazed, as players often yelled at her ex-husband during softball games.

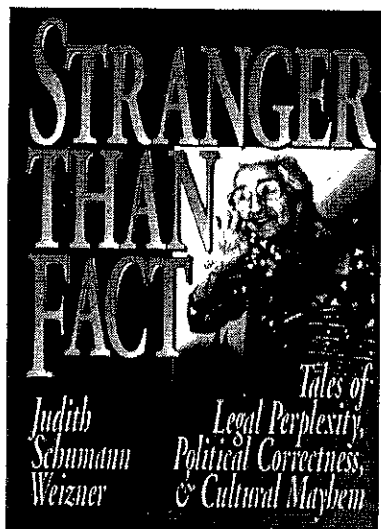
The witness' ex-husband and several members of the opposing team testified that even now they thought Djoystyk's reaction to have been excessive, although Djoystyk's teammates maintained that his reaction had been mild, considering the fact that the call had cost them the play-offs. This remark, which Judge Dasch ordered stricken from the record, provoked cat-calls, and a melee ensued as the spectators' benches emptied.

Within a half hour order had been restored and a shaken Judge Dasch, having ascertained that there was no further testimony to be heard, announced his decision to the tense courtroom.

"Since a preponderance of the testimony seems to undermine Mr. Djoystyk's contention that he is slow to anger, I have no choice but to affirm the seriousness of the original charge. I must also take note of the fact that Mr. Djoystyk seems to be a fulcrum of strife, so the court cannot accept his contention that he put aside his aggressive feelings on the night before the morning in question in order to lessen the possibility that he might reach an unacceptable level of aggressiveness prior to getting behind the wheel.

"On the contrary, it is the court's belief that Mr. Djoystyk knowingly entered his car that morning in a state of heightened aggressiveness. He should consider himself very lucky that the charge cannot be upgraded to hostile driving, as his actions fortunately caused no accidents or injuries. He is guilty as charged. Additionally, since he twice attempted to mislead the court as to his state of mind, I instruct the district attorney to charge him with perjury."

Later, on the courthouse steps, a stunned Djoystyk stood by as his lawyer responded to questions about the new charge. "The aggressive driving charge is a bummer," Impetuoso told reporters, "but it has to do with my client's personality, so I think we can appeal under the Americans With Disabilities Act. Perjury is a different matter. He's not a compulsive liar, so the ADA won't cover it, but we may be able to beat it if the court can be made to see that it was basically about sex."



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