

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



BEST WITNESS

“You ratted on us, Terry,” says Johnny Friendly (Lee J. Cobb) to Terry Malloy, played by Marlon Brando, who has just testified against the mob.

“From where you stand, maybe,” Terry shoots back. “But I’m standing over here now. I was rattin’ on myself all those years and I didn’t even know it . . . You’re a cheap, lousy, dirty, stinkin’ mug. And I’m glad what I done to you. You hear that? I’m glad what I done. And I’m gonna keep on doin’ it.”

Few realized it at the time, but this famous scene from *On The Waterfront* was cinema a clef, and that Terry Malloy was speaking for director Elia Kazan, who had informed on a different kind of mob. Though he was glad about what he did, the director soon found himself the target of hatred and vilification, and of a subtle, very Hollywood version of the blacklist that lasted for two decades. But now that is over.

Elia Kazan will personally end it on March 21, when he accepts an honorary Oscar from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. By that act, the 89-year-old director, actor and writer will assure the triumph of justice, a fitting sequel for a great filmmaker with a “back story” as dramatic and filled with bristling conflict as any of his movies. And he will allow the community that has been ambivalent about him for much of his life to finally praise a famous man.

Elia Kazan took an unlikely path to becoming the great cinematic auteur of his generation. His film school was an exot-



ic past that began with his birth in Constantinople in 1909 to the Kazanjioglou family of Anatolian Greeks. When he was four the family came to America, one of countless thousands in a wave of immigration, but Elia or “Gadg,” as he came to be called because of his fondness for gadgets, never lost his sense of being for the underdogs, or of being an outsider himself. When his book *America America* appeared, James Baldwin wrote on the dust jacket, “Gadg, baby, you’re a nigger too.”

The immigrant youth with the piercing eyes and thick nest of black hair managed to get into Williams and then studied drama at Yale. There he met a talented writer named Albert Maltz, a Columbia grad, who wrote to him, “We may be able to help with the Communist theatre which is starting.”

Like others who would later make the move to Hollywood, Kazan learned his craft in a milieu dominated by the Communist Party, which praised his early effort in directing *The Young Go First*.

When Kazan joined the Party, he did so for spiritual reasons: “My hostility was no longer an alienation,” he explained.

“The Party had justified it, taught me that it was correct, even reasonable: I could be proud of it; it made me the comrade of angry millions all over the earth. I’d reacted correctly to my upbringing, to my social position, to the society around me, to the state of the world. I was a member of what was sure to be the victorious army of the future.”

Continued on page 8

INSIDE

*Cold War
Golden Age*

*More Mumia
Madness*

*Ethno-
Sclerosis*

RIGHT THINKING AT UC BERKELEY LAW SCHOOL THE DIVERSITY HOAX

by Marc Berley

In his first months as a student at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law (Boalt Hall) in 1997, shortly after the passage of Proposition 209, the California referendum ending racial preferences at public universities, David Wienir was startled by the lack of intellectual diversity he found among students, professors, and administrators. What is more, he was initially dismayed and later terrified by the lack of intellectual freedom to be found in classrooms, hallways, and courtyards. David encountered something he had not expected to find at a “top-ten” law school—inconceivable intolerance for any views that were not in accord with what appeared to be the prevailing orthodoxy about racial preferences. Although it was voted on by the people of California, David found many

on campus acting as if Proposition 209 carried none of the moral power of the law and had to be reversed by any means necessary.

David was not naive when he applied to Berkeley; he knew that radical liberal politics rule the roost at most American ivory towers—and especially Berkeley. But he could not believe that an elite American law school could actually turn its back on the tradition that, from the time of Cicero, had lawyers train by learning to argue *in utrumque parte*, speaking on both sides of every issue. David did not expect his classmates to hold his own somewhat conservative view on controversial topics such as racial preferences, but he also did not expect to find classes disrupted and to be verbally attacked merely for holding his opinion, and pretty much keeping it to himself. As David describes it, the problem was that protesters were intimidating diverse students in the name of diversity. Within the first month of school, members of the Class of 2000 wrote an open letter addressed to the dean. Students who signed the

Continued on page 11

COMMUNIQUÉS

FASHIONABLY LEFT

Noemie Emery's thought-provoking article, "Fashionably Left," (October 1998) perfectly explained how members of the left can be greedy without being greedy. They just have to say they care and they are absolved. The article has given me wonderful ammo to use at a cocktail party, if I'm ever invited to one. I must nigglingly disagree with her description of Barbara Amiel, who wrote an innocuous article for *Vogue*, as being "the very conservative Barbara Amiel..." In matters economic and political, Amiel fits the description of a conservative although she refers to herself as a "classical liberal." However, on social issues she tends (in my opinion) more to the libertarian than the conservative. She loves high fashion and wrote earlier this year about attending the Paris shows, being fitted by a *couturier*, and spending a king's ransom on "frocks." ... She is also brilliant, one of my favorite writers and I truly am "very conservative."

Mary Ellen Couch
Grassie, Ontario

Reading "First Fem Pres Impeached," (Dec 1998/Jan 1999) a number of good points were made, but it seemed to me that the long article drowned the main point about the relationship between Hillary and Bill Clinton. Hillary knew all along what Bill Clinton was like, and accepted it as the pill of bad medicine that cured her gender flaw: being born female. This characterologically weak sister of a husband, by all evidence inordinately persuasive for the masses, was her road to power. Hillary's been about power since day one and still is. I expect that Hillary thought that Bill was bright enough to keep his neurotic, compulsive sexuality out of the headlines, and failed in that expectation. Her rejoinder as the grande dame garners the least deserved of all prizes. She won respect. What she deserved was a sound drubbing for complicity. I say least deserved of prizes because these two have been playing off of one another's strengths and weaknesses their entire married lives in a complex and devious manipulation of their constituency and the public. I am ready to say to hell with the American public, as "there's none so blind as he who will not see."

Kay G.
Via Internet

KAFKA IN UTAH

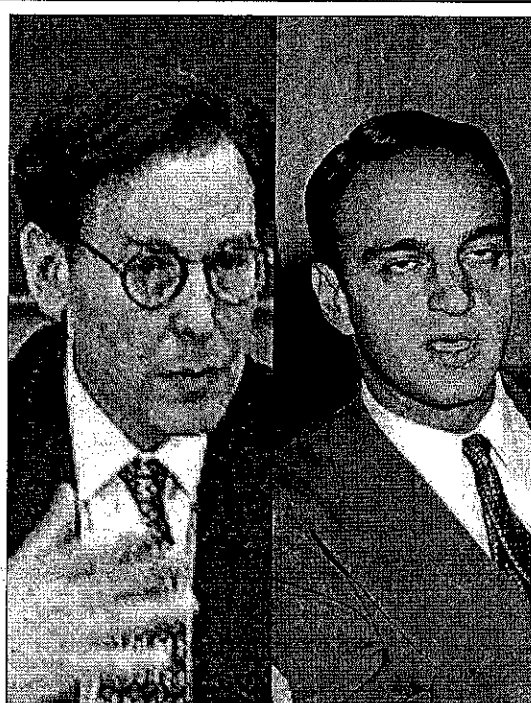
I have just finished reading "Kafka in Utah" (November 1998). You have rendered an extraordinary service in bringing this story to light. Academic fascism has reached frightening proportions. I hope the victim does not wimp out and will demand sizeable punitive damages.

Charles Heidenberg
Chicago, IL

"Kafka in Utah" is a commendable expose.

My comment is simply that without purposeful action, it is doubtful that Berry College will do anything about Dr. Laura Fielden, whom it has recently hired. I am a Christian and this concerns me... Any state college, in this day and age, would be glad to have her. It would be better if she were to find work there.

Mark J. Evans
Via Internet



Separated at Birth?

MULTIPLE SARCASMS

I would like to both criticize your work and compliment it. I think you did some good work exposing the Black Panthers and other excesses of the 1960s and right now. But yet I find your sarcasm offensive. I agree that the objects of your satire deserve criticism, and yet, I think it would be better to write the criticism in a more calm manner. I find your writings often too harsh. Not likely to convert anyone.

Peter Pomeroy
Arlington, VA

PREFERENCES IN WASHINGTON

As a resident (and taxpayer) of the state of Washington, I found the recent comment by

Christine Hughes, senior assistant attorney general, about the *Katuria Smith vs. University of Washington* case ("Katuria's Bravuria," October 1998) highly offensive. Hughes said of the court decision to narrow the case of discrimination against the UW from a class action to Smith and two others: "It's a [decision] made possible by virtue of Initiative 200, which the president of the university would tell you is a very disappointing enactment for the university." Please, Ms. Hughes. The Washington State Constitution goes to great lengths to enunciate that the people, the citizens, of the state are sovereign.

How dare you or the president personify the university in order to set its "feelings" against those of the state at large—especially in connection with Initiative 200, which passed by an overwhelming margin! Do you really despise us that much, we who provide not only the financial means but also are considered collectively to be your employers by the state's founding document? Never mind, I fear I know what your answer would be...

Kirk Parker
Via Internet

ANTI-SMOKING CONSERVATIVES

I'm a long-time subscriber to your magazine and have also bought it for friends of mine. But I was shocked to find one of your articles indulging in blatant propaganda for the tobacco lobby. Thomas F. Bertonneau, in your May/June 1998 issue ("The End of Theory"), absurdly equates non-smoking with deconstructionism and political correctness, and expresses his delight when he found a professor who spewed out filthy smoke: "Never has an acrid cloud of second-hand vapor from chain-smoked Gauloises been so refreshing." As almost everyone not associated with tobacco knows, the fact that second-hand smoke kills (several thousand people a year, by medical estimates) has nothing to do with political correctness or left wing views. It's plain medical fact. I well remember attending perhaps hundreds of faculty meetings in smoke-filled rooms, in various countries. In the end I had to give up and exclude myself from discussions on the Department's future. My lungs are permanently scarred. One of my secretaries ended up in hospital because a brutal colleague (incidentally, a prominent Marxist) smoked filthy (Cuban?) cigars and let the smoke penetrate all over the building. In the end this was stopped, not by the University, but by a city ordinance banning smoking in the workplace. Our Dean, characteristically, sent out a circular asking us to treat smokers with consideration. I would regard smoke in a professor's office as precisely equal to other kinds of physical assault.

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

FEDERAL SPEECH CODE: Telling "ebonics" jokes, the federal government says, is unlawful. As UCLA law professor Eugene Volokh points out, you can burn the American flag, advocate violent revolution, and post indecent material on the Internet, but you can't disseminate "derogatory electronic messages regarding 'ebonics'" to your co-workers. So says the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In a lawsuit filed in federal court late last month, the EEOC is trying to force the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. to "take prompt and effective remedial action to eradicate" such speech by its workers. This is just the latest incarnation of a state and federal attempt to create a workplace speech code. Here is Volokh's brief catalogue of some of what's been described by various agencies and courts as "harassment": Co-workers' use of "draftsman" and "foreman" (instead of "draftsperson" and "foreperson"). "Men Working" signs. Sexually suggestive jokes, even ones that aren't misogynistic. Derogatory pictures of the Ayatollah Khomeini and American flags burning in Iran. Of course, many harassment cases involve more than just impolitic jokes. The ebonics case, for instance, also involved some threats, which are constitutionally unprotected, and some one-to-one insults, which might also be properly punishable. If the EEOC had just sued over this conduct, there would be little constitutional difficulty. But the EEOC has no business claiming that toleration of e-mailed political opinion is "an unlawful employment practice." How hostile can the workplace environment become?

PUTTING THE LEATHER BACK INTO LEATHERNECKS: The "don't ask, don't tell" policy concerning gays in the military has always seemed quintessentially Bill Clinton—rooted less in any firm principle than in the President's desire to have it both ways. And, as a quintessentially Clinton policy, this one has been a complete failure, alienating the military rank-and-file and gay-rights advocates alike (the number of soldiers discharged for being gay has risen dramatically under the policy). And as with so much else during the Clinton years, the wrong-headed has now become the ridiculous. Last June, the *New York Times Magazine* ran a cover-story critical of the policy, telling the tale of Capt. Rich Merritt of the Marines (referring to him only by his first initial), described as a model soldier, cruelly and unnecessarily forced to live a double life. When he retired from the Marines in the fall, publicly announcing his homosexuality, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a similar threnody about the waste of human potential. Now the gay newsmagazine *The Advocate* reveals that while on active duty Merritt starred in at least five widely available gay porn videos, including *Bullseye*, *Leather Obsession II*, and *Bad Moon Rising*. According to the director of one film he was particularly enthusiastic. Merritt "never PRETENDED to have sex. . . he was literally HAVING sex. We had to work fast just to capture what was happening." Don't tell.

MORAL SUPERIORITY'S ROCKY ROAD: Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield, the ice cream activists whose flavors include Rainforest

Crunch and Cherry Garcia and who recently sent an 11-foot ice cream pie to Capitol Hill to protest what they consider a lack of social spending in the Federal Budget, have been rather chilly toward their own workers' attempts at progressivism. When the 19 maintenance workers at the company's St. Albans, Vt., plant decided to join the local electric workers union, faster than you can say Wavy Gravy [or Chunky Monkey—both are flavors] the heretofore blessedly leftist company tried to thwart the vote, saying that the presence of a union

Lecture and the Mario Savio Young Activist Award. In December, the 1998 lecture was given by Winona LaDuke on "Deconstructing the American Paradigm: Native Thought for the New Millennium." LaDuke was Vice Presidential candidate for the Green Party, last time around. When queried about who the Young Activist award went to, the FSM webmaster (www.fsm-a.com) said that he was a nice young man who works with poor Hispanic and Native American families somewhere in the Southwest, but she couldn't recall his name.

Mario Savio's "legend" gave him enough trouble during his life; it must really bother him now.

THE ALMOST-N WORD: Using the good old word "niggardly" is not only a thought crime in Washington DC, but elsewhere in the nation. Professor Standish Henning, an English professor at the University of Wisconsin, was quoting from Chaucer when he uttered the contentious word. A black student, Amelia Rideau, was offended and told the professor as much. The professor, refusing to act like an almost-Mark Fuhrman for using the almost-n word, made the mistake of dismissing Rideau's foolishness and indeed did what any person of intelligence should have—repeated the word in class the next day along with a discussion on the meaning of language. Ms. Rideau stormed out of class and promptly notified the language police on Wisconsin's Faculty Senate. "I'm the only person of color in that classroom," she told the Associated Press. "Obviously this man doesn't respect my feelings." This nasty tempest brewed up in the Washington DC teapot seems like a racist plot hatched to make the black people who allow themselves to be riled by "niggardly" lose several IQ points every time the subject comes up.

STANDARDS EQUAL RACISM: Eight minority college students and three minority groups have filed a class-action suit against UC Berkeley, charging that the school's policy of favoring students that took advanced placement

courses and that had higher scores on the SAT violated federal anti-discrimination law. The plaintiffs include the ACLU, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and other groups. One of the lawyers for the plaintiffs has argued that "we want all applicants to be viewed in a holistic manner" and that such standards did not "capture the entire person." Of course, race and ethnicity do capture the entire person even if individual achievement does not, which is why these same groups have supported quotas.

SOUTHERN GOTHIC: Speaking recently to the National Family Planning and Reproduction Center, Ted Turner said, among other inanities, that the Pope is out of touch with reality and when asked what he'd say to John Paul II, the Mouth of the South kicked up one leg and said, "Ever seen a Polish mine detector?" Turner later apologized after the Polish government accused him of "racism and bigotry" and noted that he would never dare make a comparable slur against blacks or Jews. One can't be so sure of this, but it is dead certain that Turner would never make a similar comment about the North Vietnamese Communists. If he did, there'd be hell to pay from Hanoi Jane.

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



would threaten company cohesion. What's next—United Fruit Company Banana Split?

PC GANGS: The Feb. 9 *Sacramento Bee* explains: "an article on page B1 Saturday incorrectly identified two street gangs in Hamilton City. The Aztec Brown Pride and Varrio Hamilton City Locos are aligned with Nortenos street gangs that identify themselves with Northern California." Glad we got that one straight: For a while there we thought they might be a new dormitory at Berkeley, or a Roller Derby team.

DECONSTRUCTING MARIO SAVIO: Mario Savio, leader of the 1964 UC Berkeley Free Speech Movement, has, after his death in 1996, become a marketable commodity at Berkeley. There are Mario Savio Steps, Mario Savio cafes and everything else short of Mario Savio mugs and chinos. He has also become, in the words of those who want to use his memory for the multicultural politics of the present, "a lifelong fighter for human rights and social justice." To rub the noses of the young and clueless in this identification, which is probably the same that they would use for Winnie Mandela, "friends" of Savio established the Mario Savio Memorial

Fear & Loathing of Cold War America

Good Times

by Arch Puddington

To its many critics, the Cold War stands as the low point of American history. World War II may be recalled as the good fight against fascism and dictatorship. The Depression may be remembered as a time when the poor drew comfort from FDR, the New Deal, an activist government and a vibrant, progressive political movement. But the Cold War summons up no similar images to inspire or reassure. To moderate critics of the era, the essence of the matter was summed up in an episode of CNN's documentary series on the Cold War, in which McCarthyism and Stalinism are portrayed as morally equivalent evils. To more ideologically driven opponents, the Cold War was a time when fear and repression dominated American political life, a sterile conformity defined American culture, and a "national security state" weakened and undermined one after another of our democratic institutions.

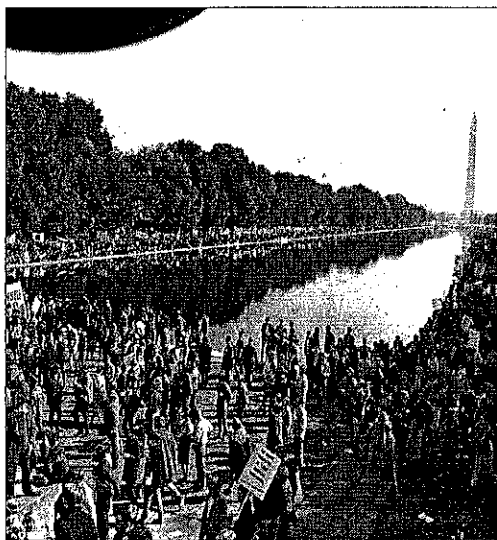
The controversy over the Cold War's domestic implications rages even as the debate over Communism's merits has been laid to rest. In a recent episode that bordered on the bizarre, the *New York Times* published an editorial which could easily be interpreted as a rebuttal to an article by one of its own reporters, in which it was suggested that anti-Communists may have gotten things partially right when they accused American Communists of engaging in widespread espionage for the Soviet Union.

The article was written by Ethan Bronner and appeared in the Sunday edition's Review of the Week section. It raised pointed questions about leftist assertions that charges of Communist espionage were nothing more than the fabrications of McCarthyite witch hunters. Bronner noted that evidence contained in the Venona papers—recently decoded government intercepts of wartime messages from Soviet agents posted in the U.S. to higher-ups in the Kremlin—point to the guilt of Alger Hiss and other Communist or pro-Soviet Americans. Confronted with the latest evidence, the leftist scholars quoted by Bronner no longer denied that a number of American Communists acted as spies. Instead, they argued, somewhat pathetically, that the espionage did little damage to American national interests or that, as labor historian Nelson Lichtenstein put it, the current attacks on the Party represent "an effort to deny the legitimacy not only of those who favored the Communist Party but the entire left-wing movement in the post-Berlin Wall moment."

Within a week, Bronner's piece was answered in a lead editorial entitled "Revisionist McCarthyism." The editorial's principal targets were "American scholars" who have allegedly been trying to "rewrite the historical verdict on Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism." There is, of course, no basis to the charge that serious scholars of American Communism have been trying to rehabilitate Joseph McCarthy. Harvey Klehr, Ronald Radosh, John Earl Haynes, the late Eric Breindel—the apparent objects of the *Times*' wrath—have always been scrupulous in disavowing McCarthy and his methods in their writings about the relationship between the CPUSA and the Soviet Union.

For the *Times*, and even more for the left,

the real issue is not McCarthyism, but anti-Communism itself. And similarly with the left's ongoing attempt to rewrite the history of the domestic impact of the Cold War. As leftist critics are well aware, the period of the "Great Fear"—with its House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, loyalty oaths, and blacklists—was relatively brief, lasting from 1947 to the mid-Fifties. The case against the Cold War, however, encompasses the entire period of U.S.-Soviet rivalry, from the postwar takeover of Eastern Europe to the fall of the Berlin Wall. It



VINTAGE COLD WAR RALLY

asserts that the Cold War not only threatened our civil liberties, but distorted our civic values, set back the cause of civil rights, weakened organized labor, had a corrupting influence on the university, damaged civil liberties, created an economy dependent on military spending, and prevented the emergence of genuine political alternatives to the dominant capitalist system.

On almost every point, the critics of Cold War America are wrong. The Cold War was not a period of reactionary ascendancy, but rather one in which liberal values usually prevailed. Occasionally, liberal ideas won out in part as a reaction to McCarthyite excess. More often, liberal ideas advanced because America felt obliged by Cold War pressures to live up to its democratic and civil libertarian ideals.

Thus, while many factors led to the triumph of the civil rights movement, one consideration was the American political leadership's embarrassment at racial segregation at a time when the U.S. was competing for the hearts and minds of the world's non-white people. The civil rights agenda did not win adoption because of Cold War calculations, but the Cold War probably accelerated the pace of change.

The left, of course, sees things differently, ascribing the persecution of Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders to the anti-Communist paranoia of J. Edgar Hoover and other government officials. Hoover certainly hated Communism and detested King. But his animus towards King derived from many sources, not the least of which was the FBI chief's dislike for race-mixing. In the absence of the Communist question, Hoover would have found some other justification for his anti-King vendetta.

Ironically, some of the earliest and most far-reaching racial gains occurred in that ultimate Cold War institution, the American military. It was during the Korean War that military units, at

President Truman's insistence, were first integrated, a development which inspired the civil rights movement to seek broader changes in civilian society. And it was during Vietnam and after that black military men began to achieve positions of authority throughout the military services.

Changes in American immigration law were also motivated in part by sensitivities over America's Cold War image, as the commitment to eliminate racial discrimination in our domestic life led inevitably to a decision to purge our immigration policies of ethnic or racial bias. The debate which preceded adoption of immigration reform legislation in 1965 made frequent reference to the hypocrisy of America's claiming leadership of the Free World while maintaining immigration policies which discriminated against Asians. Tip O'Neill summed up a commonly held view when he declared that the restrictive policy "presents the ironic situation in which we are willing to send our American youth to aid these people [Vietnamese] in their struggle against Communist aggression while at the same time we are indicating that they are not good enough to be Americans."

The results of the 1965 changes have been a revolution in immigration's racial composition. Where previously immigration was overwhelmingly made up of Europeans, it is today dominated by immigrants from Latin America and Asia, non-white and often non-Christian groups which were once excluded or, if they were permitted to immigrate, treated poorly once they arrived. Furthermore, the Cold War policy of automatically granting asylum to refugees from Communism primarily benefited Cubans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and other non-Europeans. It

is thus indisputable that the status of non-whites improved, in some cases dramatically, during and in part due to the Cold War.

But what of organized labor? In her recent study of the domestic impact of McCarthyism, *Many Are the Crimes*, Ellen Schrecker claims that McCarthyism and the Cold War had a devastating effect on the trade union movement. The purge of Communist-led unions by the CIO, she contends, cost labor its dynamism and contributed to its eventual decline. "The anti-communist crusade," Schrecker writes, "diverted the mainstream unions from organizing the unorganized." She also blames the Cold War for making labor "more centralized, corrupt, and distant from its members."

The truth is that during much of the Cold War the American working man and his union fared extremely well. Unions enjoyed high concentrations of membership in the basic industries throughout the non-South; at their height in the mid-Fifties, unions represented some 35 percent of the private work force and a higher proportion outside the Southern states. Union members also made important economic gains; the American working class became the first working class in history to enter the ranks of the middle class. During the 1960s, unions gained hundreds of thousands of new members after scoring major organizing breakthroughs in the public sector.

Schrecker and other critics do not blame the labor movement's subsequent decline on the Cold War per se. Instead, they advance the argument that labor forfeited its independence, militance, and fighting spirit when it accepted the terms of the Cold War consensus and abandoned the struggle to bring about significant changes in American capitalism. While labor prospered when times were good, it was unable to mount a concerted counteroffensive against the ruinous

impact of economic globalization and technological change.

The left's version of American history is littered with "if only's." The claim that Smokestack America and its millions of well-compensated, unionized jobs could have been salvaged "if only" the labor movement had adopted a class warfare stance, and welcomed the participation of Communists and other radicals, is no more convincing than the belief that American politics would have moved in a more radical direction if only the left had founded an independent party based on the labor movement, racial minorities, and militant feminists.

Of course, organized labor represents government workers, teachers, well-paid construction workers, airline pilots, and professional athletes, groups that are hardly likely to remain associated with an institution which adopts an adversarial stance towards the American economic system. As for the supposition that Communists might have played an important role in a revitalized labor movement, a look at the European experience suggests the absurdity of that argument. The English example is particularly worthy of note. There, Communists, pro-Communists, and assorted other radicals maintained a power base in the trade union movement right up to the 1980s. The labor movement in Great Britain was the most militant and class-conscious in the democratic world, and its effects on the English economy were nothing short of ruinous. Ultimately, aggressive trade unionism did bring a realignment of British politics—a realignment to the right, embodied in the governments of Margaret Thatcher and the transformation of the Labour Party under Tony Blair.

Communists still retain a major role in the French labor movement, one of Europe's weakest. On the other hand, Communists play no role in the labor movements of Germany and Scandinavia, where unions continue to represent high proportions of the work force and exert a strong—too strong, some would say—influence over economic policy.

Nor do George Meany, Lane Kirkland, David Dubinsky, and other anti-Communist labor leaders have any apologies to make for their commitment to America's triumph in the Cold War. More than anything, it is American labor's patriotism that infuriates and perplexes the left.

In fact, labor's support for the Cold War derived from sound practical motives. To begin with, labor's blue-collar membership was strongly anti-Communist, as were non-union workers whom labor hoped to organize. Another consideration was labor's unpleasant experiences with Communist-led factionalism in a number of unions, including the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Labor also saw Communism as an economic threat insofar as Communist regimes destroyed free trade unions and replaced them with labor associations under the total control of the party-state. American trade unionists, in fact, regarded the Communist union model as particularly sinister precisely because it claimed to speak in the interest of the working class. The AFL-CIO feared that countries under Communist control might, under conditions of détente, succeed in luring American investment and the transfer of American jobs through policies which kept unions tame and wages low. American union leaders thus opposed Communist unions for much the same reason they today oppose American investment in low-wage countries where union rights are suppressed.

A cornerstone of the left's brief is the contention that Cold War hysteria and security mania led to a massive assault on civil liberties and a reign of terror against ordinary American citizens. To advance this argument, of course, it is necessary to restrict the definition of the Cold War to its earliest years, the period between 1947, when Truman initiated his loyalty program, to the end of the McCarthy era in the mid-Fifties. Even during that benighted period, the "reign of terror" was limited to Americans with past or pre-

sent Communist connections and a few affiliated with non-Communist radical groupings. As for the loyalty oaths, anti-subversive legislation, and McCarthyite bullying, the principal lesson is that the American commitment to civil liberties and individual rights reasserted itself rather quickly. McCarthyism's most important lingering effect is in its having given the left a blunt weapon to wield against the American system. In books, magazines, movies, documentaries, in works of art, we are reminded *ad nauseam* about America's failure to live up to its democratic ideals, with the message, often explicitly stated, that a McCarthyite revival, or something much worse, is always a possibility.

The left has a certain difficulty in accounting for the state of civil liberties in the post-McCarthy period. America continued to fight Communism, and yet the country underwent an explosion of rights—individual rights, group rights, cultural freedoms. The rights of press and assembly were expanded, public employees gained the right to join unions and engage in collective bargaining, women and minorities gained equality under the law, criminal defendants won the right to an attorney and a series of procedural protections against abusive—and not so abusive—police tactics.

Americans supported most civil liberties changes—the main exception being court decisions which were seen as handcuffing the police—because they generally believed in an expansive definition of personal liberties. These radical changes occurred, bear in mind, when the Cold War raged as intensely as it did during its earliest years, a period which included a major war in Southeast Asia, several minor conflicts which involved American troops, U.S.-Soviet competition in the development of lethal weapons systems, nuclear war alerts, and an increasingly angry debate over America's role in the world. In fact, in many respects, America has become more conservative since the Cold War's end.

No institution of American society was said to have been more thoroughly corrupted by the Cold War than the American university. Central to the New Left's ideology was the proposition that students comprised an oppressed class, much like blacks. According to this line of reasoning, the university had abandoned its core educational mission by permitting itself to be exploited for Cold War related research and by shaping its priorities around Cold War security needs. In so doing so, student activists charged, university officials allowed national security considerations to distort curriculum, neglected teaching in favor of research, and inculcated a dehumanized environment inhospitable to human relations and genuine learning.

A particularly helpful source in reassessing the Cold War's impact on the university is, ironically, a product of anti-Cold War, revisionist scholarship. *The Cold War and the University* is a two-volume series of essays which delves into the Cold War's alleged impact on everything from English language studies to the earth sciences. The essays are written from a decidedly leftist perspective, and contributors include such radical venerables as Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, and Christopher Simpson. Some, however, are written by thoughtful and more moderate scholars, in particular several scientists who provide some worthy antidotes to the usual leftist clichés.

As these essays make clear, the Cold War's most important effect on higher education was to involve the federal government for the first time as a major source of funding for the university. With the U.S.-Soviet rivalry heavily dependent on scientific and military technological development, the government ploughed billions of dollars into university research programs, and while the bulk was directed towards the hard sciences, funds were also made available for the social sciences and the liberal arts as well.

All this was to usher in a golden era for university faculty. The need for professors was constantly growing, creating opportunities for advancement and higher pay for just about everyone, history professors as well as nuclear physi-

cists. Conditions were especially good for young scholars, who in pre-Cold War days had often labored in semi-poverty until tenure was attained. Now they were the beneficiaries of doctoral fellowships, grants-in-aid, and a guaranteed job with tenure track upon graduation. Having secured a position, a scholar might well receive a federal research grant, or a contract to conduct research paid for by a private corporation. In some cases, the research might have specific application to the military, the space program, or some other government priority. Often, however, the government and even some corporations would support basic research whose military use was not at all clear, and might not be determined for years to come.

As for repression, after the initial wave of McCarthyism few university professors lost their jobs for participation in anti-government protest movements. A.C. Lewontin, a professor of biology at Harvard, notes that throughout the Sixties he was active in anti-Vietnam causes, worked on a collaborative project with Vietnamese Communists, gave public speeches against the war, and even submitted a research grant proposal to the North Vietnamese government. While Lewontin was under FBI surveillance during this period, he continued to work under contract on projects for the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Energy.

What accounts for the left's intellectual obtuseness? Part of the explanation can be traced to the left's abiding faith in the socialist idea. The left understood that while America was officially open to non-Communist forms of socialism, in fact real socialism—as opposed to the watered-down social democratic variant—would inevitably resemble Communism in most important details. Nicaraguan socialism under the Sandinistas was in many respects similar to Cuban socialism under Castro, which itself was barely distinguishable from the Soviet variety. Likewise, while America during the Cold War was dominated by liberal values, it was thoroughly inhospitable to any significant rearrangement of economic priorities. Michael Harrington, a one-time Cold War radical who shifted to a neutralist stance during the 1970s, argued that progress towards socialism in the U.S. was impossible as long as Cold War values prevailed, a view that was widely shared on the left.

Furthermore, where the Cold War is concerned, the left's powers of rational judgment have been distorted by the self-righteous conviction that nothing positive can be achieved unless it enjoys a "progressive" seal of approval. Under this standard, the Spanish Civil War and World War II are deemed "good" conflicts, whereas World War I and Korea are dismissed as unworthy of American intervention. And while the Cold War's denouement represented a catastrophic setback for the American left, the demonization of the domestic Cold War has been largely successful, if only because the left has largely had the field to itself. Here it is worth noting that for many years the debate over Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, and other high profile Communist espionage cases was monopolized by apologists for the accused. The terms of the controversy changed only after scholars like Klehr and Radosh issued a direct challenge to the prevailing dogma that was fortified by dogged research and a shrewd grasp of the dynamics of radical politics. Although their findings still meet with resistance, their conclusions have succeeded in puncturing the myth of American Communists as nothing more than progressive-thinking men and women who supported trade unions and fought for racial justice. A similar examination of the Cold War's effect on American democracy would no doubt result in the destruction of the left's most cherished remaining myth, that the United States is a country where fear and reaction once prevailed, and the potential for a domestic police state still exists.

Arch Puddington is vice president for research at Freedom House. He is writing a history of Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty.

More Mumia Madness

by Paul Mulshine

For me, the defining moment of the Jan. 28 benefit concert to free Mumia Abu-Jamal occurred not at the concert itself, but the next night as I was driving home from work. I was pushing buttons on my radio when I happened to tune in to the local Pacifica outlet, WBAI in Manhattan. A Jamaican by the name of Habte Selassie was hosting a reggae show. He mentioned the concert the night before and the allegation that Abu-Jamal was a cop-killer. "A cop-killer?" he said dismissively, "Moses was a killer, too. He killed a man in cold blood." Then Selassie recited a story from the Bible in which Moses came upon an Egyptian and a Jew fighting and proceeded to slay the Egyptian.

Justifiable homicide, in other words. There are some Americans who believe there can be a valid reason to shoot a cop between the eyes as he is lying defenseless on the ground. And it is so refreshing when they come right out and say so.

Such candor was not in evidence the night before at the Continental Airlines Arena in the Hackensack Meadows. At the press conference before the concert, Abu-Jamal's supporters maintained the fiction that some mystery gunman had done the shooting and that Abu-Jamal was an innocent bystander. That seemed to fool a good number of the television types. And as for the fans, they didn't really care. About 20,000 of them showed up to see an assortment of bands that included the Beastie Boys and Rage Against the Machine. As one young fan diplomatically put it before the show, "I wouldn't have cared if it was a concert for hating baby Jesus. I just wanted to see Rage."

During the concert, a rap star named Chuck D tried to lead the audience in a chant of "Free Mumia," but few joined in. And the audience actually booed Pam Africa, a member of a Philadelphia back-to-nature cult named MOVE with which Abu-Jamal was affiliated at the time of his crime. Africa, whose appearance suggests she has gone so far back to nature that she has just emerged from a mud puddle, is unleashed by Abu-Jamal's defense team periodically. Her obscenity-spiced tirades against modern society can alienate even rock fans. She is the one false note in an otherwise perfectly orchestrated PR machine that has made Mumia the martyr who would not die.

The concert raised about \$400,000 for the Abu-Jamal defense team. They're going to need every cent. So far, Abu-Jamal's defense has been a courtroom disaster. Abu-Jamal's lawyers lost every one of their appeals in the land where this latter-day Moses slew his Egyptian foe, Pennsylvania. The prophet sits on Death Row, at the mercy of federal judges who are increasingly reluctant to reverse the work of state courts.

Abu-Jamal made a big mistake in timing. He shot a cop at the wrong moment in history, after the reintroduction of capital punishment but before the deconstruction of the American justice system by the O.J. Simpson defense team. Prior to the Simpson trial, prosecutors merely had to prove a defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. But in the post-O.J. era, deconstructionism reigns. Jurors are now aware that if they like the defendant enough they can convince themselves that nothing that occurred in the past is truly knowable.

This is the goal of Abu-Jamal's ever-growing contingent of celebrity supporters, which

includes not only rockers but Hollywood actors such as Ed Asner and Mike Farrell. Most seem to be perfectly aware of the facts: that in the early morning hours of Dec. 9, 1981, in Philadelphia, Abu-Jamal was found with his gun at his feet and a dying cop on the sidewalk nearby. But they have convinced themselves that the gun, the five shell casings in it, and the empty holster Abu-Jamal was wearing can all be explained away.

Abu-Jamal failed to do so at his trial in 1982. He offered the lame alibi that some mystery gunman had arrived on the scene in the midst of

Included was the usual nonsense about the fatal bullet not having come from Abu-Jamal's gun. In fact, it was a .38 caliber bullet and Abu-Jamal was carrying a .38-caliber pistol, as even the defense's own ballistics expert conceded at a 1995 appeals hearing in Philadelphia. Then there was the usual nonsense about a mystery gunman. And of course, the usual refusal to answer questions about why Abu-Jamal refuses to name that gunman or give any account whatsoever of the events of Dec. 9, 1981.

The reason for Abu-Jamal's silence is obvious: The mystery gunman strategy is just a ruse to win a retrial. In a new trial, Abu-Jamal would be free to start all over again and admit that he shot Faulkner, but argue that he did so in self-defense. This would be a lie as well, but one that would be much easier to get past a sympathetic jury. At the time of the killing, Faulkner was fighting with Abu-Jamal's brother, who was resisting arrest after being stopped for a traffic violation. Abu-Jamal—in a coincidence that remains unexplained to this day—just happened to be across the street carrying his gun, for which he had a permit. In a new trial, Abu-Jamal could admit he shot Faulkner but argue that he did so in coming to the rescue of his brother. Weinglass has already laid the groundwork for this defense by suggesting that it was Faulkner who fired first (though eyewitnesses said otherwise).

This strategy has great potential, both from the angle of political agitation and in generating a sympathetic response from the largely black jury Weinglass hopes to face in court some day. At worst, it might lead to a manslaughter conviction, leaving Abu-Jamal free to walk out into a cheering crowd on the basis of the 17-plus years he has already served.

But to get that new trial, Abu-Jamal must keep up the pretense of a mystery gunman. And an intelligent observer will note the stubborn presence, in even the pro-Abu-Jamal scenarios, of Abu-Jamal's gun. And that, like the gun in the first act of a Chekhov play, it has to be fired by the end. Who fired it? The only logical suspect is the man who was carrying it.

But at this point in time, for Abu-Jamal to admit that he shot Faulkner dooms his appeal for a new trial. This leads to an amazing spectacle, one largely unremarked in the mass media: Thousands of people the world over will loudly proclaim that Mumia Abu-Jamal did not shoot Daniel Faulkner. Yet Abu-Jamal himself refuses to do so. This is something new in history. Hundreds of convicted killers have mounted public campaigns to prove their innocence. But Abu-Jamal is certainly the first to do so without denying he was the killer.

When the Mumia circus came to town, my newspaper, the *Star-Ledger* of nearby Newark, ran an editorial pointing out Abu-Jamal's obvious guilt. This prompted a fax from TV star Mike Farrell, who, with Ed Asner, makes up the Hollywood chapel of this secular religion. Farrell asserted that our editorial overlooked Abu-Jamal's statements that he did not shoot Faulkner. I have been searching unsuccessfully for such a statement for some time, so I called Farrell in Los Angeles to see if he knew something I didn't. But he could cite no such statement, though he has been working since 1993 to convince the world that Abu-Jamal did not shoot Faulkner.

Farrell was, however, well versed in other aspects of the case, and on the phone he seemed to be an affable sort. I pointed out to him that Weinglass had to have discussed the case with Abu-Jamal and would therefore be privy to Abu-Jamal's knowledge of the identity of any mystery gunman. Farrell admitted that he has had many conversations on the subject with Weinglass over



MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

his encounter with police officer Daniel Faulkner. The mystery man somehow managed to shoot the officer as Abu-Jamal stood nearby and—though armed with a gun—did nothing.

As if the evidence weren't bad enough, Abu-Jamal fought with his court-appointed attorney. He kept insisting that he wanted as his legal counsel a non-lawyer by the name of John Africa, MOVE's founder. Abu-Jamal botched things so thoroughly that one reporter covering the trial wrote a long article wondering if the defendant had a death wish.

Abu-Jamal made a big mistake. He conducted a Chicago-Seven type experiment in political theater without a Chicago-Seven type defense team. A few years before Abu-Jamal's crime, Black Panther Joanne Chesimard took part in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike in which an officer was killed. But she's now living happily ever after in Havana, thanks to the efforts of the late William Kunstler and the absence of a death penalty at the time. After her conviction, Kunstler managed to get her moved to a medium-security prison. Two Panthers snuck in with guns and sprung her. Before long, she was in Cuba.

But Abu-Jamal is on Death Row. For keeps, it would seem. Kunstler, who was easily the No. 1 intellect of the Chicago Seven, is dead and so Abu-Jamal has had to settle for Leonard Weinglass, who was perhaps the eighth smartest member of the Chicago Seven. Weinglass has none of Kunstler's charisma or brilliance. He's a rather goofy-looking guy with thick glasses and a wavering voice that suggests he's trying to convince himself rather than his audience.

Weinglass has yet to win even a minor victory for Mumia in court, but he is a hit with gullible members of the media, as evidenced by the press conference before the concert. Before 18 TV cameras, Weinglass repeated the usual bunch of lies and half-truths that make up the case for Abu-Jamal.

the past five years. "Have you ever asked Weinglass whether Abu-Jamal shot Faulkner?" I asked.

Farrell sounded perplexed. "I don't know if I asked him that or not," he finally said.

I asked how he could account for the five empty shell casings in Abu-Jamal's gun.

"Maybe he had gone to target practice earlier in the day," Farrell said.

Maybe. Maybe on the night in question Abu-Jamal actually waved an empty gun at a cop who had a loaded gun. But then again, maybe not.

It turns out that Farrell is one of the more rational of Abu-Jamal's followers. Our newspaper also got a fax from Mark Lewis Taylor, a professor at the Princeton Theological Seminary who leads a 600-member group of pro-Mumia university professors. I called him and asked the same question. He admitted he hadn't ever asked Weinglass whether Abu-Jamal shot Faulkner, but went on to ask whether the question is relevant.

"When you say something as specific as 'I did not shoot Officer Faulkner,' you are accepting the terms of the charge," Taylor told me.

"Are you a deconstructionist?" I asked. He said no, but this entire exercise gives off a whiff of that philosophy.

I once cornered the elusive Weinglass and asked him to state for the record exactly what happened on the night Officer Faulkner took a bullet between the eyes.

"Well, we don't know," he replied with a straight face.

"Did you ever ask your client?" I asked. He refused to say. Obviously he has, however, and just as obviously Abu-Jamal knows what happened that night. So does Abu-Jamal's brother. And if either of them knew the truth about a mystery gunman, you can rest assured that every actor and academic from Hackensack 16 Hollywood would know about it.

This poses a problem for the Abu-Jamal defense, one that will almost certainly blow up into an international cause célèbre as Abu-Jamal moves ever closer to his date with the executioner. The problem lies in the gap between the myth being created for public consumption and the case that is now before a federal court. The nonsense about a mystery gunman works wonderfully as a fund-raising tool, but the judges keep laughing it out of court. In fact, Weinglass has mounted his defense so clumsily that he almost seems to be pushing Abu-Jamal into the death chamber. His performance during Abu-Jamal's last round of appeals in Pennsylvania in 1995 was typically incompetent. Weinglass put on the stand two recently discovered "eyewitnesses"

to the officer's murder. One told of seeing a guy with "Johnny Mathis hair" pull up in a red car, shoot Faulkner, and then jump back in the car and drive away. The story had its flaws—none of the other eyewitnesses reported anything even vaguely similar—but perhaps this tale could have been the basis for a new trial.

However Weinglass also brought to the stand another witness who gave a totally different version of the killing. This one claimed the gunman jumped out of Abu-Jamal's brother's car, shot Faulkner, and ran away on foot. Abu-Jamal's role in the tragedy was to go over to the dying officer and listen as he asked for someone to tell his wife and children of the tragedy.

Faulkner had no children.

Each story was shaky, but a sharp lawyer would have at least settled on one.

I once followed a Philadelphia prosecutor around the courts for two weeks for a magazine

get just one, and it's underway right now. And unfortunately for Abu-Jamal, the federal courts are now extremely reluctant to intervene in cases that have already been thoroughly litigated in state courts. These days, federal reversals tend to be reserved for defendants from Southern states, where the trial and appeals process are swift and not particularly thorough. But Abu-Jamal has had not only his day in court, but 17 years. Every conceivable appeal has been examined and rejected. And his case is not helped by the many bonehead errors he made while trying to act as his own attorney in the first trial.

If Weinglass is trying to keep his client alive, he's doing a miserable job of it. If, on the other hand, he is trying to create the perfect international poster boy for the drive to end capital punishment, then he's a genius. Abu-Jamal is no street thug. He had a middle-class upbringing and was on his way to a career in radio before he got mixed up with the MOVE cult. With his cute dreadlocks and his deep bass voice, Abu-Jamal is the liberal white person's ideal Death Row inmate. The ease with which these people convince themselves of his innocence is a sight to see.

If the federal courts reject Abu-Jamal's final appeal, he will almost certainly be executed. The present Pennsylvania governor, Tom Ridge, is a law-and-order type who has zero sympathy for the type of people who gravitate to Abu-Jamal. He would sign the death warrant tomorrow.

But get ready for the howling. The shrieks of rage will be loud and long among Abu-Jamal supporters from Stockholm to Sydney. The actual moment of lethal injection will be reported around the world. Abu-Jamal will have turned himself into the Moses of a movement that may eventually wind up once again ending capital punishment in America.

The endgame should be intriguing. Will Abu-Jamal wise up and realize that he's being used as the wet dream of a bunch of Birkenstock-wearing '60s throwbacks hungering for a martyr? Will he go to his grave wrapped up in a second-rate alibi straight out of a true-crime paperback?

Or will he defy them all and admit the truth, reprising the statement that police say he made in the hospital emergency room after the shooting: "I shot the motherfucker and I hope he dies?"

That would certainly shock a lot of showbiz types, but Pacifica radioman Habte Selassie would know exactly what he meant.

Paul Mulshine first wrote about Mumia for Heterodoxy in September 1995.



MUMIA ABU-JAMAL'S ATTORNEY LEONARD WEINGLASS

story. Day after day, I heard criminal defendants give lame alibis. Most of these criminals were not particularly bright, but I never saw one so stupid that he offered two mutually contradictory alibis. That may be a first in the history of jurisprudence.

Weinglass is fooling a lot of TV stars and rock musicians, but he's not fooling the judges. He lost every aspect of his appeals in Pennsylvania and prospects are equally bad in the federal courts. The new Effective Death Penalty Act puts an end to endless federal appeals. Abu-Jamal will

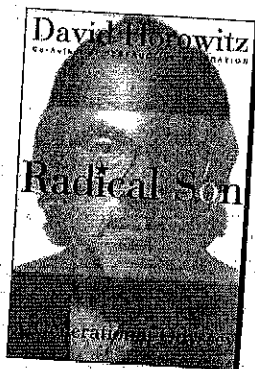
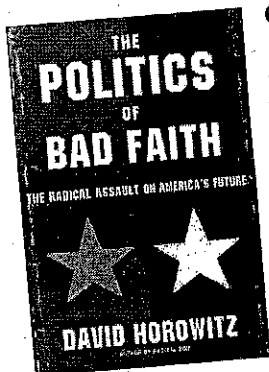
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Kazan, Continued from page 1

The effect of it all, he said, "made me into another person. I felt reborn, or born for the first time. The days of pain were over. I was an honored leader of the only good class, the working class, and the only real theatre, the Group."

The young Communist took what he learned from pioneering Russian directors such as Vsevolod Meyerhold and used it in classes he taught at the New Theatre League, a Communist front organization. Kazan played the lead in Clifford Odets' *Golden Boy* with Frances Farmer, "the blonde that you dream about," who had also been cultivated by the Communist Party. But Party support, as both Farmer and Kazan learned, carried a price.

Communist Party doctrine held that art was a weapon, and that unless a dramatic work sent the audience home with sweeping revolution-

as a stage director translated well to the screen. When the House Un-American Activities Committee came to town in 1947, Kazan was not called to testify. During the infamous hearings of October 1947, he was directing *Gentleman's Agreement*, starring Gregory Peck, for which Kazan won an Oscar, beating out George Cukor (*A Double Life*), David Lean (*Great Expectations*), Henry Koster (*The Bishop's Wife*), and Edward Dmytryk (*Crossfire*).

Those hearings were halted after the testimony of the Hollywood Ten, John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, Lester Cole and others in the Hollywood politburo having delivered a series of harangues that alienated even some of their high-profile supporters like Humphrey Bogart. Kazan continued to work on the stage, directing Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire*, and later a film with some of the same cast, starring Marlon Brando as Stanley Kowalski and Karl Malden as Mitch.

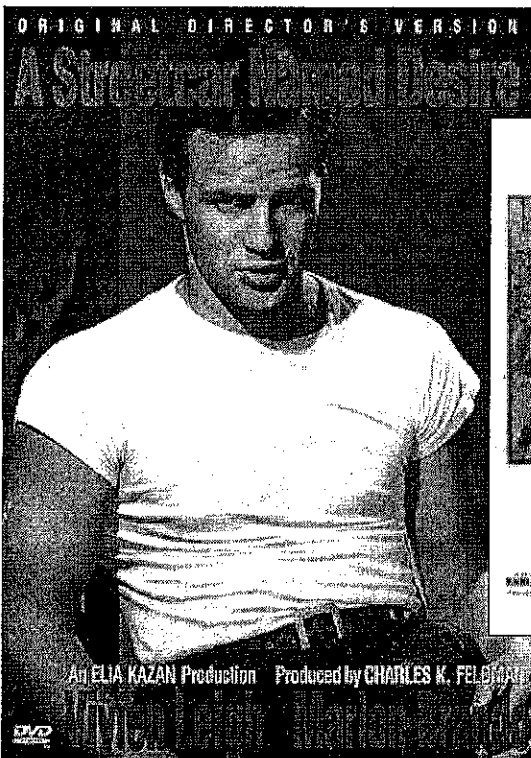
Kazan had established himself as a leading

days. He explained himself two days later in an April 12, 1952 notice in the *New York Times*. Party wrath erupted quickly and predictably.

Lillian Hellman called the testimony "hard to believe for its pious shit" and an avalanche of hate mail followed. That failed to deter Kazan, who later wrote, "within a year I stopped feeling guilty or even embarrassed about what I'd done." In fact, he had other statements to make.

Schulberg, who also cooperated with the Committee, had bought the rights to "Crime on the Waterfront," a series of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles by Malcolm Johnson, and written the screenplay that became *On the Waterfront*, for Kazan.

The work is an allegory of what both men had just been through. A crime commission is investigating corruption on the waterfront, where the mob runs the union. Crime boss Johnny



ary insight, it amounted to mere bourgeois decadence. Cultural commissar V.J. Jerome taught that Marxists were artistic *ubermenschen*, who automatically wrote better plays and novels because they understood the scientific forces that motivated people. The owl-faced Jerome and his New York politburo vetted plays, scripts and novels to ensure their political correctness.

The duty of writers and directors was to accept the dictates of Party bosses. Those who showed too much independence were required to crawl before Jerome and recant, a rite to which playwright John Howard Lawson and many other Party faithful submitted. But Budd Schulberg, one of the most talented of them, rejected the Communists' schedule of changes for *What Makes Sammy Run?* and soon left the Party, which sent one of its heavyweights to criticize Kazan and other free spirits.

"The Man from Detroit had been sent to stop the most dangerous thing the Party had to cope with: people thinking for themselves," Kazan said. "Comrades took the floor and competed as to who could say 'Me too' best. . . . He'd come to make us frightened, submissive, and unquestioning."

That taste of police-state life drove Kazan out of the Party and transformed him into a premature anti-Stalinist, though he remained a man of the left. He appeared as an actor in *City for Conquest* and *Blues in the Night*. The 1945 *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* confirmed that his deft touch

American director by the time the House Committee hearings resumed in 1951. Much had happened since the first set of hearings. Stalin launched another wave of purges that included Kazan's mentor Vsevolod Meyerhold, along with Itzak Feffer and Solomon Michaels, a pair of Jews which American Communists had showcased stateside as proof that there could be no anti-Semitism under socialism. With help from American Communist spies, Stalin had acquired the atomic bomb and China had joined the ranks of Communist nations. Czechoslovakia fell to a Communist coup and North Korea invaded the south. By then Kazan was, in his words, "another man."

"I believed it was the duty of the government to investigate the Communist movement in our country," he wrote. "I couldn't behave as if my old 'comrades' didn't exist and didn't have an active political program. There was no way I could go along with their crap that the CP was nothing but another political party like the Republicans and the Democrats. I knew very well what it was, a thoroughly organized, worldwide conspiracy. This conviction separated me from many of my old friends."

Kazan said he had "been ready to question and doubt. . . . I'd had every good reason to believe the party should be driven out of its many hiding places and into the light of scrutiny, but I'd never said anything because it would be called 'red-baiting.'"

Called as a witness, Kazan at first refused to identify former comrades but soon changed his mind, appearing at his own request and naming Communists he had known in the Group Theatre

Friendly bumps off those who don't play "D and D,"—deaf and dumb. A priest, Father Barry, played by Karl Malden, urges the men not to match violence with violence. If they really want to hurt the mob, he says, they should testify to the crime commission.

"Now boys, get smart," says Barry. "Now getting the facts to the public, testifying for what you know is right against what you know is wrong. And what's ratting to them is telling the truth for you. Now can't you see that?" Those who remain silent, Barry adds, share the guilt.

The broken down boxer tells his brother, Charlie the Gent, played by Rod Steiger, that this business of testifying is "tougher than I thought." But after Charlie falls victim to the thugs in a waterfront version of a Stalinist purge, Terry decides to talk, leading to the famous showdown scene.

On the Waterfront won seven Oscars, including best actor for Brando, with Budd Schulberg taking the laurels for best screenplay and Elia Kazan for best director.

"I was tasting vengeance that night and enjoying it," Kazan wrote in his 1988 memoirs. "*On the Waterfront* was my own story; every day I worked on that film, I was telling the world where I stood and my critics to go and fuck themselves."

At the time Brando didn't understand the movie's symbolism, but the Party did. "It is not surprising," wrote screenwriter John Howard Lawson, who by then was the CP's commissar in Hollywood, "that the most subtle doses of McCarthyite poison are concocted by men who wear the livery of the informer." The movie, he said of this great classic, "points the way to the death of film art." For fellow Hollywood Ten alum Lester Cole, *On the Waterfront* was "designed to justify stoolpigeons and slander trade unionism." Kazan's old friend Arthur Miller joined in the

"stoolpigeon" chorus, and the malicious Lillian Hellman, who would later disguise her own Stalinism in a series of deceitful memoirs, circulated the lie that Kazan had sold out for money.

In the moral equation later popularized by Victor Navasky's *Naming Names*, if informing of any kind was a sin, then informing on Communists was the unforgivable sin, and cooperating with the Committee was worse than defending Stalinism. Kazan's critics also took a cue from E.M. Forster's dictum that, given the choice of selling out his friends or his country, he would sell out his country—as if betraying one's country did not include one's friends and family, and could be sacrificed without sacrificing one's own identity and self.

Kazan went on to make *East of Eden*, featuring James Dean, an actor he discovered. The *People's Daily World* called Kazan's *A Face in the Crowd*, also written by Budd Schulberg, "one of the finest progressive films we have seen" even though it had been produced by "two stool pigeon witnesses." *Baby Doll* and *Splendor in the Grass* further showcased Kazan's talents. *The Visitors*, about a soldier who brings evidence of rape against former buddies, was the first film to deal with the home-front effects of Vietnam. It was well received at the 1972 Cannes Film Festival, but juror Joe Losey, whom Yves Montand described as a "1950s Stalinist," voted against it even though he liked the picture.

Kazan also proved that his talents were not limited to stage and screen, penning *America America*, praised as a "minor literary miracle" by the *New York Times*. He also wrote *The Arrangement*, *The Assassins*, *The Understudy*, *Acts of Love*, *The Anatolian*, and the masterful autobiography, *Elia Kazan: A Life*. By the time this book appeared in 1988, it was becoming clear that American popular culture offered few, if any,

parallels to Kazan's body of work. In 1989, the American Film Institute considered him for their Lifetime Achievement Award but the stoolpigeon argument raised its ugly head once more by a generation that was in kneepants the first time it came

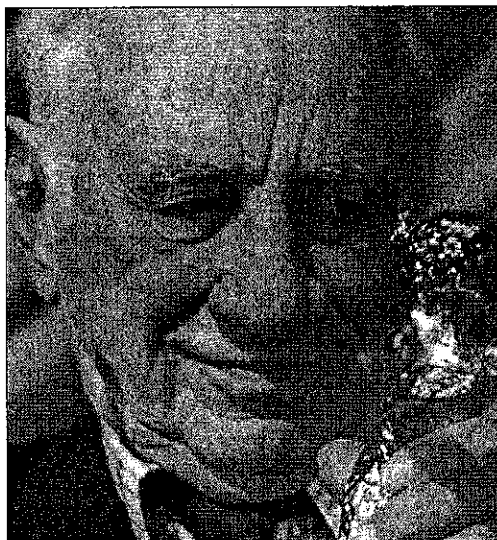
many Hollywood liberals, on the other hand, had been wrong about Communism and remained silent while Stalin steadily expanded his death list, a list that included thousands of writers and artists.

"If you expect an apology now because I would later name names, you've misjudged my character," Kazan wrote in 1988. "The 'horrible, immoral thing' I would do, I did out of my true self. . . The people who owe you an explanation (no apology expected) are those who, year after year, held the Soviets blameless for all their crimes."

But Kazan's consistent anti-Communism only hardened the hatred against him. In 1996, the Los Angeles Film Critics Association considered giving Kazan a lifetime achievement award, but Joe McBride, the organization's vice president, threatened to distribute copies of Kazan's testimony before the Committee and said that to give him an award would be ignoring the moral issue of informing. The group duly rejected Kazan and gave its lifetime achievement award instead to B filmmaker Roger Corman, whose cinematic slag heap includes *Teenage Caveman* and *Attack of the Crab Monsters*.

The rejections disturbed many, including the man who in *A Streetcar Named Desire* had dragged Blanche DuBois into the light. This past January, an 84-year-old Karl Malden appeared before a board meeting of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, a group that includes Gregory Peck, Lew Wasserman, and John Frankenheimer, and proposed an honorary Oscar for Elia Kazan.

"When I got up to talk, I suspected that there would be a big fight, but no one debated it at all," Malden explained. "I said I'm nominating a dear friend, and as far as I am concerned, there's no place for politics in any art form. An award like this is about your body of work. And when it comes to a body of work, Elia Kazan deserves to



ELIA KAZAN

around. Producer Gail Anne Hurd, attending her first meeting, said "we can't give this award to a man who named names," and Kazan was not selected.

By then it was also clear that, whatever his reasons for testifying, Elia Kazan had been right about the nature of Communism, Stalin and the Soviet Union. And he had spoken out about it at a time when Stalinist terror was still claiming victims and in its most anti-Semitic phase. Far too

That Statement They Threatened to Distribute

Elia Kazan in the *New York Times*, April 12, 1952

In the past weeks intolerable rumors about my political position have been circulating in New York and Hollywood. I want to make my stand clear:

I believe that Communist activities confront the people of this country with an unprecedented and exceptionally tough problem. That is, how to protect ourselves from a dangerous and alien conspiracy and still keep the free, open, healthy way of life that gives us self-respect.

I believe that the American people can solve this problem wisely only if they have the facts about Communism. All the facts. Now, I believe that any American who is in possession of such facts has the obligation to make them known, either to the public or to the appropriate Government agency.

Whatever hysteria exists—and there is some, particularly in Hollywood—is inflamed by mystery, suspicion and secrecy. Hard and exact facts will cool it.

The facts I have are sixteen years out of date, but they supply a small piece of background to the graver picture of Communism today.

I have placed these facts before the House Committee on Un-American Activities without reserve and I now place them before the public and before my co-workers in motion pictures and the theatre.

Seventeen and a half years ago I was a twenty-four-year-old stage manager and bit actor making \$40 a week when I worked. At that time nearly all of us felt menaced by two things: the depression and the ever growing power of Hitler. The streets were full of unemployed and shaken men. I was taken in by the *Hard Times* version of what might be called the Communists' advertising or recruiting technique. They claimed to have a cure for depressions and a cure for Nazism and Fascism.

I joined the Communist Party late in the summer of 1934. I got out a year and a half later.

I have no spy stories to tell, because I saw no spies. Nor did I understand, at that time, any opposition between American and Russian national interest. It was not even clear to me in 1936 that the American Communist Party was abjectly taking its orders from the Kremlin.

What I learned was the minimum that anyone must learn who puts his head into the noose of party "discipline." The Communists automatically violated the daily practices of democracy to which I was accustomed. They attempted to control thought and to suppress personal opinion. They tried to dictate personal conduct. They habitually distorted and disregarded and violated the truth. All this was crudely opposite to their claims of "democracy" and "the scientific approach."

To be a member of the Communist Party is to have a taste of the police state. It is a diluted taste but it is bitter and unforgettable. It is diluted because you can walk out.

I got out in the spring of 1936.

The question will be asked why I did not tell this story sooner. I was held back, primarily by concern for the reputations and employment of people who may, like myself, have left the Party many years ago.

I was also held back by a piece of specious reasoning which has silenced many liberals. It goes like this: "You may hate the Communists, but you must not attack them or expose them, because if you do you are attacking the right to hold unpopular opinions and you are joining the people who attack civil liberties."

I have thought soberly about this. It is, simply, a lie.

Secrecy serves the Communists. At the other pole, it serves those who are interested in silencing liberal voices. The employment of a lot of good liberals is threatened because they have allowed themselves to become associated with or silenced by the Communists.

Liberals must speak out.

I think it is useful that certain of us had this kind of experience with the Communists, for if we had not we should not know them so well. Today, when all the world fears war and they scream peace, we know how much their professions are worth. We know tomorrow they will have a new slogan.

Firsthand experience of dictatorship and thought control left me with an abiding hatred of these. It left me with an abiding hatred of Communist philosophy and methods and the conviction that these must be resisted always.

It also left me with the passionate conviction that we must never let the Communists get away with the pretense that they stand for the very things which they kill in their own countries. I am talking about free speech, a free press, the rights of property, the rights of labor, racial equality and, above all, individual rights. I value these things. I take them seriously. I value peace, too, when it is not brought in at the price of fundamental decency.

I believe these things must be fought for wherever they are not fully honored and protected whenever they are threatened.

The motion pictures I have made and the plays I have chosen to direct represent my convictions.

I expect to continue to make the same kinds of pictures and to direct the same kinds of plays.

be honored."

The board agreed, approving the award unanimously. The conservative Charlton Heston applauded the decision in the *Wall Street Journal*, but in liberal Hollywood the stench of the blacklist still lingered, stoked by the fires of the stoolpigeon argument.

"He made a lot of good pictures, so you could say he deserves an award for his work," said Abe Polonsky, screenwriter for *Body and Soul* and one of the Ten. "I just wouldn't want to give it to him. He was a creep. I wouldn't want to be wrecked on a desert island with him because if he was hungry, he'd eat me alive."

Polonsky should know. He was an ultra-orthodox Communist Party member ("I write the way I do because I'm a Marxist") who took a lead role in the inquisition of Kazan's friend Albert Maltz, whose crime was to write an article criticizing the Party doctrine that art must be a weapon. The Hollywood Communists forced Maltz to

recant and write a groveling retraction.

Polonsky was not alone: "An artist displays honor when he stands up to HUAC, as the late great actor Lionel Stander did, not when he panders to HUAC, as Elia chose to do," said actor Allan Garfield. "This is simply not the time, nor will there ever be a time, to reward past capitulation with honorary Oscars of the present."

Stander, who was not a great actor, was also a member of a Party whose personal dialectic still plays, at this late date, in certain Hollywood circles. As it goes, America is evil and capitalism is bad—except for my three-picture deal with Paramount.

The current cabbage patch left, whether or not led by Oliver Stone, will likely hold protests or attempt in some fashion to sabotage the award to Kazan. Whatever the tantrum, justice delayed is not now justice denied for a great American artist. And if some filmmaker on the rise wanted to show true guts and independence, he could option

Kazan's story. The pitch would be easy.

This is a story about a guy who told the world where he stood, who was glad he did it, who kept on doing it under great adversity, who suffered slander and injustice for his stand, but who stuck to his principles and emerged triumphant in the end. The filmmaker would not be working under the same language restrictions that existed in 1954. Nor would the tale have to be symbolic, as *On the Waterfront* was, but could at last deal with the C-word quite directly.

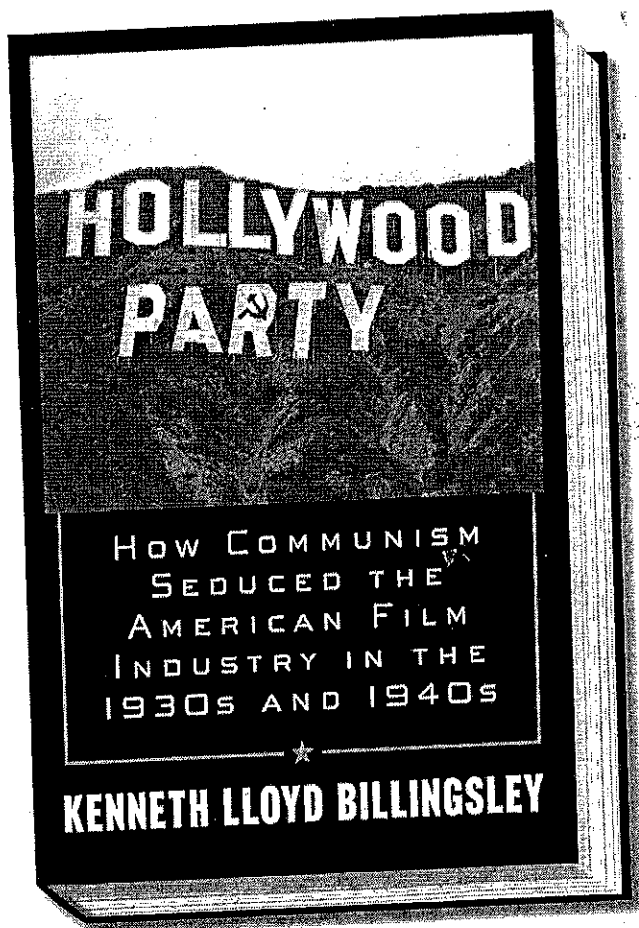
John Howard Lawson: "You ratted on us, Elia."

Elia Kazan: "Hey, fuck you. You're a cheap, corrupt piece of Stalinist shit. That's why I'm glad what I did to you. You hear that? I'm glad what I done, and I'm gonna keep on doing it."

Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley is the author of *Hollywood Party*, Prima, 1998.

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The Diversity Hoax, Continued from page 1

letter admitted that they "chose to attend Boalt in spite of [their] grave disappointment in the lack of diversity evidenced in the Class of 2000." The letter stated that "completely abolishing [racial preferences] without implementing any other sufficient means of achieving diversity has compromised our legal education. The pool of background experiences and perspectives we are exposed to has diminished significantly, limiting our opportunities for intellectual growth." As Wienir later noted, "Seventy-one percent of the Class of 2000 signed the letter, and there was scarce evidence at Boalt that those among the twenty-nine percent minority were welcome to speak. I myself was one among the palpably silent twenty-nine percent."

The protesters wanted David, among others, to sign the anti-Proposition 209 petition, and the more that David politely refused, the more fiercely he was maligned, accused, and called offensive names. Finding his views excluded and his voice silenced, David describes what he calls "a hypocritical definition of 'diversity'":

Those who signed the letter seemed to see themselves as more empowered and enlightened than their dissenting contemporaries. Those who refused to sign the letter were—I speak from experience—scorned and disparaged. The intolerance of the authors of this open letter was clearly paradoxical: on the one hand, they espoused "diversity"; on the other hand, they rejected anything but group-think. Support them, in other words, or be prepared for a gross slinging of names that largely stick.

Although Wienir's first few months at Boalt Hall were rough, he kept his poise and remained optimistic. "My voice was not supposed to be heard," he later wrote. "I was supposed to count only as one of those hateful, oppressive opponents of diversity." Hoping to find that there was more intellectual freedom and diversity at Boalt Hall than he himself had experienced, David set himself a project. He sent out a letter to every student at Boalt suggesting they submit essays that he would try to publish. The call for papers asked some simple questions: "How healthy is the marketplace of ideas here at Boalt? Do you have fair opportunity to share your ideas in the classroom? Does expression flow freely in an environment tolerant of diversity, or does the climate of tolerance at Berkeley paradoxically inhibit true diversity of opinion? Has political activism within the classroom silenced important student perspectives?" Seeking "diary-like" submissions, Wienir made it clear that "all viewpoints are welcome and encouraged."

He received a remarkable collection of twenty-seven essays revealing a rampant attack upon intellectual freedom and free speech affecting diverse students from across the political spectrum. David sent me the collection to see if the Foundation for Academic Standards & Tradition (FAST), the not-for-profit student organization I run, would be interested in publishing it. I felt the essays submitted to David clearly deserved to be heard. The two of us edited the collection and, since all but two of the pieces are skeptical about the existence of free speech at Boalt Hall, decided to call it *The Diversity Hoax: Law Students Report from Berkeley*.

The essays show that David Wienir's experience as a student at UC Berkeley is not unique. As Wienir writes, "The institutional practice of racial preference may have been discontinued in California, and some people are upset—very upset. California's Proposition 209, which banned government-sponsored racial discrimination, made Boalt Hall ground zero for a war over racial preferences," with students and faculty alike bemoaning "the lack of 'diversity' due to the 're-segregation' of campus." Administrators like

Boalt Hall Dean Herma Hill Kay issued melancholy statements about the bleakness of a future without admissions based on racial and ethnic diversity. Meanwhile, an atmosphere of intellectual violence prevailed in the daily operations of the law school. As Wienir writes in *The Diversity Hoax*:

The intolerant activists, comprised of both Boalt students and other enthusiasts, have personally attacked students who express contrary views by using techniques of slander, intimidation, and pejorative personal statements. They have torn down flyers of organizations with diverse views. They have marched up and down the halls chanting militant slogans



PRO 209 PROTEST AT UC BERKELEY

such as "Let them in or tear it down" ("them" referring to under-qualified minority students who had not gained admission under the new race-blind admission policies, "it" referring to the university). They have interrupted classes by insulting professors, blowing whistles, and screaming into loudspeakers. . . . The campus has been defaced: Fire alarms have been pulled. Many of the students even came to class in full uniform, wearing identical T-shirts signifying their desire to ethnically reengineer the law school. The language that the 'diversity' protesters used was clear. On the walls they wrote: "FUCK 209" and "SUPPORT DIVERSITY, NOT BOALT."

One of the ugliest tactics of the 'diversity' protesters' prolonged campaign was to disrupt classes by bringing in minority students from outside the Boalt community. After acting rudely to professors, the protesters would then confront white people and ask them in a forceful way to give up their seats to a minority student—a symbolic gesture. But in at least one case, the 'diversity' protesters unwittingly asked a minority student and refused to tolerate her dissenting view. As one woman who cares greatly about both intellectual and racial diversity tells in some of the most riveting pages of *The Diversity Hoax*, she herself, although a minority of mixed race, was called repugnant, indeed racist, names simply on account of the views she held. "When I expressed my outrage at being asked to give up my seat to a minority at a recent classroom protest staged in support of affirmative action," writes Isabelle Quinn, "this caused a classmate to call me a 'racist white conservative idiot.'"

Students who had always fought to protect the free speech of others found themselves in danger of being silenced because of what was perceived to be their incorrect views on affirmative action. "Funny, I've always thought of myself as a

classic liberal—the type that defends vociferously the rights of people to disagree with me," Nick Anthony Buford writes in his essay. But, "ironically, the inspiring 'traditional' 1960's paradigm of Berkeley—of respect for diverse opinions—is subverted, and trampled by the new intolerance of the activist student thought-police who police the discussions which take place in the classrooms and hallways." In "News from the Ladies' Room," Megan Elizabeth Murray holds "the belief that we all have a right to speak." But at Boalt, she points out, "the very people whose rights I was trying to respect were not respecting the rights of others."

Berkeley was famous for fighting for free speech in the 1960's. But the academic year of 1997-98 saw the successful silencing of many students who sought diversity of ideas and free speech. The 'diversity' protesters, a fluctuating group of students generally ranging from 20 to 100, used tactics so ugly that liberal and moderate Democrats alike—along with a small number of conservatives—felt silenced by the radical liberals with whom they thought they shared a belief in fairness and freedom of speech. Boalt Hall became a place where those crying out most loudly for diversity did everything they could to destroy it.

When intellectual freedom is denied to some, everyone loses, as the essays in *The Diversity Hoax* make clear. "In my module, in particular, there exists a great deal of unease between the Right and the Left," writes Randall Lewis in his essay: "I sympathize with the Left much more often. Yet, that does not imply that I won't make comments that I regard as theoretically true when an argument on the Left is weak. Hindering speech and refraining from making logical points only works to all our detriment."

The "silencing of dissenting voices at Boalt also means that our classroom discussions are much less rich than they might otherwise be," writes Heather McCormick in "The Unprofitable Monopoly." Indeed, "many who disagree with the ultra-liberal viewpoint that dominates discussion at Boalt have learned to keep silent." Wondering how this could be the case at an elite law school, she asks: "Why is it that we, as advocates in training, are nevertheless so reluctant to stand up for our positions?" It is a good question. "Our expectations are anchored so far to the Left at Boalt" that "in most classes, we don't hear from true conservatives at all, only less extreme liberals," writes McCormick. "If reading this article, maybe you have assumed that I am a conservative. I am not. I am a moderate Democrat. That my viewpoints can pass for conservatism in the classroom (which they sometimes do) appalls me and shows just how flat the debate is." McCormick's proposed solution to the problem would demand more of conservatives and liberals alike: "More conservatives must be willing to express their viewpoints in class, in spite of their fears of being demonized. Should the debate become one-sided nevertheless, more liberals and moderates need to offer alternative perspectives, even if that means playing devil's advocate."

On her first day of school, writes Darcy Edmonds, "I feared confrontation with fellow students asking me to carry signs and demonstrate for a cause about which I was still unsure." Soon, however, Edmonds writes, "I agreed with [the protesters'] intention of showing that the students were united in their belief in diversity in the classroom, so I agreed to participate." Edmonds soon noticed the duplicity of the protesters, who did not tell all their supporters the full extent and intolerant nature of their plans. Instead, she saw their ability "for using . . . other students like pawns in their game of political strategy." Where did this leave her? "I felt I could not tell anyone my personal philosophies—that I wanted to increase opportunities for students of diverse backgrounds but did not support affirmative action." The harassing tactics of the 'diversity' protesters created an atmosphere in which students were "not willing to risk resentment by voicing their honest opinions." The diversity hoax—the hoodwinking assumption that diversity

includes only certain views—was terrifying.

The 'diversity' protesters even treated Dean Kay, their intellectual ally, terribly. McCormick offers this moving comment: "While I endorse efforts to increase minority enrollment at Boalt, there was no way I was going to stand in the Dean's office and shout down a woman who has devoted a lifetime to defending the rights of women and minorities."

David Wienir's experience at Boalt is testimony to the one-sided intolerance that creates division and keeps people from coming to common ground. "I came to Berkeley sympathetic to some of the issues of the liberal Democratic agenda, and remain so," he writes. "However, I am adamant that the tactics of the intolerant radical activists actually erode the validity of much that they have to say. As I gazed across the historic campus late one April night, I wondered what ever happened to the Berkeley of the Sixties—a Berkeley that celebrated freedom of expression,

and despised narrow-mindedness?" As Wienir observes, "many Boalt students act as if their education is threatened whenever any conservative view is expressed. Ironically, the conservative views are generally those supporting liberal notions of freedom of expression. Still, almost every time a lone conservative tried to raise his or her voice during my first year at Boalt, things got ugly." How ugly? "Fists, rather than hands, were raised. Eyes rolled. Glares flashed. Intolerance radiated. Diversity of mind was declared dangerous and unwanted. Only racial diversity was celebrated and cherished."

The students who submitted essays for *The Diversity Hoax* raise some questions American higher education would do well to confront with honesty. "What was I thinking expecting a mature public discussion in a top U.S. law school?" asks Megan Elizabeth Murray. "To me, diversity is a range of viewpoints and experiences." Murray asks further, "How can we 'become' color-

blind all the while highlighting our differences with fireworks? We end up pitted against each other based on race instead of forgetting that we look different. To advance we must advance ourselves. Each of us must stop complaining about the past and look to the future."

But at Boalt Hall, it appears, hope and wisdom are not tolerated.



Marc Berley is executive director of the Foundation for Academic Standards & Tradition (FAST), a not-for-profit student organization. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations in this essay are from *The Diversity Hoax: Law Students Report from Berkeley*, eds. David Wienir and Marc Berley (New York: FAST, 1999).

Read excerpts of *The Diversity Hoax* by visiting FAST's Web site at: www.gofast.org. Order your copy by phone: 1-800-247-6553, or by e-mail: order@bookmaster.com.

Read the inside story of left-wing ideology at Boalt Hall at UC Berkeley Law School

The Diversity Hoax

edited by
David Wienir
and Marc Berley

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Who is Left?

The absence of a left on the radar screen of American politics is one of the wonders of the age. What happened to all those activists who went to war against the System in the 1960s, and who took to the streets to promote the West's defeat in the Cold War? How is it that our universities boast more socialists and kitsch marxists than the former satellites of the now defunct Soviet bloc? Who organizes the party line that promotes the rhetoric of class, race and gender warfare in national political debates?

We think the list below is the beginning of an answer. Everybody agrees there is a Right in American politics, and everybody thinks they can name the players. We think it is time to take a balanced view of the political process

and identify the political left.

Who are the left? Socialists, "progressives," gender feminists, critical race theorists, "critical" theorists of all stripes, opponents of welfare reform, proponents of an expanding welfare state, members of the coalition to lynch Clarence Thomas and also to save Bill Clinton, tax-the-rich ideologues, Christian-haters and PLO-supporters, reflexive bashers of white Americans and America-haters in general.

And: anyone who uses the term "oppression" to describe any set of social relations in America today. And: any knee-jerk name-caller who responds to this list by invoking the specter of Joseph McCarthy, which is the left's favorite tactic for closing debate on its political agendas.

NATIONAL FIGURES: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Jesse Jackson, Marion Wright Eddman, Sidney Blumenthal, John Sweeney, Julian Bond

SENATORS: Paul Wellstone, Ted Kennedy, Barbara Boxer, Christopher Dodd, Pat Leahy, Dianne Feinstein, Tom Harkin, Robert Torricelli

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL "PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS": Rep. Earl Hilliard, Del. Eni Faleomavaega, Rep. Ed Pastor, Rep. Lynn C Woolsey, Rep. George Miller, Rep. Nancy Pelosi, Rep. Fortney "Pete" Stark, Rep. Henry A. Waxman, Rep. Xavier Becerra, Rep. Julian C. Dixon, Rep. Esteban Edward Torres, Rep. Maxine Waters, Rep. George E. Brown, Rep. Bob Filner, Rep. Diane DeGette, Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Rep. Corrine Brown, Rep. Carrie P. Meek, Rep. Alcee L. Hastings, Rep. Cynthia A. McKinney, Rep. John Lewis, Rep. Neil Abercrombie, Rep. Patsy Mink, Rep. Jesse Jackson, Rep. Luis Gutierrez, Rep. Danny Davis, Rep. Lane Evans, Rep. Julia Carson, Rep. John Oliver, Rep. Jim McGovern, Rep. Barney Frank, Rep. John Tierney, Rep. David Bonior, Rep. Lynn N. Rivers, Rep. John Conyers, Rep. Bennie G. Thompson, Rep. Melvin L. Watt, Rep. Donald Payne, Rep. Jerrold Nadler, Rep. Major Owens, Rep. Nydia M. Velazquez, Rep. Charles Rangel, Rep. Maurice Hinchey, Rep. John LaFalce, Rep. Marcy Kaptur, Rep. Dennis Kucinich, Rep. Louis Stokes, Rep. Sherrod Brown, Rep. Elizabeth Furse, Rep. Peter A. DeFazio, Rep. Chaka Fattah, Rep. William Coyne, Del. Carlos A. Romero-Barcelo, Rep. Robert C. Scott, Rep. Bernard Sanders, Rep. James A. McDermott

ORGANIZATIONS: Governmental Unions, Earth First!, National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union, Children's Defense Fund, NAACP, NEA, People for the American Way, National Organization for Women, Democratic Socialists of America

INSTITUTIONS: MALDEF, MacArthur Foundation, Ford Foundation, Asner Family Foundation, Emily's List, Feminist Majority Foundation, Institute for Policy Studies

IDEOLOGUES: Noam Chomsky, Betty Friedan, Catharine MacKinnon, Derrick Bell, Angela Davis, bell hooks, Cornel West, Howard Zinn

ACADEMIC BASES: Women's Studies Programs, English Departments, Black Studies Departments, Critical Legal Theories, Cultural Studies, Modern Language Association, American Association of University Professors

CAUSES: Free Mumia!, Free Geronimo Pratt!, Defend Race Preferences, End the "Prison Industrial Complex", Comparable Worth, A Living Wage

MAGAZINES: *z Magazine*, *The Nation*, *Covert Action*, *Village Voice*, *Harpers*, *Social Text*, *Transition*, *In These Times*, *New York Review of Books*, *Dissent*, *Science and Society*, *Signs*, *American Historical Review*, *Monthly Review*, *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, *Kirkus Reviews*

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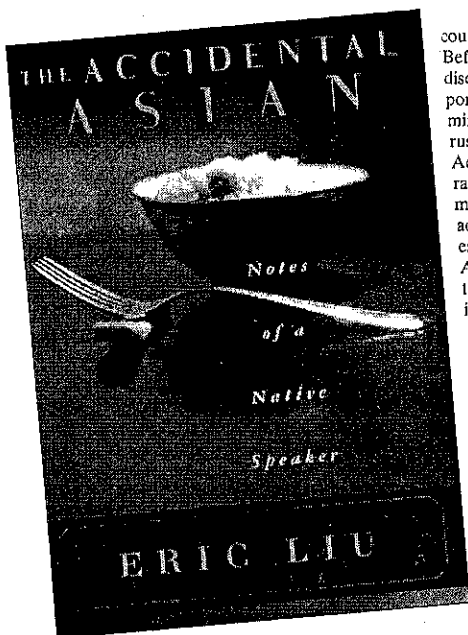
Ethnosclerosis

The Accidental Asian: Notes of a Native Speaker

by Eric Liu

(Praeger, New York, 1998, 256 pp. \$23.00)

REVIEWED BY KENNETH LEE



This past summer, the *Washington Post* printed several letters from irate readers complaining about a recent article on Asian and Latino immigrants. One writer groused that the article perpetuated "widely held myths" about Asian Americans and cited numerous statistics to support his contention. Another letter writer, Karen Narasaki of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, expressed similar outrage at the supposedly inaccurate and pernicious portrayals.

What exactly was the *Post*'s sin? Did it propagate Charlie Chan canards? Or make racist remarks about Asians? Quite the contrary. The article noted the unique position of Asians in America's political and socioeconomic landscape: as racial minorities, Asian-Americans have historically been the "victims of racism but have now crossed over into the realm of relative privilege." Indeed, until the early 20th century, California still had laws aimed at preventing Asians from owning property.

The most egregious form of anti-Asian bias, of course, occurred during World War II when the federal government placed thousands of Japanese-Americans into internment camps. Today, the article noted, Asian-Americans sometimes encounter a different but still injurious government-backed discrimination in the form of affirmative action. For example, the prestigious Lowell High School in San Francisco has placed *de facto* admissions quotas on overachieving Asian students.

Overall, the *Post* article was an evenhanded discussion of how Asian-Americans (as well as Latinos) have upset the old black-white paradigm of privileged Caucasians versus disenfranchised African-Americans. As the article noted, Asian Americans have managed to make substantial economic gains, despite historical barriers. And that was the problem with the article: It portrayed Asians in a too positive light, reinforcing the "model minority myth." Ironically, while black leaders complain about too many African-Americans being characterized as criminals by the

media, some Asian-American activists argue that Asians are unfairly depicted as A-students and successful businessmen. William Wong of the *Oakland Tribune* laments, "There doesn't seem to be a lot of effort made by media to cover . . . the underbelly, the downside of the Asian-American experience." The media, in other words, should devote more attention to Asian drug users, welfare cheats and gang members.

This type of reaction is par for the course in today's ubiquitous victim politics. Before, it was primarily the more economically disenfranchised minorities (i.e., blacks) who portrayed themselves as victims. Now, even minorities that are well-off by most standards rush to claim the mantle of victimhood. According to these race-peddling activists, race is destiny in America. Whites rarely give minorities a fair shake, and thus affirmative action and other government policies are necessary to protect the rights of people of color. A corollary is that there is only one "authentic" minority view, which is invariably mired in victimology and identity-politics.

A useful antidote to this racialistic thinking comes from *The Accidental Asian*, a brief book by Eric Liu, a twenty-nine year old former Clinton speechwriter and currently a student at Harvard Law School. In this collection of breezy personal essays, Liu, a second-generation Chinese-American, eschews the identity-politics of the left because, as he eloquently puts it, he fears that overemphasis on racial identity will lead to "ethnosclerosis: the hardening of the walls between the races."

Although he views identity politics with suspicion, Liu believes that "race is not simply embrace or efface." Liu yearns for a society where racial minorities can "treat race as an option, the way white people today are able to enjoy ethnicity as an option." This seems to be an acceptable middle-of-the-road vision of a multiethnic America, a land where people can respect ethnic differences but also realize that they are Americans first. As Liu explains, "America is exceptional not only because it provides due process and a setting for free cultural expression but also because it synthesizes the many cultures it welcomes. . . . It is precisely in an age of globalization that America becomes the most necessary place on earth. That's why we owe it our undivided loyalty."

Notwithstanding his distaste for the radical multicultural left, however, Liu has some ambivalence about assimilation. He describes himself as an "accidental Asian" who stumbled into his racial identity, and is often unsure what it means to be a second generation Chinese-American. Such feelings of ambivalence may be natural, especially among first or second-generation Americans. Conservatives sometimes unrealistically expect immigrants to assimilate overnight, and make the mistake of too quickly denouncing those who don't as un-American. Assimilation, however, is an intergenerational process. The first generation slowly sheds its Old World ways, while their progeny more quickly adapt to the American culture.

Liu's ambivalence about assimilation and his rejection of radical identity politics have made him anathema to ethnic activists. Liu admits that he has been called a traitor to his race and a "banana"—yellow on the outside and white in the inside—because of his moderate views. (Such derogatory terms come in colorful and creative forms—during my college days at Cornell, I myself was routinely labeled an "Uncle Wong," a play on the term Uncle Tom). Liu notes, however, that Asian-Americans and other minorities today "do not face the levels of discrimination and hatred that demand an enclave mentality." To be sure, Asian-Americans still face some racism today and are too often presumed to be foreigners. But it's nothing like that of yesteryear, and when some people ask ignorant questions, it's often motivated by curiosity than by hate.

Furthermore, Asian-American activists are wrong on an even more fundamental level: the

notion of a pan-Asian identity is itself suspect. Unlike blacks who may share the historical legacy of slavery and segregation or Latinos who share language and religion (i.e., Catholicism), Asian-Americans do not have such a common thread to bind them. Each Asian ethnic group has its own distinct language and culture. They also have different religions: Vietnamese-Americans are generally Catholic, Koreans are mostly Protestant and many others are Buddhists. Also, historical animosity separates the different Asian ethnic groups. It is more likely for an Asian-American to marry someone of a different race than someone of a different Asian ethnic group.

If there is anything that binds Asian-Americans, it has less to do with race than with the immigrant experience. With the exception of Japanese-Americans, most Asians came to the United States only after ethnic origin quotas were abolished by the Immigration Act of 1965. Two-thirds of Asian-Americans are foreign-born, and the remaining one-third are often only second or third generation Americans.

What exactly is this immigrant experience that binds Asian-Americans? It is the insecurity faced by all immigrants who have left their native land and have come to start anew in a new country. It is also the appreciation of liberty by those who fled totalitarian regimes or lived under the constant specter of communism. And it is the optimism held by immigrants that America rewards people who work hard. The intellectual class might consider such a belief as trite and naïve, but most immigrants—more even than native-born Americans—have an unwavering faith in the American dream. When pollsters asked different racial groups if they believe that people can succeed in America if they only work hard, Asian-American respondents answered yes at one of the highest rates of any racial group.

These attributes have made Asian-Americans natural conservatives, notwithstanding the copious media coverage given to Johnny Chung and other Asian-American Clinton cronies. Although Asian-American voters are not permanently wedded to either party, polling data show that Asians voted more Republican than even whites in the 1992, 1994 and 1996 elections. Indeed, Bob Dornan, the firebrand former congressman, for example, routinely received two-thirds of the Vietnamese vote, and was a multiple grand marshal at the annual Korean-American parade in Orange County. These figures showing high Asian support for the GOP, however, have rarely been mentioned by the media. Liu, curiously enough, does not mention them either. Maybe a former Clinton speechwriter finds such facts uncomfortable.

Despite his aversion towards identity politics, Liu still can't fully extricate himself from the left's racial shibboleths. Take the "model minority myth." Liu, while not outright dismissive of the model minority image, is somewhat critical of it. Other Asian-American activists are more decisive in their criticisms of the model minority image. Frank Wu, a law professor at Howard University, argues that even positive stereotypes are harmful because they still reinforce stereotypes and ignore individual character. This is a very compelling and noble argument, but it has virtually no credibility coming from the political left. After all, the very same activists who denounce model minority stereotypes actively support sensitivity seminars that perpetuate stereotypes by stressing that different races have different traits. And the left vigorously supports affirmative action, which places membership in a racial group over individual achievement.

The real reason the left abhors the model minority myth has little to do with its perpetuation of stereotypes. Rather, the left loathes it because it shatters the dogma that America is an ineluctably oppressive nation where minorities cannot succeed. How is it that Asian Americans, who have suffered and continue to suffer from racism, have succeeded without government help?

Asian-American activists readily admit that the model minority image will undermine the foundation of the welfare state. For example, activist Chau Ming Lee grumbled, "One of the old

REVIEW

myths is, no matter what kind of problem, the Asians can take care of themselves." (God forbid!) Grace Yun, a professor of Asian-American studies, complained, "Because of this [model minority] image, the needs of many Asian Americans who are poor, homeless, drug abusers or school dropouts are not even being identified, much less met." And an umbrella group called Asian Pacific Americans for Affirmative Action argued in 1996 that, "This perpetuation of the model minority myth masks . . . the continuing need by Asian Pacific Americans for affirmative action" in contracting and other areas. (One Asian activist even blames the model minority image for the spread of AIDS. As Joel B. Tan explains, "Asians are considered to be educated, affluent, healthy and heterosexual" and thus not enough AIDS education has been directed toward Asians.)

One law professor at Southern Methodist University complained to the *New York Times*, "The model minority myth conceals the pervasive racism and economic inequality that Asian-Americans suffer . . . Laotians, Hmong, Cambodians and Vietnamese in the United States [have high] poverty rates." But this argument completely misses the boat. Of course, there are numerous exceptions to a general Proposition—that is the very nature of an aggregate analysis. For example, one can easily find literally millions of exceptions to the assertion that Caucasians are overall prosperous. Millions of whites live on the dole, and millions of others barely eke out a living. Yet minority activists always characterize whites

as generally well-off, which is true from an aggregate view. Likewise, it is fair to say that overall, Asians are faring well in the United States: they have the highest education level, the highest family income and the lowest illegitimate birth rate of any racial group in America.

The second argument used by Asian activists is to minimize Asian American achievements. Yes, Asians have done well, they argue, but it's because they were highly educated immigrants who came to the United States with money and a college degree. The implicit message is that Asian-Americans really haven't succeeded in America; they brought their success to America. And thus Asian immigrants' purported success does not really prove that America is the land of opportunity.

It is true that most Asian immigrants are highly educated, but their degrees are often useless in the United States. Indeed, most immigrants end up toiling at a job completely unrelated to their former profession. Visit some stores in Koreatown in Los Angeles, and you'll meet former pharmacists who now run dry-cleaning shops.

Most Asian immigrants—like previous immigrant groups—have succeeded through endless hours of work, not because of some lofty degree or government help. And their sacrifice ultimately provides more opportunities and a brighter future for their children. As much of a cliché as this may seem, this is the same path of the American Dream that generations of immigrants have always traveled.

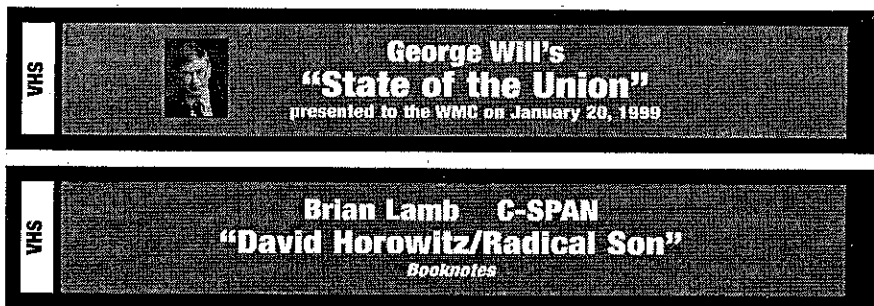
My family's immigrant experience is probably typical of many Asian immigrants. We immi-

grated in 1980 from Korea, where my father had worked as an engineer. But his college degree didn't open too many doors for him in America: there were few opportunities in a time of economic downturn for a middle-aged immigrant who could not speak a word of English. So he ended up fixing spray paint machines for a living. Yet by toiling thirteen hours a day, six days a week, my father was able to save enough money to start his own business and move our family from Los Angeles to the suburbs of Orange County. My parents also relied on a community-based loan pool called "kye": my parents and a group of their friends pooled their monies together to give each other interest-free loans. This is hardly a Horatio Alger story, but it is typical of how immigrants to America—be it Asians, Jews, or the Irish—have succeeded through hard work and sacrifice. Indeed, no immigrant group has ever succeeded through government handouts. In giving scant treatment to this aspect of the Asian American experience, Liu's book disappoints. He spends considerable time on the model minority 'myth' (he has a chapter called "The New Jews"), but he fails to convincingly explain how or why Asian-Americans have succeeded. If we want to look beyond race (as Liu claims to want), then we should maybe start by accepting that universal values like hard work and sacrifice are the keys to success for Americans of all races.

Kenneth Lee, a student at Harvard Law School, is the author of Huddled Masses, Muddled Laws (Praeger, 1998).

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President Creates New Agency: Names Woman First Director

by Judith Schumann Weizner

In a brief ceremony in the Rose Garden yesterday, President Clinton signed an executive order creating the Federal Public Safety Administration, and appointed Janet Sicherheit as its first director. The new agency, which will incorporate the Federal Family Security Administration and oversee many of the functions of the Departments of Energy, Health and Human Services, Transportation and Housing, is a key element of the President's promise to downsize government.

In accepting the appointment, Mrs. Sicherheit pledged that, as Director of Public Safety, her first undertaking will be to implement the establishment of the nation's first Family Security Zones, an idea that she says took shape during her tenure with the Federal Family Security Administration (FFSA).

"In a society as advanced as ours, there is no excuse for tolerating the level of risk to life and limb that we see every day in this country," she told the select group in the Rose Garden. "From the moment I became a mother, I dreamed of creating the ideal place to raise children. When my own children were small, it always pained me to have to scrub their little knees after they fell on the playground, because the antiseptic made them cry.

In our Security Zones all sidewalks, streets and playgrounds will be paved with SofStreet™, an advanced paving material developed by government engineers, which the OMB assures me will pay for itself in reduced emergency-room visits by the year 2451. Our Family Security Zones will become an oasis of safety in a perilous world."

Mrs. Sicherheit's interest in promoting safety did not begin with the birth of her children, however. A graduate of National Law School, she brings twenty-four years of experience to her new position, having been the Director of the FFSA since 1989, and before that, an FFSA attorney in the Division of Child Welfare, where she specialized in product education and analysis.

Born in 1949, the only child of Stanley and Doris Gefahr, highly successful liability lawyers with a practice in Oakview, Arkansas, she expected to follow in her parents' footsteps, and, immediately after her graduation from law school in 1975, joined her parents' firm of Gefahr, Gefahr, Peligro & Dangerfield. She had worked there for nearly two years when, after reading a heartrending letter of thanks written to her parents by the mother of a child

who had died after ingesting a screw, she began to question the meaning of her life. In the letter, the child's mother thanked the Gefahrs for their tireless work in winning a ten million dollar settlement from the manufacturer of the screw, at the same time observing that the ten million was not enough to dull the pain of losing a child.

"I hadn't yet had my children," Mrs. Sicherheit says. "In fact, I hadn't yet met Mr.



JANET SICHERHEIT

Sicherheit. But the tone of that letter made it clear that my life's work must be the prevention of this sort of tragedy, not just providing Balm for the bereaved."

Following a period of soul-searching, she took a job in the FFSA, where her first assignment was to find ways to improve education about safety in the home. She says she was distressed to discover how little attention was being paid to pillow safety, and she quickly sought and received authorization to conduct a study showing that each year since 1962 three or more children had died as a result of improper use of pillows. Her work in this area led to the FFSA's directive that labels on pillows, in addition to specific information about the product's content and flammability, must carry a warning about the proper use of the product, along with a recommendation from the Surgeon General that pillows not be used by children under the age of sixteen.

When Mrs. Sicherheit became the FFSA's director, her staff had one of the warning labels laminated onto a piece of granite and presented it to her. It still sits on her desk. "That label was the first tangible proof I had that others considered pillow safety important," she says. "I look at it whenever I feel

daunted by the size of my task and I think of the children whose lives have been saved because of that little scrap of cloth."

Now that the importance of public safety has been recognized by creation of an independent department, Mrs. Sicherheit is eager to begin working toward her goal of reducing needless injuries and deaths by twelve percent a year until the number approaches zero. "At that point," she admits, "we will have to take a long, hard look at the remaining cases."

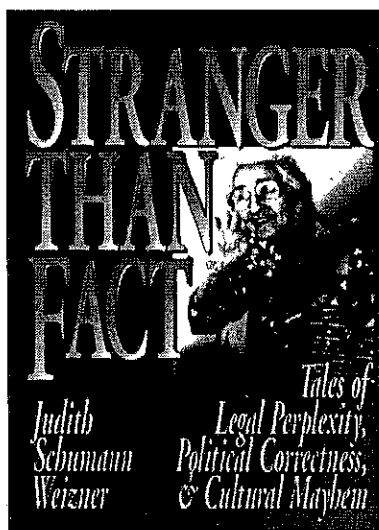
But Mrs. Sicherheit says she expects to reach her goal very quickly within the violence-, smoke- and pollution-free zones that are the linchpin of her program. "Hazardous activities within the green line will be prohibited and anyone engaging in them will be subject to prosecution," she warns.

The Family Security Zones are expected to attract large numbers of young families, as child-safe homes, constructed by Putting Children First, Inc., will incorporate rounded corners, soft doors and built-in furniture sensitively placed with careful attention to individual differences in height and leg length. To guard against the improper use of appliances, each adult will have a personal identification code to unlock the devices and their designated electrical sockets; this advanced system will also facilitate the monitoring of energy use. Each house will have a windowless "eclipse room", although these will not be mandatory outside the zones until 2002.

Mrs. Sicherheit emphasizes that preliminary studies indicate that the zones, featuring smoke-free restaurants serving low-fat, low-sodium, sugarless cuisine and non-alcoholic, non-carbonated and decaffeinated beverages, will be economically viable, drawing record numbers of tourists.

In a symbolic gesture, the first Family Security Zone will open in Washington D.C. in 1999 with others following at the rate of seventeen a year. Initially, residents will be selected by lottery from among the city's poor, as the government attempts to compensate them for the neglect of the Reagan-Bush era, but eventually anyone will be allowed to bid on homes and businesses in the zones; bidding permit fees are expected to raise the nine hundred trillion dollars necessary to implement the program, and Mrs. Sicherheit has already given Congress data indicating that any costs not offset by the fees will be recovered in reduced medical and law-enforcement expenses.

Mrs. Sicherheit was quick to assure reporters that the Family Security Zones will be open to anyone regardless of race, religion, ethnic origin or prior convictions.



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