

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



SLIPPING THROUGH THE CRACK

The five-man crack ring conducted its business with an efficiency an entrepreneur would envy. The group's leader, Christopher Armstrong, would negotiate with customers via a beeper and after agreeing on an amount and price, he would set up the specifics of the sale. Sometimes he had one of the group's two "runners" deliver the rocks to a prearranged location, but most often the buys took place at the ring's home base, room 203 at the La Mirage Motel in Los Angeles, where a cache of .38 caliber revolvers and .357 magnum revolvers assured that the transactions would be risk free.

It was a smooth operation except for one thing. From February to April, 1992, informants working on behalf of a joint task force of the Los Angeles police and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms made seven visits to room 203 and purchased a total of 124 grams of crack—enough to fuel 1200 crack pipes. On April 8, members of the task force obtained a warrant and searched the motel room, where they found another 9 grams of crack and a loaded gun. Two of the dealers—Armstrong and runner Aaron Hampton—were arrested on the spot. The other three members of the gang were apprehended later.

The amount of crack sold and the use of guns made the crimes serious, but in most respects the bust was typical drug business in the Los Angeles ghetto. And when prosecutors in the



Central District of California decided to file the case in federal court, they assumed that there would be no problems. But in the three years since their arrest, the trial of these dealers—all of whom are black—has become the latest cause célèbre of those who wish to portray the war on drugs as inherently racist as a result of "disproportionate" sentencing for crack convictions which are themselves unjust and also contribute to the large

numbers of black males caught up in the criminal justice system.

These developments began when the Los Angeles County Public Defender's Office accused federal prosecutors of "selective prosecution" in this case—singling out black defendants for prosecution in federal courts, where crack offenses carry significantly higher sentences, while leaving white users in the state courts to face lesser penalties. As evidence, the PD's office pointed out that all 24 crack cases handled by the federal public defender's office in the Central District in 1991 involved black defendants. The government must show that it did not discriminate against blacks, argued the defense, or the dealers could not be prosecuted. When federal prosecutors balked at being forced to provide information "discovery," in legal jargon—that would disprove this claim, U.S. District Judge Consuelo B. Marshall dismissed the case. Since then, *United States v. Armstrong* has risen to the Supreme Court, and federal policy on crack has become a dominant social issue.

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NOAM CHOMSKY, PUNK HERO BORN TO BE WILD

By K.L. Billingsley

Earlier this winter, the Pearl Jam fans across the country were marking their calendars for The Event. The hottest band in the nation, if not on the entire planet, was coming to towns all over the USA, riding a wave of album sales that now totals nearly 25 million copies worldwide. This, moreover, was a tour with an attitude. Pearl Jam had been attacking Ticketmaster, which they charged was monopolizing the concert trade and charging as much as \$350 a pop (for Barbra Streisand) and \$115 (the Eagles) with rock fans routinely having to pony up \$22 to \$55 for lesser acts. That wasn't cool with the new kings of grunge-rock.

"Eddie Vedder knows what it feels like not to have enough money to be able to buy a T-shirt at his favorite band's show and he wants to turn this thing around," said Pearl Jam's manager Kelly Curtis. Pearl Jam wanted the top ticket to be priced at \$20 and drew praise for trying to cut out the corporate middleman. As part of its small economic rebellion against the way rock and roll does business, in fact, Pearl Jam set up a 75-watt "pirate" radio station on every stop on its tour. The station broadcast selections from their albums. But there was something else besides the crashing chords, and this is what was interesting about Pearl Jam's venture into radio. In between cuts, a male monotone voice oozing vulgar Marxism droned on about manipulation of the media, the evils of corporations and the sins of America generally. The recorded voice belonged to Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Noam Chomsky, the linguistic theorist and hard-core leftist whose career has bizarrely branched into the music business.

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COMMUNIQUE

Enola Gay Controversy—Last Words

In the February 1996 *Heterodoxy*, Prof. Barton J. Bernstein of Stanford University accuses me of various crimes and misdemeanors—in particular, of muddying the waters with inaccurate citations of the numbers cited by President Harry S. Truman when considering the possible American casualties expected if we invade Japan and its island possessions instead of using the A-bomb on targets such as Hiroshima.

The heart of the matter is what happened at the June 18th White House meeting with Truman, Admiral William Leahy, General George Marshall and others, to which Prof. Bernstein refers. Prof. Bernstein argues that in the 1990s, he concluded that the "relevant base number" was 190,000 U.S. combatant troops, which meant that Leahy believed there would be only "66,500 U.S. casualties, which is 35 percent of 190,000."

What this means, to the opponents of the bombing of Hiroshima, is that Truman dropped the bomb to protect some 66,500 possible American casualties, even though it meant the brutal death of thousands more Japanese civilians, especially innocent women and children. As Donald Kagan, Hillhouse Prof. of History and Classics at Yale University has written in "Why America Dropped the Bomb" (*Commentary*, September 1995), these estimates have been made for one reason alone: "to undermine the probity of American leaders by showing them to be liars: if anticipated casualties at the time were fewer than the claims made after the war...then fear of such casualties could not have been the motive for dropping the bomb."

But as historian Robert J. Maddox points out in his article "The Biggest Decision: Why We Had to Drop the Atomic Bomb," in the May-June issue of *American Heritage*, the figure actually does add up to a total of 193,500 casualties. As Dr. Maddox notes, "the notion that 193,500 anticipated casualties were too insignificant to have caused Truman to resort to atomic bombs might seem bizarre to anyone other than an academic." Moreover (and this is something Bernstein should pay attention to), Maddox notes that a thirty-day casualty projection of 31,000 given to the President by Marshall at the June 18th meeting "had become meaningless," since it was based on an assumption that Japan had 350,000 defenders in Kyushu. But as time passed, they assembled twice that number, and projected American casualties were an expected 394,859 by July for the invasion of Kyushu alone.

Prof. Bernstein, I fear, protests too much. As Donald Kagan writes, the debate over the numbers is quite tendentious, and serves to distract attention from the truly important questions. True, the large numbers of casualties suggested by Truman and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson in their memoirs may not have been correct, but the attacks on their numbers by the revisionists, including Bernstein himself, are "at least as suspect."

Indeed, as an article in *The Washingtonian* tracing the controversy over the Smithsonian exhibit noted, this issue was key to the opposition to a revamped exhibit agreed upon by Martin Harwit of the Smithsonian. And in this revision, it was none other than Barton Bernstein who played a key role. The authors write: "Key to the museum-Legion agreement was Harwit's acceptance of a higher figure for likely U.S. casualties had a full-scale invasion of Japan been necessary. But shortly after the agreement was reached, Barton Bernstein came up with a new interpretation that lowered the figure. On January 9, 1995, Harwit wrote to the Legion explaining that he would have to use the Bernstein figure."

After that, Bernstein and Martin Sherwin of Tufts University 'turned on Harwit' because of his "concessions to the veterans," denouncing a

more balanced exhibit as 'historical cleansing,' a position taken in conjunction with the support of revisionists Gar Alperovitz, Kai Bird and Noam Chomsky.

As to "Nightline," on which Prof. Bernstein says he did not appear, I obtained the following from a February 3 letter on the H Pol discussion group on the Internet, from political scientist Ada W. Finifter. She wrote on the dispute of the "widely accepted figure" of 269,000 American casualties, and notes that in the last revision of the scheduled exhibit, the curators changed the figure to 69,000. Ms. Finifter notes that "on a recent Nightline show, there was a debate between the veterans' representative and Barton Bernstein," who argued that "69,000 was the more accurate number," and that according to Bernstein, Truman "had crossed out the 69,000 estimate and in the final version had it at 269,000 based on estimates he had received from the military people. Bernstein argued that the staff estimate was more reliable than what Truman had been told and therefore that was the number that should appear in the exhibit. He also made the rather amazing comment that this was a decision that Truman did not think through very carefully," and was then challenged by the veterans' representative that "the number that counted was the best estimate Truman and his military advisors could come up with at the time." Ms. Finifter was "surprised that Bernstein's position seemed very much to be that only the 'current' estimate was important because it was more accurate, and that it was appropriate to ignore Truman's stated estimate because it was wrong."

And it was not surprising to find that Henry F. May, on his contribution to the same Internet discussion on February 16th, noting that Bernstein had been his teaching assistant at a Harvard summer session course, wrote that although he knows Prof. Bernstein to be "sincere" and "well versed in the sources of the period," that "on this issue, to judge from his television talks, [he is] mistaken." Unlike Bernstein, May concludes, "I tend to think now that there was a fairly strong case for the Hiroshima bomb." Surveying the evidence, May concludes that he cannot "believe that the Japanese would have surrendered in their home islands without a bloody, suicidal fight," and their surrender was "produced largely by the two bombs."

Professor Bernstein argues that he does not believe Truman had "ulterior motives" for dropping the A bomb on Japan, and that his primary reason was to save "U.S. lives while ending the war on what he defined as reasonably acceptable terms." I agree, and one might wonder what the fuss is all about. But Prof. Bernstein, who acknowledges that he proudly adheres to the now-discredited "cold war revisionist" label, spends endless space in a confusing letter arguing for a low estimate for the number of prospective American casualties—the only point of which is to produce evidence that the bomb did not have to be dropped by Truman. And on his TV appearances, particularly the sections evidently used by "Nightline" without his knowledge and in his comments on the much discussed Jennings report, Professor Bernstein stands on the side of those who argue that the bomb did not have to be dropped. Perhaps the good professor should take time out to go over the evidence one more time.

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The commentary from Stanford history professor Barton J. Bernstein published in the February edition is a classic example of either Cold War revisionist incompetence or Cold War revisionist mendacity, or both.

Bernstein, objecting to the criticism by Professor Ronald Radosh of Bernstein's role in the infamous, aborted Smithsonian Hiroshima A-bomb exhibit, said that Radosh's article in the June, 1995 *Heterodoxy* said, "that I stated that the correct pre-Hiroshima U.S. estimate for U.S. casualties in the Olympic (Kyushu) operation was 69,000."

But Radosh never used the words "Olympic operation" in his article. He said Bernstein's estimate of U.S. casualties for the entire Japanese invasion campaign was 69,000. Bernstein never disputes this, other than saying that the actual number presented by the American military chiefs to President Truman was 63,000.

What's the difference? A lot. Operation Olympic was not the American military code name for the overall Japan invasion plan. That was called Operation Downfall. Operation Olympic was the code name only for the first stage of the Japan campaign, the invasion of Kyushu.

Kyushu, the southernmost of the large Japanese islands, contains less than 10 percent of the area of Japan. The completion of Operation Olympic would not have even given the American forces a foothold on the main island of Honshu, where all of the largest Japanese metropolitan centers are located. The invasion of Honshu, Operation Coronet, wasn't scheduled to begin until the spring of 1946.

Operation Olympic had roughly the same relationship to the conquest of the Japanese mainland as the invasion of Sicily had to the conquest of Italy by the Allies in World War II. In fact, the similarities between the two are remarkable. Sicily has about 9 percent of both the population and area of Italy.

The casualty estimates for Operation Olympic, whatever they actually were, were presented to Truman by his military chiefs at a June 18, 1945 meeting where he approved a plan to invade Kyushu on about November 1, 1945. The only invasion plan on the agenda for final approval by Truman was Operation Olympic. The planning for Operation Coronet was still in the preliminary stage.

Actually, one history of the Okinawa campaign says that an even lower casualty figure was given to Truman before he approved Operation Olympic. In their book, "Typhoon of Steel: The Battle for Okinawa," authors James H. and William M. Belote say, "The Joint Chiefs of Staff did not have an easy time securing the presidential consent. Concerned about the heavy casualties incurred on Okinawa and Iwo Jima, Mr. Truman insisted that the Chiefs first supply definite answers on the number of losses to be expected. At a White House conference that settled the matter, General (George) Marshall and Admiral (Ernest) King finally convinced Truman that the casualties incurred in taking Kyushu probably would not exceed those of Okinawa, about 31,000 men."

The authors continue, "Actually, this casualty figure might have proved to have been a serious underestimate." Noting the actual forces the Japanese had at their disposal, "Had the hell-birds (Japanese Kamikazes) scored as well as at Okinawa—a reasonable expectation—the U.S. Navy could have lost some 90 ships sunk, 900 more damaged, and 21,000 sailors killed in action."

They add, "Had ground forces been three times as great as at Okinawa—a not unreasonable expectation in light of Japanese strength in numbers of military and mobilized civilians—an additional 22,000 troops would have been killed and nearly 100,000 wounded. And there is every reason to suppose that a landing on the Kanto Plain before Tokyo would have been much worse. To conquer Japan might have cost a million American casualties and twenty million Japanese."

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

REEFER MADNESS: At New York City's John Jay College, Professor Heesa Costa gave a final exam last semester for her course Ethnic Studies 124, "Puerto Ricans and Other Latinos in USA." It is hard to imagine how Professor Costa's students did, but the exam itself (students were to choose three questions) gets a failing grade for content and grammar:

1. Why Latinos do not comprise an homogeneous ethnicity in USA? What is the problem when the system globalizes these minorities in one sole term: Latinos?

2. According to the authors, in what way the "new social movements", regarding ethnicity in the USA, is different from the two ethnic theories developed in the early 20th century and in the 1960's, the "melting pot" and the "new ethnicity" respectively?

3. In what way the "English Only" movement has been an Anglo response to the fact that their "hegemonic control" is being threatened by Latinos social movements?

4. In the context of the article, language is seen as an instrument of resistant and reaffirmation. Explain how it (the language) portrays Latino values and dimensions. (refer to page 6.)

5. Why, according to the authors, Latinos: "aspire to reconceptualize 'America' in multicultural and multicentric terms that refuse the relativist fiction of cultural pluralism".

6. In what sense the Anglo culture and ideologies had to be modified as a result of the large number of Latino presence in the USA. (refer to the Media, advertising and marketing spheres).

It is not hard to imagine Professor Costa's response to criticism: We don't need no stinking badges to teach in this college.

HIV-MATH: Who says that political correctness has not entered the sciences? Algebra 1: Explorations and Applications, written by Miriam Leiva and Richard Brown and published by Houghton Mifflin is being considered by eighth grade math classes across the country. One of the problems (see page 263) shows a picture of the AIDS quilt and tells the student: "The NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt is displayed in 24 ft square sections. Each section contains 32 panels. A 5 ft walkway may be left between the sections. Draw a sketch of part of the displayed quilt. Write an expression for the area of the quilt and walkways. Explain how much space is required to display 900 sections in a square."

OLLIE AT THE FRONT: Oliver Stone couldn't make it to the Academy Award ceremonies because he had something much more important to do. He was in Mexico in a top secret meeting with Subcommandante Marcos of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. Apparently considering a film about the Chiapas rebels, Stone said he wanted to see the situation faced by the Mexican Indians

first hand. Subcommandante Marcos gave Stone a rebel's ski mask. As the director put it on, they rode on horseback into the jungle. Certain questions arise from this vignette. Why did Stone see the Subcommandante? Was the Commandante busy that day? As he slipped on that ski mask, did Stone experience a sensation similar to slipping on women's underwear?

DEAR COMRADE: Ward Connerly is a University of California Regent and chairman of the California Civil Rights Initiative which would

concern and anxiety your role in the effort to defeat CCRI."

MEDICAID TRANSSEXUALS: In a recent issue of The Women's Quarterly, Deborah Weiss, formerly an attorney with the Department of Social Services in New York City, recalled a case involving child support which she once prosecuted on behalf of the city welfare department. The court officer called for the father to testify and a beautiful, big-busted blonde woman strode to the stand. As it turned out, "she" was in the process of a transsexual operation and had already received all the requisite psychotherapy, injections, etc. and was awaiting only the final surgery. When asked to contribute to the support of the child, the father said that she could not. How could she afford such an expensive operation then? The father responded: "Medicaid is paying for it."

ROCKY MOUNTAIN LOW: An item that might be subtitled "they are fighting among themselves, emerged from Denver in late February. It seems that one Jamal X, a Nation of Islam minister, appeared at an assembly at Denver's Montebello High School and told an audience of 200 boys that at the same time that blacks were building the Pyramids, white people "eat their dead" and "slept with animals." Montebello's principal, Ida C. Jones, said she agreed to allow Jamal X to speak because she wanted to help leaders of the black community to keep alive the goals of the Million Man March. One of the people most annoyed by the event was Alan Chimento, a social studies teacher at the school who tried to take his "minority cultures" class to the Jamal X assembly, but saw his four female students turned away at the door by the principal, Mrs. Jones, who was honoring the male-only theme of the March and the request of Jamal X. At Alan Chimento's urging the ACLU is reviewing the incident.

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



turn back affirmative action in the state and recently qualified for the November ballot. Connerly is a breed apart among political figures in that he appears unwilling to passively accept the slander of the left. Late in March, he wrote a letter to Angela Davis, Communist Party member and UC Santa Cruz professor, charging her with misusing her position in her campaign against CCRI. (Davis was named as the UC's prestigious Presidential Chair last year in an appointment that generated a huge controversy because of the mediocrity of Davis' academic output and her long time commitment to totalitarian causes.) "No one can stop you from identifying yourself with quotas and preferences and promoting revolutionary tactics to divide our society along racial and gender lines," Connerly wrote, "but I hope the University of California is not unwittingly financing your campaign [through the grant that goes with the Presidential Chair.] I will be urging all Californians to view with fear,

DANCES WITH FISH: California sea lions have been migrating north and chowing down on Washington State steelhead for years. All methods used to stop the slaughter of the fish have failed. Now the state has authorized lethal measures against the sea lions. This has prompted liberal Hollywood producer Vicky Herman, who worked on *The Usual Suspects*, to issue an ultimatum: touch the hair of one sea lion and Hollywood will never shoot a film in Washington again. So far so good. But the pro-steelhead faction, which includes not only sport fishermen but, more significantly, local Indians whose treaty rights entitle them to half the catch, agrees with the ruling and sees the Hollywood interlopers' sentimentality over the sea lions as a form of speciesism and their attempt to influence local politics as a form of California imperialism. Washington natives calling in to local radio shows have threatened a boycott of Disneyland if the Hollywood people do not butt out.

DESTROYING THE CHILDREN TO SAVE THEM Witch Hunt In Wenatchee

By George Paul Csicsery

In July 1994, when Robert Devereaux told Annie Weishoff, his foster daughter, that she couldn't have sex with her boyfriend at home, the 15-year-old girl tried to poison him by lacing his soda with iodine. Devereaux had her arrested. Neither Devereaux nor Weishoff could have imagined that the incident would spark one of the craziest episodes of false accusation of child molestation ever in a decade which has witnessed bizarre examples of this mass psychosis.

But now, eighteen months later, Wenatchee, Washington, a town of 35,000, is still reeling. Since mid-1994 some 41 people have been accused of participating in as many as four separate child sex rings in Wenatchee. Many more have been, or are, under suspicion. If there is an interesting twist to this episode in the ongoing saga of child molest, it is in the fact that a local pentecostal church is the alleged site of this ongoing orgy in which 80 adults are alleged to have molested 50 children, and the pastor and his wife have been accused of organizing the sexual criminality.

These strange doings in Wenatchee actually have a somewhat familiar narrative. Several months before the attempted poisoning of Robert Devereaux, another of his foster children, a 10-year-old named Donna Everett, was removed from Devereaux's care at his request because he could not control her unruliness. The girl was placed in the home of Robert Perez, a 12-year veteran of the Wenatchee Police, who had just been appointed his department's one and only child sex abuse investigator. Then, four days after the attempted poisoning episode, when Annie Weishoff was taken to the Chelan County Juvenile Center, Perez interviewed her alone for several hours. He did not tape the interrogation, but reported that the girl told him that she had been sexually abused by Robert Devereaux. Perez promptly arrested Devereaux.

The following day Weishoff told Paul Glassen, a Child Protective Services worker, that Detective Perez had coerced her into accusing her foster father of abusing her. Glassen reported the girl's recantation to his supervisor only to find himself arrested by Perez—for witness tampering. Although charges were dropped, Glassen was soon fired by CPS. A few months later his name appeared on a list of child molesters compiled by Detective Perez and his allies. Glassen took his family and fled to safety in Canada. "I knew what they could do to my son," Glassen told a Sacramento Bee reporter. "And I wasn't going to let Perez or anybody else start brainwashing him."

The arrest of someone of Glassen's stature and position should have set off an alarm, but Detective Perez was just getting started. A few weeks later Donna Everett, Perez's new foster daughter, began telling him about abuse at the hands of her biological parents. Perez wasted no time arresting Harold and Idella Everett. He charged Idella with 4,836 acts of abuse, but dropped most of the counts when she agreed to testify against her husband. Idella, who has been described as an illiterate with an IQ of 68, later claimed that she signed a confession only after Perez told her she did not need an attorney.

The Everett arrests were noticed by Robert Roberson, 50, unordained pastor of the Pentecostal Church of God House of Prayer in East Wenatchee, which lies across the Columbia River in Douglas County. The church, among the poorest congregations in town, rarely had more

than 50 parishioners and had little power. But Roberson and his wife Connie knew the Everetts and their children. They did not believe the Everett girl had been touched by either parent. When the Everetts were arrested the Robersons tried to arrange for one of the other Everett children to live with them. Finally, as he heard stories of written confessions collected by Detective Perez from people he knew to be illiterate and mentally diminished, Roberson became suspicious. When he voiced his criticism of Perez's evidence-gathering techniques, Pastor Roberson got

he interrogated them. They described their sessions with Perez as frightening. One child said that when she persisted in her refusal to accuse a particular adult, Detective Perez picked up the phone as if to call in an order to arrest the child's mother. He then gave her five minutes to come up with the accusation. Not surprisingly, most of the children who did make accusations later recanted.

Children and adults were routinely subjected to coercion and intimidation as family after family was destroyed, the parents imprisoned, and siblings forcibly separated from one another so they could not compare notes. The cruelest punishment was that of "Sam" Doggett, a 16-year-old girl, who told her story to a Spokane television reporter after escaping from CPS supervision.

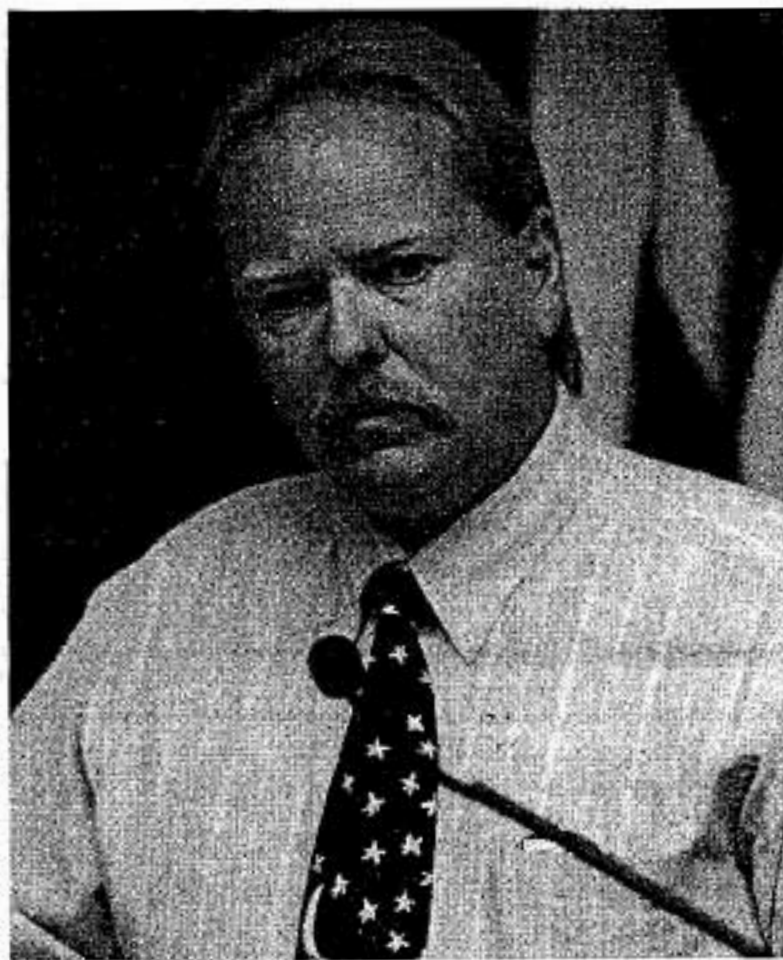
Sam was living with her legal guardians in Ukiah, California, when Detective Perez and a CPS worker appeared in Sacramento and ordered her guardian to bring Sam and her 12-year-old sister, who was visiting from Wenatchee, to a Sacramento CPS office. The guardian complied and delivered the sisters. After telling the girls they were investigating accusations made against their parents by their brother, Perez and his companion convinced them to accompany them back to Washington for a few weeks. Sam was led to believe that she and her sister would be kept together during the brief investigation. What ensued could have been written by Kafka.

Upon arrival at SeaTac airport the girls were immediately separated. Sam and her sister resisted, but were dragged apart in a scuffle. Placed in foster care, Sam protested about what had happened to her to a caseworker. She was told she was suicidal, tied to a stretcher and taken by ambulance to a mental institution in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. During the five weeks she spent at the institution she was repeatedly questioned, but not about her suicidal tendencies, which she claims never existed.

She was asked to corroborate stories about sex orgies and abuse by her parents. She was told that her sisters had already told investigators everything their parents had done to them. Sam stubbornly insisted her parents had never touched her or anyone else. At other locations Sam's sisters were subjected to similar tactics, and the youngest one succumbed to the pressure.

Mark and Carol Doggett were convicted of intrafamilial sexual abuse on the basis of testimony by their nine-year-old daughter. Sam and her 12-year-old sister refused to accuse their parents, although each was told that the other had done so. Afterwards CPS did not allow Sam to return to her legal guardians in California. Moved from one CPS controlled setting to another, Sam was prevented from seeing her sisters. She ran away, and when interviewed, said she believed her whole ordeal was orchestrated by CPS to punish her for not turning against her parents. Within an hour of her story airing on a Spokane TV station, CPS and Spokane police launched a search for Sam, "for her own protection." In late June, Sam Doggett's parents were sentenced to 11 years for child molestation.

In July the first Wenatchee sex ring case to actually go to jury trial ended in the acquittal of Honnah Sims of six counts of child abuse. Sims, a Sunday school teacher at Roberson's church, had been fingered by two of the most prolific accusers. Unlike the 15 adults who have pleaded guilty to some charges to avoid prosecution on others, Sims defended herself with a real lawyer—the first of the accused adults in Wenatchee to do so. The jury found the testimony of the girls not credible, and



Bob Perez

a warning call from a CPS worker threatening him with arrest.

Donna Everett's life with the Perez family was turbulent. She had violent fits during which she tore up the house. After being threatened with removal, she began making a flurry of accusations involving several adults and numerous child victims. Images of a Satanic child abuse ring began to coalesce. To flesh out the details, Perez and two CPS workers took Donna on a ride around Wenatchee and asked her to point out the places where she and the other children had been molested. The 10-year-old girl picked out 22 places where the molests had occurred, including her grandparents' house and the Pentecostal Church of God in East Wenatchee.

On March 23, 1995 Pastor Roberson denounced Detective Perez at a chapter meeting of VOCAL (Victims of Child Abuse Legislation). Five days later Roberson and his wife Connie were arrested and charged with staging weekly orgies at the Pentecostal Church.

"When we started prosecuting these cases in 1994, we had no idea that it would become this complex," Chelan County Prosecuting Attorney Gary Riesen told the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The complexity soon became nightmarish as Detective Perez and his helpers at CPS went to work on up to 50 children to construct the Satanic child molest ring at the center of which the hapless Robersons were alleged to stand. None of the interrogations of children were taped. In several cases Perez later claimed to have lost his notes. A number of children said that Perez did not take notes at all when

the prosecution's case woefully lacking in physical evidence. One witness, who had made a deal with prosecutors to save herself from being charged, reversed herself on the stand and stated that she had been forced to sign a false confession.

Following the Sims verdict, the Robersons were able to have their bail reduced from the initial \$1million and get out of jail. By this time they had been locked up for 135 days. They emerged from incarceration to find that the town was deeply divided. The accusations kept pouring in, particularly against those who criticized the judicial process. But the cases themselves were collapsing. As the Robersons awaited trial, the 11 child abuse charges against Robert Devereaux—the first person arrested—were dropped when he pleaded guilty to having spanked a child. People who had signed confessions were recanting. Investigators and reporters discovered that many of the people who confessed or were convicted had IQs under 80, or suffered from mental or physical disabilities.

The Roberson trial dragged into December, and there were startling revelations, including testimony by Detective Perez on December 7 admitting that he had squeezed the arm of his foster daughter in an effort to control her testimony on the day she told of having been sexually abused by Pastor Roberson. The arm-grabbing story, coupled with other tales of Perez's excesses, gave the jury a picture of a child protection system that was out of control. After listening to 53 witnesses—including Perez's foster child, who described the sex orgies at the church—the jury concluded there was no evidence to support the accusations. On December 11, 1995 Roberson and his wife, who had argued convincingly that they had been arrested for criticizing and protesting the way Perez conducted his investigations, were acquitted of all charges of child rape and molestation. (By then they had been separated from their own daughter, Rebekah, for nine months. Although they have since been allowed contact with the child, regaining full custody could take six months.)

The Roberson verdicts quickly led to the dismissal of two other cases. Today only Kerri Knowles, another alleged member of the Wenatchee sex ring, is awaiting trial. But 19 others who confessed or were convicted are serving long sentences. As Detective Perez's supporters in Wenatchee have pointed out, 19 out of 41 is an excellent conviction rate for an investigator.

But Wenatchee is important not so much for what has taken place there, bizarre though that has been, but because it marks a milestone in the way these accusations and trials have been presented. After years of helping to spread the epidemic of false accusations, the news media turned a corner in Wenatchee. Over the past six months major newspapers ran numerous stories about witch hunts there, and TV magazine shows featured the Robersons and others in the case, casting them as victims of false accusations. By 1995 it was safe for most (but not all) reporters to use expressions like "false accusation" and "leading questions" in reference to child molest cases.

Yet this turnaround came after a decade of evidence against a compliant press, too ready to believe that "children never lie." The Akiki case, the scandalous McMartin trial (longest and most expensive in U.S. history), the 1993 reversal of judgment against Kelly Michaels in New Jersey, and the unraveling of the notorious Edenton, North Carolina day care case, had finally made an impression.

Dorothy Rabinowitz of the *Wall Street Journal* was among the reporters who began to issue regular updates on the course of events in Wenatchee. Rabinowitz was the first reporter to expose the railroading of a young day care worker in a mid-1980s child molest case in New Jersey, following the situation until Kelly Michaels was released on appeal five after years of incarceration.

Another journalist who reported regularly on Wenatchee for Spokane's CBS-affiliate KREM 2, was Tom Grant. He discovered just how unpopular his coverage was with child protection authorities when it was announced that he too was under investigation for child abuse.

Cathryn Lyons, a Pierce County public defender and author of "the Wenatchee Report," has spent months trying to get the attention of outside authorities. "The problems in Wenatchee are profound," Lyons said. "It is the worst example of an investigation of its kind that I've ever seen. The most frightening thing that happened with Wenatchee is that it's all perfectly legal and it could happen again, anywhere in the state."

By October of last year the stench coming from Wenatchee was so bad that Washington Governor Mike Lowry wrote a letter to Janet Reno requesting a Justice Department investiga-



Robert Roberson

tion. But Reno, a vociferous advocate of "children's rights," has held back. On December 12, 1995, the day after a jury found Robert and Connie Roberson innocent on all counts, Reno told the New York Times that the Justice Department had examined the Wenatchee cases and would soon announce whether there would be a formal investigation. At least one Justice Department attorney felt that Reno was stalling, and he went public in a *Washington Post* editorial claiming that Justice had all the evidence they needed to enter the case. Despite the outcry and bad press over outrages committed by public officials against the citizenry of Wenatchee, on February 2 the AP revealed that Reno has turned Governor Lowry down: "Our evaluation of the materials submitted leads us to conclude that we cannot establish beyond a reasonable doubt that public officials acted willfully, as we must in a criminal prosecution."

Why the Attorney General refuses to act on Wenatchee can be explained at least partly by Reno's own history. Reno made her career as an aggressive Florida prosecutor who specialized in saving children from child molesters. In at least two well-documented cases she has been described as using interrogation techniques identical to those employed in Wenatchee by Detective Perez to elicit the cooperation of reluctant witnesses—techniques of brainwashing, coercion and intimidation.

Possibly, Reno sees nothing wrong with the way Perez handled the interrogation of children. On the other hand, she could be wary of entering into the investigation of a case that is certain to raise the spectres of her own past involvement in the Fijnje and Fuster cases.

A more sinister explanation for Attorney General Reno's reluctance to investigate Wenatchee was advanced by The *Washington Times* on November 14, 1995: "Speculation is that Hillary Clinton has dug in her heels against a federal investigation. For her, child abuse is a mantra, and she doesn't want any inquiry that could discredit the activities of Child Protective Services. Here may be the key to the mystery. Child abuse is a liberal mantra. Liberal groups who get federal funding for training child abuse investigators routinely testify before Congress that 3 out of 4 American kids are sexually abused. When Mr. Perez and Child Protective Services started out on their witch hunt, they rode on the back of this mantra."

Despite federal recalcitrance, Washington state is moving ahead towards reforming its child protective system. One law under consideration requires the taping of interviews with children.

Paul Glassen, the fired and accused CPS worker who was the first to protest the way Detective Perez interrogated children, and Pastor Roberson, are among those who testified before the legislature's House Children and Families Committee in January. Whatever Washington's legislature decides will not come soon enough to save Kerri Knowles, the last accused Wenatchee sex ring participant. Her trial is scheduled for March.

Future investigations and studies of what happened in Wenatchee are bound to focus on Detective Perez and the CPS workers who terrorized the community's most vulnerable citizens—the children coerced or intimidated into making accusations, and disadvantaged adults, too mentally feeble to protect themselves or even to understand what was happening to them. The danger is that Perez will be demonized as a rogue cop, a man who broke all the rules because of an unhealthy zeal, a one-of-a-kind Torquemada. This would be a mistake. Detective Perez and his cohorts are far from exceptional. What they did in the course of inventing a Satanic child abuse sex ring in Wenatchee has happened in hundreds of American communities. Many of Perez's tactics are actually recommended in guidelines for sexual abuse investigators. While Detective Perez may be an exuberant practitioner of his trade,

his behavior is consistent with the standards of a child protective system that has trained thousands of sexual abuse investigators to use the very techniques employed so effectively by Perez.

By 1994, when Detective Perez was making the first of the Wenatchee sex ring arrests, the ingredients of the crazy brew that bubbles up in lethal cocktails of hysterical child abuse accusations were well-understood. From case to case, the formula has contained most, if not all, of the following: poorly trained social workers and police officers; New Age and feminist-trained therapists who would diagnose every man, woman and child they meet as a victim of childhood sexual abuse; their counterparts in the prosecutor's office; fundamentalist Christians in search of Satanist sex cults; and their most unabashed promoters—sensational-seeking talk show hosts and reporters.

Wenatchee will eventually become a textbook case—like McMartin, Ingram, Akiki, and countless others. Each of these shameful episodes, while destroying the lives of children and parents, started out as a crusade to save children from child molesters. As each case unravels it becomes a crushing defeat for the movement that destroys children in order to save them. But none of this seems to diminish the fervor of the child abuse industry. No amount of evidence gleaned from scientific research showing exactly how children are manipulated by investigators, therapists, and other authority figures into making false accusations has made a dent. How else to explain what took place Wenatchee, Washington?

George Paul Csicsery is a filmmaker who lives in the Bay Area.

A SAD LESSON IN THE CITY'S SCHOOL STRIKE The Race Card In Oakland

By Kate Coleman

When the Oakland teachers finally agreed to return to work late in March after a bitter 34-day strike, the settlement dealt with raises and smaller class sizes. What was left unmentioned and unmended was the racial rancor that had divided the school system and the city. Stirring many of the same passions and opening some of the same ideological fault lines as New York's notorious Ocean Hill-Brownsville school strike of 1968, the Oakland teachers' strike had polarized parents and school board members, white liberal teachers and black community spokesmen. And even after the settlement was made, the passions of race pride and racial resentment remained, raising questions about the future of cities such as Oakland, where a liberal political tradition finds itself increasingly in conflict with a black leadership it had helped create.

It was that status of Oakland as a metaphor for inner city on the move and dominated by a new black political and financial elite that gave the strike its resonance. Once Oakland was the domain of a white establishment dominated by figures such as William Knowland, a U.S. Senator who for decades used his ownership of the *Oakland Tribune* to organize a white establishment which maintained its power long after blacks had a statistical majority. But those days when the city was regarded as an example of Deep South politics in the North were long gone by the Eighties. Oakland had seen the triumph of coalition politics, with "progressive" whites nurtured by the intellectual atmosphere of neighboring Berkeley joining black leaders like Congressman Ron Dellums to support the rise of black leadership in Oakland whose key figures were individuals like the late Bob Maynard, the black publisher who took over the *Tribune*, and Elihu Harris, for the last several years Oakland's mayor. During this era of change, Oakland, far from witnessing the social chaos of racial conflict, had actually seen a gentrification of some of its neighborhoods and had maintained a firm corporate base.

What surprised observers was how quickly the race card was played as things began to come apart in Oakland—by school board members Sylvester Hodges and Toni Cook, by the school superintendent Carolyn Gettridge, and by their allies in Oakland's black congregations and in the city's tightly knit black political organizations. On the eve of the walkout, cries of racism were levelled during an angry school board meeting. Cook, one of four blacks on the seven member board, said that criticism of the school district stemmed from the fact that "it is run by African Americans." School board candidate Gerald Sanders, also black, immediately

reproached her: "White politicians didn't influence the teachers to strike! The disintegration of the Oakland schools did." Cook refused to repudiate her comments about the union being racist. "I do not apologize for calling it what it was," she said. "I am never going to apologize for being an advocate of African Americans."

The racist label affixed on the teachers was based on the assumption that they were overwhelmingly white. In fact, the racial composition of the Oakland Education Association's 3500 members is just under 50 percent white,

become dense and dangerous even before the strike began. As the conflict settled into a stand-off, the black power structure tried to cut down on the strikers' appeal to parents by using epithets which characterized the striking teachers and their parent supporters as lily white racists out to destroy the black dominated school board and administration.

In the escalating dispute, black administrators and their allies on the school board insisted that black teachers and parents had different interests from white teachers and residents.

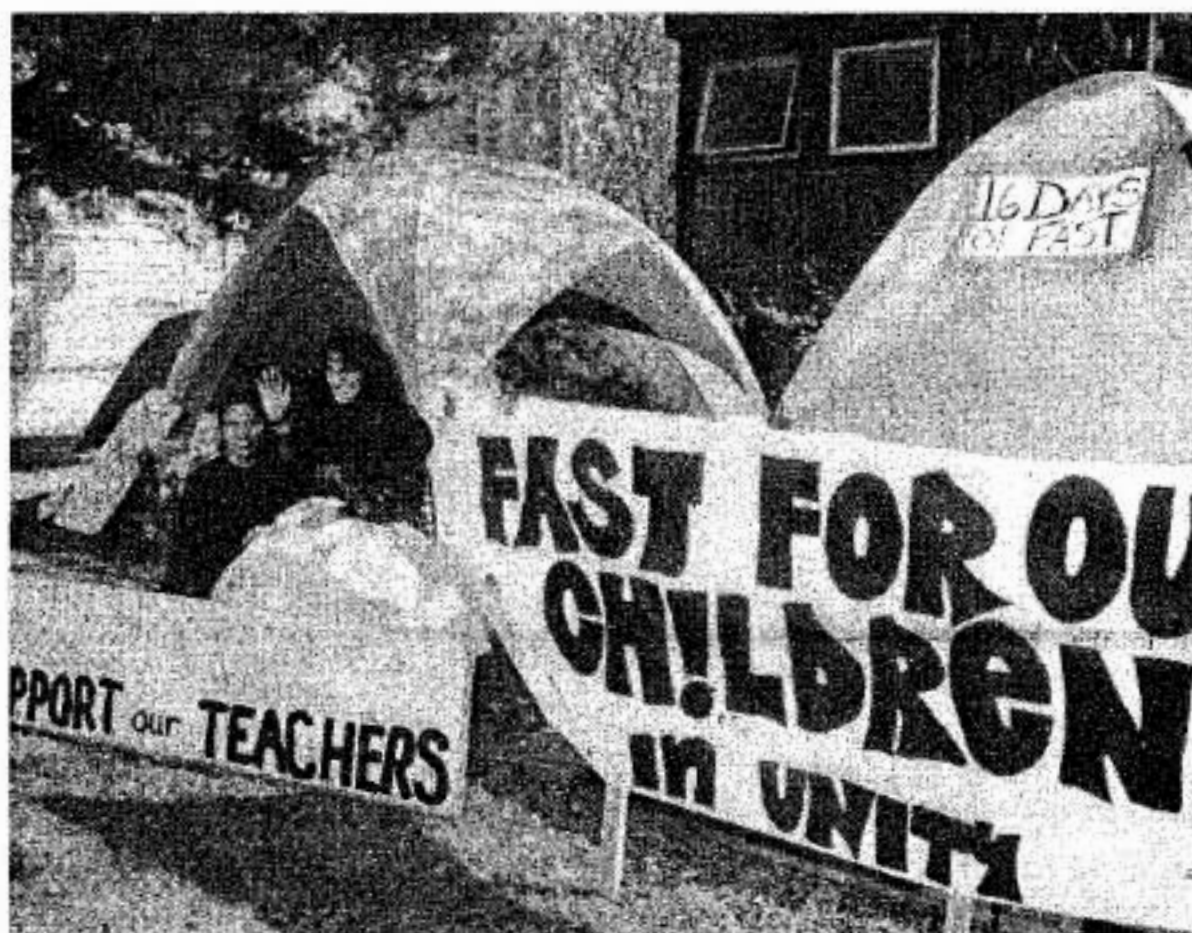
They supported this position by pointing out that black teachers were crossing the picketlines and black students were not boycotting in support of the union. (Indeed, down in West Oakland, for example, where the majority of students come from families on welfare, 18 of 22 teachers at Prescott Elementary school were on site.) Despite isolated examples of racial solidarity, however, union officials could claim that 87 percent of the city's public school children were staying out of class and that there was good turnout at various alternative schools organized by parents and striking teachers throughout the district.

Once played, however, the race card stayed on the table. Its presence produced some

ridiculous exchanges. Black school board member Sylvester Hodges was outraged at one white union leader who dared to quote Paul Robeson and Martin Luther King Jr. in an appearance before the school board. To Hodges that was racist: "They were quoting black history—to me! Why did they come up and do that? To me, that put it automatically as a racial issue. They made it that way." Later on during the strike, Hodges (who is currently running for a seat on Oakland's City Council) said of the teachers, "Some of them don't see us as just board members. They see us as black board members." This despite the fact that the Oakland school board has four blacks out of seven, along with one Hispanic, one Asian and one white.

Race had actually first appeared as an issue during the one day walkout in late January that preceded the strike when the Rev. J. Alfred Smith of Oakland's Allen Temple Baptist Church charged the union with being unconcerned with the black community of Oakland. "The Oakland Unified School District may have African American administrators," he said, "but the majority of teachers are white persons who live outside of Oakland but will come to work tomorrow to get their paychecks."

School board President Lucella Harrison weighed in with her own race analysis pointing out that it was a largely white group of parents that had been showing up at recent school board meetings: "There is a different perception of this board on one side of town than on the other." This was a glancing reference to the fact that while political power has shifted dramatically from whites to blacks in Oakland during the last two decades, whites still tend to live in the hills while blacks tend to live in the flatlands.



with 34 percent black and the remainder Latino and Asian. But four school board members, the superintendent, the majority of administrators, and 53 percent of the 52,000 student population is black, with only some seven percent white and the rest comprised of other minorities.

The strike had its beginnings back in June of 1994 when the teachers' contract expired. In November, the teachers fired a warning shot in the form of a two-day walk out, and then, in January, struck for one day. But if these actions failed to ease the bargaining stalemate, they did help to forge a union-parent allegiance that held together for the course of the strike. Parents for Classrooms First formed to support union demands for better wages and smaller classroom size in lower grades, which were to be financed with cuts from what the union called "bloated" administrative costs.

Talks broke down and on February 15, the Oakland Education Association finally voted to strike against the sixth largest school district of the state. Because of a state law that allows districts the choice of basing their Average Daily Attendance payment by the state on the previous year's student nose count (the law was passed, in fact, in response to other California school strikes), low student attendance could not be counted upon as leverage against the school board. The union's power lay in its ability to mobilize public opinion. As the OEA's Peter Haberfield says, "Our leverage is the interest of the school board and superintendent in keeping peace. An on-going strike risks public opprobrium for them, gives them a bad name."

The strike had the features of all such walkouts. But in Oakland there was something more: a race baiting atmosphere which had

Every time it appeared that the racial aspect of the strike was diminishing, black school board member Toni Cook would breathe new life into it. She analyzed the strike for one local paper this way: "You have a school board and administration who are mostly black, and then you have these white males leading the teachers union who get up there and say you're inept. It reminds me of when I was growing up in the South, when white men use to call me stupid."

In the inflamed atmosphere that characterized the strike, Cook became a lightning rod. At one point she was accused of racial name-calling in the hallway outside a board meeting on the eve of a strike. School board candidate Gerald Sanders, a black teacher supporting the union, criticized her and in response Sanders and two witnesses claim Cook called him a "white man's nigger."

It is a familiar cry with Cook. Local investigative reporters accused her of raising the same type of charges about racism back in 1987 when the troubled school district had to be turned over to a state trustee because of mismanagement. And Cook was among the most vociferous crusaders in attempts to rid the Oakland school district of Houghton Mifflin history and social science series texts for kindergarten through eight grade in a series of incendiary community meetings in 1992 which defined the terms of the current racial polarization.

In the meetings, Cook joined other black leaders in arguing that these texts were racist, despite the fact that the Houghton Mifflin books were the most responsive to the demands of multi-culturalism ever to pass before the state textbook review board. The fact that the seventh grade text included voluminous material on sub-Saharan Africa (10.6 percent of the entire narrative) or that one-eighth of its narrative centered on Native American history, to name just a few of the accommodations to multi-culturalism, did nothing to alter the charges of racism and the vicious fingerpointing at the texts' principal author, Gary Nash, a white who came out of a left political activist background and headed the defense committee for Angela Davis in 1970 when she was fired by UCLA.

Sociologist Todd Gitlin, who has written extensively about the Oakland textbook dispute, finds it ironic that Nash was a prominent leftist faculty member at UCLA when Toni Cook was a student activist in the Black Student Union there and ardent supporter of Ron Karenga, onetime leader of the radical nationalist organization United Slaves, and now Mulana Ron Karenga, college teacher and leader of the multicultural movement.

In his discussion of the Oakland textbook controversy in *The Twilight of Common Dreams* Todd Gitlin points out that while the Houghton Mifflin texts were occasionally guilty of lapses of multicultural sensitivity (the third grade book calling John Wesley Powell "one of the first people to explore the Grand Canyon," instead of "one of the first white people"), for the most part they were politically correct. A representative passage was an eighth grade text's words on the Spanish conquistadors: "Although their names and discoveries live on in romantic stories, most of the conquistadors acted ruthlessly in their search for riches and power. They treated the native inhabitants of America cruelly, enslaving them and often killing them..."

Nonetheless, teachers who supported the Houghton Mifflin series, and parents as well, were labeled "racist" and even "Nazis" by opponents. The level of vitriol on the part of foes of the texts was shocking to those on the receiving end particularly because they saw themselves as

being involved in the same cause as those attacking them. Shelley Weintraub, a veteran of the antiwar and feminist movements, was stunned. She said at the time of the controversy, "I regard myself as being a multiculturalist and I think this is the prevailing view among teachers." These progressives felt blindsided by those whom they had regarded as their comrades.

After recommendations for revision were incorporated into the Houghton Mifflin series, every school district in California voted to



accept the amended texts except for Oakland. To date, the district still has no texts, relying instead on supplemental books and materials.

Yet the charges of racism initiated at the beginning of the strike soon spread far beyond Toni Cook and her group could have imagined, and took on the shape of something like a mass psychosis. The litany of racial bitterness was intoned by community groups including the local NAACP and the president of the so-called Niagara Movement Democratic Club, Geoffrey Pete, the owner of a well known nightclub where many black community functions are held. Pete follows the-enemy-of-my-friend-is-my-enemy sort of reasoning: "If the friends of the union come to meetings and trash the board which is predominantly African American, I would dare say it's racist."

Superintendent Carolyn Gettridge herself, while refusing local interviews, contributed to the racial divisiveness when she told a San Diego newspaper that she believed their city's Superintendent of schools, Bertha Pendleton, had been targeted in a conspiracy by the union there because Pendleton, like Gettridge, is black. "Isn't it ironic," she told a reporter, "that two of the largest school districts in this state who happen to have African American woman superintendents, are being struck this year? Is it just fate?"

It isn't fate, and it isn't confined to Oakland or to San Diego. Increasingly as blacks take their places in local and state government infrastructure and in civil service and other jobs,

there is a shared perception that when their work comes under critical scrutiny it is because of racism which holds them, they believe, to a higher standard than white workers and officials. Black San Francisco psychologist Price Cobbs isn't surprised by the raising of the race issue in Oakland: "Racial issues smolder under the surface in many situations and at times of stress and crisis come to the forefront."

Teachers' union officials, members, and supporters scoff at any such notions. For them, rooting around in the dark places of racial antagonism and resentment is an empty exercise. They point to economic issues, to low rates of teachers' salaries compared to surrounding districts and to the fact that in Oakland they hadn't had a raise or cost of living increase in four years as sufficient reason for the strike. They say teachers are suffering while the Oakland district is top-heavy with overpaid administrators.

Oakland does have one of the highest ratios of administration to student body in California, with one administrator for every 240 students. Part of the reason is the proliferation of school sites, each needing its own principal and support staff. But both sides in the dispute agree that neither the increase in lower grade neighborhood schools nor the many support nurses or psychologists on site have raised the dismal academic ranking of the district's children. Last year 83 percent of Oakland public school children scored below the 50th percentile in reading language and math.

Administrative salaries are hefty. Gettridge gets \$155,000. Stripped of her benefits she still rakes in \$130,000, some \$27,000 more than State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delaine Eastin. But teachers' salaries are among the lowest in the area (from \$27,404 to \$45,459). Still, the school board president and superintendent asserted that the union's demands for increased salary and smaller classroom size would bankrupt the district. They used as support for their argument corroborating statements by the county auditor. But union official

Peter Haberfeld criticized the report and accused the auditor of being a crony of superintendent Gettridge and therefore an unreliable observer. (The auditor acknowledged the friendship but insisted it did not cloud his view of the financial situation in Oakland.)

An independent state audit showed administrative costs to be above the average of surrounding Bay Area districts (from a high of 20.22 percent in '92-'93 down to 16.8 percent in '94-'95) but not the 20 percent as the union leaders claimed. (A union official claims that state auditors suspected that administrative costs were shifted to branch offices, to whose books they were denied access.) The audit also indicated higher administrative support cost per student—\$812—than six comparable districts where average cost per pupil was \$697. Oakland's spending on pupil services was shown to be significantly higher than other districts which included salaries and benefits for counselors, social workers, psychologists and nurses.

The administration defenders argued that Oakland kids had "special" needs for those services—a code word for minority, disadvantaged kids. OEA executive Ward Rountree argued that the state audit showed there was still too much money spent on administration and "not enough money in the classroom with students and teachers."

Trying to muster other support and outflank the teacher's union, top Oakland administrators warned school classified workers (primarily janitors and secretaries, the vast majority

of whom are black) who belong to the Service Employees International Union that any cutting of administrative costs to pay for teachers' demands would mean job cuts and cost reductions among their workers. Observers of the strike regarded this as an ingenious strategy, since it pitted one union against the other with the race issue underlying a class struggle for dwindling resources.

Those who waved the banners of racism were adamant in their opposition to any cut in administrative jobs. School board member Hodges spelled it out this way: "When you are talking about cutting administration, you aren't just cutting administrators. You eliminate an office, and you eliminate clerical workers. And many of them have kids in our schools. They are families who need income so they can provide a home environment conducive to learning." And Toni Cook echoed his sentiments: "We are talking about downsizing, and I will not send people home without a job. The workers live in our community, and their children go to our schools. And they look like me disproportionately."

Sharon Rose, a white parent who has been active in setting up alternative strike schools to support the union has been angered by the racial arguments made by Hodges, Cook and others. As a longtime trade unionist herself when she used to live in Washington, DC and later in Detroit, she's sensitive about what she regards as union-busting tactics and divide-and-conquer strategies which she believes these board members are guilty of employing.

The janitors and service workers, Rose argues, have unfortunately been susceptible to these accusations that the union and teachers are racist—but they should know better. "There's a 'me-too' clause that insures they too will benefit. And unions should stick together." But Rose admits they haven't. "Janitors and other classified workers have crossed the picket lines. But I have heard [here she brightens] 'that some of them have been tapped to babysit kids where there are no teachers available and some have refused.'"

In fact, Oakland has always been a small club-by town. It used to be a white small town where a local establishment pulled all the levers of power and dished out appointments to its own. In the days when the Knowland family ran the local political machine, people like former Attorney General Ed Meese were virtually guaranteed jobs in agencies such as the Alameda County District Attorney's office. (Meese's father was a county clerk with connections to the white power structure.)

When blacks made a belated bid for power in Oakland, beginning in the 1970s, white flight to the suburbs insured black majority rule. Soon a system of black patronage began to evolve. Union leaders who chose not to be named accused the school board members and their allies of race baiting to protect their role at the head of a patronage system.

"School board members have behaved like job brokers getting favors for their constituents," one observer charges. Indeed, the stakes are high. With 7000 jobs in the district, the school system of Oakland is probably the largest employer in the city. But one union official says, "It's great to have jobs in the black community, but not at the expense of kids' education."

"All these folks who work for the dis-

trict are also part of the flock of these ministers," this observer also points out, noting the almost cozy relationship between elected officials and office holders and community and church leaders. And indeed, the Rev. J. Alfred Smith and a coalition of black ministers who in other situations might have supported a union, were strong opponents of the striking teachers.

The incestuousness of officials, churches and politicians who all happen to be black can lead the analyst of Oakland politics into curious directions. Toni Cook, for example, was responsible for hiring Dr. Shirley Thornton last year as a consultant to the school board of Oakland. When Thornton was eventually hired by recently defeated Mayor Frank Jordan of San Francisco to head that city's troubled Housing Authority, Thornton soon after hired Toni Cook as a consultant.

Malik Rahim, an African American who

picket line with striking teachers. But abruptly his visit fizzled. According to one union official, black clergy led by the Rev. J. Allen Smith and others including Toni Cook who reportedly once worked for the Rainbow Coalition pressured the local Rainbow Coalition representative so strongly that he urged Jackson to call off his visit. Jackson, never missing a beat, instead prepared to fly to L.A. to protest instead the dearth of minority nominations for this year's Academy Awards.

People disturbed by the racial polarization during the strike credit the teacher's union with some success in keeping the focus on the classroom. Still, many spoke of a lingering lesson in demagoguery. Black parent and school strike supporter Betty Carraras who lives in the East Oakland district represented by Toni Cook was disgusted with race being used as what she calls

a "smoke screen." Both Carraras and her husband claim Cook and other administrators fostered racial divisiveness even before the strike as an excuse for "the sorry physical conditions at school": trashed bathrooms with doors that don't lock, cracked playground pavement, portable classrooms with poor lighting and so on.

"All along," Carraras says, "the administrators and school board have fostered this view that kids in the hills get more than us in the flats. The families believed it ten years ago and some still do. But keeping the races divided is mean spirited and it's undermining our kids education—robbing them. Now they're playing the race card in the strike trying to draw the attention away from the

issues. Teachers have been too long with no contract. They're buying kids supplies out of their own pockets. That shouldn't be. It's not a race issue."

The race-baiting was eventually contained in Oakland. All sides were taken aback by the extremism of some of the comments. (Teachers particularly were horrified when a local NAACP spokeswoman opined to a reporter that white teachers could not be trusted to deliver education to minority children.) All sides were aware too that wounds caused by the strike would leave scars for years to come. Already there are reports at the schools of icy silence between teachers who struck and those who crossed the picket lines. Parents and teachers supporting the strike have vowed to press for the recall of the three board members who opposed to the strike (Toni Cook one of them) and who were not up for reelection on March 26.

Gone was that easy comradeship of the past when liberals whites and blacks could feel they were working together for a joint social vision in a place like Oakland. The city has come of age as a black controlled enterprise and the results are an occasion for somber reflection, if not melancholy, by all concerned.

Responding the undercurrents of bitterness left in the strike's wake, Mayor Elihu Harris called in late March for a Peace Summit on education to be held in May. But those who have watched this lacerating strike unfold are doubtful that such an event will heal the deep wounds that remain and if the old progressive coalition in Oakland can ever be put back together again.

Kate Coleman is writing a biography of Huey Newton



is co founder and director of the Coalition of Concerned Residents of lower Income and Public Housing charges that black cronyism is no more acceptable than a similar situation controlled by whites. He is an outspoken critic of Toni Cook and before her, of her boss Shirley Thornton. "It was a good ole boy thing: you helped me; I helped you. If [Cook] was qualified, I could see it, but to bring some one in with no experience is wrong."

Not unsurprisingly, local political races became entangled in the protracted strike. Power broker Congressman Ron Dellums gave an inspirational pep talk to grateful striking teachers, but didn't pressure the school district to give on the issues. (Nonetheless he picked up the OEA's endorsement for his reelection campaign). His protege and former aide, Assemblywoman Barbara Lee, who has recently been involved in financial scandals, was waging a nasty fight against fellow Democrat and progressive, Bob Campbell, who is white, for a State Senate seat. It was Campbell, long been associated with education issues in the Assembly, who called for an independent audit of the Oakland Schools to be paid for by the state. When this happened, Toni Cook, a declared Lee supporter, chimed in with her own observation that Campbell's call for the audit was politically motivated to "pump up his name identification in Alameda County." On other occasions Lee has branded Campbell as a racist for choosing to run against a black woman.

When Jesse Jackson came to town, strikers expected his support. He's walked the line with striking Hormel meat packers, auto workers, garbage collectors, to name a few, and, was reportedly set to show himself the workers' friend again with a highly visible turn on the

CRACK, continued from page 1

The decision facing the Supreme Court in *Armstrong* is limited specifically to the amount of evidence which the defense must provide to require discovery from the government. Still, the fact that it has been asked to make that decision at all signifies how contentious the issue of federal crack sentencing has become. *Armstrong* has already made an impact in the Central District, where over 130 selective prosecution motions have been filed since Marshall's dismissal of the case.

The argument made by the *Armstrong* defense and other critics—that federal prosecution and sentencing for crack unfairly and unconstitutionally target black defendants—is based on two related, but separate issues—the disparity in the percentages of black and white defendants prosecuted in federal court; and the disparity between the amount of crack and the amount of powder cocaine required to trigger federal mandatory minimum sentences.

The *Armstrong* defense based its claim on the fact that all 24 of the federal prosecutions for crack in the Central District of California in 1991 were of black persons. While statistics taken over a longer period of time show that people of other races are also prosecuted under federal crack statutes, a considerable majority of such cases do in fact involve black defendants. For example, from January 1, 1991 through March 31, 1995, 75% (109 out of 146) of the defendants prosecuted in federal court for crack in the Central District involved a were black, while during the same period only one white defendant was prosecuted.

Nationally in 1994, the most recent year for which statistics are available, blacks comprised roughly 90% of the 3,600 federal crack defendants; whites made up 3.5%. Critics charge that this "disparate impact" indicates that prosecutors engage in selective prosecution. Not only this, but on average, a defendant convicted in federal court for drug offenses receives a sentence of 86 months for trafficking and 22 months for possession, compared to 36 months and 12 months in the state system. More significantly, say critics of the present system, federal law itself dictates harsher penalties for crack, the form often associated with the black community, than for powder cocaine, the form associated with more affluent white users, by a ratio of close to 100 to 1.

This 100-1 ratio has caused the brunt of the criticism from academics, politicians, and the popular press. For example, Jesse Jackson has called the statutes "a moral disgrace," which condemns "thousands of young African American and Latino men to languish unjustly in prison." Berkeley Law Professor Jerome Skolnick described the ratio as "absurd, foolish and outrageous," and suggested that Congress would be displaying a "racial animus" if it did not amend the law. An *Los Angeles Times* editorial referred to the sentences for crack as "Draconian punishment," and Knoll Lowney, a professor of law at Washington University, wrote that the ratio results in the "overincarceration" of black males, and held it responsible for most of the ills of the black community. A Special Report of the U.S. Sentencing Commission released in May of 1995, shared these sentiments, recommending that the penalties for crack and powder be made equal.

As these charges attain the status of received truth, their potential implications become clear. At best, they suggest that an underlying racism taints the country's war on drugs; at worst they point to a racist government conspiracy of (Johnnie) Cochran-esque proportions. But a closer analysis of the prosecution data and of the

differences in the impact of crack and powder cocaine suggests that the vast majority of prosecutors, police officers, and legislators base their decisions not on "racial animus" but on the realities of the crack epidemic and those most affected by it.

The critics of the federal policy base their claims solely on the fact that a large majority of federal crack prosecutions—75% in the Central District of California and 90% nationally—involve black defendants. Since blacks make up such a high percentage of federal crack prosecutions, they argue, federal prosecutors must be taking race into account when they choose whom to try in federal court, and whom to leave to the state courts. In other words, at least one the following must be true: 1) the criteria used to select defendants for federal prosecution must discriminate according to race; otherwise, 2) officials must apply guidelines in a racially discriminatory way,



having one set of standards for blacks and another for whites.

In fact, the actual guidelines used by the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Central District show that decisions regarding prosecution are neither capricious nor discriminatory. The first guideline concerns the total quantity of crack possessed or distributed by the defendant. The average federal defendant has sold 109 grams of crack, and the overwhelming majority have sold at least 50 grams. Other factors which heavily influence prosecutors' decisions include the defendant's prior felony record and his use or possession of a firearm in connection with the crack offense. Membership in a violent street gang or criminal organization, while not sufficient to qualify a defendant for federal prosecution, can also be considered; this factor has particular importance in Los Angeles, where the sale of crack remains in large measure the province of violent gangs. Finally, cases only become eligible for federal prosecution in the first place when federal agencies play a part of the investigation and/or arrest, or when state officials bring the case to the U.S. Attorney's attention.

These guidelines hardly form the basis of selective prosecution. (All people regardless of race, obviously enough, are equally capable of not getting involved with the sale of crack.) In theory, of course, even clearly race-neutral guidelines such as these can be applied in a racially discriminatory manner. But a case by case analysis of the federal crack indictments in the Central District between January 1, 1992 and March 31, 1995, suggests that race does not play any role in prosecutorial decisions. Of the 146 defendants charged during this period 94.3% either met the quantity requirements, employed firearms, or had prior

drug records. All of the cases filed in 1992, 1993, and 1995 qualified for federal prosecution under the quantity guidelines alone. The remaining cases—eight—involved other aggravating factors such as gang involvement and prior violent felony record.

After looking at these statistics in *U.S. v. Tyree*, one of the many cases in the wake of *Armstrong* where the defendants have filed selective prosecution motions, U.S. District Judge Dickran Tevzian decided that the claims were unfounded: "There is no evidence that the charging decision in any of the cocaine base [i.e. crack] cases...was based upon the defendant's race, ethnic origins, or gender, or upon any other impermissible factor."

The same holds true nationwide. Professor John J. DiIulio, of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School and the Brookings Institute, cites a 1993 study of federal drug sentencing from 1986-

1990 in concluding that crack cocaine sentencing statutes did not result in racially discriminatory sentences. "The amount of the drug sold," DiIulio wrote, "the offenders' prior criminal records, whether weapons were involved, and other characteristics that federal law and sentencing guidelines established as valid considerations accounted for all the observed variation in sentencing."

If the charges against the U.S. Attorney's Office were true—if "disparate impact" were proof of selective prosecution—one would expect that the state courts would be full of white crack offenders who were passed over for federal prosecution by the racially biased prosecutors. The facts do not bear this out. A study of federal and state crack defendants between January 1, 1990 and August 11, 1992, shows no evidence

that prosecutors allowed whites eligible for federal prosecution to remain in the state courts.

That the high number of black federal crack defendants is not the result of discrimination may seem surprising only to the Jesse Jacksons of this world. Statistics concerning prosecution for drugs other than crack compiled by the Central District Pretrial Services Office over the past three years indicate that out of the total number of federal drug defendants, 50% were Hispanic, 25% were black, 17% were white, and 7.5% were Asian.

Viewed separately, each particular drug has its own "disparate impact." Almost 63% of powder cocaine defendants were Hispanic, a percentage which would increase dramatically if fugitives who fled the country before being interviewed by Pretrial Services were included. The feds prosecuted more Asians than blacks for heroin, and seven times as many whites as blacks for methamphetamines ("crank"). Whites represented over 64% of marijuana defendants, and over 85% of LSD defendants, drugs for which no blacks were indicted over the three-year period.

If selective prosecution were inferred from these figures, one would have to conclude that Caucasians are victimized in LSD cases, Hispanics in powder cocaine cases, etc. One would have to go further and say that Caucasians are victims of racially motivated prosecutions in child pornography cases, Caucasians in antitrust, securities fraud, insider trading, defense contractor fraud cases, etc.

As Princeton Professor of Politics Robert George points out, the notion that statistical disparity on its face indicates selective prosecution would justify cries of discrimination in literally any

legal circumstance. A former member of the Civil Rights Commission, George notes ironically that despite the fact that according to surveys Evangelical Christians represent 36% of the American population, he does not know of any in the 50-member Department of Politics where he works: "I would be very happy, if we are going to decide that disparate impact is evidence of discrimination, to make the argument that my department, Ivy League universities, and the prestige universities in general are discriminating against Evangelicals."

Despite the elaborate conspiracy theories of critics of national drug policy, statistical and anecdotal evidence suggest that federal crack prosecution figures result from the real-world demographics of crack rather than racial discrimination. Few people would dispute the idea that blacks make up a large percentage of crack abusers. Even fewer would disagree that crack has wreaked its worst havoc in the black community. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported in a 1994 series on the crack epidemic, "for a variety of social reasons, the drug has burned its greatest swath through low-income, mostly minority neighborhoods, where for only \$5 or \$10 it offers in concentrated form a high [otherwise] available only to those who could afford costly powder cocaine."

Furthermore, the dealers who sell crack within the black community are overwhelmingly also black. In a sworn declaration submitted to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in *Armstrong*, Special Agent Ralph Lochridge of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration testified that certain ethnic groups tend to be involved with certain types of illegal drugs. "With respect to cocaine base [crack]," Lochridge testified, "virtually all major crack traffickers uncovered in the Los Angeles area have been black and operate primarily in black neighborhoods."

And there is no doubt whatsoever that the presence of crack in the black community has been catastrophic. Retired Circuit Court Judge Edward Rogers, who thirty years ago became one of the first black judges in the state of Florida and later established the first drug courts in Palm Beach County, says that crack "weaves its way throughout all of the ills that are suffered in the black community." He adds, "I think that if you look into child abuse or spousal abuse or crimes of violence or crimes of larceny or almost 90% of any kind of crime you would find drug abuse and crack cocaine in particular at the bottom of it."

No one accuses crack of being an equal-opportunity destroyer. Like the street gangs which make their living selling it, crack has worked its way into—and does its most damage in—low income urban black communities, where its influence is abetted by other social pathologies. Given this situation, says Professor Bryan A. Liang of Pepperdine Law School, it makes sense that prosecutors and law enforcement officials should focus their attention in dealing with crack in at risk communities. Liang characterizes the decision as an economic rather than a racial one:

"In a world like ours in which you have limited resources, you have to go into the communities which are most affected by the criminal activity. For crack that would be the urban communities... So you have to go there. You have to go where the crime is. You can't pick and choose on the basis of race where to prosecute in order to be 'fair.' You have to use your resources to get rid of the most crime possible."

U.S. Attorney Nora Manella calls this kind of resource allocation "both rational and constitutional," and compares it to other decisions law enforcement makes. "Just as law enforcement concentrates white collar fraud resources in the business community," she explains, "it concentrates resources devoted to curbing the manufacture and wholesale trafficking of crack and its attendant violence in those areas whose citizens

are most at risk from that criminal activity."

There was a time, remembers UCLA Professor James Q. Wilson, when Jesse Jackson and the civil rights establishment wanted police officers to pay more attention to the crack trade in black neighborhoods. "If the police walked by a crack dealer standing on a black neighborhood street corner, the police would be criticized by residents, law professors, and others for ignoring visible drug dealing," he says. "Now they are cracking down...and they are being accused of 'overincarcerating' blacks. The people who make these accusations have to answer the following question: What is the 'right' level of prosecution for crack cocaine?"

Legal scholar Henry Mark Holzer, recently retired from his professorship at Brooklyn Law School, would ask a slightly different question. "Do these critics want the blacks who sell crack to go free, or do they want to force whites to sell

pushers in the cynical effort to prove America a racist society, crack has taken their neighborhoods away from them.

Bryan Liang, who prior to becoming a law professor saw the effects of crack up close as an emergency room physician in the Washington Heights area of New York City, has little patience for those who seem to think that crack prosecution should be conducted according to affirmative action quotas. "People in these communities are being ravaged by this drug," he says. "There is this idea that it is quote-unquote 'unfair' to prosecute these black dealers. Well it is unfair that these black dealers are preying upon blacks in those communities. We should be thinking about the victims."

It is obvious that crack does the most damage in communities where the dealers, addicts, and innocent bystanders happen to be black. U.S. Attorney Nora Manella calls the focus on these areas, "the functional equivalent of putting traffic cops at the busiest intersections, because that is where the greatest risk of the greatest harm to the greatest number of people lies."

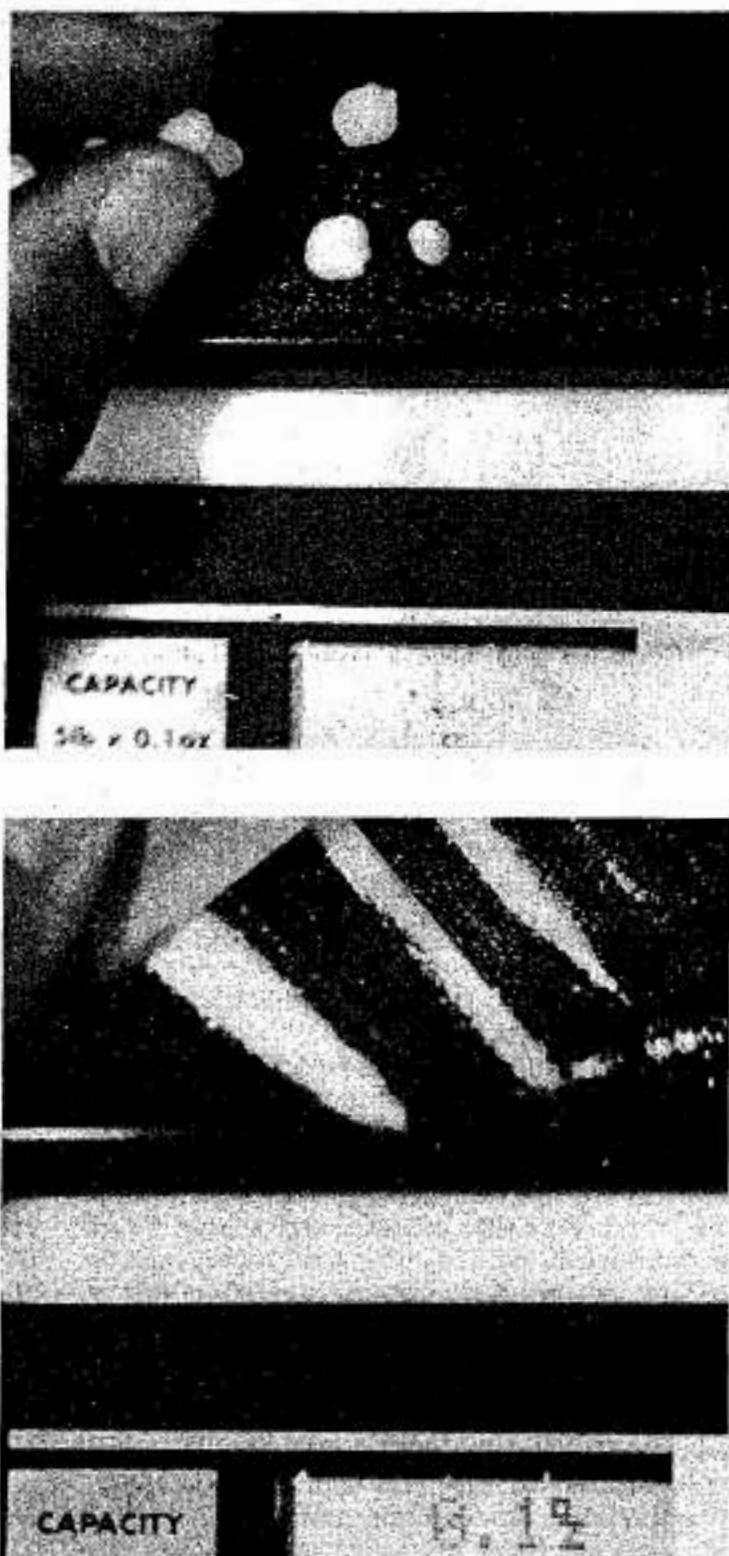
Although the *Armstrong* defense bases its claims of selective prosecution solely on the "disparate impact" of federal prosecution, it is the 100-1 ratio which lies at the heart of the entire debate over federal crack policy. This equation is a godsend to demagoguery—a shocking statistic which is easily used to convince the uneducated of the authenticity of a weak case. As with the federal prosecution statistics, however, the federal mandate that crack be regarded as more serious than cocaine by a 100 to 1 ratio is actually a reasonable, race-neutral attempt to alleviate the harm done by crack, rather than racism by other means.

When Congress decided on the ratio in 1986, it caused little controversy. Crack was spreading like a cancer in the nation's urban areas. Police departments felt helpless, as the drug's low price, quick high, and rapid rate of addiction led to exponential increases in use and trafficking. Drug-related violence skyrocketed everywhere crack gained a foothold, with murder rates increasing as much as 50% in some cities.

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau said that New York City was "drowning" in the drug. Powder cocaine had been a problem, but crack cocaine seemed a different animal. Feeling a sense of urgency, Congress decided revisit federal antidrug laws with the idea of giving federal prosecutors additional ammunition against the exploding crack trade. Bob Dole, serving for the first time as Senate majority leader, presented a Reagan Administration plan establishing a powder to crack ratio of 20 to 1. But as evidence of crack's devastation poured in, the legislators decided to get tougher, ratcheting up the penalties for crack to 50 to 1, and then, finally, to the 100 to 1 ratio. In 1988, Congress voted to apply the ratio to possession as well as trafficking cases.

All of the legislation received bipartisan support. Race never became an issue in these deliberations, and many members of the Congressional Black Caucus supported the bills. But times have changed. Critics of the 100-1 ratio now speak in expressly racial terms. Ironically, they consider the ratio discriminatory because crack, according to Berkeley Professor Skolnick, is "marketed more heavily in minority, especially African-American communities."

In practice, the sentences for crack and powder cocaine are somewhat less disparate than the phrase "100 to 1" implies. The ratio does not refer to the length of sentences but rather to the amount of powder and crack cocaine necessary to trigger the mandatory minimums set down by federal statutes. The typical sentences for equal amounts of each actually differ at most by a factor of six. For example, a defendant arrested with 50 grams of crack usually receives a sentence of 10 years, or



crack so that they can go to jail in equal numbers? It's ridiculous! Who can take this seriously?"

Jesse Jackson and his allies in the onslaught on U.S. drug policy may waver in their desire to see crack dealers prosecuted, but the people who actually live in the areas most affected by the drug do not share their ambivalence. In fact, according to Sherman Block, who has been Sheriff of Los Angeles County for 14 years and a law enforcement officer for 40, police usually direct their efforts in response to citizens' requests. "Usually it is complaints from the residents of the area," he explains. "There is a crack house there, and because of the people who frequent it, they are afraid to let their children out."

The residents—particularly the children—have suffered the most. While the civil rights establishment has rallied on behalf of drug

about six times the one and one-half to two-year sentence given a defendant caught with 50 grams of powder. For higher amounts, the difference between the penalties diminishes, with upper level crack defendants receiving a sentence only two times as long as powder cocaine dealers.

Who gets sentenced according to these guidelines? The average federal crack defendant has been arrested with 109 grams of crack, which can translate into as many as 1,090 individual doses and as much as \$12,500. And contrary to the claim that the sentences punish addicts, and not dealers, the overwhelming majority of federal defendants have been arrested for trafficking as opposed to simple possession. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, for example, in 1994 dealers accounted for 98.2% of federal crack convictions.

Those who defend the 100-1 ratio argue that the comparison between crack and cocaine is chemically as well as legally justified. Because of crack's high concentration and the fact that it is smoked rather than snorted it tends to be much more addictive than powder. Crack reaches the brain sixteen times faster than powder—in about 19 seconds—and the drug takes its effect in one-twentieth the time. The resulting high is both more intense and shorter lasting than a powder—a high which translates into more frequent bingeing, and a quicker psychological addiction.

Retired Circuit Court Judge Edward Rogers says this feature makes crack particularly dangerous.

"I know a lot of people who did powder cocaine socially at parties, or once a month, or once every three months, or every now and then, and they could take it or leave it," he says. "I don't know many people who have experimented like that with crack. The crack dealers will give you stuff [for free] to get you hooked. It is just so addictive."

People who work with those in the throws of crack addiction say the same thing. Marva Mitchem is the executive director at Restore, a center providing housing and treatment for women in South Central Los Angeles. When asked what crack dependency is like, the diminutive black woman leans forward in her chair and looks right into her listener's eyes so that there will be no misunderstanding. "They say you have no sense of self," she explains, "you would sell your soul, sell your own mother for one hit of crack. It

has that much power over you."

Crack's increasingly close association with violence also seems to set it apart from traditional cocaine. As mentioned earlier, drug-related violent crime increased all over the country when crack hit the scene, with murder rates going up in some cities by 50%. The U.S. Sentencing Commission makes note of this unique aspect of the crack epidemic in its recent report delivered to the Congress when it says that "crack dealers generally tend to have a stronger association with systemic violence [violence associated with the marketing of a drug] and are more likely to possess weapons than powder cocaine dealers."

In addition to increasing the level of violence in the community, says Sheriff Sherman Block, "we saw a whole new kind of violence. Not only did the incidence of violence go up, the nature of the violence changed in that we were witnessing more random violence, violence seemingly for the sake of violence."

The close relationship between crack and violent crime exacts other social costs as well. The health care costs associated with crack use astound. The number of cocaine-related medical emergencies in the US has increased 500% since 1983, with crack largely responsible for the rise. The high potency of the drug causes some users to suffer severe internal organ damage. Treatment for drug-exposed infants, the vast majority of whom had been exposed to crack, cost L.A. County public hospitals approximately \$22 million in 1991 alone. An individual case of crack exposure—there are over 2,000 in the county each year—can cost anywhere from \$8,000 to over \$200,000 per child.

The desperate addiction associated with the drug has made "strawberries"—prostitutes who work for crack—fixtures of the crack culture. According to one estimate the AIDS rate in crack-infested areas can reach as high as one in five. Crack has also made a major contribution to homelessness in the nation's cities. In some locations estimates indicate that as much as 80% of the local homeless population uses crack.

Low prices help fuel the boom and make crack's intense high—and quick addiction—available to just about anyone. Sold in doses as small as one-tenth of a gram, crack can be had for as little as two dollars. Michael Reed, a drug abuse counselor

at Southern California Alcohol and Drug Programs, Inc., says that the drug's low cost explains its high concentration in low-income neighborhoods. "It's an addict's dream and a society's nightmare," he says, "a cheap high. It's extremely addictive and extremely inexpensive, which takes it right into poor areas and keeps it there."

Even the youngest members of those communities can afford a rock which costs less than a McDonald's Happy Meal. Reed goes so far as to say that "crack was designed for a school-aged child. A child can save his lunch money and by Friday have enough money to get loaded all weekend."

Powder cocaine, to be sure, takes a heavy toll on its users, but it does not seem to have the devastating, communitywide impact which crack does. Walter Williams, the black Chairman of Economics at George Mason University, remarks that "people out in the suburbs using powder cocaine don't see the kind of stuff going on that you see in the inner cities with the use of crack."

Powder cocaine's higher price, lower potency, and lesser addictive qualities may explain this. In addition, suggests Professor Liang, the demographics of those who use two drugs magnify the differences between crack and cocaine.

A drug of the middle and upper classes, "powder cocaine definitely has an effect on those individuals, but they have social structures that they can fall back upon. They have more stable family lives, they aren't as desperate...The people who use crack are so close to the edge [in economic and social terms] that crack just pushes them over."

In the words of Sister Alice Callaghan, director of the Las Familias del Pueblo family service agency in Los Angeles, "When you are disadvantaged and you throw crack into that, you absolutely can't make it...Crack just crumbles you. It pins you to the ground."

Given crack's effects on both the user and the surrounding community and the fact that it is pandemic in the black ghetto, it would seem to be racist NOT to punish its sale more severely than other drugs.



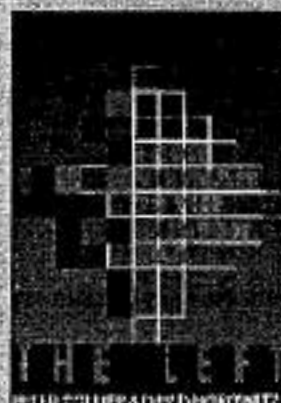
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BORN TO BE WILD, continued from page 1

And it was not just Pearl Jam that was sponsoring Chomsky. The popular rock band REM has asked Chomsky to go on tour with them and open their concerts with a speech. The punk band Bad Religion put a Chomsky lecture on the B side of one of its records. X, Rage Against the Machine and other groups are also interested. A former producer for the Rolling Stones and Bonnie Raitt is working on a CD with high-profile rockers pounding out rhythms to back Chomsky's lyrics.

What gives? Noam Chomsky has always had his admirers, but to become a hero of the Slackers crowd and a figure in the rock and roll masscult in his sixties? This is, to say the least, a curious development. But then the emergence of Noam Chomsky as a guru to the hardcore Left has been somewhat curious.

It was in the late 60s that Chomsky first appeared on the radical intellectual scene, after jumping out of his ivory tower in Cambridge to establish himself as a dogged critic of the Vietnam War. Having come relatively late to the radical cause, he stayed on after most others had left. Throughout the 70s, when radicalism had exhausted itself, Chomsky anachronistically kept up the attack, spinning out ever more ingenious theories of moral equivalence which held that the U.S. was in every respect as bad as the USSR, and actually worse in the sense that it pretended to be better.

In the 80s, when most radical activity on campus was centered on the claustral issues of multiculturalism and political correctness, Chomsky was still doggedly attacking America and adding to his radical repertoire flirtations with holocaust revisionism and other sectarian ecstasies. For some of his former leftist comrades, Chomsky was simply an eccentric, a sort of Doctor Demento of the far left afflicted by a radical logorrhea which seemed embarrassingly passé. But there was also at the same time, the growth of a legend which made of Chomsky a cult hero—"America's leading dissident intellectual," in the words of *Manufacturing Consent*, an acclaimed two-hour documentary film about his work which was shown widely on college campuses and broadcast recently on PBS, which offered a tape of the show and a copy of *The Chomsky Reader* as bonus gifts for donors.

Indeed, to his small cult of followers, Chomsky was heroic because he alone had kept up the attack when the rest of the left had lapsed into embarrassed silence. For them, he was the only figure radical America could offer who bore comparison to the European intellectual—that *engagé* figure whose opinions were backed by intellectual achievements whose significance could not be denied even by the most ardent opponents of his politics.

In the beginning, Chomsky's politics had to be taken seriously because his work in structural linguistics was considered groundbreaking. In the early 60s, Chomsky argued that language ability was not acquired but innate, buried so deep in the human consciousness that it was the result of genetic inheritance. He theorized that the world's languages all share the rules of intuitive syntax which determine the structure of sentences. This discovery of "linguistic universals" defied the regnant behaviorism of the day and made Chomsky a star in the field—one of those figures who receive "genius awards" from the MacArthur Foundation.

But once Chomsky entered the arena of radical politics, he was hooked. He let linguistics go in favor of The Cause. He gained a new audience of radical students and leftists looking for someone who could function as a homegrown Marx. But for many linguists who formerly vener-

ated him, Chomsky was in danger of no longer being state of the art in the field that had given him fame.

"Chomsky has a history of making wild changes in his approaches to syntax every seven years," says James D. McCawley, professor of linguistics at the University of Chicago, whose thesis adviser at MIT was Noam Chomsky. For McCawley, Chomsky seems to be trying to replicate his original linguistic breakthrough to no avail. Salikoko Muswene, Chairman of the linguistics department at the University of Chicago, says that Chomsky is still the biggest name in the field, but that there are more and more dissenters on such issues as the role of universal grammar and syntactic systems. There are strong challengers such as George Laycock at UC Berkeley, who takes an approach that is more cognitive and less reliant on biology than Chomsky's, and Stanford's Joan Bresnan, who is working on lexi-

call a *pisseur d'encre*, churning out a massive body of work, the intellectual equivalent of a Chinese wave attack. And he is always careful to freight his essays with footnotes and scholarly trappings, a kind of academic hamburger helper which nonetheless leaves the question: where's the beef?

What is the essence of his thought? During the height of the Cold War, Chomsky pioneered the idea that there was no practical difference between freedom and unfreedom. In his view there was a moral equivalence between free, democratic Western states which had created a prosperity unequalled in human history, and into which immigrants willingly streamed, and the Marxist-Leninist dictatorships which had created misery, poverty and death on a scale unknown in human history, and out of which millions fled at the first opportunity, often preferring to die on their feet rather than live on their knees. In Chomsky's view, both systems were equally deserving of scorn.

Chomsky pursued this idea of moral equivalence with a desperate vengeance into the mid-80s, when the USSR initiated its "peace movement" and the Reagan administration entered the decisive end-game in the Cold War. Chomsky was in the middle of the fray, nattering about America's "satellites" in a way meant to compare the role of South Korea on the side of the U.S., say, to the role of East Germany on the side of the USSR. In Chomsky's mind, the Cold War was always a myth created by America to justify its rapacity. Others have held such views, but while most of them have had a frisson of doubt as a result of revelations coming out of the Soviet Union and from U.S. intercepts of Soviet intelligence in the post-war era, Chomsky still asserts that "the United States hasn't faced a threat probably since the War of 1812," an aperçu that veterans of Pearl Harbor and D-Day would no doubt find interesting.

Asked in 1987 if he has a deep faith in reason, Chomsky replied, "I don't have a faith in that or anything else." Some might find this to be a laudable skepticism, but for others it is more of Chomsky's signature nihilism. And it makes comprehensible views on subjects such as economics which otherwise might seem merely infantile. For instance, Chomsky recently told editors of the *Harvard Educational Review*, "A tax rebate is exactly equivalent to a welfare payment."



cal functional grammar, and Gerald Sadock of the University of Chicago who pursues alternative theories including autolexical syntax, different kind of syntax within words.

In academe, if you snooze, you lose. Now, in one of those peculiar ironies that characterize the careers of American intellectuals, Chomsky is judged primarily on the subject for which he forsook linguistic theory—radical politics. The notion that his contributions in one field make him the intellectual heavyweight champion of the world in the other would find few partisans among serious historians and intellectuals. How his bashing of America and the West plays in the liberated former Soviet colonies of Eastern Europe can be imagined. In those precincts it was the works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Josef Brodsky and Vaclav Havel which turned a generation away from socialism while Chomsky was railing about how socialism was victimized by American hegemonism. In Western Europe it was André Glucksmann, Jean Francois Revel, and Bernard-Henri Lévy, who called socialism-in-practice "barbarism with a human face."

Utterly impervious to these developments Chomsky's brilliantly equipped mind remains shrink-wrapped in leftist orthodoxies, anti-American and anti-corporate demonologies, and anti-authoritarian postures which often wind up labeled, wrongly, as libertarian socialism or anarchism. The professor is also what the French

But Chomsky has always been taken far more seriously on the subject of the moral responsibility of intellectuals than he has on economic theory and other subjects. It was on the subject of the responsibility of the intellectuals for the War in Vietnam that he first made his mark with the *New York Review of Books* crowd (which has since dropped him as his voice has become more radical, conspiratorial, and shrill.)

According to Chomsky then and now, the responsibility of intellectuals is simply "to speak the truth and expose lies." But after reviewing his record of pronouncements and prophecies through 1980, Paul Hollander wrote in *Political Pilgrims* that "nothing [in Chomsky's work] suggests that these activities should ever be directed at targets other than the government of the United States." And if Chomsky's voice has acquired the tonality of moral authenticity, the words themselves subvert this posture. Consider this nugget from *The Chomsky Reader*: "Honest people will have to face the fact that they are morally responsible for the predictable human consequences of their acts. One of those acts is accurate criticism, accurate critical analysis of authoritarian state socialism in North Vietnam or in Cuba or in other countries that the United States is trying to undermine and subvert. The consequences of accurate critical analysis will be to buttress these efforts, thus contributing to suf-

fering and oppression."

Chomsky does not criticize the dictatorship of Fidel Castro, which even drew fire from Jean-Paul Sartre and which has made the Florida straits, in poet Elena Cruz Varela's phrase, "a graveyard without crosses." For Chomsky, Castro was never an aging Stalinist pimp selling his young men into the service of Soviet geo-political aims; never an oppressor at home in his tropical gulag. Castro was only a victim: "Cuba has probably been the target of more international terrorism than any other country."

The support for Castro may be a bit histrionic, but it is typical. After all, Chomsky solidified his reputation with what was left of the Left in the years after Vietnam by downplaying perhaps the bloodiest holocaust of our time. In 1977, he showed what he meant by calling for the responsibility of intellectuals—a tarted up version of the old "no enemies on the Left" ideology of the 30s—when he dismissed the Cambodian genocide as "tales of communist atrocities" based on "unreliable" accounts of refugees, with "executions numbered at most in the thousands" and "aggravated by the threat of starvation resulting from American distraction and killing."

As it turned out, the accounts of the Khmer Rouge's genocide Chomsky was attacking came from *Murder of a Gentle Land* by John Barron and Anthony Paul, and *Cambodia: Year Zero* by Francois Ponchaud. Those accounts understated the magnitude of the cataclysm. This past February, after years of careful study, field workers from Yale University with the Cambodia Genocide Project estimated that as many as two million Cambodians were either directly killed or died as a result of the genocidal class warfare policies of the Khmer Rouge, close to one third of the population.

But unlike truly responsible intellectuals like Arthur Koestler who had also once been men of the Left, Chomsky failed to hear the screams. His growing radicalism had made him tone deaf to intellectual as well as literal atrocity. As Werner Cohn noted in *The Hidden Alliances of Noam Chomsky*, he had acquired disturbing associations with some fringe intellectuals who were trying to deny that Hitler had created a holocaust in Europe. Chomsky did not see this group as anti-Semitic, but merely fellow leftists branching out. (He described one of his new revisionist friends from this camp, Serge Thion, as a "libertarian socialist scholar," and another, Robert Faurisson, as "a sort of apolitical liberal.") Chomsky also contributed a preface to Faurisson's 1980 *Mémoire En Défense*, which helped Faurisson gain respectability for his views.

Chomsky is one of those figures one would expect to become ever more marginalized as he follows his dizzying thought to its ultimate logical conclusion. But in one of the truly bizarre popular culture developments of the past few years, he has instead become a sort of cult hero among elements of a lumpen that neither he nor anyone else would have thought likely to buy into his theories.

Some of Chomsky's isolated followers who discovered his work in the intellectual ghettos of the university have marched through the institutions of rock and punk music to become key impresarios. Upon their arrival at positions of power, they decided that the man the CD and T-shirt-buying masses need to discover was their own favorite guru, Noam Chomsky.

"I notice his influence growing all over the place," says Charles Young, who writes on music for *Musician* magazine and *Playboy*. "The seed was planted by the Sex Pistols, and Noam

Chomsky is the blossom on the plant now."

Young wrote the *Rolling Stone* cover story on the Sex Pistols, which he calls "the first political band," largely because of their tune "Anarchy in the UK." But the major record labels, Young says, decided that punk was not the next big thing, which drove the punk movement underground. Young witnessed the development of the black leather, spike-haired groups calling themselves anarchists, started looking into the phenomenon himself, and became a sympathizer. He found that the anarchism shelf in a local bookstore was packed with titles by Noam Chomsky. Young, now in his mid-40s, had heard of Chomsky during the 1960s but ignored him. Now he began to read his work and found him a guiding light.

"He is ruthlessly objective, relentless in recitation of the facts," he says. "Chomsky is not interested in personal power. He challenges all authoritarian structures. The moral coordinates

like a social contract anymore. With communism defeated, they can lay off everybody they want and turn the United States into the Third World. It's happening everywhere now. Chomsky is addressing that. He offers an explanation and offers facts. People are very grateful for that. They want to find out who he is."

Young has used his influence to spread the word. When he interviews musicians, he gives them copies of Chomsky's books. Young "turned on" the band Live, which sold 6 million albums last year, to Chomsky. He also gave Chomsky books to Rancid, an "avowed leftist band." And he convinced Jan Wenner to let him interview Chomsky for *Rolling Stone*, stained glass window to the rock culture. What emerged was not so much an interview as a duet.

Young says that he had read somewhere that there was more democracy in Sandinista Nicaragua than the USA, and Noam responds that this is "certainly arguable." The tone of the following exchange characterizes the interview:

Q: Don't you get sick when some far-right ideologue like Norman Podhoretz cites himself as being in Orwell's tradition of standing up to power and seeing through propaganda?

A: You might just as well say that Podhoretz is in the tradition of every Soviet commissar. [People like him are] at a much lower moral level than the worst commissars under Stalin.

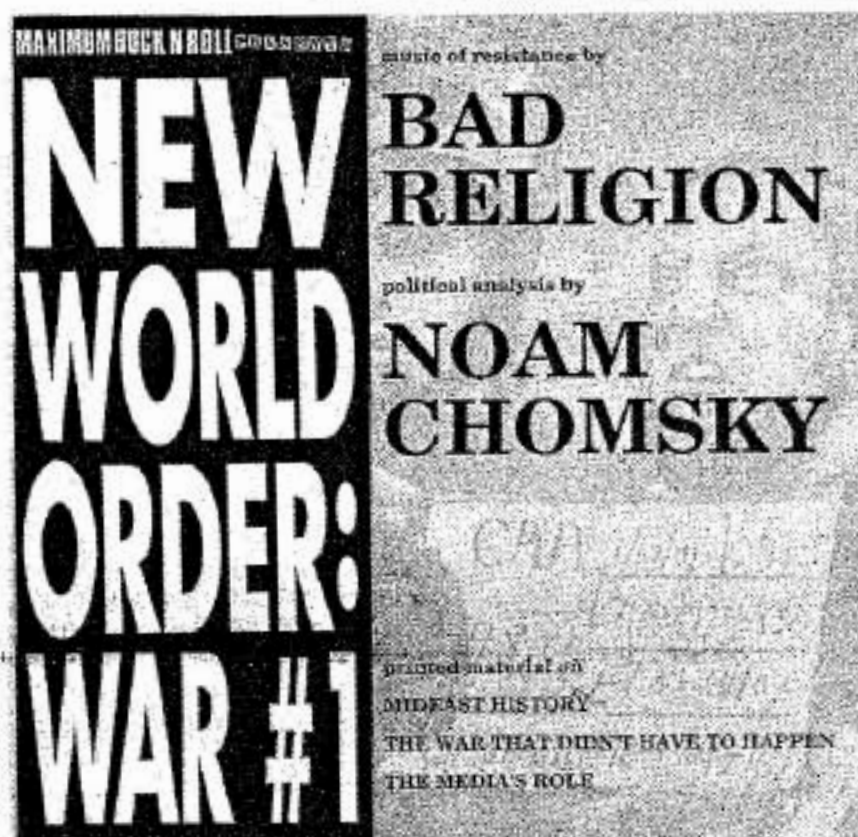
That vaunted Chomsky subtlety of thought comes through when Young asks him about Saddam Hussein. Chomsky replies: "He's a friend of ours. He's tortured and gassed people. That was fine. But then he disobeyed orders. Therefore he must be destroyed as a lesson to other people. Don't disobey orders."

Charles Young laments that the *New York Review of Books* won't touch his idol Noam anymore. But he is pleased that other publications reaching a whole different audience have stepped into the breach. *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL*, for instance, is a Bay Area monthly, supposedly underground but available on newsstands everywhere for \$2.00. It serves as an interlocking directorate of the punk universe, part catalog, part concert sheet, with a thick section of columns.

"Every self-respecting punk rocker likes to say the word 'fuck,' and it's even more fun to type it," opens a recent *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL* piece about the Internet. Someone called "Queenie" also writes a column called "Count Your Lashes Out Loud." In the March 1996 issue, Queenie ves female readers tips on domination: ach him to accept pain from you. His h is yours! You own this fun new toy: tell him what to do with it and where he should bestow his attention.... Your boots, your feet, your cunt, your floor...Penetrate him. All men will appreciate the lesson of what it feels like to be penetrated."

We're a long way from *The New York Review of Books* here, but the semi-literate *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL* is also a big fan of Noam Chomsky and once ran one of his lectures on the cover captioned "This is reality." The magazine lists Chomsky as part of its "Project Braintrust," along with Tim Yohannan, Grendl M, Dave S and FAIR, the New York-based left-wing Media group whose Jeff Cohen serves as a sometime host on *Crossfire*.

Around the time of the Gulf War, *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL* released a record called "New World Order." On one side is "music of resistance" by the group Bad Religion. The song "Heaven is Falling," by Mr. Brett (Brett



of your universe shift." For Young, discovering Chomsky "was truly a life-changing experience." Galvanized by the conversion experience, he became positively evangelical, with his own musical milieu proving the ideal mission field: "Rock and roll is a fruitful area to spread it because rock musicians are natural anarchists in terms of their personality, even if they don't know it. It makes complete sense to me that Chomsky has been picked up in these circles rather than among Hollywood moviemakers."

Trying to define the appeal of Chomsky's thought, Young says, "It's not just fuck-youism." Punk has always been an attitude and not a philosophy. He [Chomsky] had a philosophy that went with the attitude. The emotional appeal of punk fades as you grow older and intellectual appeal comes along to fill it up. The American ruling class feels no obligation toward anything

Gurewitz), has these lyrics: "As I walk beneath the valley / I shall fear no evil / For thanks to King George and his rainbow cabinet / today murder is legal." On the flip side Chomsky takes a solo. "The U.S. Air Force pounding large parts of Iraq and Kuwait into dust, killing no one knows how many people," he drones in a monotone, warning about "American troops walking into what could be a meatgrinder."

As Noam saw it, there were only two countries fighting in Desert Storm, the USA and England. He describes them as "two warrior states...usually they carry out aggression themselves." And in the Gulf region, "opposition to the U.S.-British war is so extreme that it is turning into mass popular support for the hated tyrant Saddam Hussein." The U.S. "has rejected diplomacy because it opposes a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict that recognizes Palestinian rights and it wants Israel to retain its hundreds of nuclear weapons."

In case the listener still doesn't get it, a foldout the size of a TripleA map includes several angry articles, drawings of George Bush as a Nazi, and a comparison chart based on that good old-time moral equivalence showing the USA as more at fault than Iraq in terrorist threats (Iraq 12 POWs, USA 500 POWs); Environmental Destruction (Iraq: oil spill; USA bombed oil tankers and refineries, civilian nuclear reactors, 5000 tons of bombs per day) and International Aggression (Iraq: Iran and Kuwait; USA: Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, Libya, El Salvador, Iraq, Lebanon, Philippines, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, Chile, Dominican Republic).

This 7-inch vinyl release may have been the inspiration that made Chomskyites of Pearl Jam. The group's leader, Eddie Vedder, "is a big Bad Religion fan," according to Andy Kaulkin of Epitaph records, a label owned by former Bad Religion member and Chomsky devotee Brett Gurewitz. The label is currently negotiating with AK Press of San Francisco, which Kaulkin says is "kind of anarchist," for the rights to release Noam Chomsky CDs with the following titles: *Class War: The Attack on Working People*; *Prospects for Democracy*; and *The Clinton Vision*—all of them based on lectures recorded at MIT last year.

"It makes sense for us to produce it," says Kaulkin. "Epitaph is the foremost label. The kids respect Epitaph and will buy anything that is on Epitaph. The kids will want to know more about Chomsky. It's got our logo on it." Other bands on the Epitaph label, it is worth noting, include Offspring, Voodoo Glow Skulls, Wayne Kramer, NOFX, Down By Law, Joykiller, Total Chaos, Red Aunts, Rancid, Gas Huffer, Ten Foot Pole, Claw Hammer, and RKL (Rich Kids on LSD). Lest this seem an arcane list, a

Los Angeles record retailer confirms that he sells "boatloads" of Epitaph material, new and used. Kaulkin says that his Chomsky project will help AK Press, but that it is also a commercial project that will make money.

As a musician, Don Was and his band Was Not Was reached the peak of their popularity with the late 80s hit "Walking the Dinosaur" from the group's "What Up, Dog?" album. Was, meanwhile, went on to make his mark as a producer, working with the Rolling Stones, B-52s and Bonnie Raitt. But he continued to walk a dinosaur in a political sense. A portrait of Noam Chomsky sits above the drum kit at Was's studio, which he has dubbed "The Chomsky Ranch."

According to the leftwing magazine *The Nation*, a staffer of the "progressive" media organization FAIR on hand for the taping of a public service announcement got the idea of a Chomsky CD, and Was volunteered to make it happen. Was did not return my calls, but his associate Chris Burke says that "he's read all the books." Was is now working on an album that combines Chomsky readings with original music by REM, Pearl Jam and other groups. X has already laid down one track. Proceeds of the album will go to FAIR.

And what does professor Chomsky himself think of rock and punk bands pushing his stuff? Chomsky says he had never heard of *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL* and Bad Religion, but complied with their request for material. "Seemed fine to me," he says, "but I know very little about this scene." His devotee Charles Young, however, says that Chomsky is "completely in favor" of these musical adaptations and notes that calls from bands are pouring into the professor's MIT office at a surprising rate. "It has been explained to Noam what a potential tool rock can be for organizing," says Young, and Chomsky is presumably intrigued by the idea of building a cadre among a new lumpen youth audience since he has failed to build a cadre anywhere else.

Young is optimistic about prospects for getting the word out. He notes that Tom Morello of the band Rage Against the Machine studied at Harvard: "They are smart guys. They have been reading Chomsky for years. Between Pearl Jam and REM, Rage Against the Machine, it is spreading out there. It might be wishful projection but I believe that music will be going into a political period again."

The vision is clearly to recreate those halcyon days when the brightest and best, primed with Bob Dylan's "The Times They are a-Changin'" and "Masters of War," took it to the streets against Uncle Sam's death machine and the plastic American culture it supported. But some observers of the music scene think that in

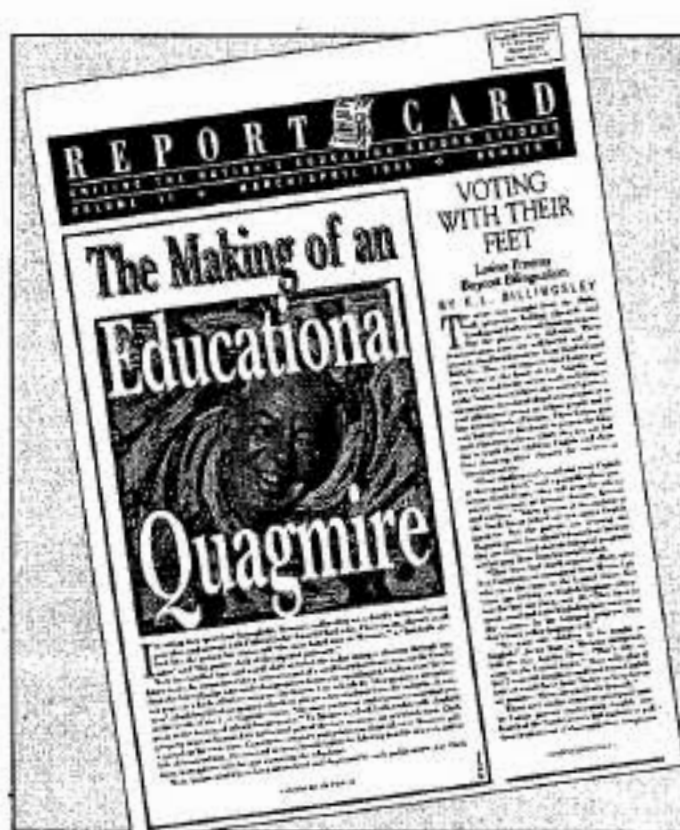
the end even less will come of the Chomsky cult in the music world than has come of the L. Ron Hubbard cult in film.

"It won't make any difference," says Martha Bayles, author of *A Hole in Our Soul*, a controversial book about the music scene. "Rock culture is illiterate even about leftist politics. It is impossible to underestimate its illiteracy." Bayles believes that rock culture has three strands: the party-till-you-puke creed, the death-and-nihilism fixation, and occasionally a politico-idealistic ethos in which "political" means left-wing. Currently the first two would seem to have the upper hand, with nihilism being what the punks confuse with anarchism, a serious political philosophy with a long tradition.

Chomsky may not accept this analysis, but according to Charles Young, he did turn down, at least for the time being, REM's invitation to open their concerts. This was probably a wise move. Those who pay \$50 a ticket and arrive in various stages of intoxication might well take direct action against a boring professor who dares delay the appearance of their musical gods so that he can analyze how the U.S. is trying to control the world through the Bosnian occupation.

But if Noam Chomsky will not likely be touring with Pearl Jam any time soon, for now, however, the Chomsky-rock dialectic remains. Perhaps it is just retribution that after a lifetime of leftist fundamentalism, Chomsky's most eager acolytes turn out to be the subliterates of *MAXIMUMROCKNROLL*, where Bad Religion, bad politics and bad music converge. It is also strangely appropriate that he has finally found favor with a kind of ruling class. Every member of Pearl Jam, after all, is a multimillionaire with a fan base that, as one producer put it, "will buy anything they put out" and which hangs on their every word. The various producers and even many of the punk bands are also wealthy and powerful, enjoying the rewards of the American society, although they too posture as members of a downtrodden proletariat.

What we have here is a situation similar to the one that Malcolm Muggeridge identified in George Bernard Shaw, who wanted to have a lot of money without being considered rich; Don Juan, who wanted to seduce a lot of women without being considered a lecher; and Josef Stalin, who wanted to conduct massive purges without being considered cruel. In similar style, Don Was, Charles Young and FAIR want the armies of supposedly anarchist punks, who responded to their teachers by flipping them half a peace sign, to accept without question anything that professor Chomsky has to say. They thereby adopt a discredited guru and his dead orthodoxy while still considering themselves rebellious. So it goes for anarchy in the USA.



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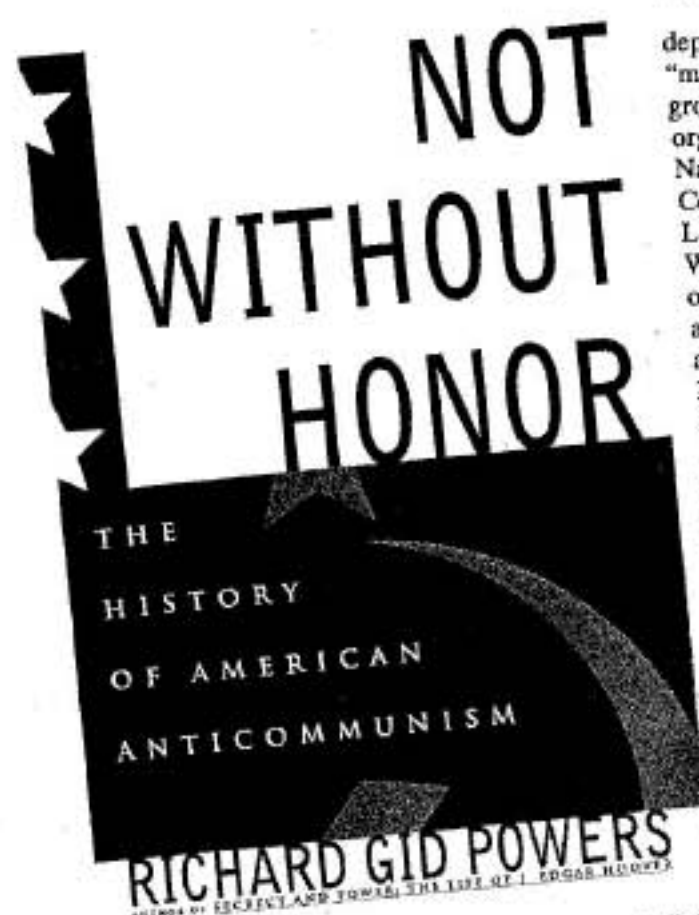
REVIEWS

Heroes Within

Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism
by Richard Gid Powers, Free Press, 1995, 554 pp., \$30.00

Red Scare or Red Menace?: American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era by John E. Haynes, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1995, 214 pp., \$24.95

Reviewed by Nick Gillespie



Can it only seven years since Lech Walesa's Solidarity coalition won election in Poland, Hungary abandoned communism, and the Berlin Wall came tumbling down? And fewer than five since Boris Yeltsin stood his ground against hardliners desperately seeking to rescue the Soviet Union from the dustbin of history?

The collapse of Marxist-Leninism—and the rapidity with which it happened—remains one of the great stories of the 20th century. To be sure, communist states remain—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, China—and former communists remain political players throughout Eastern Europe, but it is clear that communism writ large is dead, drained of the ability to sustain itself economically, politically, and ideologically. What began in Russia in 1917 as a projected global revolution died a parochial death there some 75 years later.

It is a given that the victors get to write history, but that has hardly been the case with regards to the Cold War in general and American anticommunism in specific. As Richard Gid Powers observes in *Not Without Honor*, "It is only outside the country that American anticommunists have been given credit for having helped bring about the defeat of communism....The heroes of the defeat of communism, Solzhenitsyn, Havel, Russians, Czechs, Poles—all have honored American anticommunists' stand against communism. Honored abroad, however, in their own country they are still without honor."

The victory over international communism has, by and large, been shrugged off as irrelevant. In a triumph of leftwing intransigence—and testimony to the fact that history is actually some-

times written by losers—the popular image of American anticommunism is still that of McCarthyism—of "mean-spirited" (in the current cant synonym for conservative), destructive shadow-boxing with an enemy that existed only in the feverish, booze-soaked minds of the senator from Wisconsin and his craven toadies.

Powers's book and John E. Haynes's *Red Scare or Red Menace?* are attempts to revise that negative image and give the American anticommunist movement the credit it deserves for staying the course in the fight to defeat communism. These books are recovery acts, stressing the broad-based anticommunist tradition in America. Indeed, rather than seeing anticommunism as a variant of European fascism (as most left-wingers do), Powers, a professor of history at the City University of New York, and Haynes, a manuscript librarian at the Library of Congress, see anticommunism as fully in the American grain.

Both authors highlight the breadth and depth of American anticommunism, a loose "movement" that included such mainstream groups as the Roman Catholic Church, Jewish organizations, Protestant fraternal orders, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the National Association of Manufacturers and such diverse individuals as William F. Buckley Jr., Sidney Hook, black activist George S. Schuyler, Lane Kirkland, Norman Podhoretz, Arthur Schlesinger, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan.

"Communist ideology was always incompatible with the values held by most Americans," writes Haynes, who also notes that the American Communist Party was never particularly successful at open recruitment. "Americans have always held a variety of political views, but most support private property, take immense pride in their individualism, and glory in political democracy. Soviet communism, in contrast, abolished private property, instituted the collective, not the individual, as the basis of society, and establishing a one-party dictatorship that ruthlessly suppressed dissent. Most Americans are also

religious and place considerable importance on their freedom to worship God as they please....[The] Soviet state promoted atheism, suppressed Christian worship, and murdered thousands of priests and religious adherents."

Haynes, whose book focuses on the period between the Red Scare of the early 1920s through the end of the '50s, is particularly strong on reminding readers of the precise nature of the communist threat, both here and abroad. For him, historical context is key to understanding why people reacted to communism the way they did. Calling Soviet communism a "catastrophe of epochal proportions," he quotes a "typical order" of Lenin: "1) You need to hang (without fail so the public sees at least 100 notorious kulaks [property-owning farmers], the rich and the bloodsuckers. 2) Publish their names. 3) Take away all their grain. 4) Execute the hostages—in accordance with yesterday's telegram....Yours, Lenin."

Red Scare or Red Menace? chillingly recounts the price paid in human blood for Stalin's agricultural collectivization and urban terror programs in the '20s and '30s: between three and seven million killed; between five and 10 million deported to the Gulag (where between one-tenth and one-quarter died from malnutrition, overwork, or exposure). In a characteristic turn, Haynes notes, "In 1934, while Stalin's collectivization program was killing Russian peasants by the millions, a much-praised American Communist poet, Tillie Olsen, described the Soviet Union as a 'heaven...brought to earth in Russia.'"

Although the CPUSA never became huge in terms of sheer numbers, Haynes, who had access to recently declassified Soviet documents, details the extent to which it was directed by the Soviet Communist International (Comintern), created an underground organization to enforce party discipline and engage in espionage, and

managed to infiltrate government offices, labor unions, and a variety of political movements. He revisits all the major communist dramas of the '20s, '30s, '40s, and '50s, including the Popular Front, the Hiss-Chambers affair, the Rosenbergs, the Amerasia case, and Elizabeth Bentley's controversial accusations of communist infiltration of the government (accusations which were subsequently corroborated by the government's own "Venona" documents, released in 1995, as well as declassified Soviet sources).

Not Without Honor has a longer time line (and slightly more academic posture) than *Red Scare or Red Menace?* Powers, like Haynes, begins with the Red Scare, but his book extends through the end of communism in the late '80s. The '60s and '70s were dark days for anticommunism—the Vietnam War, Watergate, and exposes of the CIA's and FBI's casual disregard for civil liberties having eroded faith in the U.S. government, and the opening of China and detente with the Soviets implicitly having granted totalitarianism equal moral status with democracy.

"Too scattered to be called a movement any longer," writes Powers, "American anticommunists during the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations continued to insist that the Soviet Union was still a threat to freedom, while many Americans, especially opinion leaders and policy makers, hoped that America's long national nightmare was finally over, not only the nightmare of Watergate and Vietnam, but the cold war as well." In the final chapters, Ronald Reagan emerges as one of the major heroes, if not the major hero, of American anticommunism, and Powers's treatment of Reagan as a lifelong and principled anticommunist is both interesting and convincing.

Despite the somewhat tentative nature of their book titles, both Powers and Haynes compellingly argue that American anticommunism was a necessary and honorable reaction to world events. By the same token, both authors are quick to point out the rhetorical excesses and moral failures of anticommunists, particularly people such as the dimwitted Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York (fooled repeatedly by forged communist documents), Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi (one-time head of the House Un-American Activities Committee and a racist and an anti-semiter), and Elizabeth Dilling (a University of Chicago alumna and author of the crackpot opus, *The Red Network*).

Powers and Haynes share a particular contempt for Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Tailgunner Joe's first popular anticommunist speech, delivered at a 1950 Lincoln Day dinner in Wheeling, West Virginia, was, writes Powers, "the greatest disaster in the disastrous history of American anticommunism." Haynes notes, "McCarthy's legacy was largely negative and nasty." The real legacy of the senator from Wisconsin, the authors agree, was that even as he used smear tactics against opponents, he allowed all anticommunists to be smeared as reckless, repressive fascists.

As communism retreats further into history, one only hopes that rigorous, even-handed (if ideologically pointed) assessments of the anti-communist movement such as *Not Without Honor* and *Red Scare or Red Menace?* carry the day. This will be no easy task, especially since the popular image of anticommunism as unadulterated evil has been burned into the American psyche by an unending stream of books, novels, and movies.

But, as Powers writes, "To superimpose on [anticommunism] the cartoon features of Joe McCarthy is to reject history for the easy comforts of moralism....The history of anticommunism is not the same as the story of anticommunist extremism, any more than the history of malpractice is the history of medicine....Anticommunism expressed the essential American determination to stand against attacks on human freedom and foster the growth of democracy throughout the world....Americans need to know the history of American anticommunism if they are to understand the great role they have played in ridding the world of the most murderous of the twentieth-century totalitarianisms."

Nick Gillespie is an editor at Reason Magazine.

STRANGER THAN FACT

School Board Tough On Crime

By Judith Schumann Weizner

Principal Herbert Paxman and other school administrators at JHS 772 in the Bronx have won praise from the mayor's office for responding with alacrity to the situation that gave rise to yesterday's murder of an eighth grader by a classmate over a pair of sunglasses.

Effective immediately, sunglasses will be banned at JHS 772, with a system-wide ban expected to be announced early next week by the Board of Education.

Witnesses to yesterday's crime report that the victim, Jesus Menendez, was accosted in the hallway by the perpetrator, Angel Melendez, and ordered to surrender a pair of wrap-around sunglasses that he was wearing above his eyebrows according to current fashion in the Bronx. When Menendez refused, Melendez repeated his demand. Menendez turned to walk away, whereupon Melendez pulled an ax out of his schoolbag. He followed Menendez for a few paces and then tapped him on the shoulder. Spinning around, Menendez drew a hammer out of his pocket. Seeing that Menendez was not going to give up his sunglasses without a fight, Melendez brought the ax down full force on Menendez's head. Before he fled the scene, Melendez was heard to mutter in disgust that the sunglasses were ruined.

Police are still trying to determine the methods used to smuggle the ax and hammer past the metal detector.

While fights over articles of clothing are nothing new in the city's schools, this is the first time administrators have reacted by banning the offending items.

Educators have long felt that, especially

within the city's poorer neighborhoods, flamboyant clothing fashions help preserve identity and bolster self-esteem. Several years ago when eight-ball jackets were the rage in the city's schools, there were more than sixty instances of killings, maimings, or lesser assaults on wearers of such jackets.

While the Board of Education was debating possible non-punitive solutions to the

struggles over sneakers, although local emergency-room doctors did report an increase in the number of teenagers seeking treatment for mangled feet.

School officials said today that they patterned their response to the present sunglass crisis after the city's successful drive to improve safety in the subways. The subway safety program began several years ago with advertise-

ments urging women to wear their gold jewelry under their clothing or not to wear it at all. At the same time, safe after-hours waiting areas were established in most stations. These areas, delineated by yellow markers on the ceiling, could easily be monitored on closed-circuit television. When these measures met with some success, further measures were enacted, including a ban on gold chains, fur coats, leather briefcases, and wristwatches in the subways. When first implemented, the restrictions were ridiculed by the transit police, who threatened to strike because they feared being perceived as dress-code monitors. Subsequently, when the number of thefts declined dramatically and the system began to prove itself, the police became more enthusiastic. If the figures remain at present levels for the next six months, the mayor will consider extending the restrictions to the streets.

Several years ago, an emergency city-wide ban on cars costing more than \$30,000 caused the number of thefts of Mercedes and BMW automobiles to drop to virtually zero within city limits.

In a speech praising Principal Paxman for his decisiveness this afternoon, the mayor also announced that his office is seeking to hire a public-relations firm to dispel the perception that crime is out of control in the city.



Angel Melendez

problem, a theft took place in which one youth who had stolen a jacket was immediately relieved of his booty by the friend who had been standing watch. To forestall any similar occurrences, the board voted to institute classes in which students were instructed in the meaning of friendship.

These classes were deemed a success by school administrators, who noted that the following semester, when there was an outbreak of sneaker thefts, none were friend-on-friend. Furthermore, there were only two fatalities in

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