

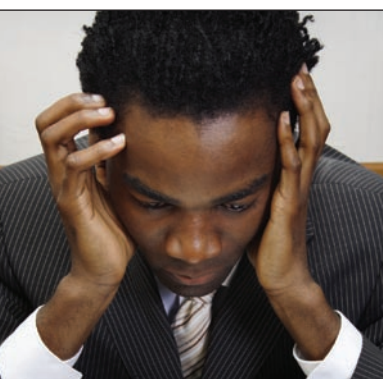
SPECIAL REPORT

National Legal and Policy Center

The Authoritarian Roots of Corporate Diversity Training

Jane Elliott's Captive Eyes And Minds

Dr. Carl F. Horowitz



The word is “diversity.” And armed with that word, the American corporation busily has been transforming itself in dramatic and dangerous fashion. High-ranking corporate officials, invoking the need for greater organizational diversity, now routinely discriminate in favor of nonwhites in hiring, retention, promotion, and contracting. Moreover, they ride herd on subordinates to produce the right numbers.

Business leaders rationalize the practice as enabling their respective companies to connect with cultures and

sub-cultures that potentially are sources of profit. Affirmative action, or diversity, thus helps a corporation climb out of its shell. “We’ve been so nationalistic for so long that we don’t recognize how we interact in the rest of the world,” remarks Deborah Dagit, executive director of diversity and work environment for Merck & Co., Inc.¹

It is a seemingly strange turn of events that corporations have come to support ideological multiculturalists, even hiring them for top positions. Or perhaps it is not so strange. If nothing

else, companies are under enormous pressure from the federal government to go in this direction. Moreover, it is a role in which many top executives now feel comfortable. In 2004, Coca-Cola Chairman and CEO E. Neville Isdell asked a court to *extend* federal supervision of the company’s racial diversity policy, calling it a “valuable resource.”² Such executives see safety in compliance. Yet it must be noted that government mandates for racial, ethnic and other balance themselves are the result of extreme pressure from



self-styled civil-rights groups. The racial grievances these activists spin lie at the heart of the problem, instilling fear into corporate officials.

A major manifestation of this syndrome, and to a large extent a cause of it, has been corporate America's adoption of role-playing exercises designed to help employees overcome racial and ethnic differences that presum-

ably lurk within. Such training, whether conveyed in a severe or conciliatory tone, in practice does nothing to encourage a diversity of opinion and much to suppress it. Notwithstanding, company personnel who fail to recognize and expunge their allegedly harmful beliefs potentially face a reprimand, bonus reduction, demotion and even termination.

and IBM. She's been in demand by the Navy, the U.S. Department of Education and other federal agencies. She's lectured at more than 350 colleges and universities. She's been the subject of television documentaries. A Disney made-for-television movie about her life reportedly has been in the works since 2003. The late ABC-TV anchorman, Peter Jennings, once

Diversity training, even when imposed with a smiling face, tends to resemble a sadistic elementary-school group exercise. There's a good reason for this: That's exactly how it began nearly 40 years ago...

ably stand in the way of a harmonious workplace. Company websites and brochures now fairly brim with references to their organizational commitment to "diversity," "inclusion," "mutual learning," and "winning together." But such platitudes, supposedly good for the bottom line as well as for the soul, paper over a hard reality: These training exercises involve psychological warfare against employees—more specifically, white employees—to cure them of racist beliefs that

If and when dissenting employees rebel at such training, they do so by adopting a low profile. Not too many people will risk their job or career for the sake of a moment of righteous protest before their boss. From their standpoint, it is far better to complain in guarded tones to sympathetic peers, describing their training experiences with such adjectives as "infantilizing," "humiliating," and "Kafkaesque." Such words would be well-chosen. Diversity training, even when imposed with a smiling face, tends to resemble a sadistic elementary-school group exercise. There's a good reason for this: That's exactly how it began nearly 40 years ago and operated until the Eighties, when the pillars of corporate governance began to be convinced of its necessity. More than anyone else, we have a retired rural Midwest school teacher, Jane Elliott, to thank for this state of affairs.

Born in 1933, Jane Elliott, an Iowa native, has appeared on "The Oprah Winfrey Show" at least five times. She's personally led diversity-training sessions for such companies as General Electric, ExxonMobil, AT&T

featured her as "Person of the Week." Textbook publisher McGraw-Hill listed Elliott on a historical timeline of key educators amid such lofty company as Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, Horace Mann, Booker T. Washington and Maria Montessori.³

A mother to grown children and a grandmother as well, her demeanor seems kindly. But appearances can be deceiving. In her true guise as a lecturer and group facilitator, she is a merciless moral scold, ceaselessly berating audiences and trainees for harboring racist feelings, if in disguised form. She casts a long shadow upon corporations and other American institutions. Every time a corporation forces new employees—at least Caucasian ones—to endure intensive and prolonged anti-bias training, it is ratifying the legacy of Jane Elliott. Every time a college or university requires incoming white freshmen to be "cured" of racial, ethnic and religious prejudices, it is fulfilling Elliott's vision.

Mrs. Elliott's calling card is a role-playing exercise which she devised in 1968 for her all-white third-grade class in tiny Riceville, Iowa. Here, a teacher or "trainer" requests that everyone in

This Special Report was published in June 2007, and is also available for download as a pdf file at www.nlpc.org. The pdf version will be updated as necessary. To report any typos or errors, or to make comment, please email author Dr. Carl Horowitz at chorowitz@nlpc.org.

The National Legal and Policy Center, a 501(c)(3) organization, sponsors the Corporate Integrity Project. Contributions are tax deductible.

the room divide themselves into two groups, and pretend they either have blue or brown eyes. “Blue-eyed” is a proxy for Caucasian, while “brown-eyed” is a proxy for black. Ideally, participants aren’t initially aware of this. They will be. The trainer soon gets down to business, subjecting “blue-eyed” participants to a steady stream of demeaning remarks, while giving “brown-eyed” participants favored treatment, including the right to join in the taunting. Then, preferably on the next day, the trainer reverses roles, so that brown-eyed subjects are now on the receiving end of the verbal abuse.

Elliott, by various accounts, got the inspiration for her exercise from *Mila 18*, Leon Uris’s 1961 novel about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising during World War II. That particular story, with a certain measure of historical accuracy, depicted eye color as a criterion by which the Nazi occupation force of Poland determined who would live or die. It says something about Elliott’s motives that she viewed the extermination of European Jews and the holding of negative opinions about American blacks as morally equivalent. The exercise thus would seem at once sadistic, manipulative and rooted in false analogy. But to Elliott, and the legions of trainers she came to inspire, it is a tool for racial healing, enabling participants, their egos stripped bare, to better identify with victims of prejudice.

Replicated countless times in a variety of settings, this exercise—Elliott always has been averse to calling it an experiment—has been the linchpin of the now-huge diversity training industry. Its main premise, that whites require remedial measures to transcend culturally programmed biases, has won converts at the top echelons of corporate life. Current and recent



CEOs such as Steve Reinemund (PepsiCo), Patrick Stokes (Anheuser-Busch), H. Lee Scott (Wal-Mart) and Richard Syron (Freddie Mac) have embraced diversity training, often with an evangelical zeal. The “blue eyes, brown eyes” exercise, or at least its underlying assumptions, is also the coin of the realm among government and higher-education officials. Even skeptics among them (assuming they still exist) have learned to put aside their overt misgivings and play along, lest they invite a bad reputation, a lawsuit, or dismissal. A reputation as an opponent of diversity can be a real career killer.

The diversity industry has come a long way. But whether the trainees are children or childlike adults, the premise is the same: Whites must accept the fact that they are guilty until proven innocent, and thus need attitudinal rewiring. And training, Jane Elliott-

style, means never having the opportunity to protest one’s innocence.

Black Victimhood, White Penitence: Anatomy of an Exercise

It was April 5, 1968, and the nation was in turmoil. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. had been assassinated in Memphis the previous night. Black rioting had broken out in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and many other cities. Riceville, Iowa seemed far removed from America’s urban racial tinderbox. But a local school teacher, Jane Elliott, wanted to bring the two worlds together. She was white and ashamed. And it was time to make her fellow whites feel ashamed.

Elliott was convinced King’s murder was the product of white racism that thoroughly permeated American society. The lynch mob and the burning



cross merely were outward manifestations of an omnipresent problem. She would make no exceptions for seemingly tolerant, fair-minded liberal whites. *All* whites are guilty, she insisted, and must be made to recognize and overcome their prejudices. Children, their innocent minds not yet poisoned by their elders, offered real hope for social change.⁴

On that fateful day, a student walked into Mrs. Elliott's third-grade class, slung his books on his desk, and asked: "Hey, Mrs. Elliott. They shot that King yesterday. Why'd they shoot that King?" Mrs. Elliott apparently knew why. She waited for her class to fully assemble, and then made a tantalizing proposal. She asked her pupils, "How do you think it would feel to be a Negro boy or girl?" Pause. She continued: "It would be hard to know, wouldn't it, unless we actually experienced discrimination ourselves.

Would you like to find out?" A chorus of "Yeahs" went up. Mrs. Elliott, it seemed, had planned for this moment.

Without any prior parental consent, she asked her students to break into two separate groups. The first group would pretend to have blue eyes; the second would pretend to have brown eyes. (Some students most likely did have blue or brown eyes, thus making her job easier.) Then the fun began. "Blue-eyed" students were showered with negative comments by their teacher and "brown-eyed" peers. The following school day it was the "brown-eyed" students' turn to suffer. But Mrs. Elliott noticed something this time around: The taunts were less pronounced. She reasoned that "blue-eyed" kids, now sensitized to verbal abuse, were less than fully willing to inflict it on their "brown-eyed" classmates. Eureka! Here was confirmation of what she wanted to believe: Black

underachievement was purely a product of white-dominated constructions of reality. Turn the tables on whites, and they, too, will perform poorly. "We had one (brown-eyed) girl with a mind like a steel trap who never misspelled a word until we told her that brown eyes were bad," she proudly recalled to a campus audience many years later.⁵

To Jane Elliott, this was empathy-building, not brainwashing. Moreover, it was payback. Whites finally were learning to live life in ways that blacks (later amended to "people of color") are forced to experience every day. True, whites were teachable, and hence not inherently evil. But they required strict guidance to realize their potential goodness. And Mrs. Elliott, and people like her, would provide that guidance. In her jaundiced eyes, white bigotry is a universal condition unaffected by region, nation, personal situation or even the passage of time.

It was as if the entire Caucasian race were nothing more than a large, genteel Ku Klux Klan rally.

Actually, it is Jane Elliott who remains unchanged. In a Web-exclusive interview for PBS on December 19, 2002, Elliott denounced whites as conditioning people here and abroad to deny the existence of racism. “We are constantly being told that we don’t have racism in this country anymore, but most of the people who are saying that are white,” she said. “White people think it isn’t happening because it isn’t happening to them.”⁶ In Elliott’s race-obsessed view of the human psyche, whites need to experience intensive collective guilt for the crimes they have committed against blacks or the rewards they have reaped from others’ crimes against blacks. As for blacks themselves, they are off the

He asked her if she’d like to appear on NBC’s “The Tonight Show.” She said yes, and flew to the show’s studio in New York City. On the set, following some obligatory tension-relieving small talk, Elliott discussed her project for several minutes. Then it was time to go. But her presentation, though brief, left quite an impression on the nation’s TV viewers. “The Tonight Show” staff found itself blitzed by hundreds of angry letters. “How dare you try this cruel experiment out on white children,” one letter read.

The townsfolk of Riceville were especially displeased. When Elliott walked into the teachers’ lounge the following week, several colleagues got up and walked out. When she went downtown to do errands, she heard whispers. Her children were taunted or assaulted by fellow students. Such petty sadism, of

“Frontline” television program aired its own Jane Elliott documentary, “A Class Divided,” which included a happy reunion of students featured in the original ABC program. Progressive idealists grew misty-eyed at the mention of her name, knowing children were learning the evils of racism, and had become better adults for it, even if they had to take some hard knocks in the process. Around this time, Elliott came up with another bright idea: Why not knock adults around as well?

Taking It to the Suites

Jane Elliott retired from teaching in the mid 1980s to take on bigger game: the working world. Part of the reason was money. Several years ago she admitted that her standard fee was \$6,000 per day from “companies and

The first group would pretend to have blue eyes; the second would pretend to have brown eyes. Then the fun began. “Blue-eyed” students were showered with negative comments by their teacher and “brown-eyed” peers. The following school day it was the “brown-eyed” students’ turn to suffer.

hook. The injustices that blacks inflict upon whites, even acts of criminal violence, are understandable reactions to far worse injustices inflicted upon them. Sensitivity training from the start has been a one-way street.

In the immediate wake of the King assassination, however, such a worldview at least *appeared* to carry moral weight. About a month after Elliott unveiled her exercise, fate intervened. Johnny Carson, ever on the lookout for Everyman guests with a human-interest angle, got wind of her; the local Riceville newspaper had reprinted student essays on their recent exercise.

course, was indefensible. But it also was counterproductive. For Elliott became more convinced than ever of the need for reeducating whites. Instituting the “blue eyes, brown eyes” exercise would be her life’s mission.

Her public profile grew in short order. In 1970, ABC television aired a half-hour documentary, “The Eye of the Storm,” showing her practicing the exercise upon a fresh batch of third-graders. That December, she demonstrated it before a group of educators at a White House Conference on Children and Youth. A decade and a half later, in 1985, PBS’s

governmental institutions.”⁷ More importantly, she now had the power to transform American society in ways she earlier only could have dreamed about. The challenge now would be “selling” her role-playing exercise to corporations and other large organizations. Accordingly, she and a cadre of supporters developed what amounted to a two-pronged strategy.

The first approach was the carrot. Elliott knew that to convince upper- and mid-level managers of the necessity of “training” employees, she would have to frame her appeal as a sound business model. The “blue-eyes, brown eyes” exercise now was more



Jane Elliott in action

than about social justice. It was about teamwork, profits and Winning Together. Such an appeal could be especially convincing given increased placement of blacks, Hispanics, Asians and other non-Caucasians in corporate managerial positions. With affirmative action and mass immigration rapidly changing the U.S. labor pool, racial role-playing was a reality-based approach to boosting profits.

The second approach was the stick. That is, Elliott and other diversity activists made clear to companies that there would be unpleasant consequences of not getting with the new regime—such as bad publicity, boycotts, terminations, and expensive lawsuits. The legal climate was evolving in ways that would support plaintiffs against their employers. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Meritor* that an employer could be held liable for damages if management had tolerated a hostile work environment affecting a particular class of employees, even in absence of any willful intent to cause harm.⁸ Moreover, the related doctrine of disparate impact, established in the early

Seventies in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*,⁹ had become entrenched. Under this legal interpretation, an employer's business practices, even if not intentionally discriminatory, could be ruled illegal and thus trigger remedial measures if they yielded unequal outcomes by race or some other group classification. Government in effect had become the unofficial sponsor of diversity training.

Many companies learned that not instituting a zero-tolerance policy against racial bias could carry a high price tag. Over the years, "civil-rights" lawyers, backed by the U.S. Department of Justice, realized huge windfalls for themselves and their clients by forcing consent decrees upon corporations such as Texaco, Coca-Cola, Denny's, Chevy Chase Bank, Sodexo, and Abercrombie & Fitch. In each case, the catalyst was a handful of highly questionable allegations of systematic discrimination against a class of employees and/or customers. In each case, the settlements involved not only back pay and other financial compensation, but also some form of monitored diversity plan. Since corporations, especially if publicly-traded, by nature seek to avoid unwanted publicity, many came to view anti-bias training as relatively inexpensive insulation against expensive legal action down the road. It was far better, they reasoned, to smile through clenched teeth. Over time, many company officials simply stopped clenching their teeth altogether, and adopted the rationalizations and rhetoric of their accusers. The "Stockholm Syndrome" was alive and well in the nation's corporate suites, as captive CEOs bonded with hostile captors.

Thus, a combination of organizational rah-rah and Leftist menace managed to win corporate officials

over to the view that their respective companies desperately needed diversity training. A whole new profession—"diversity specialist"—was being born.

Its champions, however, haven't forgotten about their original mentor. Corporate diversity consultants now regularly offer Elliott's films through regular mail and the Internet. Those films have proliferated. In addition to "The Eye of the Storm" and "A Class Divided," the Elliott cinematic library now includes "Blue-Eyed," "The Angry Eye," "The Stolen Eye," and "The Essential Blue-Eyed." National MultiCultural Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based diversity consultant, aggressively promotes her videos over the Web. So does the Encino, Calif.-based Business Training Media, Inc., which sells "The Essential Blue-Eyed" for \$299.99. This video, jam-packed with 50 minutes of training, plus 36 minutes of debriefing, helps employers and employees alike recognize signs of stereotyping that allegedly hold back people of color. The company excitedly summarizes its contents:¹⁰

Elliott divides a multiracial group of Midwesterners on the basis of eye color and then subjects the blue-eyed members to a withering regime of humiliation and contempt. In just a few hours, we watch grown professionals become distracted and despondent, stumbling over the simplest commands. People of color in the group express surprise that whites react so quickly to the kind of discrimination they face every day of their lives.

Apparently, there is nothing like "a withering regime of humiliation and contempt" to boost profits. "The Essential Blue-Eyed," the ad explains further, can help trainers "reveal how even casual bias can have a devastating impact on personal performance, organization productivity, teamwork and morale." It also can "identify cul-

turally biased codes of conduct within an organization which may be invisible to the majority.”

But are corporate officials buying these training films? And even if they are, does that mean they are endorsing their perspective? The evidence in both cases seems to be “yes.” Jane Elliott is very much a presence in the

“If you get power, aren't you going to want to do to us what we have done to you?” And males say, ‘If women get power, they'll want to do to us what we have done to them.’

Major companies, put bluntly, hire this woman to conduct such “seminars” because they approve of her views and training styles, and not just because they want to lawsuit-proof their organiza-

people are emotionally cold, the result of their peculiar evolution since the Ice Age.¹⁴ He came to prominence in 1990 at a University of Cincinnati training seminar, during which he humiliated and brought to tears a blond, blue-eyed female professor whom he claimed belonged to “the privileged white elite.”¹⁵ While training of this

Elliott's exercises originally began, literally, as child abuse. They have evolved to reducing adults to the level of abused children—fearful, whimpering and apologetic for nonexistent offenses.

American corporation. A diversity program used by AT&T, Chevron and Nabisco, for example, involves a rather disturbing opening exercise.¹¹ Employees are asked to sit in a circle and give an immediate “thumbs-up” or “thumbs-down” to a series of statements provided by a workshop facilitator on affirmative action, interracial marriage, AIDS in the workplace and other controversial subjects. The statements are frankly intended to enable the facilitator to size up the employees' views. If a particular employee's responses “indicate confusion or bias” or seem incompatible with the overall ideological thrust of the workshop, the program urges facilitators to “waste no time in seeking help from a diversity consultant, corporate attorney or other human resource facilitators.”

Elliott herself is very much in demand by corporations as a group facilitator. And the result, quite intended, is fear and tension amongst employees. During one of her appearances on “The Oprah Winfrey Show” several years ago, she explained:¹²

I do this exercise in corporations all over the United States. When we finish the exercise, the first thing that is said: Some white female turns to the black person sitting beside her and says,

tion. And whether their main motivator is the carrot or the stick, either way corporate executives have no problem with inflicting emotional degradation upon their own employees in the name of promoting diversity. Shouldn't shareholders and the rest of the public be made aware of this?

The corporation isn't the only type of organization that has come to rely on Elliott's ideas and methods. Diversity training at the Federal Aviation Administration, for example, has included segments in which dissenting or potentially dissenting employees have been tormented by peers. Such “training” has included white males being verbally abused by black co-workers and then being forced to walk a gauntlet during which they were aggressively fondled by female workers.¹³ Psychologist Edwin J. Nichols, who heads a Washington, D.C. training firm, has performed diversity seminars or full-scale cultural audits for at least a half-dozen cabinet-level agencies, three branches of the armed services, Federal Reserve Banks, the FBI, the IRS, NASA, the Goddard Space Center, plus any number of state and local government agencies. Nichols, who is black, is hardly indifferent to outcomes. He believes white

sort may be the exception rather than the rule, the fact that it has occurred at all is scandalous, particularly as it has involved taxpayer dollars.

Higher education, of course, has brought seemingly limitless opportunities to apply Mrs. Elliott's wisdom. At Wake Forest University, for example, one of the few campus events designated as mandatory for attendance has been “Blue Eyed,” a racial-awareness workshop depicting whites on film being abused, ridiculed, made to fail, and taught helpless passivity so that they can identify with “a person of color for a day.” There isn't too much doubt as to the inspiration behind that event. Elliott herself has been very much in demand as a speaker before college audiences. Her routine, honed to a science, typically starts out with her requesting that everyone in the audience look to the person sitting next to them on one side, look to the person next to them on the other side, and informing the audience that each person just observed is a “racist.”

“Training” of this sort can be especially useful in punishing individual students who for some reason have run afoul of campus diversity policy.



Chrysler CEO Tom W. LaSorda: “We’ll kick their ass.”

In the 2006–07 academic year, for example, Johns Hopkins University suspended a student, Justin Park, an ethnic Korean, for a full year for posting racially “offensive” (to blacks) Halloween party invitations. In its overkill, the university also required him to attend a workshop on diversity and race relations, perform extensive community service, and atone in other ways.¹⁶ University of Pennsylvania historian Alan Charles Kors argues that for sheer sadism, campus diversity training resembles Maoist Chinese re-education sessions.¹⁷ Anyone familiar

with the dynamics of small group tyranny knows the parallel is apt.

Higher education officials furiously promote diversity in hiring and training.¹⁸ Columbia University recently committed \$15 million to minority faculty recruitment. Washington State University a couple years ago created an office, “vice president for equity and diversity,” replete with an annual budget of \$3 million and a full-time staff of 55, to track progress in meeting minority enrollment, graduation and faculty recruitment goals. WSU’s Center for Human Rights hired a

consultant, Diversity Works, to provide workshops for deans and faculty on how to uncover “hidden biases” in hiring. In June 2005, the University of Oregon’s vice provost for institutional equity and diversity announced a plan by which professors would be assessed on “cultural competency.” An ensuing uproar forced the university to balk at implementing the plan, if only temporarily. As if to signify the clout of diversity activists employed within ivy walls, a new national organization, the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education, is set to hold its first meeting in 2007.

All of this is a logical extension of Jane Elliott’s vision. After all, why stop at children in the drive to create a society where every last trace of “racism” is punished and eliminated? Ideally, every major organization in the United States should undergo her treatment, regardless of its prevailing attitudes. That day may not be that far off.

Total Compliance

Diversity role-playing, as mentioned earlier, is marked by a presumption of guilt, and as self-fulfilling prophecy would have it, without a chance by the “guilty” to prove their innocence. Its exercises are far removed from classic experiments measuring behavior in a simulated authoritarian environment, a la Stanley Milgram or Philip Zimbardo.¹⁹ There, at least, participation was not compulsory and did not proceed from any assumptions about collective guilt. By contrast, diversity training, Jane Elliott-style, requires participation, and confessions, by white persons.

Elliott’s exercises originally began, literally, as child abuse. They have evolved to reducing adults to the level of abused children—fearful, whimpering and apologetic for nonexistent

offenses.²⁰ Far from combating white resentment of nonwhites, such “training” actually creates it. School multicultural programs, Thomas Sowell observes, have produced “mounting evidence of *increasing* (italics author’s) animosities among students of different backgrounds.”²¹ That is also true of similar training in the adult world. In Great Britain, where Elliott is virtually lionized by multiculturalists, a former government diversity specialist with second thoughts explained the effects of diversity training:²²

You cannot over-estimate the damage to race relations that “diversity awareness” training is causing in this country. It’s having the opposite effect to that intended, causing divisions, resentment, and an increase in judgments based on race, where previously such things were actually quite rare. How do I know this? I was involved in putting together a diversity “toolkit” for a government department, and saw firsthand the effect it had as it was rammed down the throats of staff.

This is hardly a coincidence. Arguably the leading advocate for racial diversity training in Britain, and certainly Scotland, is a black woman, Gillian Neish, a close associate of Jane Elliott. Her Glasgow-based operation, Neish Training, takes no prisoners. “At Neish Training,” the company website proclaims, “we are committed to anti-racist, anti-oppressive ways of working and to making equity a reality.”²³

But one need not cross the Atlantic to realize just how extensively corporations have bloodlessly incorporated this sort of radicalism into their standard practices. Consulting giant Booz Allen Hamilton, for example, in the late 90s launched its Center for Performance Excellence. Among the listed activities are “required and elective diversity training courses that help staff learn the skills necessary to work and manage in a multicultural, multinational firm.” Tom W. LaSorda,



Former PepsiCo Chairman and CEO Steven Reinemund talked about diversity all the time.

president and CEO of The Chrysler Group, explains how he deals with subordinates who don’t take diversity seriously: “We’ll kick their ass. They will be held accountable.”²⁴

Most company officials aren’t this brazen, but their policies reflect the same mindset. For more than a decade and a half, Corning Glass Works has forced its managers to undergo intense anti-bias training, tying compensation packages and performance appraisals to success in promoting racial and ethnic diversity.²⁵ Wal-Mart now requires its officers to meet racial

hiring quotas, or suffer the consequences. Executives failing to meet diversity goals face a bonus reduction of up to 15 percent. H. Lee Scott, company CEO since 2000, proudly announces that this policy applies to him as well.²⁶ Allstate Life Insurance Co. instituted a policy in the Nineties in which up to 25 percent of a manager’s bonus is linked to performance on a survey-determined “diversity index” and to achievement of diversity goals in “succession planning,” a euphemism for grooming blacks and other nonwhites to fill job vacancies.²⁷



Cypress Semiconductor CEO T.J. Rodgers stood up to Jesse Jackson.

Information technology firms also have gotten aboard the diversity bandwagon. At the turn of the decade they capitulated virtually without complaint to Rev. Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow/PUSH organization's Silicon Valley Project. The group boasts:²⁸

(W)e can already see the corporate culture in Silicon Valley "bending" toward diversity and inclusion. Among the companies that co-sponsored our inaugural Digital Connection 2000 Conference, Hewlett Packard, Cisco Systems,

and Agilent Technologies have appointed people of color to their Boards of Directors. Newly created Supplier Diversity Programs now exist at Applied Materials and Cisco Systems. Intel Corporation, likewise, has established a Corporate Diversity Division.

Such has been the legacy of Jane Elliott and her acolytes. Trained to kneel before the Great God of Diversity, corporate managers now reflexively reprimand subordinates who don't "get it," as *DiversityInc* magazine

would put it.²⁹ They also hire the roughest diversity trainers that money can buy. When Louis Gerstner, then-CEO of IBM, introduced trainer Ted Childs, the company's new vice president of global workforce diversity, to board members back in the early Nineties, he glowingly spoke of him as "the most relentless man I've ever met."³⁰ Corporate leaders, predictably, have come to promote affirmative action for America as a whole, and not just for their own organizations. Dozens of Fortune 500 firms, including Microsoft, Intel, Lucent Technologies, General Motors, 3M and Boeing, filed friend-of-the-court briefs with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of the University of Michigan's admissions policies favoring nonwhites. These briefs likely influenced the Court's landmark twin rulings in 2003.³¹

Now it is true that diversity trainers, as a matter of practical necessity, recognize limits as to what they can accomplish. Not even the most obsessive corporation wants to trigger a stampede toward the exit doors among white employees, especially males. Thus, it has become common for trainers to assure whites that they, too, are winners, highly valued by their company. "Since diversity is typically framed to be about white women and people of color, the focus is rarely on examining what it means to be white and male," proclaim Bill Proudman and Michael Welp, partners at White Men as Full Diversity Partners LLC, a Portland, Oregon consulting firm. "White men, and sometimes others, thus conclude that diversity is not about them. The corporations that will likely benefit the most from diversity are those that offer a compelling reason for inclusion that lets all employees know what's in it for them."³² Despite the Winning Together theme, such

words sound a lot more like consolation than encouragement.

Indeed, if corporations are taking mandatory diversity in a direction, it is that of intensified intimidation, weaving diversity into every possible

ity training isn't enough. Companies need to follow through with constant *reinforcement*. Booz Allen Hamilton, for example, followed up its late-Nineties initial diversity effort in 2002 with its Board Diversity Initia-

not engaging the mind. Jane Elliott consistently warns against “intellectualizing.”³⁶ In her stick-figure world, whites are evil and parasitic, while people of color are noble, oppressed, and written out of the history books.

Do CEOs really believe the diversity claptrap or do they put on a happy face to avoid legal and other problems? Either way, they are acting in a manner contrary to the best interests of their companies, shareholders and the public at large.

context of their companies' culture and operations, so as to make racial favoritism subconsciously habit-forming. Steve Reinemund, until recently the chairman and CEO of PepsiCo, likens diversity to a marathon race. “(I)t's easier to recruit diverse talent than it is to create an inclusive culture,” he remarks. “The challenge comes with creating an environment in which every associate—regardless of ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender or physical ability—feels valued and wants to be part of our growth.”³³ In a similar vein, Gary Forsee, president and CEO of Sprint Nextel, asserts: “Conventional wisdom holds that, in general, people like to associate and work with people like themselves. But at Sprint Nextel, we know that it is the diverse aspects of individuals that make a successful company.”³⁴

Realizing such obsessions requires systematic ongoing evaluation and pressure, which advocates have imbued with the *faux*-scientific term, “diversity metrics.” The website of *DiversityInc* explains the idea this way: “To succeed, diversity management requires valid metrics to benchmark results and assess whether goals have been reached.”³⁵ In other words, putting employees through sensitiv-

itive (BDI), “a global transformation program” which charts “an intensive multi-year strategy to ensure that the firm continues to enhance, leverage and celebrate the diversity of our staff.” In 2005 the firm held its first Diversity in Action Conference, bringing together leaders throughout the firm to assess progress in meeting BDI's “aggressive goals.” From now on, every employee's performance review includes an evaluation of his or her contribution toward diversity goals. Diversity metrics is emerging as a prominent sub-field within diversity training. *DiversityInc's* “Webinar Series” recently sponsored a seminar on “demonstrated metrics in Human Capital, CEO Commitment, Corporate Communications and Supplier Diversity.” The two featured speakers were Amy George, PepsiCo's vice president of global diversity and inclusion, and Rita Taylor-Nash, vice president of corporate diversity for Health Care Service Corp.

Why don't more employees challenge this new regime? For one thing, such action might label the dissenter as a troublemaker and open him up to being fired. Second, and related, diversity training from the start has been about manipulating the emotions,

Since there is nothing to debate, any challenge has to occur on purely emotive grounds, that is, on grounds that likely would make the complainer look foolish or bigoted.

As whites must be trained to reflexively *feel* for people of color, and celebrate their collective sense of grievance and achievement, they are susceptible to morally charged blanket denunciations of their race. Mrs. Elliott doesn't mince words. In a 1998 interview with an Australian Internet magazine, *Webfronds*, Elliott pontificated:³⁷

You're all sitting here writing in a language [English] that white people didn't come up with. You're all sitting here writing on paper that white people didn't invent. Most of you are wearing clothes made out of cloth that white people didn't come up with. We stole these ideas from other people. If you're a Christian, you're believing in a philosophy that came to us from people of color.

White people, she added, “invented racism.” At least the late essayist, Susan Sontag, in her infamous diatribe of some 40 years ago likening her own white race to “the cancer of human history,” credited that race with producing, among other things, Mozart, Kant, Boolean algebra, Shakespeare and parliamentary government.³⁸ Jane Elliott credits whites with nothing, save for oppression of people of

color. Less a heartland Susan Sontag than a white Louis Farrakhan, Elliott is utterly consumed with the need to force whites to experience shame and atonement. Her Torquemada-style “correction” of people presumed guilty is anchored in unadulterated far Leftism, unencumbered by any dissent or second thoughts. It is little surprise that most pioneers of the diversity industry began as far-Left activists.³⁹

Elliott’s voice is the true voice of white self-hatred masquerading as a quest for social justice. French author Pascal Bruckner, author of the classic Eighties tract, *The Tears of the White Man*, accurately described the self-hating, Third World-worshipping European fantasist:⁴⁰

more often than not wildly enthusiastic, in this power grab.

Challenging the New Regime: CEOs Must Take the Lead

Corporations are in business to provide goods and services to customers willing to pay for them, not to force attitude therapy on employees who don’t need it—and at the threat of being fired or denied a promotion. The battle to reclaim the corporation from the diversity police will be a long one. But if business is to remain an engine of a free society, it is critical that its leaders fight this battle.

More than anyone else, chief executive officers bear the responsibility of redirecting company priorities. It is

Rainbow/PUSH group was trying to strong-arm Silicon Valley technology companies into instituting racially-based favoritism in hiring and promotion, and putting Jackson’s cronies into “consulting” positions to give advice on how to do this. Defending Silicon Valley as an already diverse meritocracy, Rodgers stated, “The last thing we need is the ugliness of divisive, Washington-style race politics forced on us by Jesse Jackson.”⁴² John Templeton, a spokesman for the Coalition for Fair Employment in Silicon Valley, an alliance of Bay Area minority professional organizations that co-sponsored Jackson’s visit, responded with this ludicrous accusation: “We can now officially

Jane Elliott herself, ironically, knows her training methods carry an ugly power. She once told an interviewer, “It was just horrifying how quickly they became what I told them they were.”

With great fanfare, Third-Worldists beat their chests, enjoying the revulsion they inspire, cynically rolling in the mud...The ritual judgments passed against Europe are very similar to the booster shots that children get every year. As with a vaccination, a little bit of anxiety and recrimination is injected in order to avoid any moral examination.

Shift the context from Europe to America, and it would be difficult to imagine a more accurate description of Jane Elliott and the legion of diversity trainers she has inspired. It is a travesty that this woman has been allowed to pass off her brand of thought control as a quest for social justice, and hence a mark of moral superiority over those needing vaccination against racism.⁴¹ It is likewise a travesty of modern corporate governance in particular that senior management has been complicit, and

they, with input from board members and chief officers, who articulate and make final decisions regarding company policy. If corporations are to avail themselves of their growing dependence upon behavior modification masquerading as “diversity,” their respective CEOs must take the lead. Through speeches, luncheons, office memos and guest editorials, they establish their company’s overall direction. If just a few leaders openly repudiated the now-dominant regime, it would spark long-needed debate in every major company in America.

One CEO who has spoken out is T.J. Rodgers, head of the successful San Jose-based computer chip manufacturer, Cypress Semiconductor. Rodgers pulled no punches back in the late Nineties when Jesse Jackson’s

describe Cypress Semiconductor as a white-supremacist hate group.”⁴³ Though Jackson reportedly distanced himself from Templeton’s remark, he did denounce Rodgers for not having black or Hispanic members on his board. Rodgers fired back at Jackson. “He declares racism based on dubious statistics,” he remarked. “Then he gives you a chance to repent—and the basic way to [repent] is to give Jesse money. The threat is you’ll be labeled a racist if you don’t.”⁴⁴

If any employee of a modern corporation spoke out this way, he most likely either would be reprimanded, with an order to attend diversity training, or fired outright. Yet Rodgers is not an employee; he’s an *employer*. That is what gives him

the freedom to speak without fear. He openly challenges the Diversity brigands because he knows the buck stops with him. In exercising his freedom to speak, *he effectively gives his employees that same right.*

Not many other CEOs, unfortunately, have this kind of spine. Consequently, neither do their employees. By their fear of boycotts, lawsuits, and campaigns to block mergers or acquisitions, they set an example for everyone who works for them. Timidly paying tribute to the likes of Jesse Jackson or Al Sharpton is just another cost of doing business. They see making “donations” to Jackson’s organizations or granting distributorships to his family, relatives and cronies as a low-cost alternative to challenging him in public and a way of keeping him off their backs. In the late Nineties, Anheuser-Busch, faced with a continuing Jackson-led boycott, awarded a lucrative beer distributorship—the largest in Chicago, in fact—to two of Jackson’s sons, Yusef and Jonathan. By no coincidence, Jackson’s campaign against the company’s “racist” practices ceased soon after.

Such responses may be expedient, but in the long run they are guarantees of further intimidation. Diversity hustlers know that if they can get a company to surrender once, they can get it to do so indefinitely. Too often, their executives accept the chains placed around them, all the while demanding total commitment to diversity from their own subordinates. Do CEOs really believe the diversity claptrap or do they put on a happy face to avoid legal and other problems? Either way, they are acting in a manner contrary to the best interests of their companies, shareholders and the public at large. For not only do their actions remove funds from company coffers and into those of their tormentors, but

worse, they render employees cynical and fearful, knowing that going along with the diversity hustle is necessary to keeping a job. If CEOs fail to put an end to this intimidation, the diversity industry will continue its expansion, further fulfilling Jane Elliott’s vision.

Thus far companies have treated their commitment to diversity as though it were an unalloyed good, with no negative consequences. But experience has shown that there *are* negative consequences, most of all a dreadful silence. We live in an America where the tiniest perceived insult by one employee against another can result in the destruction of a career. This is tyranny—prosperous tyranny, perhaps, but tyranny all the same.

It is natural for people everywhere to envision and work for improved human relations. But when such efforts take the form of relentless, all-consuming drives to root out and crush moral impurity, scornful of any reality checks, it begins to assume a totalitarian character. Such idealists have a long track record of destruction, and nowhere more so than when backed by government force. The road from mandatory diversity-training sessions to police-state arbitrary arrests and confessions is not so long. But to the extent that corporate officials are convinced that such training enhances profits, they will remain deaf to such persuasion.

Jane Elliott herself, ironically, knows her training methods carry an ugly power. She once told an interviewer, “It was just horrifying how quickly they became what I told them they were.” She described how one of the “blue-eyed” girls changed from a “brilliant, self-confident, excited little girl to a frightened, timid, uncertain little almost-person.”⁴⁵ This, in a nutshell, is the essence of totalitarianism in all

contexts—warfare against happy, confident people in the hopes of transforming them into timid “almost-people.” The question therefore should arise: If Elliott is fully aware of such consequences, *why has she continuously pursued them for nearly four decades?* And why have corporations, supposedly repositories of money and power, meekly acceded to her demands and those of her proxy allies? Diversity enthusiasts, despite their occasional feints toward reasonableness, are fanatic in their goal of rooting out racial bias. In that, they have learned well the lessons of their original mentor. ■

Carl F. Horowitz is director of the Organized Labor Accountability Project at the National Legal and Policy Center, a Falls Church, Va.-based nonprofit organization that promotes ethics and accountability in American life. He has a Ph.D. in urban planning and policy development, and has written widely on immigration, labor, housing, welfare and other domestic policy issues.

NOTES

¹ Quoted in Wendy Conklin, “Conversations with Diversity Executives: New Frontiers,” *Link & Learn*, Vol. 13, No. 3, March 2006, <http://www.linkageinc.com>.

² This policy was created as part of a \$192.5 million racial discrimination settlement in 2000 between the company and the Justice Department. And even that sum was on the low side, as it excluded various ancillary programs forced upon Coca-Cola, such as contractor and supplier minority quotas and “gifts” to organizations promoting affirmative action. The case was triggered by complaints by four disgruntled black employees who claimed that the company: 1) willfully underpaid them because of their race; and 2) created a “hostile” work environment. The agreement covered all salaried blacks

employed by the company in the U.S. from April 22, 1995 to June 14, 2000.

³ Cited in Stephen G. Bloom, “Lesson of a Lifetime,” *Smithsonian*, September 2005, http://www.smithsonianmagazine.com/issues/2005/september/lesson_lifetime.htm.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ “Jane Elliott Attacks Racism in UNCP Address,” University Newswire, University of North Carolina at Pembroke, October 10, 2002. Remember, this was a “brown-eyed” student—in other words, one who had experienced less verbal abuse than her “blue-eyed” peers. Try to imagine, then, how blue-eyed students with steel-trap minds must have been affected.

⁶ Quoted in James Fulford, “Jane Elliott: 35 Years of Rage,” *vdare.com*, April 9, 2003.

⁷ Cited in Alan Charles Kors, “Thought Reform 101,” *Reason*, March 2000, <http://www.reason.com/news/printer/27632.html>. Essential reading is Alan Charles Kors and Harvey A. Silverglate, *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America’s Campuses*, New York: Free Press, 1998.

⁸ *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57 (1986). The Supreme Court held that sexual harassment cases were covered by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The original plaintiff, a bank teller named Michelle Vinson (who subsequently would win promotions), claimed she was sexually harassed by a supervisor, Sidney Taylor, with whom she allegedly had an affair. A U.S. District Court ruled that any sexual relationship occurring between Miss Vinson and Mr. Taylor had been voluntary, and hence unrelated to her actual or perceived job performance. An appeals court reversed the decision, applying a “hostile environment” standard. *Institutional* harassment, rather than Mr. Taylor’s specific behavior, was at issue in determining whether a violation of Title VII had occurred. The Supreme Court, led by Justice William Rehnquist, upheld the rul-

ing, endorsing a standard established by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. See Richard A. Epstein, *Forbidden Grounds: The Case Against Employment Discrimination Laws*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 357–64.

⁹ *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

¹⁰ See <http://www.business-marketing.com.store/education.html>.

¹¹ Ryan O’Donnell, “The Corporate Diversity Scam,” *FrontPageMag.com*, January 27, 2003.

¹² See http://www.oprah.com/tows/vintage/past/vintage_past_20010720_b.jhtml. Significantly, Jane Elliott’s views on sex roles are little short of preposterous. In mindlessly repetitive language, she remarked shortly thereafter on the same segment: “About 10,000 years ago, males and females were acting equitably and were treating one another as equals, and then males took over the power, because they have physical power and physical strength.”

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ The notion that whites are cold, reserved and cruel “ice people,” while blacks are warm, outgoing and compassionate “sun people” has adherents in the academy as well. Back in the late 80s and early 90s, a black-studies professor at City College of New York (CCNY), Leonard Jeffries, made national headlines with this view, arguing that blacks owed their racial superiority to higher melanin levels. He also routinely denounced Jews as controlling the slave trade. Jeffries eventually was stripped of his department chairmanship, protesting he’d been a victim of “racism.” He fought and lost a lengthy court battle to recover his chairmanship, though he remains a professor at CCNY, his anti-white, anti-Semitic positions intact.

¹⁵ Kors, “Thought Reform 101.”

¹⁶ Justin Park, the social chair of the campus chapter of Sigma Chi, posted

invitations to the fraternity’s “Halloween in the Hood” party on Facebook.com. Some black students found the ad offensive. That such offense might have been unwarranted was irrelevant to campus administrators, who found him guilty of failing to respect the others’ rights, harassment, intimidation, and other charges. On November 20, Park received a formal letter from Associate Dean of Students Dorothy Sheppard informing him of his punishment. In addition to being forced to undergo mandatory diversity training, he was banned from campus until January 2008, ordered to complete 300 hours of community service, and read and write a reflection paper on 12 books. The message was clear: The tiniest perceived assault against a racial minority group will result in disciplinary measures so severe as to terrify all others out of giving similar offense. The Philadelphia-based Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) subsequently took up Park’s case. FIRE Director of Legal and Public Advocacy Samantha Harris wrote a letter, dated November 28, to Johns Hopkins President William Brody, protesting the severe treatment of Mr. Park as inconsistent with the university’s Undergraduate Student Conduct Code promoting free expression of ideas. Park, incidentally, at the time of the incident, was a junior and only 18 years of age—in other words, a prodigy. If the Johns Hopkins administration truly were interested in promoting academic excellence, it would have held up Park as a role model. See FIRE Press Release, “Johns Hopkins University Suspends Student for One Year for ‘Offensive’ Halloween Invitation,” November 30, 2006. Park, sadly, capitulated to a less severe punishment (undisclosed, at his request). See FIRE Press Release, “Johns Hopkins University Resolves ‘Halloween in the Hood’ Case; Students’ Rights Remain in Jeopardy,” January 8, 2007.

¹⁷ Kors, “Thought Reform 101.”

¹⁸ Examples here are taken from Frederick M. Hess, “A Color-Coded Professoriate?” *National Review Online*, December 12, 2006.

¹⁹ It should be mentioned that Zimbardo, the psychologist who developed the controversial 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment, is an admirer of Elliott. He says her exercise is “more compelling than many done by professional psychologists.” Quoted in Bloom, “Lesson of a Lifetime.”

²⁰ Here is a recent example posted on a blog site of how Jane Elliott’s wisdom is being applied in today’s schools, as retold by a parent of a student attending Peak to Peak Charter School in Lafayette, Colorado: “The teacher made my son wear a blue card on a string around his neck. He was required to smile ingratiatingly, bow his head, and beg people to tie his shoes for him. The teacher wore a yellow card, that of the superior race, and she petted and made much of the other yellow card students.” See “Baby’s Got Blue Eyes,” *Zero Intelligence*, June 22, 2004, <http://zerointelligence.net/archives/000405.php>.

²¹ Thomas Sowell, *Inside American Education: The Decline, the Deception, the Dogmas*, New York: Free Press, 1993, p. 85.

²² Quoted in Donald Clark Plan B, “Diversity Training—More Harm Than Good?,” July 4, 2006. <http://donald-clarkplanb.blogspot.com>.

²³ See <http://www.neishtraining.com>. The company is based at P.O. Box 428, Glasgow G12 9NE, Scotland, UK.

²⁴ Peter Ortiz, “Making Diversity Stick: Chrysler Group COO Tom LaSorda,” <http://www.diversityinc.com/members/login.cfm?hpage=127.cfm>. At the time LaSorda made this statement, he was chief operating officer. His rise to CEO thus illustrates how driving a hard party line on Diversity has become an excellent route to advancement.

²⁵ See Sheryl Hilliard Tucker & Kevin D. Thompson, “Will Diversity = Opportu-

nity + Advancement for Blacks?” *Black Enterprise*, November 1990.

²⁶ John K. Carlisle, “Wal-Mart Embraces Controversial Causes: Bid to Appease Liberal Interest Groups Will Likely Fail, Hurt Business,” Special Report, Falls Church, Va.: National Legal and Policy Center, 2006, p. 16.

²⁷ Cited in Pamela Schaeffer, “Employers Find Diversity Programs Must be ‘Lived,’” American News Service, July 7, 1997. See <http://www.villagelife.org/news/archives>.

²⁸ Rainbow/PUSH Silicon Valley Project, “How We Build e-Connections,” <http://www.siliconvalleyproject.net/Programs.html>.

²⁹ See Won Kim, “Candid Advice from CEOs on Diversity,” *DiversityInc*, Special Issue, Fall 2006, pp. 23-38. Publications such as the Newark, N.J.-based *DiversityInc* represent a particularly pernicious outgrowth of the diversity training industry. It takes for granted the need for higher percentages of “underrepresented” racial and ethnic minorities and for punishment of company officials who don’t aggressively push for this outcome. Toward that end, the magazine has developed a CEO Commitment Index by which it grades chief executive officers.

³⁰ T.J. DeGroat, “A National Legend Moves On: IBM Diversity Trailblazer Ted Childs Retires,” *DiversityInc*, Fall 2006, pp. 68-69. The 61-year-old Childs, who had led IBM’s diversity effort since 1991, stepped down from his position on August 1, 2006, after nearly 40 years with the company. Replacing him is Ron Glover, who had been IBM’s vice president of global workforce diversity operations. Under his supervision, IBM created eight task forces focused on separate constituencies—Asians, blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, GLBTs (i.e., gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered persons), people with disabilities, men and women. Along with its executive task forces, IBM has a global diversity council, 72 local diversity councils and 167

networking groups worldwide. All this would seem the stuff of a Monty Python comedy skit were it not for the fact that complaining about it too much could get someone fired.

³¹ The U.S. Supreme Court had considered two separate challenges originating in the Nineties to University of Michigan race-based admissions policies. The court ruled on both cases on June 23, 2003. In *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 244 (2003), the High Court, by a 6-3 majority, ruled the university’s undergraduate admissions point system favoring nonwhite applicants was too mechanistic and thus unconstitutional. In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003), however, the Court, by 5-4, upheld the university’s law school admissions policy favoring nonwhites. The plaintiffs in each case had contended that racially-rigged admissions policies violated the 14th Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. The defendant, then-University President Lee Bollinger, justified the system as a way of achieving racial diversity among the student body. While formally a split decision, observers across the board agreed that the affirmative-action principle gained the upper hand. The controversy didn’t end there. In November 2006, Michigan voters, by a 58-42 percent margin, approved a state constitutional ban on race- and sex-based affirmative action in public university admissions, government hiring and government contracting. The University of Michigan promptly announced its intent to challenge the measure, known formally as the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative. In January 2007, university officials, led by President Mary Sue Coleman, announced they would comply with the ban, but continue their legal challenge.

³² Quoted in Phyllis Goffney, “Champions of Diversity: The Path of Corporate Enlightenment,” *Essence*, May 2005, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1264/is_1_36/ai_n13660850.

³³ Quoted in Kim, "Candid Advice from CEOs on Diversity," p. 24. Reinemund's obsession with diversity is such that he talks about it all the time, "even when he's at events that have nothing to do with diversity." See "NLPC Shareholder Proposals Target Corporate Support for Jesse Jackson, MALDEF," *Ethics Watch*, Volume XII, Number 1, Summer 2006, Falls Church, Va.: National Legal and Policy Center, p. 7. Reinemund's hand-picked replacement as CEO is Indra Nooyi, who took office on October 1, 2006. PepsiCo touts her as the first female and "person of color" CEO in company history.

³⁴ Quoted in Kim, p. 24.

³⁵ See <http://www.diversityinc.com/public/department44.cfm>.

³⁶ A "facilitator" guide, *Blue Eyed: A Guide to Use in Organizations*, touts Elliott's method this way: "Jane Elliott does not intellectualize highly emotionally charged or challenging topics. She creates a situation in which participants experience discrimination themselves and therefore feel its

effects emotionally, not intellectually... She uses participants' own emotions to make them feel discomfort, guilt, shame, embarrassment and humiliation." In case anyone doubted Mrs. Elliott's loathing of whites, the guide continues: "Jane Elliott focuses on white people as the targets for change. She sees white people as 'owning' the problem of racism and having the power to eradicate it. For this reason, she does not look at 'both sides of the problem.'" Nora Lester, *Blue-Eyed: A Guide to Use in Organizations*, <http://www.newsreel.org/guides/blueeyed.htm>.

³⁷ Quoted in Kors, "Thought Reform 101."

³⁸ Susan Sontag, comments in *Partisan Review*, Winter 1967, p. 57.

³⁹ O'Donnell, "The Corporate Diversity Scam."

⁴⁰ Pascal Bruckner, *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt*, New York: Free Press, 1986 (original French edition, 1983), p. 120.

⁴¹ Elliott herself enthusiastically describes her work as "an inoculation against racism." She elaborates: "We give our children shots to inoculate them against polio and smallpox, to protect them against the realities in the future. There are risks to those inoculations, too, but we determine that those risks are worth taking." See Bloom, "Lesson of a Lifetime."

⁴² Quoted in Joseph Rose, "Jesse Jackson's New Campaign," *Wired News*, March 29, 1999, <http://www.wired.com/news/politics/1,18805-0.html>.

⁴³ Quoted in Ben Stocking and Jack Fischer, "Jackson's Group May Target Firm," *San Jose Mercury News*, March 4, 1999.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Quoted in "Baby's Got Blue Eyes."