

dated warehouse. It has been sectioned off into sleeping lofts, a bathroom, a large kitchen area and an open center space containing formerly discarded sofas for seating an audience during the frequent performance art evenings. On the ground floor is an elaborate network of skateboard ramps, a soundproof music room with two full drum sets and the group's collection of "stuff" and "junk."

So far, warehouse tribes have succeeded in being invisible to outsiders. "We are surrounded by people who don't know what's going on here," says Andrew. "I never knew about warehouse life in Philly until I left. I was living in the middle of it and never saw it."

Bruce, a 28-year-old Navy veteran and house painter, has lived the warehouse life in Philadelphia and San Francisco. "You can find [warehouse people] in every town in America, but especially in the Rust Belt, where there is so much industry. I can go to any town and within two hours find my people just by standing on the corner in the right part of town."

Warehouse tribes revel in sharing a distinctive costume. Often seen weaving their ways through cities on skateboards, these urban jackrab-

bits can be identified by their ragged layers of sweats and '50s-era print shirts and dresses. They often sport tattoos, nose rings, personalized high-top sneakers and a variety of mohawks.

Although each warehouse community develops its own philosophical outlook, the members generally agree that they are not skinheads, heavy-metal rockers or hippies. They are known to each other as skaters or performance artists.

Their furtive lifestyle and art have origins in the punk music scene. Their music discourages hero worship and promotes bonds among people. "One of the most important things about punk is not to immortalize stars," says Andrew. "Most groups that are famous don't even have records."

The common denominator among warehouse tribes is transient living and the rejection of a controlled environment. They usually live in buildings under a loose lease or in abandoned industrial sites that are soon to be razed or sold. There are so many warehouse tribes—an estimated 1,500 in San Francisco alone—that insiders suspect any rundown commercial space of housing a collective. Resistant to all organizational efforts, tribe members

From grand wizard to state representative

BATON ROUGE, LA.—David Duke did in Louisiana what most people thought was impossible anywhere in 1989. The former grand wizard of the national Ku Klux Klan and current president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People was elected to a seat in the state legislature.

Duke was sworn into office on February 22 despite challenges in the legislature and in court based on claims that he had not met the one-year residency requirement in his district. But many black and liberal lawmakers felt the attempts to stop Duke were misdirected. They pointed out that, even if Duke would have been kept from the legislature, the sentiments that put him there could not be so easily shoved aside—and the last thing they wanted was a martyr on their hands. Instead, the black and liberal lawmakers looked forward to watching their conservative colleagues squirm when they find Duke making speeches in support of their right-wing positions.

Some observers, noting the surprisingly warm reception Duke received from many of his colleagues in the statehouse, worried that his election would set back race relations and touch off a nationwide wave of racially inspired campaigns. And while it has noticeably raised the tension level in interracial relations, the election is more likely to cause a much-needed bout of national soul-searching and consciousness-raising. Many blacks—

who were not as surprised as whites that racists get elected to the legislature—said they preferred Duke's brand of open racism to the currently fashionable kind that is submerging and more effective.

In defeating fellow Republican John Treen in the February 18 runoff election, the white supremacist and former Nazi Party member gained the national media spotlight and triggered a bout of handwringing by Republican Party officials. People all over the country asked each other, how?

Duke won the election by 227 votes in a 99-percent white suburban district bordering predominately black New Orleans despite the fact that his opponent's campaign was being run by Lee Atwater and the Republican National Committee, which delivered money and endorsements from President Bush, Bush's son and former President Reagan. Immediately after the election Atwater said he would ask the GOP executive committee to repudiate Duke and "drum him out of the party." Atwater later backed off when local party officials complained that they were playing into the hands of Duke, who shrewdly has used the outside interference to his advantage.

Some saw great irony in the party's efforts to distance themselves from Duke (see editorial on page 14) while at the same time using calculated racial appeals to attract white voters. Bush's political advertisement associating Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis with black rapist Willie Horton is the most notable example. "Now you have the Republicans saying, 'Oh, Lordy, Lordy, Lordy, isn't

walked out of a recent presentation by the San Francisco city permit department on "how to legalize your living space."

Bernard, another urban survivalist, lives in a "squat" in Cologne, West Germany, where he says the motivations for warehouse living are different. "In Germany, the movement is old and quite established, the groups are drawn together from all walks of life for radical political purposes. In America, people are not so involved in larger movements. They are on more individual trips." Garbage person Bruce agrees. "Here, each person can have his own rendition of how he wants to live. Some warehouses are into drugs, art, noise. In others, everybody works and goes to bed early."

Laurie says she has been thinking a lot about her lifestyle and the kinds of controls her young daughter will face as she grows up. "I don't know what will happen to me, and I don't know how much this way of life will affect Rogue, but I expect to keep finding creative ways to live. Being able to define my space, to change it if I want to, that's very important to me."

—Julia Gilden

A version of this story appeared in Pacific News Service.

this terrible?" said California Democratic Rep. Tony Coelho. "Well, they were playing with matches; they were playing with fire."

Duke's appeal was in many ways similar to Reagan's conservative populist approach: Reagan created an image as a friend of the little guy, railing against government regulation and interference. But the little guy in Reagan's world, like Duke's today, is lily-white. Reagan attacked those who received government aid as "welfare queens" and "cheats," while defending the working man, who found blacks and other minorities a convenient explanation for problems such as crime and drugs.

Democrats should be careful not to make too much of Duke's recent party registration until their own house is in order. Republicans love to point out that Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV)—who just stepped down as the party's Senate leader—is a former KKK member. Blacks have only recently begun to take their rightful place in the party, and only when they forced their way in via Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns. And many on the left claim that the failure of half-hearted liberal programs such as public housing projects have exacerbated the perils of urban life.

While the focus on Duke intensifies in the glare of the national spotlight and Northerners content themselves with the thought that it could only happen in the South, the "climate of hate" of which Duke is only a symptom continues to build, unchecked by mainstream Republicans or Democrats.

—Zack Nauth

stores in a mall somewhere." Like, say, Joplin, Mo., Hoffman wrote. "It is simply not the legitimate function of a book retailer to solve the problems of international terrorism." No, but one might expect that it is a legitimate function of a working intellect not to allow the bogeyman of international terrorism to dictate what is and what is not placed on U.S. bookshelves. To make just that point, the National Writers Union, the labor organization that represents *In These Times'* freelance writers, sponsored four demonstrations in support of Salman Rushdie last week. In San Francisco and Boston the actions were directed at B. Dalton, Waldenbooks and Barnes and Noble—book chains that are refusing to carry *The Satanic Verses*. In New York protestors gathered at the office of Iran's U.N. mission and from there went to picket Barnes and Noble. Writers Union members in Washington demonstrated in front of the Iranian interest section that is located in the Algerian Embassy. There they called on the U.S. to protect authors, booksellers and publishers from these threats, asked bookstores not to succumb to such intimidation and demanded that Iran's leaders withdraw their contract on Rushdie's head.



Let the presses roll

Keter Publications, the largest publisher in Israel, is rushing to come out with a Hebrew translation of *The Satanic Verses*. Chief Editor Niva Lanir says her considerations were purely literary. But she admits, "I know it is going to cause a lot of noise." Over in Jerusalem, Adnan Hussein, director of the Supreme Islamic Council, is not losing any sleep over Rushdie's alleged heresy. "Islam is a giant that a small book like this doesn't hurt," he says. "We don't care about the book. We understand Islam well. We are proud of Mohammed and we believe what this man publishes about Islam is not important. It doesn't mean anything."

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By Salim Muwakkil

Another difficult test for collegiate athletics

A NEW NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION (NCAA) rule cutting off scholarship aid to academically unprepared student-athletes has forced a national debate on the skewed priorities of collegiate sports and brought the system's race and class dynamics into sharper focus.

The rule—Proposition 42—was passed in January by a vote of 163-154 and is scheduled to take effect in the fall of 1990. Many NCAA insiders insist, however, the proposal will be overturned at the next NCAA convention in January 1990. A poll recently conducted by the *Washington Post* found fewer than 40 percent of the NCAA members now support the measure.

Proposition 42 denies high school graduates athletic scholarships to Division I colleges if they fail to achieve a minimum score of 700 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), or at least a 15 on the American College Testing (ACT) exam and maintain a "C" grade average in a high school core curriculum. The regulation is actually an amendment of Proposition 48, a measure implemented in August 1986 that stops freshmen athletes who fail to meet those SAT and grade requirements from playing or practicing with Division I teams. Under Proposition 48, affected students lose a year of playing eligibility, but are still allowed to receive an athletic scholarship during their freshman year. Proposition 42 would eliminate the scholarship altogether.

The tough amendment was adopted without much fanfare during the NCAA convention two months ago. But Georgetown University basketball coach John Thompson brought public attention to the issue soon after when he walked off his job for a week to protest the measure. Thompson, one of the few African-American coaches of a Division I team, is well known for his commitment to educating athletes. Unlike most major colleges, a high percentage of Georgetown's players graduate.

SAT dissatisfaction: Thompson's chief complaint with the proposition is that it discriminates against black and poor students, who are the major victims of substandard schooling and who therefore are less able to meet the measure's academic requirements. These were also the very students who have little possibility of attending college without scholarship assistance, Thompson argues.

The Georgetown coach's protest carried considerable symbolic weight, but he's not alone in denouncing the new NCAA ruling. A wide range of critics think Proposition 42 is a bad idea, including, it now seems, the same NCAA members who initially supported it. Critics of the ruling seem to agree that its most objectionable aspect is the importance placed on standardized tests as admissions criteria.

Proposition 48 itself was opposed by many African-American educators and civil rights leaders who claimed the requirements were unfair because standardized tests are culturally biased against black student-athletes. While there remains some disagreement about the tests' biases—many theorists insist the major bias is one of class—most experts concur that standardized examinations have a limited function.

According to Timothy Walter, a professor

of physical education at the University of Michigan, there is considerable evidence that such tests are bad predictors of future academic achievement. In a 1987 study he conducted that followed the progress of student-athletes with low SAT scores, Walter found "the vast majority of those who would have been predicted to fail as a function of their SAT score in fact succeeded."

Even the College Board, the organization of colleges and universities that sponsors the SAT, urges that the test not be used "as the sole basis for important decisions affecting the lives of individuals" to the exclusion of other relevant information.

Student exploitation: Subsequent studies confirmed some of the fears of Proposition 48's foes. A disproportionate number of those affected by the measure have been African-American. And although there has

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been no drastic decrease in the number of black student-athletes in Division I schools, a downward trend is discernible.

But most responsible black leaders concede that Proposition 48 is a step in the right direction. It is clear to them that black collegiate athletes—particularly those playing



Georgetown coach John Thompson

in the "revenue producing" sports of basketball and football—are systematically being exploited for their talent and receive neither education nor revenue for their troubles.

"Instead of complaining from a cocoon of mediocrity," says A.S. "Doc" Young, a sports columnist syndicated in several black newspapers, "we should do whatever is necessary to make sure now that our young athletes qualify themselves for college education before they finish high school. Only a small handful will turn professional. Without proper education the majority will wind up being underachievers in an ever more complex world."

Young's position echoes that of many who urge African-Americans to devote more energy to the problems of education and less

to the idolatry of athletics.

Proposition 48 at least provided athletes with an incentive to sharpen their focus on academics—though many insist the standards are still too low. What's more, by allowing the school to risk a financial scholarship on an undereducated student for a year, the measure encourages colleges to become more involved in the academic development of the marginal student-athlete. According to many accounts, the ruling has succeeded in boosting the overall academic performance of student-athletes in big-time college sports.

"I am fundamentally supportive of rule 48," says Harry Edwards, an African-American professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley and a well-known expert on sports and race. But Edwards characterizes Proposition 42 as a "racist travesty." While Proposition 48 allowed academically marginal students time to acclimate themselves to the rigors of the college classroom, the amended regulation offers no such opportunity.

With the new ruling, Edwards says, "the NCAA is telling black student-athletes this: 'If we can't exploit you, we don't want you on campus.'"

Georgetown's Thompson notes that black athletes have helped build many of the powerful athletic programs now pumping revenue into those predominately white Division I colleges. And, he says, these athletes rarely are adequately compensated for their contributions. For example, former Georgetown basketball player Patrick Ewing alone is estimated to have generated \$12 million of revenue for the school during his four-year stint.

Thompson says those same schools that benefit so bountifully from black athletic talent are, through their support of Proposition 42, turning away from the special problems of black student-athletes. These academically deprived students will "no longer have an opportunity to show that a poor test score ... is not a result of the lack of native intelligence," he says.

African-Americans are not the only ones protesting the new regulation. Former De Paul coach Ray Meyer wrote in a recent *Chicago Sun-Times* column, "No thought was given to the problems that come with using standardized national tests in admissions and the disparity in the country's educational system. Do you penalize a man because of the environment he grew up in?"

Bullied by Bulldogs: Proposition 42 was spawned by the case of Jan Kemp, a University of Georgia English instructor who was dismissed for protesting special treatment for student-athletes. Kemp sued the school, negotiated a healthy settlement and was allowed to rejoin the faculty. In the aftermath of the case, Georgia decided to stop accepting all athletes who failed to meet Proposition 48 standards.

Since that voluntary decision restricted the pool of talent available to Georgia and put the Southeast Conference (SEC) school at a competitive disadvantage with others in the conference, Georgia's athletic director

successfully lobbied other SEC schools to follow its lead. But since that would subsequently place the SEC at a competitive disadvantage with other Division I conferences, the conference made its case—successfully—that the entire NCAA should adopt the restrictive standards of Proposition 42.

Bye-bye black males: Just a week after Thompson's protest walkout, the American Council on Education (ACE) released a report noting that "participation in higher education by black males has slipped alarmingly since the mid-70s." Enrollment of black males dropped from 4.3 percent in 1976 to 3.5 percent in 1986, according to the study, the largest decline of any racial group participating in higher education.

According to Reginald Wilson, senior scholar of the ACE's Office of Minority Concerns, this education gap has accelerated because of a series of severe social and economic problems that afflict black males from an early age. All too often, Wilson explains, these factors conspire to kill young black males' interest in college even before they reach adolescence. Their interest in sports, however, tends to be high—and many black educators and activists seek to parlay that remaining interest into something more valuable.

Pay for play: But Nebraska State Sen. Ernest Chambers, one of the country's most articulate critics of big-time college athletics, asks, "Why should someone who aspires to be a professional athlete, a trade that has nothing to do with books, have to train himself for his professional future by going to college?"

Chambers has introduced several bills that would transform football and basketball players at the University of Nebraska into state employees subject to a statutory wage scale. Chambers' views on the nature of collegiate sports raise serious questions about the treatment of amateur athletes.

"The NCAA is only interested in making money from these players, chewing them up and spitting them out," he explains. "Everybody is getting rich except the people who produce the wealth."

While Chambers is concerned about the lack of emphasis big-time college programs place on academic preparation, he focuses more intently on the flaws of a system that profits so handsomely from the confusion of education with athletics.

"Proposition 42 grew out of a concern with profit, not out of a concern for the minds of the student-athletes," he said, noting that the motive for the ruling was the SEC's worry about other conferences' competitive advantages. "First the South ensures that African-Americans receive inferior educations by denying them sufficient resources, then it punishes them down the line for not receiving what was never intended for them to receive," Chambers said. "It's another case of blaming the victim."

Sports withdrawal: But while Harry Edwards denounces Proposition 42 as racist and elitist, he holds African-Americans accountable for a disproportionate emphasis on athletic excellence as a cultural value. "The black family and the African-American community tend to reward athletic achievement much more and earlier than any other activity. As a people, we can no longer permit many among our most competitive and gifted youths to sacrifice a wealth of personal potential on the altar on athletic aspiration and put playbooks ahead of textbooks." □