

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES

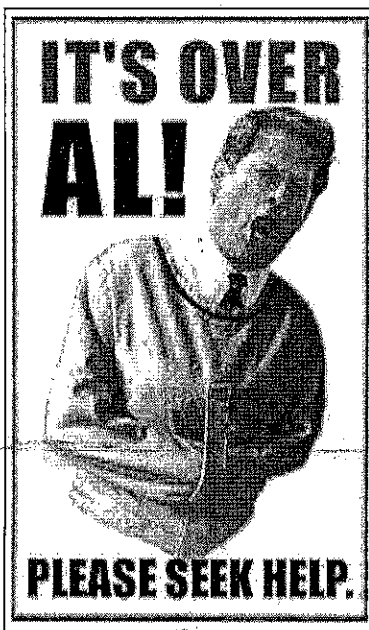


THE BAD FIGHT

When Al Gore finally conceded, he was showered with hosannas by the media for his "statesmanlike," even "elegant" withdrawal speech. This would have been true if it had come 38 days earlier. But coming when it did—after he had opened Pandora's Box and let out Jesse Jackson, Bob Beckel, Connie Roberts, the Broward County canvassing board, the Florida Supreme Court and all the other monstrosities of the post-election nightmare—Gore's statement was a cynical attempt to sprinkle perfume over the smell of vomit.

One truth should not be lost in false calm following this storm, a time when the realities we have witnessed are submerged in the smarmy praise lavished on the Vice President for finally accepting the inevitable. There was nothing noble about Gore's concession because there was nothing noble in his post election fight to seize the Presidency. No principle about the popular will was affirmed in Florida. No vision of America was served. No higher truth about democracy was honored.

Despite the talk about "the will of the people" and "counting every vote," what took place in Florida was Al Gore's personal pathology played out in an ambiguous post-electoral context. Pundits talked ominously about the possibilities of the Republicans and Democrats exercising "nuclear options" in their respective struggles to win, and then thanked our lucky stars that such a thing didn't occur. But in fact Gore pursued a scorched earth policy from the beginning. He ran



for the Presidency like a rat in heat, employing any stratagem, no matter how despicable, in the quest for victory. (Any *post mortem* of Decision 2000 must look back beyond what happened after November 7 and remember the terrorizing telephone messages beamed into the homes of seniors, and the nauseating James Byrd ad run by Gore's lackeys in the NAACP.) And his post election campaign was equally desperate. On the night of November 7, he unleashed the dogs of war. Some of them still run wild in the streets. John Lewis, in an absurd analogy that debases the entire history of the civil rights movement, compares Florida to Selma. Jesse Jackson, shake-down artist *par excellence* who showed in Florida that there is no light between him and Al Sharpton and Louis Farrakhan, raved incoherently about Bush's "Nazi tactics."

In America today, only black demagogues could get away with this sort of thing. And only Gore and the other overseers of the liberal plantation would act as their facilitators. What the post election showed beyond doubt was that however much he tried to distance himself from Bill Clinton and that dollop of semen on the blue Gap dress, Al Gore is Clinton's authentic political heir. In his eight years as president, Clinton divided the nation, sullied the White House and diminished the authority of the Oval Office. And in his reckless attempt to stage a post-election coup, Gore continued Clinton's assault on American institutions.

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INSIDE

Butts for Votes

*Gay
Republicans*

*Jerry Brown
in O-Town*

WHAT DO WOMEN WANT IN POLITICS? BARBIE FOR PRESIDENT

by Kathryn Jean Lopez

"One in ten Americans thinks the United States will never elect a female president, and more women hold that view than men," Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis write in their new book, *Madam President: Shattering the Last Glass Ceiling*.

Some of the most ardent feminists are the most pessimistic," they continue. The authors joke darkly that when the first woman president stands on stage to be sworn in, her hand on a Bible held by her husband, her mother will nudge the person seated beside her in the audience and declare, "You see that woman up there? Her brother is a doctor."

Right on!

The single-most embarrassing moment of modern political history—putting aside, for a moment, the entire Clinton presidency—was the parade of liberal female senators and congresswomen on Wednesday

night of the Democratic convention this summer led by California senator Diane Feinstein from the stage, moving from woman to woman.

We are women and people were stupid enough to elect us. Hear us roar.

If it were just the Democrats with these kinds of silly estrogen displays, it wouldn't be so humiliating to be female. But it's not. The GOP has more than its share of ridiculous gender politics. Besides the tendency to sign onto bad legislation for the sake of women, they, too, trot out their women just as well as the Dems do. Consider, for instance, pro-abortion congresswoman Jennifer Dunn, one of the few members of the House leadership allowed on stage (the other being J.C. Watts) at the July Republican convention.

Thank goodness, in that spirit, that George W. Bush wasn't a woman who won the Republican nomination for president. The main catalyst for the thought, a Lifetime/Prudential tribute to Elizabeth Hanford Dole that came in the form of a luncheon during the

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COMMUNIQUÉS

AD HOMINEM, AD NAUSEAM

Regarding the letter in your September/October 2000 issue from Mr. Steve Heimoff: I find it hugely amusing that a Democrat would have the gall to complain about ad hominem attacks from anyone. As the saying goes, people who live in glass houses should not throw rocks. In his letter, he insinuates that the conservative women he cites have some kind of "psychopathological" and "disturbed and disturbing" problem where Mrs. Clinton is concerned, that they are "harpies" who are "jealous" and "catty" with their "tired screeds," etc., ad nauseam. And let us not forget that good, old Democrat standby, "haters." These people "hate" Bill and Hillary. "Do you want to talk about hate? Ad hominem attacks? The liberal/left in general and the Democrats in particular are masters of hate, character assassination and ad hominem attacks on whoever dares to oppose them. For as long as I have observed the political scene in this country, I have seen Democrats, and with the help of their surrogates in the media, call anyone who disagreed with them, "bigots," "racists," "sexists," "homophobes" (if ever one needs a good laugh, parse this word into its component Latin parts and see what you get), "murderers," "morons," "idiots," "fascists." The list is well-nigh endless. And character assassination? Right now we see an excellent example of Democratic character assassination in the case of Florida governor Jeb Bush and Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris. The Democrats have spread rumor, which has been picked up by the news media (what a shock!) that the reason Harris certified the George W. Bush electoral victory was because Jeb Bush and Harris are having an affair. Never mind that what Secretary Harris and Governor Bush did was mandated by state and Federal law, and that there is not the slightest evidence that they are or have had an inappropriate relationship. The Democrats said it, therefore it must be true. Oh, and let's not forget the Democrat charges that Mrs. Harris is a "hag," a "crook," "wears too much makeup," and is a "partisan puppet." I would invite Mr. Heimoff to show which of part of this is not an ad hominem attack or character assassination.

And this is just one example. The list of people whose lives and reputations have been ruined by the Democrats over the years is long and distinguished. Not that any of them did anything wrong; they just dared to oppose the Party in one way or another. The sad fact is that had Bill and Hillary Clinton been Republicans, and had been accused of even half the things that have come out about them and their administration, the Democrats would have seen to it that they both were removed from office if not sent to prison. They were very wise in their choice of Attorney General Janet Reno, else that might have happened anyway.

When it comes to the "politics of personal destruction" and pure, raw hatred, the Democrats wrote the book. For Mr. Heimoff or anyone else of his party to complain about supposed personal attacks is the height of hypocrisy. Or to quote a line from our not-so-distant political history, "Have you no shame?"

Kenneth P. Myers
Cypress, TX

GORISMS

It was disheartening to see that *Heterodoxy* fell for an internet fake quotes hoax ("Gorisms," Sept-Oct 2000). The things you attribute to Gore were nearly all actually said by Dan Quayle. While Gore has indeed made some dumb statements, I don't believe he said even one of those you featured.

John George
Oklahoma

Debra Saunders' piece about Al Gore in your last issue was excellent. This is a strange man with strange politics. He made Americans uncomfortable not because he was "robotic" and not even because he couldn't tell the truth. He made them uncomfortable because he seems so unsure about himself. We hear a lot about "self invention." It is something everyone does—making yourself up as you go. But for most of us it pro-

ceeds from a solid core of character which is elaborated upon. With Gore, one senses that his invention takes place because he is uncertain about who he is. Instead of a solid core, there is a hole in the center of his being. We are lucky to be free of him. The only danger is that now—as Saunders points out in her excellent book *The World According to Gore*—he'll do what he did the last time losing an election (the presidential primaries of 1988) threw him into a "midlife crisis": write a book.

Newsom Pace
Elko, NV

Saunders has Gore down. As people on the street might say, "He wack!" Everything is all calculated. He decides to change his mind on something like abortion, and he got it all set up because he's been making these loopholes for himself for 15 years. That's bizarre! Some young politician sitting there writing these stagey letters filled with legalese to his constituents about how much he supports the right to life but inserting all these loophole sentences so in case the climate changes (which it did with *Roe v. Wade*) he can always say that he was actually only reluctantly against abortion and that in fact he actually sorta believed in it when he didn't even believe in it. That makes "depends on what you mean by 'is' look like baby talk.

Blair Ericsson
Via internet

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ADVERTISEMENTS IN POLITICAL COMMENTARIES AND OTHER POLITICAL

WRITE TO US

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AFRICAN AMERICANS AND BLACKS

About David Horowitz's use of the term "African American." All black people do not subscribe to the term "African-American." I detest the term because I feel that it is a continuation of divisiveness that exists in America. Unfortunately people were brought to this country hundreds of years ago from Africa against their wills and enslaved. This terrible tragedy that should not be forgotten by mankind, but I do not think should be kept on the front burner. The key question is, who decided that the term "African-American" should be used and by what authority did the term come into usage? Are we placating the poverty and racial pimps? It seems to me that insisting upon using the term helps to continue separating Americans along racial lines. The Civil Rights marches and the people who gave their lives, such as Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, Viola Liuzzo, the four young school girls in Birmingham and many, many more, for inclusivity and change marched and died in vain, if we are going back to the same segregated format we had in the past. We seem to have become so consumed with race and ethnicity that it is almost impossible to tackle problems that harm all Americans like teenage pregnancy, drugs, welfare abuse, the decaying conditions in our public schools and crime in general. Rather than be labeled a racist or a traitor to one's race we skirt over the problems and come about a solution. Why can't we stop being something-American and get on about the business of continuing to enhance this great country made up of many diverse ethnic groups who should be, in the end, Americans.

Lewis H. Hammond
Louisville, KY



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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

THINGS TO REMEMBER ABOUT FLORIDA

IN THE FUTURE I: Bush would not have won if the Supreme Court had allowed the recount to continue. Democratic strategists, too clever by half, had not only cherry-picked the three counties most favorable to their cause in calling for the recount. They had also counted all the heavily Democratic precincts first in Miami-Dade. The precincts left were Republican, which is why Bush had picked up an estimated 48 votes there in the first day's counting of approximately 4000 votes. More Bush precincts—including the Cuban American precincts—were yet to come in Miami-Dade. By the estimate of the *Miami Herald* on the weekend the count was halted by the U.S. Supreme Court, Bush would have gained between 40 and 128 votes in the statewide recount ordered by the Florida Supremes. The reason the Bush forces wanted to halt this process was not that they could not win. It was rather that the process was rancid from the onset, raising serious constitutional issues as seven of the Supreme Court Justices acknowledged.

THINGS TO REMEMBER ABOUT FLORIDA IN THE FUTURE II:

In scraping people up off whatever surface they could find so that "every vote counts," the Democrats did not neglect one of their prime constituencies: felons. Several thousand Florida felons voted illegally Nov. 7, according to the *Miami Herald*. This fact came to light after the paper investigated ballots in only 12 of the state's 67 counties and found 447 such felonious votes. The vast majority of these votes by felons, nearly 75%, were cast by registered Democrats. The felons included 62 robbers, 56 drug dealers, 45 killers, 16 rapists and seven kidnappers. "There are a ton of us out there," William Herman, 37, sentenced to five years in prison in 1989 for negligent homicide with a motor vehicle told the *Herald*. "It shouldn't be that way, but when they give you a voter registration card, hey, what are you supposed to do?" The Gore forces were running a criminal operation—literally as well as figuratively.

THINGS TO REMEMBER ABOUT FLORIDA IN THE FUTURE III:

In the undeclared war—a continuation of the one begun in their "war room" in 1992—the Democrats will wage in the next few years, one of the chief targets will be Jeb Bush. And targeting him with particular zeal will be Florida blacks, who have already, under the prompting of their unprincipled leaders, begun referring to him as "Jeb Crow." This onslaught will be ferocious and despicable, as one can tell from the skirmishing that occurred from the day after the election onwards. But to some degree, the Florida governor has himself to blame. Last fall, when Ward Connerly was trying to get a Florida Civil Rights Initiative banning race preferences based on California's Proposition 209 on the Florida ballot for November 2000, Jeb Bush opposed and indeed subverted him in every way. Finally, in something approaching an act of desperation, Jeb launched his One Florida plan to preempt Connerly and coopt the overwhelming anti-affirmative action sentiment in the state. The One Florida plan exposed the soft underside of compassionate conservatism. It was too tepid actually to deal with the injustices of race preferences, yet in its ineffectual attempt to grapple with the issue, it outraged black leaders—who were indeed waiting for an occasion to become outraged after playing disingenuously at a honeymoon with Jeb—and led them to launch a hydrophobic attack on the entire Bush family. Jeb would have been better off getting out of the way and letting Ward Connerly run his campaign and posing in stark terms a justice issue—race preferences—that the Bush brothers may have trouble with but by a wide

margin in every poll taken the American people (and the people of Florida) do not. A Florida Civil Rights Initiative on the 2000 ballot in Florida would have helped George Bush even if he had remained bewildered and inarticulate on the issue of race preferences.

THE HORRORS AT POOH CORNER: "Winnie the Pooh and his friends belong in a child development clinic, according to doctors in Canada," reports the British news site Ananova.com. "A group of developmental pediatricians say that Pooh is obsessive-compulsive, Eeyore is chronically

taken while he and his brother fired guns at a shooting range, under the supervision of their aunt, a certified police weapons instructor. According to the boy's family, a substitute teacher saw the pictures lying in young Vincent's bookbag and confiscated them. Later, when Vincent returned from lunch, he was summoned to the Principal's office, where a school nurse interrogated him about the pictures. According to the Olivarez family, the Principal's secretary then called Vincent's mother, Anita, and told her that her son had "extremely disturbing and offensive photographs." The secretary refused, however, to divulge what sort of pictures they were.

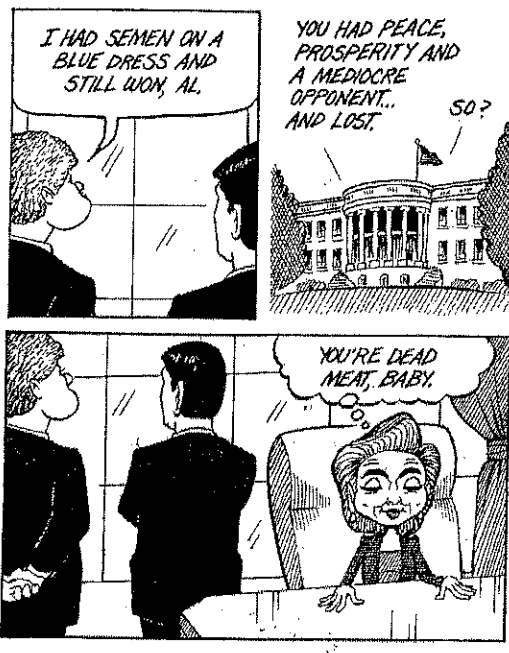
She simply told Anita to show up at the school at 2:30 pm for a meeting. The boy's mother said she could come at 5 pm. At that, the Principal's secretary threatened that she was going to call the police to question the boy about the photographs, and that he would face suspension. Angrily, Anita Olivarez said she was coming immediately to pick up her son and that no one was to speak with him. Officials of the Los Angeles Unified School District later overruled the school, and decided not to suspend Vincent. The pictures have now been mailed back to Vincent's home. Still, for Vincent and his family, the situation is hardly resolved. The fourth-grader remains frightened by the way school officials behave towards him, and his family now is weighing the feasibility of transferring him to another school. The "zero tolerance" approach has swept the nation, in response to America's increasingly lawless public schools.

NOT ON CNN: On December 5, 2000, the Australian press reported that Muslims had slaughtered 93 Christians the previous week on a small island of the Moluccas chain for refusing to convert to Islam. "The forced Islamization of Christians in Kasui Island has been continuing since last week and by Saturday, a total of 93 people have been killed for refusing to convert to Islam," said Sammy Weileruni, a lawyer with the Maranatha Christian Center in Ambon, the Moluccas capital. Weileruni said a man who escaped from Kasui on a boat arrived in Ambon today and had given him the information. Kasui is a small island in the Watubela island group east of Ambon Island. The man, a teacher, told him that when he left on Saturday, 763 other Christians, fearing for their lives, had accepted to convert to Islam.

WEIRD AL: No other contemporary politician has ever given off weirder energy than Al Gore. Above all others, he has tried to calculate his effects. Above all others, his effects have boomeranged. Last spring, when he was trying desperately to be an alpha male, he launched what can only be called a sexual offensive. He sent the hapless Tipper, still looking a little tranked after all those years, to the *Today Show* to suggest that he was good in bed. Soon after, when he had dispatched Bill Bradley by making good on his threat to "rip his lungs out," Gore showed up at a party wearing tighter jeans than Brooke Shields that revealed his "bulge." He revealed it again on the cover of *Rolling Stone*. No big thing, you might say. True, but the Gore version of sexual politics shows us how lucky we were to have a Supreme Court that knew when to say no.

WEIRD FACT: The Florida "recount" went on longer than the entire presidency of William Henry Harrison. In 1841, president Harrison gave the longest inaugural address in history on the coldest day of the year. He caught pneumonia and died a month later. As Mark Steyn notes in the *National Post*, "Had he had Al Gore's lawyers, no doubt he could have found some obliging county court judge to keep him in office, propped up at his desk, pending a second, third, fourth, fifth opinion."

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



depressed, Piglet needs medication, Roo is a juvenile delinquent in-the-making, and Christopher Robin (cruelest out of all) has gender issues. The claims come after the team, led by Dr Sarah Shea, studied the classic tales of AA Milne. 'Sadly, the forest is not, in fact, a place of enchantment, but rather one of disenchantment, where neurodevelopmental and psychosocial problems go unrecognized and untreated,' the pediatricians said in the Christmas issue of the Canadian Medical Association Journal. Pooh is even in danger of developing Tourette's Syndrome because he suffers from an attention deficit hyperactivity disorder and an obsessive compulsive disorder. The shrinks also fear Christopher Robin may be to blame for Pooh being a Bear of Very Little Brain, saying he may suffer from 'Shaken Bear Syndrome' because of years of Christopher dragging Pooh down the stairs on the back of his head. However, they suggest that, with low-dose stimulation medication, Pooh may lead a better life. Piglet needs anti-panic drugs while Eeyore could do with a dose of St. John's wort as he suffers both from chronic depression and the inability to enjoy life. The future, however, looks bleak for Roo: 'We predict we will someday see a delinquent, jaded, adolescent Roo hanging out late at night at the top of the forest, the ground littered with broken bottles of extract of malt and the butts of smoked thistles.' A put on? In the era of dimpled chads, who knows?

KIDS WITH GUNS: "Weapons incidents" have become more common in schools than phonetics instruction. One incident late in November at Telfair Elementary School in the San Fernando Valley of Southern California involved nine-year-old Vincent Olivarez. The boy brought snapshots

Gore, Continued from page 1

We must not lose the history of what actually happened in Florida. By dispatching—within hours of the closing of the polls—a small army of political operatives to Florida to subvert the results, Gore threw the nation into electoral chaos and unleashed an unprecedented effort to delegitimize the process by which Americans elect their president. His post election campaign was far better organized than the one that had lost him the election on November 7. First there was the calculated effort to inflame the nation over the now infamous "butterfly" ballot (later to be deemed lawful by Florida courts.) Blacks and Jews perhaps had voted for Pat Buchanan! Gore operatives' cries of outrage found willing megaphones in individuals such as "filmmaker" Michael Moore who, in one of the acts of true moral imbecility of the post election furor, moaned about victims of the Holocaust being forced, apparently because of a sinister plot by Palm Beach Democrat election officials, to vote for a Holocaust denier.

After he had waved the bloody shirt of "disfranchisement" and gotten the nation's attention, Gore allowed the butterfly ballot to sink into the oblivion from which it should never have been raised. Gore (who was, we were repeatedly assured, in control of every detail, making dozens of calls a day and spamming his minions with email) then moved on to the real prize—the "undercount" in the three most heavily

Democratic counties in the state. This led to the weeks-long intifada of legal sophistries, after-the-fact rule changes and dimpled ballot absurdities. Regiments of the vice president's operatives invaded heavily controlled Democratic enclaves and forced election bureaucrats to start counting anything in sight that resembled a vote, making a mockery of the American system. In doing so, they turned the fate of an entire nation over to the chicaneries of a Chicago-style political ward like the one presided over for half a lifetime by Gore campaign chief William Daley's father Richard. It was only because of the sudden and surprising resistance of Republican rank and filers that the son was not able to perform an homage to the old man by stealing another election 40 years after the fact.

It was only two years ago, in Miami's Dade County—the largest fish pond for the elusive votes in this disgraceful endeavor—that authorities removed an elected Democratic mayor because the county's Democratic machine had elected him with the votes of the dead. But rigging a mayoral election is nowhere near as cynical as trying to change the outcome of votes for the leader of the free world. And this is what Al Gore tried to do. The assault on the truth that had begun with the Derridean vapors of the postmodern university and spread into the Clinton White House ("depends on what you mean by 'is'") had now been injected into the electoral system itself: depends on what you mean by "a vote."

As a result of Gore's disgraceful campaign in Florida, the most basic institutions of our government have been called into question, and the legitimacy and authority of the next presidency will be profoundly subverted. The election process has been constructed in such a way—surprise!—as to reveal naked power relationships. How will public reverence, let alone respect, for elections be restored? What Al Gore has accomplished in a few short weeks is the impeachment not only of the integrity of local precincts, but of the entire machinery of American elections. Not just for now, but into the foreseeable future.

To fully appreciate the sewer of cynicism into which Gore has plunged a stupefied nation, one has only to look to the systematic effort by his legal mob to deprive overseas military personnel of their votes. These were not rogue raids into the enemy camp, any more than the bogus effort to toss out votes in Seminole County, but a calculated effort by the campaign itself. Gore lawyers fanned out across the Florida counties and descended on the precincts where the military votes were being received. Armed with a legal memo circulated by Team Gore, they set about browbeating ordinary citizens attempting to count the incoming votes into believing—falsely—that the law disallowed military ballots without postmarks.

By the time the dust partially settled, the Gore team had managed to get 1,527 of 3,733 overseas absentee ballots thrown into the trash. That was about 50

Fighting to his Last Breath in Wisconsin

by Walter Black

A week after the November 7 election, Wisconsin's Democratic Attorney General James Doyle announced that claims of fraud in the Milwaukee balloting for president had been "blown out of proportion," that each of "numerous" (the city Election Commission's term) voter complaints of irregularities was insignificant, and that any thoughts to the contrary are an "attack" on Wisconsin voters. Tellingly, fraud allegations were identified in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* under the heading of "Republican claims" as if it would require a partisan to wonder what the hell New York City heiress Constance Milstein was doing at the Milwaukee Rescue Mission the weekend before the election handing out packs of cigarettes to homeless men for filling in absentee ballots.

The Milstein story might never have received any coverage had she not been captured on video by a local TV station report, but her weird story disappeared completely when, just after the election, Marquette University freshman Rob Bosworth told ABC News he had voted four times in Milwaukee. This briefly blossomed into a story that hundreds of students may have voted more than once, but later returned to nothing—after Bosworth admitted he'd made the whole thing up, ostensibly to demonstrate the already well-known point that Wisconsin's election laws are soft—inspiring Attorney General Doyle to sound the "All Clear" without any mention of the rich lady from the big city.

Blessed with a fortune that has enabled her to be a Gore fat cat and one of the DNC's top sources of soft money, Milstein had time to issue

a statement before hustling back to her dad's real estate empire in NYC (where she is more likely to face criticism for her sanction of smoking than her disrespect of democracy). "My actions," she said, "were those of a private, concerned citizen in an attempt to enable those less fortunate to participate in our political process."

Well, that's a relief. If we didn't know they were enabling those less fortunate to participate in our political process, we might fear that she and the six other private, concerned citizens with her were touring the city's homeless shelters offering rides to City Hall to get absentee ballots (which they'd help fill out) in a cynical attempt to exploit the most vulnerable members of our community for Gore votes in a state where a thin win had been predicted for Bush until irregularities like Milstein's came into play.

What Milstein was up to was visible to the nation on election night when that odd liberal compulsion for moving their clients around on buses was celebrated as "galvanizing the base" of Democrat support. Gathered to rallies, herded by organizers, combed from social services facilities and street corners, invited for this one day to take a seat at the table, a small army of those the Democrats like to call "the most vulnerable among us" was literally driven to the polls. In several locations, including Philadelphia and St. Louis, as well as Milwaukee, polls were kept open after hours to accommodate just-rounded-up latecomers to the great ritual of self-government.

But what is everyday practice in some cities can be a mistake in Milwaukee. Urban as it is, Milwaukee is too much a part of Wisconsin to be unaffected by Midwestern sensibilities about concentrating on your own business. Where no one disputes that it is a right of citizens to vote, many citizens were affronted by extent to which the Democrats went to enfranchise voters who were more interested by the perks—cigarettes and other items—than the ballot.

Pre-Milstein Wisconsin has had the most lenient voting rules imaginable, facilitating last-minute registration at the polling places and immediate access to absentee ballots with no more than, say, a telephone bill or other credible envelope with your name and address on it. Several complaints from voters who had brought birth certificates and suchlike documentation along for election-day registration but were not asked for them suggest that perhaps, in application, all that's required is physical presence.

Post-Milstein Wisconsin laws are likely to be different. The press can spike her story all it wants, but her name will resonate in the Wisconsin state legislature when Gov. Tommy G. Thompson's call to "protect the integrity of the ballot box in Wisconsin" is heard. The race card will be as always be played—causing another profound cringe among those of us who are humiliated on behalf of African Americans when Democrats decry measures requiring a minimum level of personal initiative—but loophole-tightening legislation will prevail at least until it is no longer easier to register and vote for president in Wisconsin than to rent a movie at Blockbuster.

Thanks in part to the efforts of Citizen Milstein, it may soon come to pass that otherwise qualified would-be voters in Wisconsin—if they are importuned for their votes on the day of an election for which they were totally unprepared—will not be able to help someone like Al Gore who desperately needs their vote in exchange for a pack of cigarettes. It would be a fitting legacy for the man who once said that in one of his Democratic convention appearances, that he intended to fight tobacco with his last dying breath.

Walter Black is a freelance writer in Milwaukee, WI.

percent. However, in the handful of Democrat-controlled counties, which Gore had targeted for his plans to overturn the national election, the percentage of disallowed absenteees was astronomical. In Democrat-run Broward County, Gore's crew was able to get 304 overseas ballots rejected out of a total of 396 cast.

Gore apparently thought he could do this in the dark. Once the military ballots became the subject of public outrage, he tried to avoid a potential public relations nightmare by sending out Joe Lieberman to further debase himself by waving his hands over the equivalent of "no controlling legal authority." Interviewing Lieberman on NBC's *Meet The Press* Sunday, Tim Russert asked, "Will you today, as a representative of the Gore campaign, ask every county to re-look at those ballots that came from armed services people and waive any so-called irregularities or technicalities which would disqualify them?" Lieberman replied: "I don't know that I have that authority. I don't believe I do legally or in any other way."

Meanwhile, Democrats like Sen. Bob Kerrey, a military hero trotted out by Gore to defend the indefensible,

explained that, of course, Democrats did not approve of the disenfranchising of military personnel. When it was pointed out by MSNBC's Chris Matthews that they had done just that, Kerrey replied: "I haven't accused Republicans of being anti-Semitic or anti-African American," thus back-handedly accusing Republicans of being anti-Semitic and anti-black because of the butterfly ballot.

This was not a rogue statement by Kerrey. Racial McCarthyism, it could be said, was the most potent theme of Al Gore's Florida electoral success story. During the campaign, millions of dollars' worth of Democratic ads painted George W. Bush as a supporter of racial lynch mobs—personally responsible for a series of legal lynchings of convicted black prisoners. It was Willie Horton in reverse, and the success of this reprehensible campaign could be measured by the 65 percent increase in the black vote in Florida over the previous presidential election, with an otherwise inexplicable 93 percent of that vote going to Gore.

It was a fitting climax to a campaign that had begun half a year earlier with Gore's embrace of Al Sharpton and his insinuation that left-leaning former

Sen. Bill Bradley was a closet racist. It was almost anticlimactic when Gore, in an act of political and racial nihilism, deployed the nation's racial arsonist in chief, Jesse Jackson, to proclaim: "Once again, sons and daughters of slavery and Holocaust survivors are bound together with a shared agenda, bound by their hopes and their fears about national public policy." The subtext was far from subtle: Bush Republicans are crypto-slave drivers and Nazis. The election must be won—by any means necessary.

This is Al Gore's legacy—not the sonorous words of concession summing up Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. This is the rancor we will now have to live with.

In the aftermath of this speech, which one can only hope will be the last Gore will ever give on the presidential stage, many commentators noted optimistically that in America we achieve even our most difficult electoral transitions without the involvement of armies. This is true. But if the tale is told honestly, 2000 will be remembered as the election in which the Gore forces deployed the moral equivalent of tanks in the streets and almost won.

—The Editors

A Gay Political Schism

by Stephen H. Miller

In 2000, for the first time, the bitter fight for the presidency was reflected by a vocal political schism within the gay community.

Among self-identifying gay and lesbian voters, who represented 4 percent of the total national vote, according to exit polling by Voters News Service, 70 percent voted for Al Gore. But guess what: 25 percent of the gay vote went to George W. Bush. (Ralph Nader captured 4 percent.)

Usually most gay activists—and gay media—pretend that virtually all gays are lock-step Democrats. But this time round, the Log Cabin Republicans (that is, the gay GOPers), instead of lying low, publicly took on the gay Democrats. And you should have heard the howls of protest in response.

Consider this. The Human Rights Campaign and the Stonewall Democrats, two big gay-rights groups that strongly backed Gore, ran separate ads throughout the gay media, declaring that Bush and Cheney would "turn back the clock on gay rights," and warning that the Supreme Court under Bush would "take away our civil rights."

Imagine their shock when the Log Cabiners responded with their own ads, published in gay newspapers nationwide, which boldly accused gay Democrats of demagoguery and fear-mongering. These counter ads marshaled the facts to show that Gov. Bush's court appointments in Texas had, in fact, been moderates and not extremists, and that Democrat-appointed high court Justices such as Byron White (who wrote the infamous *Hardwick* decision upholding state laws that criminalize same-sex relations) were often worse for gays than Republican-appointed Justices such as David Souter and Anthony Kennedy (a Reagan appointee who penned a decision that found Colorado's Amendment 2, which forbid localities from passing anti-discrimination provisions including gays and lesbians, to be unconstitutional).

Even more dramatically counter to gay liberal orthodoxy, the Log Cabin ads declared: "The dramatic gains over this past decade came from our own hands—millions of gays and lesbians with the courage to come out and change their lives and communities, not from the government. In fact, the Clinton-Gore Administration is

far behind the free-market private sector in gay rights and benefits." That, of course, didn't exactly sit well with gay leftists, who think capitalism, as exemplified by Corporate America, is the enemy, and that salvation lies in endless alliances with every cause and splinter on the political left.

More was yet to come. In the final weeks of the campaign, the Log Cabin Republicans ran an ad featuring Al Gore embracing anti-gay minister extraordinaire Fred Phelps in 1988, during a visit to Phelps' Westboro Baptist Church in Topeka—around the time Gore was calling homosexuality "abnormal" and vowing to uphold Washington, D.C.'s "sodomy" law. Gore told his supporters back then that they could count on him not to change his views, the same promise he makes to his supporters in his various grievance groups today.

According to Log Cabin spokesperson Kevin Ivers, "It was politically expedient for Al Gore to embrace vicious homophobes like Fred Phelps in the late '80s and early '90s. It's politically expedient for Al Gore to embrace gay and lesbian Americans today. What will be politically expedient for Al Gore in the future?"

Now you might think that given Gore's pro-gay stances of the last decade, his past views and behavior have as much relevance as George W.'s driving under the influence 24 years ago, and that would be a fair argument that Log Cabin would probably lose. But listen to this response by Stonewall Democrats Executive Director Michael Colby: "This desperate tactic is beneath contempt. Failing to establish even one legitimate argument to support Governor Bush, the storm troopers of Log Cabin now enlist Fred Phelps to demonize Vice President Gore. Fair-minded and principled voters will reject this desperation, and they must hold Log Cabin accountable for their gutter stances."

Whoa, just who sounds like the totalitarian here? Who is demonizing and smearing whom? It's as if the gay Democrats find it absolutely intolerable that any gay group should dare to deviate from the liberal-left party line. No amount of vituperative contempt is too much, after all, for heretics.

Add to this some copious examples of gay Democrat hypocrisy. Bloomberg columnist Jonathan Capehart excoriated George W. Bush for appearing on a stage at the Florida State

Fairgrounds with a Boy Scout troop. "By sharing the stage with the Scouts, Bush showed solidarity with an organization that openly discriminates against gays," Capehart wrote. "Combating discrimination is an issue of conscience and leadership. Bush's bear hug of the Boy Scouts makes a mockery of that."

But hold on. At the Democratic National Convention, Team Gore put a Boy Scout troop on the platform one evening during prime time. (Some gay delegates booed.) And Gore refused to comment on the Supreme Court's recent decision upholding the Boy Scouts' right not to admit gay volunteer leaders. Can you say "double standard?"

Another example: The Human Rights Campaign strongly condemned Bush when he spoke at Cornerstone University in Grand Rapids, Michigan, a conservative Christian college that subscribes to the view that sexual relations outside of heterosexual marriage are sinful. "Bush finds nothing wrong with courting those who discriminate," said HRC Political Director Winnie Stachelberg. Again, fair enough, but here's an under-reported tidbit: Al Gore, in April 2000, spoke at Union University in West Tennessee, a school with similar "Christian" policies. Responded HRC's David Smith when queried by an editor from the conservative *National Review*, Gore was simply "honoring his mother in that speech; his mother had received a law degree from the school in 1934... it's not comparable," and "If Bush had gone to Cornerstone to honor his mother, we wouldn't have released a press release about Bush today." Oh.

One thing is certain: the newly empowered gay Republicans are no longer going to let gay Democrats rue the roost without a peep of protest. And gay Democrats will have to learn that opposing views on what's best for the country—including for gay Americans—is subject to honest and open debate, without duplicity or character assassination from the gay left. Given the sharp division in the country—and the diversity of political views in the gay community—we should expect no less.

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Barbie for President, Continued from page 1

Republican convention in Philadelphia. They applauded Mrs. Dole for her (failed) campaign for the GOP presidential nomination.

Prudential, Lifetime, Rep. Jennifer Dunn, and otherwise sensible Oklahoma First Lady Cathy Keating all applauded Mrs. Dole for her "courage"—over and over and over again. Since courage implies some sort of adversity, C-SPAN viewers were left to wonder: Besides being married to Bob Dole, what great obstacle did Mrs. Dole overcome?

Well, of course, it's that she is a woman. Her primary campaign was a good thing for American politics and for women in general, simply, because she is a woman. Period. And, her obstacle—the reason she couldn't make it much past the New Hampshire primary—is being a woman. Hence the Lifetime video and nauseating praise.

In *Madam President*, Clift and Brazaitis observe that "the common perception is that all [women] are" liberals. Well, of course that is the perception. Why shouldn't it be? The ones in power—including many of the Republicans—don't emanate anything else.

To play stupid in a game of sex politics isn't a new tendency for the GOP. Remember Susan Molinari, star of the GOP, the keynote speaker at the 1996 Houston convention? Whining about older, uptight members of Congress having difficulty embracing playpens in the halls of Congress, and, occasionally on the floor, Molinari writes in her 1998 memoir *Representative Mom*:

The disapprovers weren't confined to the House of Representatives. In fact, I remember their faces most clearly from a hearing that Pat Schroeder and I arranged just after the 1996 election. We had run into each other in the bathroom at the *Glamour* magazine Women of the Year awards at the Sherry-Netherland Hotel in New York. I was being honored that year, while both she and Connie Morella, who was with her, were past honorees. The problem of sexual abuse among female recruits at the Aberdeen Proving Ground had just hit the press, and I mentioned it in passing as we were combing our hair and adjusting our pantyhose.

"We should do something, Pat, at least hold a hearing," I suggested. Pat was one step ahead of me. Since her contacts in the Clinton administration were vastly superior to mine, she'd already been on the phone with officials of the Department of Defense. Since my power as a member of the leadership in the House was greater than hers, I offered to facilitate a congressional response. It was an almost perfect moment. There we were, female members of Congress at an event celebrating women, figuring out how to use our power to help women in trouble.

Maybe it's not fair to pick on Molinari. Besides, at least she eventually gave up bringing her daughter to Congress (and putting her in the dreary House daycare center, where the poor little girl, Susan Ruby, had to wear earplugs to prevent ear infections). But even if she had wanted to, Molinari probably couldn't have helped herself. She had a problem. It's the same problem Elizabeth Dole has and it's the same problem any woman who wants to make it big time in politics has: the woman problem.

The woman problem is the fact that any woman who runs for office is viewed—by herself and everyone else—primarily as a woman. On the surface, that seems only natural. How can she not be? But being a woman is commonly and increasingly regarded as an ideology. The female candidate's policies are regarded as unquestionably what is best for women and children because she is the former and has (we don't yet check with her

gynecologist on this) the biological ability to give birth to the latter. So she, as an ideological woman, caters to a specific audience: women. And men likewise bend over backward to address women as one solid constituency.

One of the few smart books about women in politics, Laura Ingraham's *The Hillary Trap*, goes into this phenomenon at length. Her trap—the pandering—is "the political equivalent of a cheap pickup line," she writes. It's a politics that whines about wage gaps while ignoring excessive regulation that strangles female (as well as male) entrepreneurs. And it's a politics that ironically undermines everything feminism purports to have

DNA. What more need there be? Take, as evidence the point of *Nine and Counting*: "These nine women who are most distinguished by their differences come together not because of what they believe, but because of who they are."

The introduction continues to explain,

Gender has been the transcendent characteristic of their personal and professional lives. They were raised in an era when women were not encouraged to seek political office—yet here they are. They have reached the Senate by overcoming enormous obstacles. All of them have encountered resistance to their dreams and ideas, not because they lacked brainpower, ambition, ability, or charisma, but because they were women. They have been forced to invent the roles of politician as wife, mother, daughter, sister, grandmother. Perhaps, too, their successes have been sweeter because they have been gained at such a high cost . . . The senators know each other on a fundamental level.

Worse still, it's not just the women who are the problem. Men are just as bad, the classic panders. Their pandering translates into a politics of committing themselves to deliver the promised land to "women and children," but, in fact, delivering nothing but big-government dependency.

Still, for all the women who subscribe to the politics of womanhood and the men who pander to them, there are some who do not read from the prepared script. As former Dukakis campaign manager Susan Estrich complains in her book *Sex and Power*, "The Equal Rights Amendment was defeated not by men but by women." And, "Not every woman who gets elected to office cares about the issues that most women do; there are men who do more to support families than women. And there is no reason a woman should feel

constrained to vote for a candidate with whom she has fundamental disagreements, simply because she is a woman."

Of course, Estrich believes that there really is only one true political point of view for all women to subscribe to. Scolding her sisters for not unconditionally supporting real women for public office, especially her friend Hillary Clinton for New York's Senate seat, she writes, "Instead of seeing our common agenda, we are eating our best alive."

Along with Estrich, the boomer-feminist sisterhood basically excludes the woman who marches to a different drummer, ostracizing her as, in Ingraham's word, an "unwoman." Not a peep from the self-described feminists of America—most notably the First Lady—when women who accused the president of unwanted advances and (in Juanita Broaddrick's case) the crime of rape—were targeted by the IRS.

Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris was victim of the "unwoman" treatment during the Florida post-election fiasco. From *Washington Post* articles to even conservative pundits wanting to be cool, Harris was constantly maligned for her mascara application and the like. They hated her because she was a Republican—although not nearly as partisan as they made her out to be. And they were jealous of the woman for having a rich father and even richer husband, regardless of the fact that most wealthy women voted for Gore this cycle. (Where were the Junior League protests in support of Sister Harris?) Of course, law professor Estrich was among the caddy clique of critics.

Estrich simply goes ballistic at the realization that women—who have children, take time off to do so—still lag behind men. Men are more of the nation's CEOs, more of the senators, and are always president of the United States, etc. Her book is full of observations such as: "I remember looking around the campaign plane during one presidential race and finding that almost every man on it was married, many of them fathers,



done for women by packaging them as victims in need of special government protections. *The Hillary Trap*, best exemplified by the Senate candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton, is devotion "to a liberal agenda that reduces women to yet another interest group seeking yet another government handout." It's the new political litmus test for all candidates, but especially female-candidates.

Some Republican women have been able to transcend this tiny bit. Kay Bailey Hutchinson, for instance, advocates the much derided missile-defense shield—not a "women's issue." She's allowed to do this, however, only so long as she marches with the sisterhood on other issues, and regularly has dinner at the Mongole with her true colleagues—the other female senators—on a regular basis. (The count goes one—the Ladies' Club got a boost this November when recent New Yorker Hillary Rodham Clinton, Washington's Maria Cantwell, Missouri's Jeanne Carnahan, and Michigan's Debbie Stabenow—all Democrats—joined.)

This campaign season there was a deluge of women-in-politics tomes and related products. The White House Project, developed for the sole purpose of encouraging a gal president, has a Barbie for President doll at Toys 'R' Us, complete with her own platform and inaugural gown. The doll is the baby of Marie Wilson, president of the White House Project, formerly of the Ms. Foundation, and founding mother of "Take Your Daughters to Work Day."

And there is, of course, the aforementioned ode to women in national politics by Eleanor ("Can I Finish?") Clift and her husband Tom Brazaitis. And the nine women of the Senate collaborated on a book published last summer, *Nine and Counting*. You might wonder what Republicans Kay Bailey Hutchinson, Susan Collins, and Olympia Snowe could possibly have in common with Dems Barbara Mikulski, Dianne Feinstein, and Barbara Boxer besides being women?

Well, of course, that is it. It's all in the

while every woman was single. There was not a mother in the group. What mother would travel six days a week, for a year? The senior White House staff is made up entirely of men with school-age children, and women without them."

The media has gone gaga over women candidates since what is universally known as the "call to arms," the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearing in the Senate in 1991. "From beginning to end, the male-dominated Senate failed to grasp how women across the country would be affected by Hill's charges of verbal sexual harassment. After first ignoring her allegations, then failing in the eyes of many women to take them seriously despite agreeing to reopen the Thomas hearings, the senators infuriated women," Clift and Brazaitis write. *Washington Post* chick columnist Judy Mann wrote at the time, "No matter what comes out of these hearings, there is one overriding lesson for women. And that is that they cannot depend on men to protect their interests. Women have to run for the House and they have to run for the Senate and they have to win. If there has been a couple of women on that committee, this debacle [the confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court] would not have happened."

And so, in retaliation for the ascension of Clarence Thomas to the highest court in the land, everywoman supposedly was ready for the 1992 election to be the Year of the Woman, since everywoman is more concerned with the sisterhood than in justice. That there was just not the evidence to corroborate Anita Hill's allegations was supposedly irrelevant to them. And so they were ecstatic when four Democratic women were sent to the Senate and 21 to the House. Speaking as a woman more than a liberal feminist (aren't they the same thing?), Rep. Patricia Schroeder declared, "The cavalry has arrived."

Jane Swift was to be poster girl for the sacrifice-free female candidacy. The media loved her as at age 33, Swift ran for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts while visibly pregnant. Stodgy conservatives rolled their eyes while the media cheered her on. Say the Clift-Brazaitis team, "Swift's story is instructive for other young women who whet their appetites for politics by working in someone else's campaign, but fear they can't run for office themselves without giving up the equally compelling drive to be a wife and mother." She

gave birth three weeks before winning on Election Day. Echoing conventional wisdom, Clift and Brazaitis write, "She is a test case for women who dare mix motherhood and elective office. If she can, balance her family responsibilities with the duties of the second-highest office in a major state, maybe others can too. If she can't, her experience will discourage women just now reaching adulthood who grew up believing they, not just their brothers, could rise to become a senator, governor, even president."

How silly. If that is true, women better flock back to the kitchen now. Swift, who has been mired in controversy for taking advantage of state resources and employees for child care since the day she took office, is simply an example of an irresponsible parent and an unworthy, corrupt public official. That the ideologues of womanhood read more into Swift, however, suggests they don't belong in primetime.

Besides the facetiousness of it all—the reduction of our nation's politics to a weekend sleepover—there are the detrimental consequences of all the bad public policies that pols, both male and female, pass in the name of women. Hillary and her fellow travelers use women the same way they use children—as "political props," says Ingraham. "Whether it's medicine, education, or crime, women and girls gain far more from across-the-board improvements than from anything the politicians set out to do 'for women.'"

What role does the so-called gender gap play in the politics of women? Well, women do not always elect women. Just ask Christie Todd Whitman.

"Women are often hard on other women running for office. They don't want to be embarrassed, and if one woman fails, all women feel anguish," Clift and Brazaitis write. (Would a Hillary Clinton Senate defeat really be a defeat for everywoman?) "There could also be a touch of envy. The full range of human emotions come into play when women judge each other. For whatever reasons, and some are better than others, women want more than gender to decide their vote."

Women, however, do not vote for women because they are particularly smart about the votes they cast. There was strategic wisdom in both parties' camps in having their men go on *Oprah*. "Everywoman" herself, women need to hear Dubay's favorite sandwich is peanut butter

and jelly. The poll numbers certainly suggested that. As *National Review's* Kate O'Beirne recently observed, underreported and largely ignored is the gender gap in political knowledge. Most Americans are dumb when it comes to politics, but women are by far dumber. In a survey by pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick during the campaign, she found that only 27 percent of women knew that Republicans control both houses of Congress (46 percent of men did). A mainstay of American politics, an extensive 1996 study, "What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters," found that men are more likely to be able to identify Boris Yeltsin, explain the role of the Supreme Court, and state the unemployment rate.

Will there be a women president? Should there be?

Just as the farmer, the lawyer, the wrestling coach, the heart surgeon will bring something of personal experience to the table as a citizen politician, so will the woman, as a woman. But when Hillary Clinton comes to the New York Senate race as a lifelong liberal Democratic operative, Elizabeth Dole need not stand in any kind of solidarity with her simply because they may both shop at Ann Taylor.

For the time being, the politics of victimization and stupidity definitely seem to be the ideology of choice for women. What Clift and Brazaitis write, "As prime minister, [Margaret] Thatcher was not particularly helpful to women. She didn't surround herself with female advisers. She didn't promote women. And she was Reagan's soul mate in her zeal for slicing spending on social welfare." Any woman who ignores the Thatcher model should stay miles away from either end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Clift and Brazaitis note: "At the start of the new millennium, there were nine women among the 100 senators, and 65 women among 435 members of the House. At the current rate, it will be 250 years before the number reaches parity with the number of men in the Congress."

Sorry, girls, but practicing the politics of victimization and sisterhood (sorry to be redundant) isn't going to change that—and it shouldn't.

Kathryn Jean Lopez is an associate editor at *National Review* and *National Review Online* (www.nationalreview.com).

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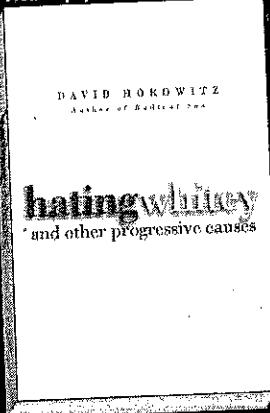


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Hot Times in Brown Town Ecopolis Now!

by K. Lloyd Billingsley

"There's been vicious opposition." So says Jerry Brown, once Governor Moonbeam and then a Presidential contender and now, after a period of exile, mayor of Oakland, California. It is late September, and Brown, italicizing his words in a voice that retains a raspy edge, is speaking to a packed house at Oakland's First African Methodist Episcopal Church. This is not one of his usual haunts. But given the theme—school choice—the mayor can't pass it up. The Rev. Floyd Flake, a former congressman from New York, is the keynote speaker, but Brown is clearly the star.

In his tenure as governor of the Golden State, when he hung out with chanteuse Linda Rondstadt and had a cerebral salon that included figures ranging from Whole Earther Stewart Brand to Black Panther Elaine Brown, Jerry Brown bore more than a passing physical resemblance to Anthony Perkins of *Psycho* fame. Now 62 and topped with a shiny dome, Brown appears a cross between Kojak and Cassius, still with that lean and hungry look. He's decked out in a pretty drab gray suit, with a casual shirt and no tie. Compared to Willie Brown, his sartorially resplendent mayor of color across the bay, he looks positively homeless.

Brown is speaking at "Owning the Dream: Choices for Our Children," a conference on school choice sponsored by the Center for Urban Black Studies. Before Brown mounted the pulpit, his sometime critic and education appointee Leo Bazile told the audience that in Oakland, "public schools have become a holding cell for state prisons." The mayor knows this is true and has come to talk about his solution. Always unpredictable, he is reading a speech that could have been written by Milton Friedman or even Jerry Falwell.

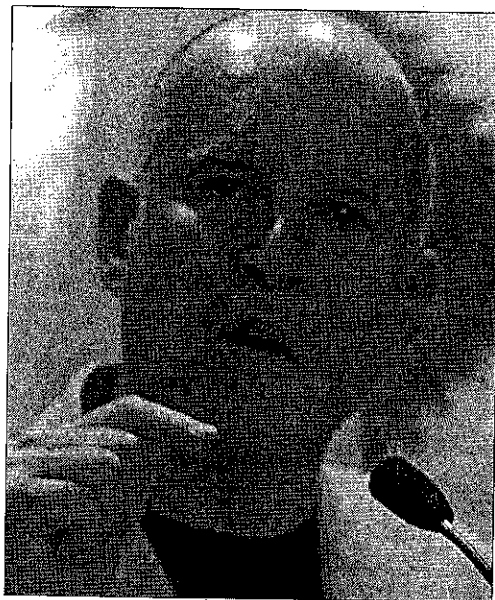
Specifically, Brown backs the Oakland Military Institute, a college preparatory boarding school at the former Oakland Army Base, run by, yes, the California National Guard. Students will attend class six days a week, wear uniforms, and go through reveille, inspections and rigorous exercises. Brown guarantees that this charter school will get results.

"Our boys are getting a raw deal," he says, conceding that some of the new agey reforms he backed as governor didn't do the job. "Competition works," Brown says. "We have to uphold the power of family choice.... If parents don't like it, they go somewhere else—that's freedom." Though not the rhetoric for which Brown is known, this draws a favorable response from the mostly black audience, many of them clergy. Polis show that 60 percent of Oakland's blacks approve of the military school. But there's a problem.

In this town, almost as left leaning as neighboring Berkeley, where the National Guard means Kent State, Brown might as well have proposed a statue of Ronald Reagan for Jack London Square, or decreed December "Victory in the Cold War Remembrance Month," with readings from Solzhenitsyn at city hall and every school. Jerry's military school made Oakland's progressive front, which includes most of the city establishment, go ballistic. In the audience, and making snide comments all through Brown's speech, is one of that establishment's big guns.

It is Dan Siegel, a student radical at Berkeley in the late '60s who became almost

famous for his involvement in People's Park, and then an attorney for the Oakland Unified School District before becoming president of the Oakland School Board. The nattily dressed Siegel tells the audience his parents were poor immigrants from Russia, a line that, in this setting, comes across like Steve Martin, in *The Jerk*, saying, "I was born a poor black child." The place is dead quiet and a woman from the Malcolm X School responds with a look of disdain and bewilderment. Siegel's attempt to posture as a man of the people having flopped, he switches to attack mode, telling the



MAYOR JERRY BROWN

audience that school choice was invented by the Ku Klux Klan, that the backers of Prop 209 are at it again, and that the problem with schools in Oakland, a city run by its black majority for decades, is "institutional racism."

Under Siegel's tutelage, the board denied Brown's school the charter it needs to operate, even though the mayor has already raised \$3.3 million in state and federal funds and the National Guard is already operating schools elsewhere in the state.

Sheila Quintana, bargaining representative for the Oakland teacher union, is also at the A.M.E. church telling anybody who will listen that the purpose of Brown's military school is "to teach our children to kill." In testimony to the board, Quintana compared Brown's Oakland Military Institute to the Tuskegee syphilis experiments.

"We know what happened there, didn't we?" she said. "We shouldn't be experimenting on our black and brown and Asian and every other race's children."

So when Jerry Brown stands in the pulpit and says that there has been some vicious opposition, he is guilty of an understatement. He is also touching on the tip of an iceberg his audience doesn't see.

Edmund G. Brown Jr. was born in San Francisco in 1938, graduated from St. Ignace High School, and studied for the Catholic priesthood at the Sacred Heart Novitiate, a Jesuit seminary. He earned a B.A. in Latin and Greek from Berkeley in 1961 and graduated from Yale Law School in 1964. Five years later he was elected to the Los Angeles Community College Board of Trustees, and the following year the voters made him California's Secretary of State. In 1974 he was

elected governor, an office previously held by his father Pat Brown. In Sacramento, Brown quickly proved that "Governor Moonbeam" wasn't just a clever tag.

Brown made a big show about rejecting the governor's mansion for a humble apartment. This played well with the press, but there was nothing symbolic about his rule. Brown was only vaguely aware of Silicon Valley until his last year of office, which is like the governor of Michigan being only vaguely aware of Detroit. Brown taxed corporations not just what on what they made in California but what they made elsewhere, a new standard of government greed and one that prompted corporate flight. He also allowed unions to compel non-member dissenters to pay dues.

It was not a distinguished record that he carved out for himself. Brown hired squads of professional ethnics and politically correct incompetents like his health and welfare boss Mario Obledo, an undisguised bigot who now demands that "anglos" leave California. Brown appointed as Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court a dim ideologue named Rose Bird, whose judicial philosophy was not coherent enough to be called "activism" and whom the state's voters booted out.

During the Brown years, the psycho-babbling Left had a field day with "self-esteem" commissions and other junk thought that provided material for Gary Trudeau. Just about any quack could get a university accredited, and did, including More University, literally a sex school (See "University of Sex," *Heterodoxy*, March 1994).

Brown nominated Jane Fonda, then in her Tom Hayden phase, to the California Arts Council. He also got more of those claiming to be "artists" on the state dole, increasing spending for grants more than 1,000 percent. Soaring property taxes were driving people from their homes while the state enjoyed a fat surplus, but Brown crusaded against the tax-limiting Proposition 13 as a kind of *Apocalypse Now*. After it passed in a landslide, he practically claimed credit for the ballot measure, prompting Paul Conrad of the *Los Angeles Times* to draw Brown in a football jersey, number 13, captioned "quarterback sneak."

In 1982 Brown ran for the U.S. Senate but fell to Pete Wilson. Claiming to be a "recovering politician," Brown fled to Japan and then to India, where he worked briefly with Mother Teresa. Back stateside, he practiced law in Los Angeles and in 1989 became chairman of the State Democratic Party, launching pad for another run at the presidency after giving Jimmy Carter a battle for the nomination in 1976.

During the 1992 primaries, Brown defeated Bill Clinton in Maine, Colorado, Vermont, Connecticut, Utah and Nevada. Brown backed a flat tax, a concept with little support among Democrats. His charge that Bill Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, had slid work to his wife's law firm got the press snooping into the Rose Law Firm and the Whitewater business.

After Clinton prevailed, Brown moved to Oakland, living semi-communally in a warehouse at 200 Harrison Street. The place features six small private apartments, four guest rooms, a law library, office space, and a theater with a capacity of 400 guests. These quarters also housed Brown's "We the People," organization, also the name of his radio program, launched in January, 1994, on KPFA, part of the left-wing Pacifica network. These broadcasts, with a theme of *The People versus Big Money and Corporations*, continued until Brown decided to run for mayor of Oakland.

If San Francisco is the Mecca of the California Left, Oakland is at least Medina, a status it acquired after the fall of the Republican machine of *Tribune* Publisher William Knowland ("The Senator from Formosa") and the concomitant rise of the homegrown Black Panther Party in the 1960s. In the wake of the Panthers, a former judge named Lionel Wilson became the city's first black mayor in 1978, setting in motion a black establishment that excelled even the old Knowland Machine for ineptitude and cronyism. At least the Knowland version of Oakland knew about economics. Under black governance, the city's poverty climbed as businesses and jobs got out of town. And with good reason. Since the '70s the city has logged more than 100 murders a year, nearly twice as many as neighboring San Francisco, which has twice the population. Gangs run rampant and violent crimes take place in Oakland at double the rate of New York. As one Oakland insider noted "you are never more than five blocks from a crack house." The city bristles with razor wire and private security guards. And the city that still reveres Huey Newton, who once operated here after dark like a black *Scarface* while conning the white chumps from Berkeley with his daytime lessons on Maoism.

Oakland's school system became a place to reward friends of the establishment with high-paying jobs, part of a booming racial spoils system. But Oakland students, despite high levels of spending, scored among the worst in the state. During the 1980s a grand jury indicted a number of officials for corruption. In 1989 Assemblyman Elihu Harris sponsored a bill to put the Oakland district into state receivership. To make that abysmal situation worse is a daunting task, but Oakland pulled it off under superintendent Carole Quan, an ally of the black establishment.

The crowning glory of this regime was *ebonics*, an attempt to elevate black street patois to the status of Latin and Greek. After initiating the *ebonics* movement, the city and district became a national laughing stock, denounced by, among others, Kweisi Mfume, Bill Cosby, Maya Angelou and even Eldridge Cleaver, former minister of information for the Black Panther Party, who blasted this benighted innovation as "a pathetic attempt to institutionalize dysfunction."

Debt, crime, corruption, ignorance, ineptitude. Aside from its excellent climate and proximity to San Francisco, Oakland was about as bad as it gets when Jerry Brown set out to make his "Oakland Ecopolis," a version of quaint Italian hill towns like Perugia, bustling with sailboat craftsmen and other eco-safe industries. But first he'd have to get elected, a tough call with no fewer than seven black candidates in the race.

At least the Alameda County Green Party backed Brown, although even it had some reservations. "He is not a Green candidate, he only talked like one during his radio days," the party said, adding that some still blamed Brown for inspiring the tax rebellion of Prop 13. "In addition, his avoidance of Gay and Lesbian issues during his entire tenure on KPFA gives us pause."

So did Brown's advocacy of port dredging and expansion of Oakland's airport. But he got the Greens' nod anyway, which helped him to bag 59 percent of the vote and carry nearly every precinct. "Today marks the beginning of our new journey together—one that must be undertaken with courage and the willingness to speak truth to each other," Brown said in his inaugural speech on January 4, 1999. Brown told the city it was time to "act decisively," and he did.

He put a measure on the ballot to increase the power of the mayor, and it carried with 75 percent of the vote, a remarkable tally in that Oakland voters had rejected a similar measure in 1996. Once empowered, the easiest part of Brown's four-fold pledge was "to encourage celebration, festival and artistic performance." With Jane Fonda no longer available for duty, Brown nominated tattoo

artist Don Ed Hardy to serve on Oakland's Cultural Arts Commission. Hardy, whose clients include cineaste Werner Herzog, came to the mayor's attention through Jacques Barzaghi, Brown's longtime aide, whose body had borne an example of Hardy's cutaneous needlepoint for 20 years and who describes him as "an absolutely incredible artist." But others in the "arts community" felt dissed by this unconventional choice.

Ishmael Reed, UC Berkeley English professor, is author, among other books, of *MultiAmerica: Essays on Cultural Wars and Cultural Peace* and originator of the writing style of "Neo-Hoodooism," a combination of voodoo and multiculturalism. A combative type who calls Harvard's Henry Louis Gates a "sellout" and tags black female novelists as "divas," Reed appeared at Brown's inauguration to read a poem, "Let Oakland be a City of Civility." There Reed complained about a "strawberry haired" KPFA broad-

seven department heads and 60 middle managers to shape up or ship out. Suddenly the celebrity mayor loomed as a kind of Bull Connor figure.

Leo Bazile, who had run for mayor twice, told a reporter that Brown and Bobb were trying to "bust up the hegemony of African-Americans at City Hall." The Community and Clergy Coalition, headed by Bazile and including NAACP head Shannon Reeves, one of Brown's opponents for mayor, marched first on City Hall and then to Brown's warehouse chanting "We're the people." Former mayor Elihu Harris said that Brown didn't care about "diversity." When a reporter raised the issue with Brown, he snapped, "Let's talk about diversity. Every city department head but one is black—is that diversity?"

Brown's plan to bring 10,000 new residents downtown drew interest from *60 Minutes*. The mayor explained how he wanted to attract investment to Oakland, and re-build its middle class. "If you want capital," he said, "you have to talk to capitalists." Brown called his project "elegant density" but critics saw it as a "Jerry-Fication" plot to replace blacks with upscale whites. This became the party line.

When Brown held a "technology summit" at the Kaiser Center, protesters marched around the building with a 20-foot effigy of the mayor singing, to the tune of "Mary had a little lamb," the refrain: "Jerry has a housing plan for people white as snow."

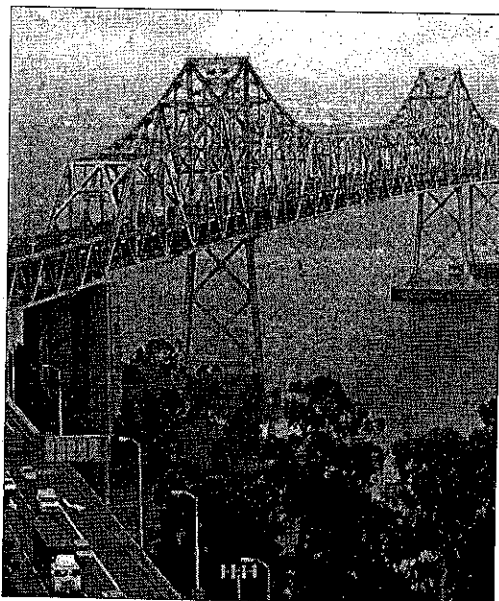
"We the people who are being evicted by the current wave of gentrification under way in West and North Oakland are tired of being pushed around!" said a statement of the Jerry-Fication Project, coordinated by *POOR Magazine*, the Oakland Eviction Defense Center and other Bay Area groups. "We are truly the Avant-Garde in these cases," the statement said, "paving the way for yuppie dot-comers, multi-media 'artists,' lawyers and other 'professionals' to come in and try 'loft living' because it's so fucking hip." But the really nasty language was the drawn from an arsenal that hadn't been used since Ronald Reagan.

"Mayor Jerry Brown's mean-spirited boom has arrived," wrote *San Francisco Examiner* columnist George Banks, in a piece titled "Mayor Moonbeam's Mean Boom," written in a style that, with all due respect to Ishmael Reed, might be called neo-alcoholism. "Jerry Brown has succeeded in taking Oakland closer to a Manhattan lifestyle," Banks wrote. "As usual, he's made sure the rich receive sweet vermouth, whiskey, and a maraschino cherry. Unfortunately, Oakland's working people are left with the bitters."

Criticism of the mayor became a local growth industry, headed by the JerryWatch Coalition, an alliance of groups such as People United for a Better Oakland, ACORN, BOSS-Community Organizing Team, and East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy. JerryWatch renamed Brown's organization "Me, the People" and on its website, *JerryWatch.org*, displayed the mayor in greasy Hitlerian caricature, the sort of thing that usually happens to Pat Buchanan.

When Brown told two *Chronicle* columnists that "race is just kind of silly anyway because 99 percent of our DNA is the same," JerryWatch thundered, "It takes a lot of nerve for a wealthy white man, the product of wealthy white family, ruling in a city where large numbers of low income people of color struggle daily to make ends meet, to say that race doesn't matter." JerryWatch also got up close and personal, reviving rumors about Brown's preferences.

Under the headline "Jerry Repels Women?" they listed eight prominent female staffers who had left the mayor's office in Brown's first year. A woman named Julie Peters quit, they said, because "Jerry and Jacques bullshit was too deep even for her mild-mannered ways." JerryWatch also charged that Brown had given Barzaghi, his "longtime friend and housemate," a hefty raise, to \$114,192, and brought to live in his warehouse almost every member of his "inner sanctum."



BAY BRIDGE

caster who had asked him to move off stage. Reed proved less than civil when he said, in effect, "call me, Ishmael," for the city arts post, and Brown failed to respond. It also miffed Reed that Brown named a "North Carolina writer"—Maya Angelou, as it happened—to an office with the library. Reed's hoodoo on Brown was published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, headlined: "Mayor Jerry Brown Losing Sight Of Oakland's Black Community."

"When Bill Clinton sought to assure white voters that he was not a traditional Democrat," huffed Reed, "he staged an incident at a dinner held by Jesse Jackson's PUSH organization, during which he embarrassed Jackson with his criticism of rap singer Sister Souljah. I'm beginning to think that I have been Sister Souljah'ed by the mayor and his staff. And given the forced exodus from Oakland of African-American renters, perhaps I'm not the only one who feels this way. People are beginning to say that Mayor Brown is using Oakland to show a national audience that he's not a winny, flaky Governor Moonbeam, but can play tough love with black folks as well as any 'compassionate conservative.'"

Judith Offer, a Brown defender, fired back with a long list of blacks that the mayor had appointed, adding "the real neglected groups would seem to be the Asians and the Latinos, who together compose about 40 percent of the population." That didn't change the reality that in Oakland issues come with faces.

One of those faces belonged to Joseph Samuels, Oakland's first black chief of police, whose issue was that Brown thought he was soft on crime. Brown and city manager Robert Bobb, who is also black, took aim on Samuels and inept school superintendent Carole Quan. The duo also told

Brown's decision to allow the United States Marines' to conduct their Urban Warrior exercises in the area also got the Left scurrying to the barricades. "It seems Oakland is on its way to becoming a militarized city, starting with the Urban Warrior exercise, and now with this new military school," said Dawn Phillips of JerryWatch. Brown's military academy is now the front-line issue.

"I campaigned with Jerry Brown in the 1960s," said teacher Marlene Krohn. Now he's a huge disappointment. I don't think the solution for Oakland schools is to lock up my kids in a boot camp." It doesn't seem to have registered that nobody's kid has to attend the school, a choice that Oakland parents now lack.

Although you would never know it, given all this heavy '60s rhetoric, many Oaklanders, black and white, are generally pleased with the job Brown is doing, even though Robert Bobb, performs much of the heavy lifting, leaving Brown free to oraculate and visualize. He has bucked a racial spoils system and, though it was not his intention, revealed that even in a new century, the Left remains reactionary, vicious and vacuous.

For many Oakland insiders Brown's plans are clear. Moonbeam in One City is a platform to run again for president, perhaps under the slogan Ecopolis Now! Those plans, and some of Brown's

recent comments suggest that he does indeed need to be watched.

Despite his attempts to court Silicon Valley, Jerry Brown recently told the editors of *Red Herring* magazine that "the gap between rich and poor has increased as technology has expanded.... It's not a question of belief. It's a statistical fact." And as the editors noted, Jerry Brown is probably the only elected official in the United States who openly champions the redistribution of wealth.

"Income-redistribution programs are the only way that governments have figured out to soften the blows of inequality," Brown said. "The market is highly efficient, but also environmentally destructive and fundamentally inequitable."

Both statements verify the observation of Oakland resident, author and San Francisco *Chronicle* columnist Debra Saunders that "the older Brown gets, the more removed from reality he grows." Despite their attacks, the local Left knows that at heart Jerry Brown is still a politically correct believer in salvation through government planning, a development they would welcome in the White House. But maybe Jerry Brown's pattern of downward political mobility will persist.

If Brown is not, after all, running for president, perhaps he could challenge for a seat on the

Alameda County Mosquito Abatement District. If on the other hand he decides to remain mayor of Oakland and wants to really distance himself from the Left, there are some strategies he can consider.

Instead of supporting one rather unconventional charter school, mayor Brown can join a number of prominent blacks and push for full educational choice for all Oakland students, as a matter of civil rights. The injection of true competition, which Brown says he believes in, would improve the dreadful Oakland district and enable students to select high quality schools such as St. Ignatius, which Brown himself attended. The crime issue also offers possibilities.

A woman named Betty Van Patter worked as a bookkeeper for the Learning Center, an Oakland school run by the Black Panthers. Van Patter disappeared, suddenly, after she found some irregularities in the school's accounting, and was found dead in San Francisco Bay, her head caved in. Others associated with the Panthers also met similar ends. It would take a truly courageous mayor, dedicated to truth and justice, to reopen those cases, but if he did there's no telling what could happen.

K. Lloyd Billingsley is editorial director of the Pacific Research Institute and co-author of *Expanding the Charter Idea: A Template for Legislative and Policy Reform*.

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Transgressions in Michigan

A Very Politically Incorrect Young Man

by Wendy McElroy

The third issue of a student newspaper, *The Spartan Spectator*, hit the campus of Michigan State University (MSU) on October 9th. On October 19th, a press release from the publisher and founder Jason L. Van Dyke stated, "At approximately 12:30 am October 19, 2000 I was assaulted by an unknown individual. At the time I was in a study lounge reading for a midterm. When I returned to my room at approximately 1:05 am, the place had been completely trashed." In addition, someone had urinated in Van Dyke's mattress and written "die" on the loft with a magic marker. Because that word constitutes a threat, the police reported the incident as a case of both vandalism and assault. A second press release, dated October 30th, added, "The perpetrators also stole Van Dyke's credit card number and ordered large amounts of electronic equipment to Van Dyke's house. The bill for this equipment, according to Daniel Van Dyke (Jason's father), is so far in excess of \$6500, putting the theft into the range of felony credit card fraud and grand theft."

The trashing came on the heels of another attack: earlier that same week, an unidentified female destroyed the press run of Issue #3 by tearing up copies and throwing the tatters all over the third floor of Case Hall, which is Mr. Van Dyke's place of residence. Investigation into this matter has been suspended due to the stress of the subsequent criminal assault. In an e-mail update, Van Dyke explained, "We plan to start distributing under the doors of dorm rooms, increasing our press run, and varying the days that we put out issues. This should make it much harder to steal at least large quantities of the paper." Indeed, the theft of papers was a problem Van Dyke had anticipated. The first issue of *The Spartan Spectator* warned, "it is illegal to steal a free newspaper" and offered a reward for information leading to the arrest of anyone doing so with the intention of stopping distribution.

Why does *The Spartan Spectator* inspire such rage? Its Mission Statement reads, "To promote conservative journalism at Michigan State University through the publication and distribution of *The Spartan Spectator*." To many, the word "conservative" is a red flag and virtually a synonym for "racist" or "anti-feminist." Moreover, Mr. Van Dyke has been an outspoken critic of political correctness on campus. For example, last October, he was told not to use the elevator and various other public areas of Case Hall, because a university-sanctioned campaign of racial and sexual discrimination was underway. Signs posted throughout the Hall indicated which restrooms and cafeteria tables were for "blacks" or "gays only." The discrimination against white heterosexuals was part of a program called "Our Divided Reality," which was organized by Case Hall Black Caucus, the Department of Residence Life, and MSU Prism—a support group for lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgendered students. The voluntary program was meant to heighten students' awareness of how it felt to be a victim of discrimination. Figuring that his tuition gave him the right to access public areas within his own residence, Van Dyke refused to obey the program's "monitors"

who were strategically stationed to pressure anyone who did not obey.

Instead of obeying, Van Dyke filed a complaint with MSU's Judicial Affairs Office claiming that the discrimination—voluntary or not—violated MSU's much-vaunted Anti-Discrimination Policy. Article II of the Policy reads, in part, "Thus, even if not illegal, acts are prohibited... if they: 1. Discriminate against any University community member(s) through inappropriate limitation of employment opportunity, access to University residential

tor on the hypocrisy with which MSU administered its policies. "Apparently... it is only racism if it is directed at minorities. If discrimination is directed at white heterosexual males, it is called 'diversity.'" Van Dyke's words seemed carefully chosen. The home page at MSU's site proudly declares one of the university's "Guiding Principles" to be: "Advance Diversity within Community." In a speech broadcast on C-SPAN, Van Dyke observed, "[F]or all the huffing and puffing these groups do about diversity—apparently they have never heard about the most important kind of diversity: diversity of opinion."

In January 2000, Van Dyke was hired by the *State News* to write bi-weekly columns, only five of which appeared. He became one of the most controversial columnists in the student paper's history, attracting a total of fifteen letters-to-the-editor, thirteen of which were negative. Van Dyke's first column for *The State News* was titled "The Racism of Affirmative Action." It opened with Martin Luther King, Jr.'s famous lines, "I have a dream that... my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." Then, Mr. Van Dyke proceeded to break the monopoly ownership claim on King that advocates of political correctness have staked. Van Dyke "honored" him by tearing apart "one of many programs our government has instituted that is keeping" King's dream "from becoming a reality," namely, affirmative action. Calling the policy "racist and discriminatory," Van Dyke ended with the comment, "I think Dr. King would agree."

On Monday, April 3, his last column—titled "Movement Preaches Tolerance Hypocritically"—opened with the words, "I can see it now. By about 9 am today, everybody will be talking about how a bigot at MSU dared attack homosexual rights during Pride Week 2000. I say good." Van Dyke then launched into a full frontal assault on the hypocrisy of the Gay Pride Week that had been kicked off a week earlier with a presentation by the radical feminist Mary Daly.

Professor Daly was an interesting choice of speaker for a week supposedly devoted to tolerance. She is notorious for refusing to admit males into her classes at Boston College through Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments prohibits dual-sex universities that receive federal funds from discriminating on the basis of gender. This measure has often been cited by feminists to their advantage. A male student who had been refused admission into one of Daly's classes demanded that the College apply Title IX equally to women and men. When the Center for Individual Rights (CIR) threatened a lawsuit on his behalf, the College suddenly decided to comply. Daly was pressured into retirement. The ensuing write-up in "Accuracy in Academia" was titled "Radical Feminist, Victim of Right-Wing Conspiracy?" Daly commented on the conspiracy, "It is very clear that I'm a target. CIR has Boston College as a willing collaborator and no doubt the Vatican."

The bitter irony of Daly as a spokeswoman for gender sensitivity and broad-mindedness was not lost on Van Dyke. The April 3rd article commented, "Daly is among the most intolerant people in the United States. She is an advocate writing for segregation and openly promotes women's-only space." He asked, "[H]ow tolerant is the gay rights movement?" He concluded, "Gay rights activists who claim to be teaching tolerance and ridding the world of ignorance are actually some of the most

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Movement preaches tolerance hypocritically

I can see it now. By about 9 a.m. today, everybody will be talking about how a bigot at MSU dared attack homosexual rights during Pride Week 2000. I say good. Every time something like this happens, my point is proven. Gay rights activists who claim to be teaching tolerance and ridding the world of ignorance are actually some of the most bigoted and intolerant people.

The fun began March 23 with a speaker named Mary Daly. Ironically enough, Daly is among the most intolerant people in the United States. She is an advocate of segregation and openly promotes women's-only space. Daly even refuses to allow men to attend her feminist philosophy classes. When asked why, she has responded—using profanity—that she doesn't want men to interfere. Perhaps the real reason is she wants to spew her venom in an environment where no one will ask students to actually think about what they're hearing from their professor.

This is only one of many examples of the type of things MSU will be subjected to during Pride Week 2000. Such an example will be taking place today—a presentation from the Lambda Defense Fund. The fund's Web site and a letter sent out about Pride Week 2000 discuss how the fund is trying to get "recognition of the civil rights of lesbians, gay men, and people with HIV/AIDS through impact litigation, education, and public policy work."

I found it somewhat humorous—and somewhat sickening—that they mentioned HIV-related discrimination, but

JASON VAN DYKE

facilities... on the basis of age, color, gender, handicapper status, height, marital status, national origin." Judicial Affairs did not address Van Dyke's complaint but the student body did. One female student wrote in *The State News*, MSU's student newspaper (11/01/99), "Mr. Van Dyke, my message for you is short and brief... Please stop whining about how hard it is to get respect for being a white, Christian man. If you can't, please do the rest of us a favor and find another place to receive your education." Apparently, ASMSU—MSU's undergraduate student government—agrees. ASMSU's Funding Board declined to finance *The Spartan Spectator*, as it funds other student endeavors, because the conservative paper was not considered "beneficial to students."

Van Dyke's reaction was pugilistic. In the October issue of *The Spartan Spectator*, he declared, "As a result of this, we have decided that we are going to launch a campaign against liberalism at MSU unlike one that has ever been launched before. It starts with ASMSU." He announced that his monthly publication would now issue bi-weekly under the editorship of Andrew Abramczyk. It would maintain its regular columnists, including the satirical jabs of "the raging lesbian" Jane Q. Liberal whom the paper claims it was forced to hire due to affirmative action.

Mr. Van Dyke is one of a growing class of students on American campuses today: a white heterosexual male who demands that universities apply their own anti-discrimination policies without bias. It is a battle he's been fighting for over a year now, ever since he began writing for *The State News*, which used to be the only student paper on the MSU campus. As early as September 15th, 1999, Van Dyke commented in a letter to the edi-



Dyke

- Politics
- Weather
- MSU 2000
- Final Exam
- NCAA Basketball

- Advertisers
- Ratings

- Archives
- 2000
- 1999
- 1998
- 1997
- 1996

- Hazeprint
- Multimedia
- Radio
- Video
- Audio

bigoted and intolerant people . . . In this day and age, you only have free speech when you agree with the liberal establishment. The day you begin to disagree, speech is no longer free."

The next day, April 4, *The State News* printed a letter from Blake Spear, vice-president of MSU Prism, a gay rights advocacy group. He threatened to bring MSU judicial action against Van Dyke for violating the MSU Anti-Discrimination Policy. Van Dyke e-mailed Mr. Spear to inform him that any frivolous prosecution would result in a lawsuit. In an interview Mr. Van Dyke explained what happened next. "This person [Mr. Spear] forwarded my response to the Opinion Editor of *The State News*, Dan Macklin, and demanded that I be fired. The gay rights group on campus might have to do something." I know this because when Mr. Macklin sent me the letter announcing my dismissal, he inadvertently sent the original letter and his response." Mr. Spear demanded that the unrepentant columnist be ousted. Two days after his fifth column, Van Dyke abruptly was fired.

While doing research on Van Dyke's dismissal, I was reading his columns in *The State News* archives one minute. The next minute they had vanished into the embargoed part of cyberspace. In a phone conversation with Opinions Editor Dan Macklin, I inquired about access to one article in particular—"Movement Preaches Tolerance Hypocritically"—which I had not downloaded. He assured me that if the article existed—and he would not confirm that it did—then it would be in the archives. In an e-mail, Mr. Van Dyke explained why I could no longer access it. "That is because they took the URL offline. However, I have the URL [http://www.state-news.com/editions/040300/op_coll.html] because they did not actually delete the file from their webpage."

That call I was promised from the main editor of *The State News* never materialized. Although Macklin claims that Van Dyke was fired because of his "bad" attitude and unprofessionalism, it is difficult to understand why published articles were suddenly gone in the cyber equivalent of book burning.

Van Dyke responded to his disappearance down *The State News'* Orwellian Memory Hole by establishing a website called ThePotatoe [<http://www.thepotatoe.com>], which declares, "The mission of ThePotatoe.Com is to promote Conservative and Christian political thought on the World Wide Web and beyond." He explained, "I started ThePotatoe.Com with my friend, Bill Barnwell, who just happened to have been fired a

week or two earlier under highly similar circumstances [by *The South End*, Wayne State University's Student Newspaper]."

Why the strange spelling of such a strange name? True to the in-your-face iconoclasm of the two founders, ThePotatoe is named in honor of former Vice-President Dan Quayle. Mr. Van Dyke explains, "ThePotatoe.Com" is spelled exactly the way Mr. Quayle read it" in the famous television news clip that was played over and over again by the liberal media in order to ridicule him. Perhaps embracing the ridicule aimed at conservatives is a sound strategic move, given how difficult it can be to take the PC critiques seriously. Bill Barnwell describes the sort of incident that causes fellow students to label him "racist" or "Nazi." It occurred while he attended an officially sponsored discussion of race relations at Wayne State. The audience was asked a question: if you were the principal of a school that received complaints about racial discrimination, what would you do? Among the solutions offered: students would be forced to sit at integrated tables in the cafeteria; the parking lot and lockers would be similarly integrated. When Barnwell's turn to speak arrived, he opened with, "for one thing, I would honor the right to free association."

ThePotatoe is a place where college conservatives who are denied the right to associate and speak freely can have their work published. One such writer is Chris Lilik, Editor-in-Chief of a student newspaper called *The Conservative Column* at Villanova University. In the early months of this year, Lilik's paper was confiscated by the school's administration. He received a voice mail message from the school's director of student development who expressed concern about a parody advertisement directed at a local bank that provided Villanova's ATM services. Expressing concern, the message informed Lilik, "I will be removing all the issues of *The Conservative Column* that I see." The paper was *de facto*, banned from campus. He now writes for ThePotatoe, where *The Spartan Spectator* is also available online.

Are the opinions expressed in *The Spartan Spectator* offensive to the "average student?" Perhaps. Certainly feminists will be outraged by the strong pro-life stand that calls abortion "slaughter." Some Blacks may be insulted by the controversial Confederate Flag of Georgia that was displayed on the front page of the second issue. Liberals should be appalled by *The Spartan Spectator's* photo contest: "Could you use an extra \$20? In our ever-growing quest to rid the

world of liberals, *The Spartan Spectator* is acting as the positive voice for change by offering this photo contest. Do you have a picture of a liberal that may lead them to premature retirement, divorce, or even criminal proceedings? Why not send those photos to *The Spartan Spectator*? Our staff will vote on the winning entry, print it on the front page, and send the person submitting it \$20. Double pay if the photo actually lands them in jail!" Anti-gun zealots will be horrified by the Nazi photograph of the bodies of Jewish women in a mass grave with the text, "On May 14, 2000, the so-called Million Moms marched to stop civilians from owning guns. Here's what happens when they get their wish."

And what of the most common complaint about ThePotatoe.com—namely, that it is anti-gay? Van Dyke explained to me, "The site is not designed to be a distinctively 'anti-gay' site. ThePotatoe.Com is designed to bring to light a variety of issues. Gun control, affirmative action, taxation, censorship, and racism have been popular choices among our staff. The homosexual rights movement just happens to be the topic that has gained our website the most recognition and notoriety."

He then offered a detailed account of his personal position. "Homosexuality is unnatural as homosexual sex has no biological function. I believe homosexual conduct to be a sin against God, just the same as murder, adultery, and theft are sins, although I don't believe homosexuality is somehow a more grievous sin than others in the eyes of God." For Van Dyke, homosexuality is more than a personal choice. It has political and social consequences such as the "spread of dangerous STDs" [sexually transmitted diseases] and a general increase in promiscuity.

Van Dyke intends to go to law school, undoubtedly because he will have to defend the right to be politically incorrect over and over again in his life. I asked why he was willing to spend so much time and effort on *The Spartan Spectator* when it led to incidents such as the trashing of his room. Van Dyke answered simply, "I think that conservatives need to have a voice on campus." Then, he added, "We will not be silenced or scared off by a bunch of bleeding hearts. I see this simply as evidence that they are scared and that they want me to stop publishing. If they think they will stop me, they have another guess coming."

Wendy McElroy is the author of *19th Century Individualist Feminists: the Forgotten Roots of American Feminism* [McFarland].

HILLARY CLINTON AND THE

RACIAL LEFT

DAVID HOROWITZ

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REPARATIONS*



Some African-American leaders are calling for reparations to be paid to American blacks by the rest of America—European, Asian and Hispanic. Blacks in America are the freest and most prosperous black people on earth. The average descendant of African slaves in America earns between 20 and 50 times as much as the average black person in Africa, whose ancestors were not kidnapped and enslaved. Why should a Vietnamese or Iraqi refugee, a Mexican migrant worker, or a Polish escapee from Communism pay reparations for an injustice committed 150 years ago?

Why do African-American leaders want to separate African Americans from other Americans? Blacks came to America before the Mayflower. Who is more American than the descendants of African slaves? For African Americans to pursue "reparations" claims against European, Asian and Hispanic Americans is a divisive and self-defeating idea.

A leader of the reparations movement, Randall Robinson, has written a manifesto—*The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*—which is a model of what is wrong with the reparations cause. Anti-white sentiments and anti-American feelings leap out from every page of Robinson's book including a chapter devoted to praising Fidel Castro, one of the world's longest surviving and most sadistic dictators. A rhapsody for Fidel Castro's Marxist police state would seem a bizarre irrelevance to a book on reparations for American blacks, except that for Robinson, Castro is a quintessential victim of American "oppression," and therefore a hero regardless of his crimes.

In the eyes of Randall Robinson, Thomas Jefferson, the author of the declaration that "all men are created equal," was merely "a slave owner, a racist and—if one accepts that consent cannot be given if it cannot be denied—a rapist." (Robinson is referring to Jefferson's affair with his slave Sally Hemings.) In Robinson's view, the fact that Americans still honor the author of the Declaration of Independence makes his personal sins into archetypes that define America itself: "Does not the continued unremarked American deification of Jefferson tell us all how profoundly contemptuous of black sensibilities, American society persists in being? How deeply, stubbornly, poisonously racist our society to this day remains?"

Behind the reparations idea is, finally, an irrational fear and hatred of America. It is about holding America responsible for every negative facet of black existence, as though America were God, and God had failed. Above all, it is about denying the gift America has given to all of its citizens, black as well as white, through the inspired genius of its founding.

This hatred for America blinds Robinson—and those who think like him—to a truth far more important than Jefferson's dalliance with Sally Hemings, which may or may not have been unwilling (consent obviously can be given even if it cannot be denied). For it is the words Thomas Jefferson wrote—"all men are created equal"—(words that white Americans died for) that accomplished what no black African did: they set Randall Robinson's ancestors free.

For all America's faults, African Americans have an enormous stake in America and in the heritage individuals like Thomas Jefferson helped to create. To denigrate Jefferson is to denigrate themselves. The heritage enshrined in the American founding and the institutions and ideas to which it gave rise, is what is really under attack in the reparations movement. This assault on America, led by racial separatists and the political left, is not only an attack on white Americans, but on all Americans—and on African Americans especially.

America's black citizens are the richest and most privileged black people alive—a bounty that is a direct result of the heritage that is under assault. The American idea needs the support of its African-American citizens. But African Americans also need the support of the American idea.

—David Horowitz

*Excerpted from *The Death of the Civil Rights Movement*
by David Horowitz



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How Many Divisions Hath the Pope?

Communist China Trashes Its Catholics

by Mark Tooley

The Chinese government decided to usher in the Christmas season by dynamiting hundreds of churches and temples. "The illegal activities in these illegal buildings do harm to the people," a government spokesman explained about the December demolitions. "They just encourage these superstitious activities." In other words, "Merry Christmas from your communist government!"

At least 200 churches were blown up, and another 200 were shut down, mostly in southeast China near the city of Wenzhou. Although Foreign Affairs Ministry official labeled the demolitions a local initiative, he added: "This could be a good example for other cities." Many of the destroyed churches were linked to the underground Catholic church, which recognizes the Pope and not the Chinese Politburo as its leader.

Christmas apparently is a traditional time for government crack-downs against "unofficial" religious sects in China. But this latest assault on religion, especially on Roman Catholicism, may be part of a larger spiritual battle between the Vatican and Beijing.

That battle was dramatically illustrated by rival ceremonies in October. The contrast was stark. During its annual National Day on October 1—a holiday honoring the Boxer Rebellion—the communist Chinese celebrated the 51st anniversary of their party's bloody take-over, with all the mechanized armament and robotic pomp that only Marxist governments can organize. On the same day, half a world away, the Pope canonized 87 Chinese Christian and 33 Western missionaries who were martyred for their faith, most of them massacred during the anti-Western Boxer Rebellion a century ago.

The rival ceremonies are no coincidence. In fact, the Vatican and China's Communist leaders are now engaged in a new round of spiritual war for the souls of China's Catholic believers. And if recent history is a guide, the successor to St. Peter is likely at least to hold his own in a struggle against the successors to Mao.

The flash point came when China's government denounced the Vatican ceremony as a "grave affront to the nation." The Chinese State Administration of Religious Affairs described the saints honored as criminals and agents of imperialism guilty of "monstrous crimes" against the Chinese people. And the Pope was honoring them on a communist holy day, in a deliberate insult to the People's Republic, whose leaders see the murderous Boxers as early champions of the proletariat.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry official was even more vitriolic, claiming that most of the alleged martyrs were "executed" for violating Chinese law or "bullying" the Chinese people. "The sanctification of such people distorts truth and history, beautifies imperialism and slanders the peace-loving

Chinese people." With no trace of irony, the Chinese spokesmen decried the slain martyrs as "evil-doing sinners," and lamented the lack of repentance by the imperialist Vatican. More remarkably, spokesmen for China's "official" churches echoed these harsh statements from Chinese communist officials. These church leaders participated in the Patriotic Day celebration in Beijing as representatives of the government-controlled China Christian Council (for Protestants) and the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association. The latter organization professes to be Roman Catholic,



POPE JOHN PAUL II

although it maintains no ties with the Vatican, acknowledging China's communist rulers instead of the Pope as the supreme authority over the church.

The leader of the Catholic Patriotic Association was not subtle in his critique of the Pope. "Choosing [October 1] to canonize the so-called saints is an open insult and humiliation against Chinese Catholic adherents," intoned Patriotic Catholic Bishop Michael Fu Tieshan. He called some of the martyrs "henchmen" guilty of "crimes" against the Chinese people. "Today is a holiday that marks the liberation of the Chinese nation from imperial and colonial invasion and robbery." Fu was among 120 Patriotic Association bishops, priests, monks and nuns who attended the flag-raising ceremony in Tiananmen Square to celebrate communism's take-over of their country.

Later in the day, Bishop Fu presided over a special mass commemorating the anniversary of Mao's victory. "We are here with a special purpose to celebrate the growth of the Chinese Catholic Church over the past five decades which has been free from control and interference from foreign forces." He pronounced his indignation that the Vatican would resort to "distortion and tampering" of history by glorifying imperialism.

"The sacred Catholic Church has been taken advantage of by the imperialists and colonialists in history to cause tremendous trauma to the Chinese people," the bishop solemnly intoned. "But the Chinese Catholics have over the past 50 years regained the confidence of the Chinese people for our consistent adherence to the policy of self-administration of religious affairs."

Meanwhile, back in Rome at the

canonization rite, the Pope spoke especially movingly of a 14-year-old Chinese girl during the Boxer rebellion who "resisted the executioners' threats" that she would die miserably unless she denounced her faith. Rather than deny her God, she "prepared for decapitation" and "cried with a radiant face: 'The door of heaven is open to all.'" The canonizations took place on a feast day traditionally reserved for honoring missionary activity.

Those who watch human rights in China were left wondering what kind of religious leader, even a flunky of his government, would decree any honor accorded a martyred teen-ager, no matter the circumstances? Yet the state-controlled churches in China have never had qualms about defending atrocities and repression aimed at their supposed brothers and sisters in the faith, whether historic or current. The Catholic Patriotic Association has been particularly egregious in its efforts to coopt religious sentiment and channel it into forms acceptable to the government while using its alleged authority to help in the persecution of practitioners of the true faith. Protestants typically do not have a centralized authority by which they define their religious identity. Roman Catholics by definition recognize the Pope as the supreme

head of their church. Catholic teaching makes clear that to deny the Pope's authority is to be in schism. In addition to constructing a flimsy Potemkin Village version of Catholicism, China's Catholic Patriotic Association makes no effort to hide its hostility to the Vatican.

The Politburo, rather than the Apostolic Succession, is the Association's guide. Patriotic doctrine and ritual try to replicate Catholic doctrine when possible. But when church teachings are contradicted by communist policies, such as a mandatory one-child per family law and coerced abortion, the Catholic Patriotic Association must side with communist policies against the church.

Several bishops, hundreds of priests, and countless lay people from the underground ("real") Catholic Church continue to be arrested for their fidelity to Rome and to the Pope's teachings, particularly those involving human freedom and responsibility. Even attending a mass at an "unofficial" church can incur severe fines, or worse. Even so, by some estimates as many as 10 million Chinese belong to the underground Catholic Church, while the government claims 4 million belong to the Catholic Patriotic Association. Probably some Chinese Catholics are active in both, either from ignorance, self-interest or a desire for rapprochement between the two. A few Patriotic Catholics are publicly recognized by the Pope. But many more in the underground church, including Bishops and perhaps a cardinal or two—have been accorded secret status by Rome.

This distinction between the two religious entities in China is not always made in American media, some of which will simply refer to Beijing's prelates as the "Catholic" leadership of China. According

to the Connecticut-based Cardinal Kung Foundation, which monitors Catholic persecution in China, 50 Patriotic Association seminarians and priests are studying in U.S. seminaries. They receive full tuition and room and board from these seminaries, as part of a program conducted by the left-wing Maryknoll Order. Some Patriotic Association priests have even been given full faculties in some U.S. Catholic dioceses. U.S. Roman Catholic institutions, sometimes unknowingly, have given millions of dollars to ministries in China under the control of the Patriotic Association. The Cardinal Kung Foundation complains that the underground church does not receive similar support from the U.S.

Underground Catholics obviously are unable to appeal for support in public. But official church leaders are permitted to travel to the U.S. and reap publicity and funding for themselves. The aforementioned Bishop Fu, who heads the Catholic Patriotic Association, led the Chinese delegation to Ted Turner's global Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders at the United Nations in August. With no trace of irony, Fu spoke out in favor of maintaining religion's "purity" and defended China's "full religious freedom" in what he called a "golden period" for religion in China.

But in a foreshadowing of his truculent National Day remarks in Beijing, Bishop Fu warned against trampling over the sovereignty of other countries in the "name of protecting religion and human rights," in an obvious reference to the busybodies who are distressed over China's continuing persecution of religious believers. And Fu excoriated people who fished for fame and split the motherland under the cloak of religion.

"Now is the time when we must go into action to end the tragedy where religion is being desecrated, faked, distorted and abused and restore religion to its true features," Fu declared. "It is also the time that we should bring into play our moral and spiritual strength as religious leaders and promote world peace."

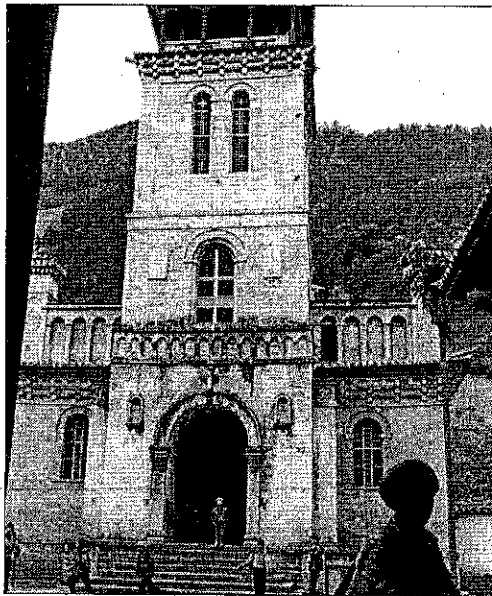
Ties That Bind

The Chinese government compelled Chinese Catholics to cut their ties to the Vatican in 1951. China has insisted that any renewal of ties requires not only cutting off Taiwan, with which the Vatican has maintained relations for decades, but also renouncing any "interference in internal Chinese affairs under the pretext of religion." The pledge would mean, for example, that the Pope could not appoint any more Chinese bishops or compel obedience to the edicts of Rome. In 1957 the Chinese government created the Catholic Patriotic Association, which has been ordaining its own bishops since 1958. There are now close to 70 official bishops, along with 5,000 churches, 14 seminaries, 1,000 priests, and 2,000 nuns. The underground church, with parallel structures, is also said to have an equal number of bishops, clergy and nuns, and 10 seminaries, all of them acknowledging the Vatican's authority, even if the lines of communication are by necessity sometimes sporadic.

According to a 1999 letter from the Catholic Patriotic Association, 60 of China's 110 official dioceses then had bishops. The rest functioned with diocesan administrators. The letter encouraged dioceses without a bishop to elect and ordain one. Early this year, the Patriotic Association ordained five bishops at the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady

Cathedral in Beijing.

It was the exact same day that the Pope ordained 12 bishops in Rome. According to a Vatican news agency, the Patriotic Association had wanted originally to ordain its own dozen bishops, in a direct mirroring of the Vatican ceremony. The news agency said that nine of the Chinese candidates refused ordination when they realized the ceremony was meant to directly compete with the Pope. Some Patriotic clergy still are reluctant to directly insult the Vatican, and no doubt more than a few still harbor some disguised fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church. But the Patriotic Association subsequently found two others who were willing to accept ordination. The



CHILDREN PLAY IN FRONT OF A CHURCH IN CHINA

Vatican news agency said that this was a "sign of the pressure which the government is exercising on the candidates to accept the ordination."

Upset with such resistance, Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji called for greater control of all religions to "guarantee political stability." In a meeting with directors of all local government religious offices, Zhu warned them that they must "attentively study the Marxist concept of religion and, based on the law, reinforce the administration of religious affairs."

Faithful to government policy, in August Bishop Fu ordained four priests at the Beijing cathedral. But reportedly half the congregation boycotted the ceremony. And 14 priests declined to co-officiate in the ordination for reasons of "health." So it appears that the Catholic Patriotic Association's pretenses to authority are not fully accepted even by its own communicants. The Vatican called the ordinations a "serious violation of canonical discipline."

The rival ordinations and rival ceremonies on communist China's National Day point to a war of nerves between the Vatican and Beijing. As Fides, the Vatican's official news agency, explained: "The canonization of the Chinese martyrs is a challenge to the courage of Beijing government" to expand religious freedom. Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls emphatically denied China's allegation that the martyrs were agents of Western imperialism. "All of the missionary martyrs had a deep love for China." And he complained that China had leveled "vague accusations" against the martyrs without proof.

A day after the canonization, China's official news agency published a

long article making specific accusations against three of the European martyrs. One priest, for example, was accused of having regularly deflowered local Chinese virgins in his diocese. Another priest was accused of supporting the opium trade. The Vatican responded that the history of each martyr had been carefully investigated, and all were in fact "peaceful messengers of the Gospel who loved the Chinese people and were dedicated to serving them."

Prior to the Vatican canonization, Hong Kong's Catholics were warned by Beijing to be low key in their celebrations. Generally, the Hong Kong Catholics complied, hosting quiet Masses. But China still cancelled a scheduled visit by Hong Kong Catholic groups to visit churches and shrines in neighboring Guangdong province. Reportedly Beijing was apprehensive about letting Hong Kong Catholics have contact with mainland co-religionists. Not intimidated, the Coadjutor Bishop of Hong Kong defended the canonizations and criticized Beijing's angry response. The bishop was subsequently informed by the Catholic Patriotic Association that the Chinese government "was highly displeased."

Incompatible Catholics

The Chinese Foreign Ministry also warned that the Vatican's "provocative" actions had "severely damaged" the possibility for normalized diplomatic relations, for which there had been some progress over the last year. Only in September, a French cardinal, who is also an aide to the Pope, visited Beijing to meet with government and Patriotic Catholics. But the day after the canonizations, both the Catholic Patriotic Association and its opposite number, the Protestant China Christian Council, organized respective symposia to reiterate their condemnations of the Vatican. They warned that evangelization in China would be impaired by the reminder of Western imperialism. And they alleged that the Vatican was historically in cahoots with foreign domination of China, citing the Vatican's recognition of the Japanese Manchu puppet government during the 1930's.

During a European trip this summer, a spokesman for visiting Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji told reporters that Beijing will never compromise with the Vatican over control of Catholics in China. "The Chinese ecclesiastical situation is based on a compatibility with historical and national conditions," she insisted. "This won't ever change." The Catholic Patriotic Association exists because of "the desire of the mass of Chinese believers."

Meanwhile, an editorial earlier this year by the head of the Vatican news service pointed out that China's Communists have martyred hundreds of Roman Catholics. So far the Pope has canonized only Chinese martyrs killed prior to Mao's triumph in 1949, he observed. "We must have the courage to complete the list all the way, up to the present day." But he pointed out, "This will require Beijing to allow accurate investigation and to admit that the history of the Church—and of freedom—belongs not to the state alone, it is universal."

China's communist leaders cannot be expected to acknowledge rival claims of authority or principles about universal freedom. But their half-century of revolutionary control is not likely to outlast the millennia-old Church of Rome.

Mark Tooley works with the Institute for Religion and Democracy in Washington, DC.

Supermarket Execs Face Indictment

by Judith Schumann Weizner

Attorney General Jaynette Reynaud announced today that the Justice Department would seek indictments of several executives of FoodSource, the third largest supermarket chain in the United States. At issue are charges that FoodSource's inventory policies promote discrimination against minorities.

The department began its investigation of the retail food giant following a customer's complaint that there were no collard greens in the produce section of its Whyte Cliffs, Connecticut store. Three years ago, Watumba Mobutu, legal counsel for the Coalition Against Discrimination in Everyday Life (CADEL), stopped at the store on his way home hoping to pick up some collard greens to make soup. Mobutu, who teaches business law in the emerging majorities department at the Rocky Haven campus of the National Law School, told Justice Department officials that although he had not previously shopped at the Whyte Cliffs store, he had assumed they would be available there, as African Americans comprise nearly 10% of the state's population.

Mr. Mobutu told investigators that when he had asked to be directed to the soul food department he had been told there was none. Suspecting discrimination, he demanded to speak to the manager, George Pesce, who told him that in the entire 14 years he had managed the store, no one had ever requested collard greens. He said the manager told him that he had never even considered stocking soul food because the clientele in Whyte Cliffs was almost exclusively Caucasian, with a tiny admixture of Asians. Mr. Mobutu said he found Mr. Pesce's statement hard to believe, as soul food had entered the mainstream and gained considerably in popularity since the sixties, and asked Mr. Pesce to order some for him just to see if he would do it.

According to sources within the Justice Department, Mr. Pesce said the greens were in the store the next day, but that Mr. Mobutu waited two weeks to pick them up, by which time they had wilted. He said Mr. Mobutu had asked him to reorder, promising to pick up his order promptly, but this second order also wilted. When Mr. Mobutu finally showed up to claim it, explaining that he'd been sequestered while on jury duty, he asked Mr. Pesce if he'd be willing to order for him one more time.

The manager agreed, but when the third lot of collard greens also had to be thrown out due to Mr. Mobutu's laxness about picking it up, Mr. Pesce told Mr. Mobutu that he would not reorder for him again unless he agreed to pay in advance. He said he would be happy to stock any item he knew he could sell, but that he could not stock an item if he knew in advance that no one would buy it.

Sources say that Mr. Mobutu informed Mr. Pesce that his refusal to stock soul food could be interpreted as a violation of the Ethnic Courtesy Provision of the Federal Code of Civil Conduct, and offered him the opportunity to change his mind, but Mr. Pesce refused.

Justice Department records indicate that Mr. Mobutu contacted the FBI from a phone booth in the FoodSource parking lot, and the investigation began that evening.

What began as a single complaint of ethnically inspired discourtesy quickly escalated into an inquiry into the policies and practices of FoodSource's parent company, Manna Industries. Included in the expanded investigation were Manna president and CEO Ken Manna, in addition to FoodSource executives Percy Fleisch and Herb Milch. Along with Mr. Pesce, the three now face indictment under Section 24 of the Federal Code of Civil Conduct.

Both Mr. Fleisch and Mr. Milch have stated that while FoodSource managers have considerable latitude as

prevent a bowl of artificial sweetener from falling to the floor.

The preliminary report concludes that uproarious laughter did occur at a meeting at which soul food was under discussion, and does not accept the artificial sweetener explanation, which the department's seismic experts say could not have accounted for the level or duration of laughter registered on the security system's noise sensors. It also cites Mr. Fleisch for lack of responsiveness because, when asked why Mr. Milch's attempt to retrieve a bowl of artificial sweetener would have caused "uproarious" laughter, he answered, "You had to be there."

The outcome of the pending indictments is crucial for FoodSource, which has already been cited twice for minority-related irregularities. A third negative outcome would leave the company vulnerable to government supervision if not to a Justice Department take-over.

Three years ago, the company was charged with failure to advertise in the *Inner City Gazette* (ICG), a Rocky Haven publication with a paid circulation of 52. *Inner City Gazette* brought its complaint under the Equality of Nutrition Act, alleging that the supermarket chain's advertising policy denied the minority community equal access to information about sales of nutritious foods at FoodSource. FoodSource advertising manager Thomas Lebensmittel testified that he had told ICG's publisher that it was against company policy to spend more than \$10,000 per month advertising in any publication with a paid circulation under 19,000. In an administrative hearing before the Foods Education Panel of the Department of Fundamental Nutrition, FoodSource was found to have implemented a policy that effectively ruled out advertising in local minority publications, thereby denying vital nutritional information to the minority population. The company was fined \$12 million and ordered to subsidize ICG for a period of nine years.

Last year, federal judge Norma Depp ordered a FoodSource store in New Jersey to pay \$3 million to the Life's Lottery Foundation for selling potato chips to inner city teens in violation of federal food safety standards for minority youngsters. The decision received little attention outside the retail food industry because it occurred at the same time as the verdict in the trial of fourteen top National Motors executives for conspiracy to commit attempted murder. (The auto executives were convicted of conspiracy to commit attempted murder for selling vehicles which they knew could cause death in collisions with bicycles.)

If Mr. Pesce is found to have violated the Ethnic Courtesy Provision of the Federal Code of Civil Conduct by refusing to stock an item requested by a member of a minority as defined under Paragraph 24.8 of the Federal Register of Protected Species, he could face as much as 12 years in prison and fines up to \$136,000. Messrs. Manna, Fleisch and Milch are facing the same penalties for conspiracy to implement policies resulting in failure to extend uncommon courtesy to a member of an ethnic minority.

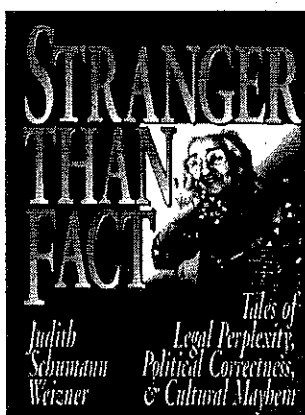
Mr. Pesce could also be charged with the hate crime of racially-based extortion stemming from his insistence that Mr. Mobutu pay in advance for a food enjoyed primarily by an ethnic or racial minority.



WATUMBA MOBUTU

to what items they stock, the company encourages them to sell ethnic items in neighborhoods where there is sufficient demand, but does not define sufficient demand. Mr. Fleisch is on record as having said that one request would usually not be considered sufficient unless the person making the request belonged to a group that would be likely to patronize FoodSource in large numbers in the future, and that he supported Mr. Pesce's decision because Whyte Cliffs and the surrounding area have a statistically negligible African-American population. (There are currently two other FoodSource stores closer to the predominantly African-American neighborhoods that stock collard greens, as well as many other items often referred to as soul food.)

The preliminary Justice Department report, leaked last week, indicates that an anonymous witness, present outside the room in which a meeting of FoodSource's top executives took place, knew that ethnic inventory was the topic under discussion. The witness is expected to testify that he had heard Mr. Fleisch laugh during the meeting. A second witness is also said to be ready to testify that he heard "uproarious laughter" coming from the room at the time the meeting was taking place, although Mr. Fleisch is said to have explained that the laughter occurred when Mr. Milch, who has been known to boast about his record as a hockey goalie, flung himself across the conference table in a vain attempt to



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