

Closing Mao's little red book; all the presidents' employees; sex offender registration; zoning speech; DNA testing and justice; and drawing 9/11

## Sex in the classroom

### Birds Do It

Sara Rimensnyder

A NEW STUDY on teen sex is likely to confound both proponents and critics of sex education programs. Researchers studying a survey of 1,300 unmarried females aged 15 to 19 found no association between their sexual activity or contraceptive use and their participation in public school sex ed classes. Neighborhood characteristics such as household income were much more important.

"Broad state mandates with regard to classroom content are not an effective means by which to encourage the adoption of 'safer sex' practices," the researchers wrote in the November *American Journal of Public Health*. But they also noted that sex ed doesn't appear to encourage sexual activity, a chief concern among conservative critics.

As for other sex-related programs supported by the government, neither the availability

of subsidized abortions nor the presence of family planning clinics was found to influence whether the girls had sex. But girls in neighborhoods with clinics were more likely to use contraceptives.

"Although increased access to family planning services may encourage responsible contraceptive behavior," the study's authors concluded, "policy-makers seem to have little leverage with regard to influencing the decision to become sexually active." ■

## New frontiers in decentralization

### Your Papers, Please

Jesse Walker

WHEN TALK TURNS to devolving the functions of government from Washington to the local level, the conversation usually centers around education, transportation, health care, and the like. But immigration policy?

While the U.S. and Mexico crawl slowly toward an immigration treaty that will pass muster in Washington, many American

communities have rushed ahead, agreeing to accept cards called *matriculas*, issued by Mexican consulates to Mexican citizens, as legitimate IDs. According to *The Arizona Republic*, the cards have "allowed thousands of undocumented immigrants to live quasi-normal lives. They can now open bank accounts, check out books at public libraries and even face officers without fear of deportation."

At last count, 66 banks and 801 police departments in the United States accept the *matriculas*. The practice is spreading from the Southwest to other parts of the country: In April the SunTrust banking chain announced that it would accept



## 25 years ago in reason

"Wartime newspaper writing can come close to intellectual prostitution."

—Felix Morley, "In the Course of Human Events"

"According to the Knight news service, the Supreme Court will soon rule on that burning issue: 'When people flush their toilets in one state and the product winds up in another, is that interstate commerce?'"

—Bill Birmingham, *Brickbats*

"One does not support a movement which cries shrilly about liberty for itself, while preparing to stick a gun in the ribs of everyone else."

—Edith Efron, "Warning to Constitutional Republicans"

"If a whorehouse madam makes a valid criticism of modern marriage; if an embezzler makes a valid criticism of banking operations; if a murderer points out a flaw in the prison system...or if a madman shouts out '1 plus 1 equals 2'—one must indeed agree."

—Edith Efron, "Warning to Constitutional Republicans"



the cards at branches across the Southeast. Thus far, the INS has tolerated the phenomenon, recognizing that most matrícula-bearing Mexicans are probably illegal but also acknowledging that the possession of such a card is not itself grounds for arrest.

In September, Guatemala began issuing the IDs as well, and other Latin American countries are considering matrícula programs of their own. And the federal immigration treaty between the U.S. and Mexico? There's no indication that it will be signed anytime soon. ■

### *Closing the little red book* **Capitalists, Unite!** Charles Paul Freund

"THE WORLD IS changing," Chinese President Jiang Zemin told the 16th Communist Party Congress in November. "We must adapt ourselves." Jiang's adaptation, offered as his legacy on officially leaving office, was finally to junk Karl Marx, thus "free[ing] our minds...from the erroneous and dogmatic interpretations of Marxism."

Marx has gone missing in Chinese practice for years, but the party had maintained lip-service regard for the concept of class struggle. No more. Jiang's new dogma is called, in true Chinese party style, "The Three Represents," an awkward label that means the party now reflects all elements of society, including rich capitalists and foreign-owned companies. According to Jiang, it is now unacceptable "to

judge whether people are progressive or backward by how much property they own." Indeed, Jiang said that "all legitimate income, from work or not, should be protected."

Of course, the new "Jiang Zemin Thought," adopted in the usual unanimous fashion by the congress, does not allow for the surrender of any power by the party, or for countenancing dissent; China immediately closed those left journals that complained about the rhetorical shift. Outside critics, including *The New York Times*, have called the new arrangement a change from socialism to "plutocracy" and suggested that it opens the door for the complete exploitation of Chinese workers by international corporations cozy with the state.

That's not quite right. Yasheng Huang of the Harvard Business School points out that much of China's capitalist class consists not of corporate fat cats but of peasants, because the rural populace was allowed more freedom to experiment than were city dwellers who posed a threat to China's state-owned enterprises. Huang adds that while China has indeed been facing worker restiveness, the problems are all in the socialist provinces, not in those provinces where foreign companies are situated.

"Under today's arrangements," Huang wrote in an analysis published in numerous Asian newspapers, "China faces a choice between the 'Dictatorship

of the Proletariat' or the 'Three Represents.' Which to choose seems very clear to me." ■

### *War on cybercafé society* **Great Firewall of China** Brian Doherty

COMMUNIST PARTY doctrine may be evolving, but the Chinese government recently renewed its commitment to a time-honored practice: censorship. Long famous for building firewalls to keep its citizens "protected" from foreign Web sites, the government now has begun to close down public cybercafés—the only access most Chinese have to the Internet. Since a June fire in an illicit, locked-door cybercafé in Beijing killed more than two dozen people, the Chinese government has closed down 150,000 such shops across the country.

The government has allowed a few cafés in Beijing to reopen, but they are strictly regulated. Owners have to pledge not to spread information that might be against the interests of Chinese state security and stability. They also can't operate near schools, where a younger generation hungry for information from the outside world could be easily corrupted. Cybercafé customers are required to use special ID cards encoded with personal information so the state can

keep track of who's accessing what. The monitoring is

meant to instill  
caution: A  
Beijing  
man

### Quotes

"There's so much talk about 9/11, but what the crooks on Wall Street and big corporations have done to us has been far more destructive." ■

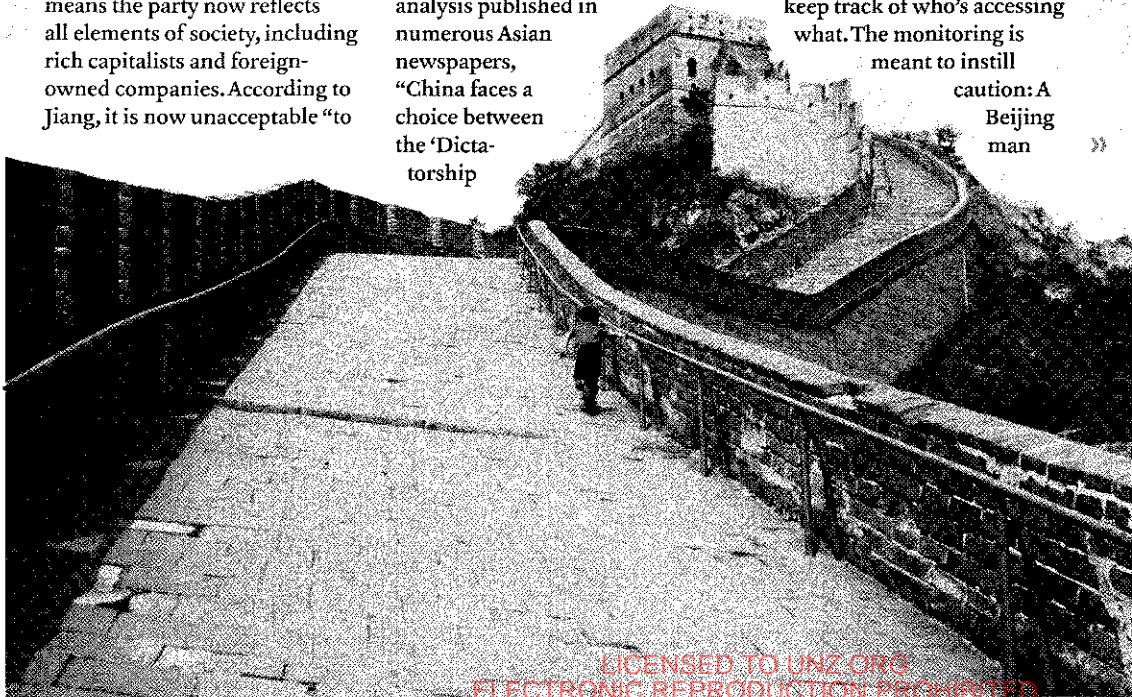
—novelist Kurt Vonnegut, famous for surviving the bombing of Dresden, in the November *Indianapolis Monthly*.

"Maybe at last we can retire that awful phrase that has been flapping its way through the newspaper headlines since the Clinton campaign of 1992—'It's the economy, stupid.' ...If it were the economy, stupid, then House Speaker Hastert would be yielding his chair to Dick Gephardt and George Bush would be deluged in rotten cabbages every time he appeared in public." ■

—Alexander Cockburn, *New York Press*, November 6–12

### Source

Want to know how many people live in Seychelles? (78,641.) Which country uses the most electricity, besides the U.S.? (China.) Which country has the most heliports? (South Korea.) Those answers were all found at [www.your-nation.com](http://www.your-nation.com), which ranks countries in more than a dozen different categories, using statistics culled from the 1998 CIA World Factbook. And to find out whether those rankings have changed over time, visit this year's Factbook at [www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/). ■





## Brickbats

While awaiting trial for robbery, Joseph Banatiao escaped from a jail in the Philippines. Well, actually he escaped from a karaoke bar. It seems that Banatiao slipped out the back while a guard and another prisoner were singing. Officials want to know why two prisoners were out of the jail, much less carousing with a guard. ■

The Ayatollah Mohsen Mujtahed Shabestari, who is supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's personal representative to Iran's Azerbaijan province, is upset with three U.S. religious figures: Jerry Falwell, who has called the prophet Mohammed "a terrorist"; Pat Robertson, who claims Islam is a religion seeking to "dominate and destroy"; and Franklin Graham, who says Islam is "very evil and wicked." Shabestari sought to disprove these false notions by calling for the three to be killed. ■

Wiccan priestess Cyndi Simpson wants her town's Board of Supervisors to add her name to the list of clergy members who say prayers before board meetings. But the board of Chesterfield County, Virginia, refuses. The "nonsectarian" prayers are reserved for "Judeo-Christian" clergy. "Based upon our review of Wicca, it is neo-pagan and invokes polytheistic deities," county attorney Steven Micas told Simpson. "Accordingly, we cannot honor your request." ■

Kip Kohn pays his bill from the Long Island Power Authority each month and usually includes a complaint about his service. So when he wrote "LIPA sucks" on an envelope and stuffed it with his payment and a wad of LIPA newspaper ads marked with "Stop wasting our money!", it was par for the course. Nevertheless, the letter frightened bill processors. Security evacuated the mailroom and called in the

police and a postal inspector. It took a bomb squad and a hazardous-materials crew several hours to determine that Kohn's special delivery wasn't dangerous. He now faces charges of aggravated harassment. ■

At least two absentee votes were cast at a Kenosha, Wisconsin, facility for the mentally disabled immediately after a bingo party where workers for Democratic Attorney General Jim Doyle's 2002 gubernatorial campaign handed out prizes. Staff at the facility also obtained an absentee ballot for a female resident who is a convicted felon. ■

About one in three homeless families in New York City's shelters refuses offers of public housing. "Some reject more than one home. Sometimes, there is an objection to the size of the apartment. Sometimes, folks do not want to be in the neighborhoods," says city official Linda Gibbs. ■

Migran Changulyan and 13 others have been charged by the state of California with fraud and face up to eight years in prison each. What did they do? They recycled cans and bottles. California consumers pay a deposit on glass, plastic, or aluminum containers, which they can then redeem at state collection centers. The accused are charged with buying bottles and cans in other states and in Mexico and bringing them to California. They bought aluminum cans for about \$950 a ton and then sold them in California for about \$2,490. Plastic bottles bought for \$90 a ton earned them \$910 in state. ■

Charles Oliver

was sentenced to 11 years in prison for downloading verboten political content.

The Chinese government isn't able to accomplish this high-tech censorship alone. It needs Western technology—technology supplied by such U.S. firms as Cisco, Nortel Networks, and Yahoo! A November article in *Red Herring* reports that the Chinese information crackdown may prompt the U.S. Congress to pressure American firms not to do business in surveillance and firewall technologies with China. ■

## Freedom of assembly under fire Zoning Speech

Jesse Walker

ON NOVEMBER 1, the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit against the City of Tampa and its chief of police on behalf of three peaceful protestors who had been forcibly removed from a presidential rally. Janis Lentz, Mauricio Rosas, and Sonja Haught had committed the crime of holding signs with unwelcome messages: "Investigate Florida VoterGate," "June Is Gay Pride Month," and "Boo!"

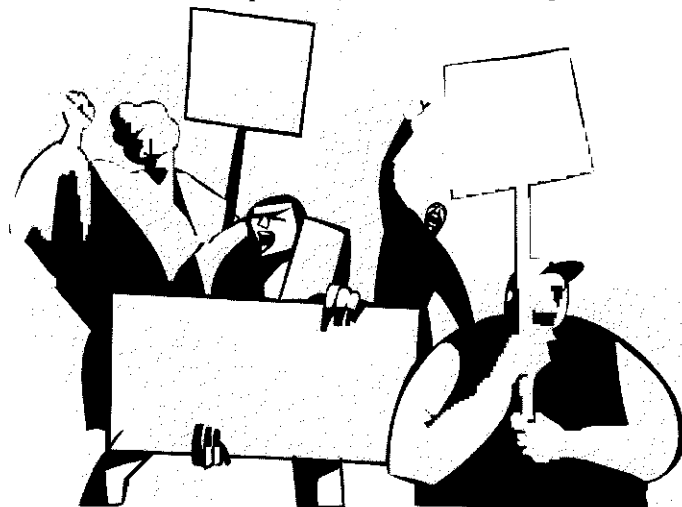
The June rally, attended by President Bush, took place at Legends Field, a private (though tax-funded) stadium. Under other circumstances one might argue that its owners have a right to exclude whomever they please. But as a *St. Petersburg Times* editorial noted, the "pri-

vate" rally "had a distinctly public character." It was run in part by public employees and organized in part by White House staff; a White House spokesperson called it "a governmental, presidential event."

The three expelled sign holders were not the only people in Tampa who wanted to protest the president's visit. About 150 were sent to a specially designated First Amendment Zone created by local statute, half a mile from the event. There they chanted, waved signs, and otherwise expressed their political views to any ralliers who happened to be dreadfully lost.

Such free speech zones are most common on college campuses, which first experimented with the idea in the 1960s. In the last five years, more than 20 colleges have instituted such restrictions, in what Greg Lukianoff of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education calls a "perversion of constitutional law" that suggests "speech is to be feared, regulated, and monitored at all times."

Under fire from civil libertarians, some schools, including West Virginia University, Penn State, and the University of Wisconsin at Whitewater, have backed off such regulations. Others continue to segregate controversial speech. The University of Texas, which ran into a conflict last year over the proper placement of an anti-abortion display, is thinking of renaming its "free speech zones" as "amplified sound areas." Depending on >>





# Balance Sheet

Jeff A. Taylor

## Home Court

The California Supreme Court rules that Hollywood cannot drag a Texas man into Golden State courts because he posted an unlicensed DVD decoder on the Net. The DVD Copy Control Association should file suit in the man's home state or the state where it thinks the offense occurred, the court says.

## French Stew

A French court brushes aside arguments from Jose Bové's lawyers that the tech-hating sheep farmer had no choice but to attack and destroy a field of genetically modified crops. Bové now faces several months in prison and wants President Jacques Chirac to pardon him.

## Net Good

Web charity is alive and well. Visitors send \$20,000 to the youthful proprietress of savekaryn.com to help defray her credit card bills. And Ernie's House of Whoop Ass enters its second year of PayPal donations to fund holiday travel for overseas U.S. military. Last year visitors donated \$13,000.

## Duty Call

The Bush administration calls for the elimination of all tariffs on manufactured goods by 2015. The change would affect an estimated \$6 trillion in goods.

## Change Due

The Ohio Education Association backs down and allows a member teacher to use her dues to support the American Cancer Society instead of the union's political activities. The union admits no wrongdoing, however, and refuses to acknowledge the "sincerity" of teacher Kathleen Klamut's "professed beliefs."

## Quantum Leap

Just in time for the total surveillance state, here comes quantum encryption. The process, which scrambles individual photons, is fast, requires no keys, and is thought to be unbreakable.

## Mystery Map

The National Geographic Society says only 13 percent of Americans aged 18 to 24 can find Iraq on a map. Slightly better known—after a year of bombing it—is Afghanistan, with fully 17 percent of those surveyed able to pinpoint it.

## Secret Sales

The perverse Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) is used by WalMart, Target, Best Buy, and Staples to force Web sites to delete any information giving consumers advance notice about sales. The retailers claim their prices are DMCA-protected trade secrets.

## Approval Upheaval

After nearly two years without an administrator, the Food and Drug Administration now takes more time to approve an application than it has in 10 years. New drugs trickle into the market.

## Official Reminder

A public school superintendent in Illinois sends policemen and truant officers to demand that homeschoolers appear for a "pre-trial hearing" to prove they are actually teaching their kids. State law has no such requirement for parents.

## Pill Boxes

Patients receiving prescriptions in Indiana and 18 other states may find the Drug Enforcement Administration has information on their medical backgrounds, right down to the number of pills they take. Drugs such as Percodan, Vicodin, and Lorcet are part of the Diversion Control Program, which means the feds track who takes them.

## Osama Tax

New York City adopts an 18.5 percent property tax hike that some pols call a "wartime tax." In reality, war has nothing to do with it. During the '90s states and localities went on a spending binge that now has to be paid for.



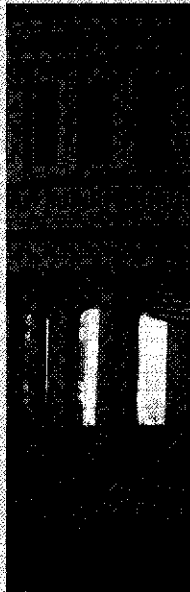
## All the Presidents' Employees

Brian Doherty

It's often said there isn't a dime's worth of difference between today's two major political parties. But Democrats and Republicans still try to cast themselves as cats and dogs. For example, Republicans label their adversary the party of big government, while Democrats count the GOP as a tool of the military-industrial complex.

Does the rhetoric reflect reality? When considering statistics about civilian employment by the federal government, the answer is clearly no.

During the last 40 years, Democratic administrations added to the federal government's payroll 31,000 civilian defense employees (Defense Department employees who aren't soldiers), and 49,000 nondefense employees—some growth in both categories. But Republican administrations have on balance *subtracted* 426,000 civilian defense jobs—and added 320,000 nondefense employees. That adds up to bureaucratic bloat more than six times that of the Democrats. The biggest slasher of federal nondefense payrolls was Bill Clinton.



Government Employees Added or (Subtracted)

	Civilian Defense	Non-Defense
Kennedy	(12,000)	73,000
Johnson	312,000	105,000
Nixon/Ford	(333,000)	213,000
Carter	(25,000)	(14,000)
Reagan	91,000	3,000
George H.W. Bush	(184,000)	104,000
Clinton	(244,000)	(115,000)

Source: Budget for Fiscal Year 2003, Historical Table 17.1, "Total Executive Branch Civilian Employees: 1940–2001"

› whom you ask, this is either an Orwellian obfuscation or a welcome return to neutral regulation of the time, place, and manner of speech.

Meanwhile, as events in Tampa and elsewhere show, speech zoning has started to spread into the post-matriculation world. From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Stockton, California, protesters at presidential appearances have been sent to small, distant speech zones and threatened with arrest if they try to leave. Apparently, when

George W. Bush comes to town, the right of free assembly gets suspended. ■

### Sex offender registration Dangerous Assumption Jacob Sullum

"WHEN THEY REENTER society at large," Solicitor General Theodore Olson said in a recent Supreme Court brief, "convicted sex offenders have a much higher recidivism rate for their offense of conviction than any

other type of violent felon." Olson was defending sex offender registration laws, two of which—Alaska's and Connecticut's—have been challenged in cases the Supreme Court heard last fall.

Such laws, which have been adopted by all 50 states, require sex offenders released from prison to report their whereabouts to the government, which passes the information on to the public. As Olson's claim reflects, one of the main rationales for singling out sex offenders is

the assumption that they are especially likely to commit new crimes. That belief, although widely held, seems to have little basis in fact.

Olson himself cited data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics that contradict his assertion. Among prisoners released in 1994, 2.5 percent of rapists were arrested for a new rape in the three years covered by the study. By comparison, 13 percent of the offenders who had served time for robbery and 23 percent of the offenders who had served time for (nonsexual) assault were arrested again for similar crimes.

Studies that cover longer periods and include other kinds of sex offenders find higher recidivism rates, but still nothing like those claimed by politicians.



In 1996 a California legislator declared that sex offenders "will immediately commit this crime again at least 90 percent of the time." The National Center on Institutions and Alternatives cites three large studies, covering tens of thousands of sex offenders, that reported rearrest rates for sex offenses ranging from 13 percent to 19 percent.

It seems that a large majority of people forced to register as sex offenders are actually *former* sex offenders who will not repeat their crimes. Moreover, registration laws cover not only rape and child molestation but nonviolent offenses such as consensual sex with a teenager, indecent exposure, and possession of child pornography.

No wonder Connecticut's online Sex Offender Registry proclaimed that "the Department of Public Safety has not considered or assessed the specific risk of reoffense with regard



to any individual prior to his or her inclusion within this registry, and has made no determination that any individual included in this registry is currently dangerous." The disclaimer may have negated the whole point of registration—warning the public about especially dangerous offenders—but at least it was honest. **E**

#### DNA testing and justice

#### Guilt Tip

Ronald Bailey

THE GUILT OR innocence of a man executed for murder is less important than adhering to legal niceties, the Virginia Supreme Court declared in late October. The court refused to use modern, highly accurate DNA testing in the case of Roger Keith Coleman, a man executed in 1992 by the Commonwealth of Virginia for the 1981 rape and murder of his sister-in-law Wanda McCoy.

The physical evidence, including semen samples, pointed strongly to Coleman's guilt. But he staunchly denied that he had murdered McCoy even as he went to his death.

The biological evidence in the Coleman case has been stored at a California testing lab for more than a decade. A group of newspapers, including *The Washington Post* and *The Boston Globe*, sought legal permission to have those samples tested again using today's more accurate DNA techniques. Virginia officials, including two attorneys general, fiercely resisted the request, maintaining that criminal proceedings and convictions must have judicial finality.

Much more was at stake than Coleman's guilt or innocence. Death penalty opponents have yet to find a modern U.S. case in which a demonstrably innocent person has been wrongfully executed. They believe that even one such case would dramatically reduce the American public's consistent support for the death penalty and eventually lead to its abolition. Death penalty proponents believe (and fear) exactly the same thing.

## Drawing 9/11

Sara Rimensnyder



Chip Bok

Starting a career in political cartooning is a tricky business. In the case of award-winning scribbler Chip Bok, his first full-time position, at Florida's long-defunct *Clearwater Sun*, came after a six-year hunt. It also ended in dismissal after a short six months, when a new editor who wanted only local cartoons took over. "It didn't take long before I had offended just about everybody in town and probably most of the advertisers," recalls Bok.

He recovered. His new book, *Bok! The 9/11 Crisis in Political Cartoons* (University of Akron Press), brings together nearly a year of his cartoons from the *Akron Beacon Journal*, where he's been on staff since 1987. The 50-year-old Bok is also syndicated, bringing his 'toons to rags such as the *Chicago Tribune*, *The New York Times*, and *Reason Online* ([reason.com/boktoc.shtml](http://reason.com/boktoc.shtml)). Yet if it weren't for *Mad* and a certain

presidential scandal, Bok might never have found his calling. "Alfred E. Neuman and Richard Nixon launched a lot of editorial cartoonists," he says, "including me." Assistant Editor Sara Rimensnyder spoke to Bok by telephone in November.

**Q:** 9/11 was a difficult event for humorists. What have been the particular challenges for political cartoonists?

**A:** Editorial cartooning is a negative art form: criticizing, satirizing, making fun of authority. In the case of 9/11, I didn't want to do that. It didn't seem like the moment to criticize the commander in chief—to see how close I could get his eyeballs together, how bushy I could make the eyebrows. That just didn't seem to fit. And though there were plenty of heroes to memorialize, it's hard to do positive cartoons. I'm more into tearing things down.

**Q:** So you eventually returned to your usual, scathing self?

**A:** What broke the mental logjam was White House spokesman Ari Fleischer's reaction to Bill Maher's comment that suicide bombers were brave, not the cowards Bush had called them. Fleischer said, "People better watch what they say." Gee whiz, I thought. President Bush has a 90 percent approval rating, and they can't even tolerate a slightly critical statement on a late-night show called *Politically Incorrect*.

**Q:** Are political cartoonists still under pressure to be patriotic?

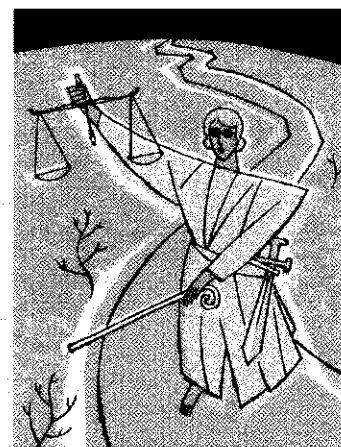
**A:** Not now. For a month or two there, yes. And that just renders cartoonists impotent. There's a place for flag waving, but we're not the guys to do it. You see these weeping Statue of Liberty cartoons, or Uncle Sam rolling up his sleeves. The time when that inspired people is long past. People look to political cartoons for some healthy skepticism about authority.

Today 26 states, including Virginia, permit access to post-conviction DNA testing, up from only two in 1999. The Virginia Supreme Court's refusal to use such testing in the Coleman case is particularly strange since the state has been the leader in using DNA to solve crimes. Since the state's DNA database opened for business in 1989, it has helped solve 900 crimes in which there were no known suspects. In addition, six Virginia inmates have been released based on post-conviction DNA testing.

Nationally, 111 inmates have been released based on such tests.

In November, Virginia voters handily passed a ballot initiative for a state constitutional amendment that would make it easier for convicted felons to request modern DNA testing to prove their innocence. That amendment will not affect the Coleman case, but Gov. Mark Warner can still order that the DNA evidence be tested. Voters seem to agree that if the state is going to claim the awesome power to execute

murderers, it should make every effort to insure that those it kills are in fact guilty. **E**





## Liberal Martyrdom in Iran

An academic takes on the ayatollahs

IT'S A PITY that so much of the attention given to the Islamic world is lavished on its thugs and psychopaths, because its men and women of courage are largely overlooked.

The case of the Iranian academic Hashem Aghajari is an impressive example. In June, Aghajari, a popular history professor who belongs to a left-wing opposition group, gave a public lecture calling for political reform and "religious renewal." Each generation, he argued, has the right to interpret Islam anew; no one should "blindly follow religious leaders" of the past. The result was that he was charged in Iran's religious courts with apostasy; on November 6 he was found guilty in a closed-door trial. He was sentenced to be hanged.

Iran's restrictive and brutal Islamist government has lost the support of much of the populace, and the Aghajari verdict immediately threw the country into turmoil. Outraged pro-reform members of the national parliament exchanged bitter accusations with the conservative clerical judiciary (the parliamentary speaker described his reaction as one of "hatred" and "disgust"), and students in Tehran and elsewhere staged daily street demonstrations in support of Aghajari. Iran's political stability, shaky in any event, quickly became an issue.

Within a week of the verdict, Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, appeared on national television threatening to use the hard-line popular militias to impose order. "The day the three branches are unable or unwilling to settle major problems," he told the country, "the leadership will, if it thinks it necessary, use the popular forces to intervene."

Aghajari had the right to appeal his verdict, which presumably would have allowed a deal to be worked out to defuse the crisis. (Other con-

troversial death sentences have been reduced on appeal.) But in a dramatic turn of events, Aghajari refused to appeal. According to his lawyer, Aghajari said that "those who have issued this verdict have to implement it if they think it is right or else the judiciary has to handle it." In other words, he had determined to risk his life so as to force Iran's judicial establishment to confront its own barbarity.

In the meantime, Aghajari's family reported that he was suffering in prison. According to Amnesty International, his right leg, amputated at the knee as a result of the Iran-Iraq war, had become infected. He was unable to stand or walk, even to the prison bathrooms. Nevertheless, he was prepared to sacrifice himself in the name of liberal principle, an act of potential martyrdom that contrasted dramatically with the acts of the unspeakable but celebrated ghoul "martyrs" who detonate themselves to kill children in strollers.

One of the most striking elements of the turmoil surrounding Aghajari involved Tehran's students, who continued their demonstrations for two weeks. *The New York Times* reported that they engaged in such chants as, "The execution of Aghajari is the execution of the university!" Students gathered at the end of their demonstrations to sing a popular nationalist song called "Ey Iran," thus invoking an Iran that transcends clerical rule. These protests gradually widened in their focus, becoming the biggest student disturbance in several years.

Some students reportedly called for the resignation of the nation's reformist president, Mohammad Khatami, out of frustration with the slow pace of reform in the face of entrenched conservative rule. Students even publicly criticized Ayatollah Khamenei, a dan-