Cody Allen, gay activist and history major at UC Berkeley, has paused for a moment in Sproul Plaza to deliver an impromptu lecture on the need for a Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Studies department. "The blacks have Black Studies, the women have Women Studies, Chicanos have Chicano Studies," he says, "so why shouldn't there be something for us?"

"So it's a matter of gay pride," a bystander observes. "Feelgood, touchy-feely does feel good," Allen grins, making a Madonna-like foray toward his crotch. "But we don't want to just sit around and say what a culture hero Oscar Wilde was. We want to break it all down. Heterosexuality, the family, the social order. That's what the point is. Queer theory is not just pro-gay. It's anti a whole bunch of stuff, mainly anti-heteronormativity and the whole version of truth on which it is based."

In the minds of its activist promoters, Gay-Lesbian Studies is not just another academic discipline, nor even another addition to the expanding list of diverse subcultures encompassed by the new university curriculum. It is a revolutionary challenge to "normativity" itself. "Lesbian and gay studies, or the more recent queer theory," write two "committed" New York professors, "presents itself as a disruptive wedge into the regimes of truth on which heteronormativity depends." Lesbian and Gay studies, according to these professors, are "informed by a politics quite other than liberal pluralism." This politics is based on the idea that "the heterosexual norm is arbitrary," and that it is the "invisible standard" which naturalizes "sexuality, gender and their accompanying structures of domination."

Newly emergent, queer theory was not invented yesterday, however, and while its objectives are grandiose, there is petty argumentation about who were its pioneers. Some look to Martin Duberman, who established the Center for Lesbian and Gay Study at the graduate school of City University of New York in 1986 as a founding brother and cite Eve Sedgwick's Between Men as a key text. Still others regard Carla Jay of Pace University and San Francisco State's John DeCecco as founders of the discipline. Others look back still further.

University of Southern California anthropology professor Walter Williams, author of The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture points to Evelyn Hooker,
Dear Heterodoxy

As a member of the Modern Language Association, I want to express to you my gratitude for exposing some of the silliness that has of late come to characterize the discipline of literary study. Having read recent tomes by Allan Bloom, Roger Kimball, Dinesh D'Souza and William Bennett, I have come to realize that what is needed is more "case history" material. Articles like your profile of "ten worst" administrators fill this vacuum. The exposé of PC (and other frauds) in the universities has really just begun. I would like to see more attention devoted to PC hiring policies in the university. Just how much money is dumped into the campus affirmative action office? And for what purpose?

(please do not print my name with this note in any future "letters to the editor" section. Obviously, my career could be ruined.)

Two More Candidates

Dear Heterodoxy

Competition for a spot in your hall of shame of the ten worst university administrators must have been fierceous, but surely you overlooked the University of California's President David Gardner. This is the man who gave affirmative action a real original twist. When one of the nine UC campuses adopted strict ethnic quotas for admissions some whites were admitted with lower test scores than Asian-Americans who were rejected. Making affirmative action into preferential treatment for whites over Asians took real imagination. Of course, the Asians were a bit upset, and the federal government seemed to think that it's illegal. California's ethnic politics would make life difficult for most administrators, but Gardner has a solution. He has his aides do such a thing?

Nunn's Law: Bad ideas drive out good.
TWO DOWN, EIGHT TO GO: We can't take credit for the departure of Donald Kennedy from the Stanford Presidency, that was in the works before he made our list of the 10 Worst College Administrators. But after the first issue of Heterodoxy appeared, Annette Kolodny, another of the 10 Worst, announced she will be stepping down from her deanship at the University of Arizona next year. Call it a harmonic convergence.

PEDOPHILIA UPDATE: The University of Massachusetts at Amherst has revised its nondiscrimination code to include pedophiles as a protected minority. In 1990-1991, the school's Affirmative Action and Nondiscrimination Policy contained a clause specifying that its protections "shall not include persons whose sexual orientation includes minor children as the sex object." First, why protect pedophiles? (Is it now okay for a man to sexually harass a 7 year old boy, say, but not a 27 year old woman?) And secondly, why the term sexual orientation? Don't we mean that we are in for brain storming debates about whether pedophilia is chemical or choice? Will there be—in the compulsory Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Studies courses of the future—seminars on Hanhert Humbert as the Ahab of pedophiles, trying to lammoon a sweet young thing? Is mere no behavior which U Mass and other enlightened campuses will agree deserves simply to be called deviant?

SEX HACKERS: The following message was spotted on "Athena," an expensive MIT Communications Network, generally reserved for technical exchanges and by federal funds:

Slave, Signs of the brewing interest in the upcoming s/m study break have reached me by phone, computer, and direct communication....We will play a game of show and tell—EVERYONE IS STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO BRING IN HER OR HIS SEX TOYS AND ANY OTHER EROTICIZED OBJECTS. We will get a chance to ask the questions we've never dared to ask. We will get a chance to reveal all. We are hoping to have a LIVE S/M SCANDALOUS DEMENTION. As I write this, a very cute blond boy with a slight southern drawl will be fisted before your eyes, as well as rumors that a Mississy type poet with art-fag hair will be suspended by ropes and whipped, have not been veri...

Your master, Joe P.S. The AIDS Quit will be shown at Tufts this Saturday and Sunday from Saturday 10-9 in Cousens's Gym on the Medford Campus....

It would perhaps be superfluous explication de texte on our part to note that it is the postscript that makes this item work.

BOVINE EMISSIONS: For sheer environmental flatulence we thought it would be hard to top Paul Ehrlich who in 1969 predicted that the earth had only a few years to live and who has continued to make equally inaccurate prophecies of doom since then without ever bothering to do a balance sheet on his handwriting. But Ehrlich now has a new book, Bovine Emissions, a faster rate than the rain forests of Brazil. According to Vladislav Petrov, a law professor at Moscow State University, if the current environmental regulations were enforced, 30% of the country's factories would be shut down. Thanks to Reagan's willingness to face down the Evil Empire, these depredations will no longer be necessary to feed communist growth and Russians can perhaps begin to soothe their screeched earth. There is a lesson here for vaporist lelsists, who, unable to give the U.S. credit for anything, have tried to convince us that the USSR came to an end simply because of internal contradictions. This was no immaculate carriage, but rather the result of pressure from R. Reagan, environmentalist of the decade and ecologist malgre lui.

ANGEA DAVIS, COMMUNIST WITHOUT A COUNTRY: The night of the Rodney King verdict, the noted Communist Angela Davis, a lackey to Stalinism for three decades who now teaches something or other at the University of California, Los Angeles, 500 people waiting for their marching orders. "Show your anger," she said, "I am not going to ask you to be calm or ask you to value property more than human life! Express your rage loudly, not calmly—loudly!" This, as California was being engulfed with racist mayhem that took three dozen lives. According to Vladimir Petrov, a law professor at Moscow State University, if the current environmental regulations were enforced, 30% of the country's factories would be shut down. Thanks to Reagan's willingness to face down the Evil Empire, these depredations will no longer be necessary to feed communist growth and Russians can perhaps begin to soothe their screeched earth. There is a lesson here for vaporist lelsists, who, unable to give the U.S. credit for anything, have tried to convince us that the USSR came to an end simply because of internal contradictions. This was no immaculate carriage, but rather the result of pressure from R. Reagan, environmentalist of the decade and ecologist malgre lui.

ET TU, OLLIE? Oliver Stone recently spoke to the Advocate in an interview in which he coyly equivocates about whether or not he has ever had

The world is full of people who should be on the 10 Wackiest Campus Feminists in the current issue. It would be a surprise if the name of Paula Rothenberg, who teaches at William Patterson College in New Jersey, did not come up. Admittedly, anyone who gives a bio like the following to her publisher must be given careful consideration for the 10 Wackiest: "An unwed mother, she lives in New Jersey with her partner, Alondra. She used to try to find time to grow vegetables and write fiction. "Time is scarce for such life-giving pursuits, however, because Rothenberg is busy with her primary life as a prophetarian Marxist Feminist, and such an identity, as well all know, induces a spiritual nourishment that tends to kill wackiness. Unaccountably, the state of New Jersey as allowed Rothenberg to run something called the New Jersey Project, which seeks to integrate smoothly little orthodoxies about "race/ethnicity, women/gender, class and sexuality" into the curriculum of the state's two and four year colleges. It was a hard call, but after considering this effort and her written work (notably the Racism and Sexism handbook which bodeville the University of Texas and other campuses) we reluctantly decided that Rothenberg is actually huckily rather than wacky.

ENVIRONMENTALIST OF THE DECADE: We have a mystery candidate... Ronaldo Reaung! Why? Because he brought the US to its knees by knitting together the tattered strands of the Truman Doctrine and fighting the Cold War to a conclusion. In so doing he stopped the most catastrophic environmental devastation in the world, which was that occurring in the Soviet Union as part and parcel of the communist enterprise. Growth is the ideology of the cancer cell, and in the Soviet Union growth, forced with draconian methods from the 1920s onward, was economic. In their new book Ecoicide in the Soviet Union, Murray Fashel and Alfred Friendly Jr. describe the toll of 75 years of Bohohevianism. More than half the Russian population breathes air with five times the limit of dangerous chemicals. The former Soviet Union has only 10% the number of cars as does the United States, but 67% of automobile pollution. Nuclear accidents, other than Chernobyl, have made parts of European Russia glow in the dark. The equivalent of one Exxon Valdez oil spill occurs every six hours in Siberia. The Siberian forests are disappearing at a rate of 5 million hectares a year, a faster rate than the rain forests of Brazil. According to U.S. News and World Report's April 13 issue, the socialist planners used nuclear bombs as a sort of super TNT in engineering projects. (During Communist rule man 130 nuclear explosions were used for geophysical explorations, to create underground pressure in oil and gas fields or simply to move earth for building dams). There were 270 violations at nuclear power facilities last year, but despite warnings from government officials that all Soviet nuclear power stations are in hazardous condition it is impossible to shut them down, since they provide as much as 60% of the power in certain regions. "Show your anger," she said, "I am not going to ask you to be calm or ask you to value property more than human life! Express your rage loudly, not calmly—loudly!" This, as California was being engulfed with racist mayhem that took three dozen lives. According to Vladimir Petrov, a law professor at Moscow State University, if the current environmental regulations were enforced, 30% of the country's factories would be shut down. Thanks to Reagan's willingness to face down the Evil Empire, these depredations will no longer be necessary to feed communist growth and Russians can perhaps begin to soothe their screeched earth. There is a lesson here for vaporist lelsists, who, unable to give the U.S. credit for anything, have tried to convince us that the USSR came to an end simply because of internal contradictions. This was no immaculate carriage, but rather the result of pressure from R. Reagan, environmentalist of the decade and ecologist malgre lui.

ANGELA DAVIS, COMMUNIST WITHOUT A COUNTRY: The night of the Rodney King verdict, the noted Communist Angela Davis, a lackey to Stalinism for three decades who now teaches something or other at the University of California, Los Angeles, 500 people waiting for their marching orders. "Show your anger," she said, "I am not going to ask you to be calm or ask you to value property more than human life! Express your rage loudly, not calmly—loudly!" This, as California was being engulfed with racist mayhem that took three dozen lives. According to Vladimir Petrov, a law professor at Moscow State University, if the current environmental regulations were enforced, 30% of the country's factories would be shut down. Thanks to Reagan's willingness to face down the Evil Empire, these depredations will no longer be necessary to feed communist growth and Russians can perhaps begin to soothe their screeched earth. There is a lesson here for vaporist lelsists, who, unable to give the U.S. credit for anything, have tried to convince us that the USSR came to an end simply because of internal contradictions. This was no immaculate carriage, but rather the result of pressure from R. Reagan, environmentalist of the decade and ecologist malgre lui.

SO MANY CANDIDATES, SO LITTLE SPACE: The letters column of this issue contains two retrospective columns, one for the 10 Worst College Administrators
This much must be said for Avital Ronell: she has an impressive curriculum vitae. Born in Prague, grew up in Israel, moved to New York, lived in "the schizoid emptiness" of New Jersey, was down and out in Paris for several years. Perhaps this last stop was the fateful one, for it was in the City of Lights that she met Jacques Derrida and became a disciple.

Ronell still collaborates with the Grande Morale of deconstruction, and after a ten-year membership, although Berkeley is now her home and Comparative Literature her game. In throwing around signifiers and semiotics over the last few years, she has worked hard to establish a cult of personality for herself. The problem, however, is that she appears to be the only member of the cult.

Ronell may think of herself as tinkling brightly in that constellation that includes her most frequently cited philosophical peers—Heidegger, Nietzsche, Freud, and of course Derrida himself—but there isn't much call for philosophical peers—Heidegger, Nietzsche, Freud, and of course Derrida himself—but there isn't much call for someone who sees her task as domesticating deconstruction. ("Think of me as a nuclear physicist," she told one interviewee, "or a highly specialized person who is also dealing with basic realities and new ways.") Anyway, while Ronell may feel that she serves Derrida, her heart actually belongs to dada.

Given her inability thus far to make herself a household name, we must in the last analysis know Ronell by her works. The first one to gain recognition was The Telephone Book—Technology, Schizophrenia, and Electric Speech. This odd book is a telephone directory in shape and layout, with typographical puns and games and avant-garde visual interludes throughout. It is a sort of performance art, although, if so, it is the reader who is smeared with chocolate (or worse), not the author herself. The prose wails down from the deconstructive Oversoul, with no debt acknowledged or paid to coherence, linearity, or those other bourgeois concepts on which communications are to be based. Noting that Nietzsche says he philosophized with a hammer, Ronell attempts to do so with a telephone. The Telephone Book seems to be about "the electronic impulse" in modern society, about the absence of "an off switch" in communications with power, and about the madness inherent in technology. Ronell strives for the hallucinatory existential voice: "What does it mean to answer the telephone, to make oneself answerable to it in a situation where gestural syntax already means yes, even if the affirmative should find itself followed by a question mark: Yes?" These obsession incantations are broken only by observations like the following which bubble up from a Lacanian unconscious: "In The Madonna's Conception Through the Ear, Ernest Jones convincingly shows the ear to cover for the displaced anus." More recently, Ronell has published Crack Wars: Literature, Addiction, and Mania, which she calls the philosophical investigations into the non-essence called drugs.

"More particularly, it is about "being-on-drugs," which anyone who has read Heidegger would know is different from merely being on drugs. In this book there is more of the dopey type and lugubrious literary gamesmanship of the previous work, along with the intentional deep thinking which in the 1950s was inevitably accompanied by a black head and absurdia. The idea seems to be that in modern times (or at least beginning with the publication of Madame Bovary), "the addicted body is under attack!" But who knows for sure what Ronell means? Indeed, who cares?

Restricted to an out of the way publisher in the U.S. (the University of Nebraska Press), Ronell says that in France her oeuvre is regarded as an "earthquake." Right. But then in Paris Jerry Lewis is also regarded as a 20th century genius. One extracts himself from her work with the same feeling Woody Allen had when he was listening to the weird rap of Annie Hall's brother: I'm sorry, but I've got to go now, I'm due back on planet earth.

Ann Ferguson
University of Massachusetts

Author of books with titles like Blood at the Root and numerous articles on Women, Oppression, and Revolution, Ann Ferguson professes Philosophy at U Mass in that great tradition that produced kindred philosophical spirits such as Stalin and Huey Newton.

Ferguson has described herself as a "politically correct lesbian feminist." The self-definition was made before other tenured radicals decided to claim that "political correctness" was an invention by malicious right-wing foundations supporting malicious groups such as the National Association of Scholars. But Ferguson is part of that left-wing tradition that eschews such mealy-mouthed deceptions, a tradition in which being politically correct means the difference between being on the side of the World Historical Spirit and being an Enemy of the People.

A veteran New Lefist, she was faculty advisor to the campus Trotskyites in the 1960s. Like other refugees from the Revolution who rectified their personal frontiers within the groves of academe during the 70s and 80s, Ferguson has continued to wage the war of the Sixties by other means. She is a durable radical presence in the classroom. She continues to write diatribes whose tonalities are based on a marriage between Marx and Professor Irwin Corey: "With respect to understanding international lesbian feminist politics, we need to reject universal, discontinuous, and deconstructive approaches for a dialectical interest in historical specificity. And the knee bone is connected to the thigh bone."

Moments of autobiography provide comic relief from the brain-dwarbling ideology. In Blood at the Root, Ferguson writes about her daughter, Kathy, "[who] has had a hard time with her political parents. As a mixed race child of divorced left wing white parents, one of whom is a lesbian, she has felt like an outsider in relation to her peers in just about every possible way." (Gee, wonder why?) The undeserved plight of poor Kathy leads to other intimate insights from the personal-is-political realm. Ferguson talks about the "moral dilemma of having an affair with a married black man who 'believed he had a right not to be bound by his wife's foolish insistence on monogamy.' Since Ferguson also considered such peccadillos foolish, the "dilemma" had nothing to do with personal betrayal but rather with a conflict between her great commitments to gender and race.

"Did my responsibility as a feminist, my commitment to the sisterhood mean I should end my affair with him?... [I] decided I couldn't support what amounted to a double standard, especially given my white skin privilege. This is no doubt more than anyone wants to know about Ann Ferguson, although in the interests of finishing the plot line it should be noted that the black guy was dumped, the association with feminisms proving stronger than the one with racial unity.

Ferguson has attempted to re-defined lesbianism as the act of belonging to an "ethnic" community rather than to a sexual orientation. The "political" view of sexuality has caused her to be criticized by lesbians who think quite properly that being a lesbian means being sexually attracted to women rather than men. To them, Ferguson throws a philosophical bone picked up from the root of Marxianism: "Whether one believes one's feminism is innate or chosen is partly a question of the historical context..."

ANN FERGUSON
University of Massachusetts

Joyce Trebilcot
Washington University

At Washington University in St. Louis, Joyce Trebilcot teaches "ovulants," not seminars. This is one small step for a woman and a giant leap for wimminkind. Whatever takes place in her classroom, however, must not be mistaken for a "marketplace of ideas," with all the ugly commotion of capitalist avarice inherent in the phrase, but rather as a socialist "potluck" where "we each contribute something and thereby create a whole meal."

Someone who comes to this feast had best have a bottle of Ipecac handy. For in her ovulars, Trebilcot teaches "dyke philosophy," a concept she has described in an essay entitled "Dyke Methods or Principles for the Discovery of the Withstanding." (This is a term, she explains, meaning "both that I am standing with wimmink and that I am withstanding patriarchy.") This essay is prefaced by an editorial note describing Trebilcot's "alarm" over the "domination inherent in the patriarchal idea of truth." Liberation from the truth is one of Trebilcot's aims and the one aim in which she succeeds.

Dyke Philosophy has three principles. (Trebilcot uses the term while stipulating that she dislikes the idea of a principle because it is a "hierarchical concept"). Principle One is "I speak only for myself." In explaining this idea, Trebilcot hypothesizes a case in which a philosopher might be inclined to write, "We all need love." This would be a claim to speak for everyone. It would therefore be heteropatriarchal and controlling. A true Dyke Philosopher would write, "I need love and some other wimmink report that they also need love." Principle Two is an extension of the first: "I do not try to get other wimmink to accept my beliefs." On the surface, such a principle would seem to be self-defeating. If one speaks only for herself, why speak at all? If one does not attempt to persuade, why hold the ovular? Actually Trebilcot stands back from absolute adherence to Principle Two, admitting that because of the pusillanimous persistence of live white males in the academic
FEMINISTS on CAMPUS

TERESA DE LAURETIS
University of California

Chairwoman of the UC Santa Cruz History of Consciousness Program, Teresa de Lauretis seems at times to be trying to make this floating academic enterprise into the Isle of Lesbos. She teaches a leisurely two-quarter seminar called The Genealogy of Lesbianism. Her book-in-progress is The Practice of Love, about "lesbian subjectivity, sexual structuring, and fantasy."

She thanks the UC President's Office, among others, for "generous support" of a UCSan Francisco conference on "theorizing lesbian and gay sexuality." The resulting collection of essays, edited by de Lauretis, is called Queer Theory. And it is really small: "Q" queen, featuring titles like "Lesbian Feminism" and "Black/Lesbian/ processing. Early in her career, the college administration tried to save itself from future embarrassment by denying Daly tenure. In what has since become a familiar syndrome with scorned feminists, she hired a lawyer. The end of the tale is the college is left to live with her permanent presence. Mercifully, she spares them the full dose, managing to spend two out of every three academic years away from campus on the fellowships she is now plentiful for websters and wordsters like herself. A few years ago, Daly was up for full professorship. When she was turned down, the explanation was given that there was "a question whether her writings are scholarly." That's putting it mildly. In the preface to one of her recent works she claims that her cat wrote the last chapter. This leads to interesting questions in Daly's oeuvre: is she guilty of plagiarism or animal rights abuse?

CAROL DELANEY
Stanford University

Anthropology professor Carol Delaney teaches in the ideological free fire zone that replaced Western Culture at Stanford. But she hasn't finished with the worthies from that discipline yet. One of the deadest, whitest, and most European of males—Aristotle himself—is a frequent target of Delaney's. "Aristotle was definitely sexist—and elitist and racist," she says. What annoys Delaney most about Aristotle is his semen chauvinism. "In Aristotle, semen encapsulated the active power that set the process of generation in motion... Semen informed matter as a carpenter or artist gives form to a piece of wood." She holds Aristotle largely responsible for the malicious thought which has informed the three major religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam—all of which view man as actor/maker and women as made/acted upon.

Delaney did field work observing Turkish villagers and claims to have found Aristotle's influence there too. ("The villagers—who are mostly illiterate—quoted almost verbatim from Aristotle.") She found, mirabile dictu, that these villagers compared the planting of seeds to human procreation. She was dismayed by these planting metaphors because she suggested that to female essence is inert, requiring the male essence to activate it. She objects to the metaphors of the villagers and to those of modern science as well, which also picture the journey the sperm takes through the perilous environment of the female reproductive track as one involving the overcoming of obstacles. Why, she wonders, should the sperm be seen in heroic terms, its attainment of the ovum like Odysseus returning home to Penelope's arms?

Delaney has occasionally taken time off from her semen obsession to comment on current affairs. She was a familiar figure at Stanford protesting the Gulf War. Others might worry about Saddam Hussein, but she said she was impressed by his "democratic" treatment of women. In fact, she felt that the availability of child care and pre- and post-natal leave in Iraq made it a nation superior to the U.S. in meeting the needs of women.

And the old semen thing came to mind again during the war. What Delaney really disliked about the U.S. action was that it was based on a metaphor of sexual conquest, featuring such concepts as "penetration" and "withdrawal."

This sort of thinking gives peris envy a bad name.

PEGGY MCINTOSH
Wellesley College

At first glance Peggy McIntosh's thought seems may seem to be a mosaic of psychobabble leftover from the 70s. (She advocates "new knowledge for a new age" in an editorial voice that re-
resembles the one you hear after dialing POPCORN to find out what is new at the Associate Director of the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley actually has grandiose aims. Within all the vacuous phrases about expanding capacity to getting the savage world is a strong conviction that she has found a key to "reconceptualizing knowledge, education and society itself.

The fulcrum for this tomorrow-world approach to academics is, needless to say, women's studies. Using its insights—the insights of non-linearity—McIntosh proposes to "humanize" the entire regimen of higher learning. The study of religion would no longer concentrate on theology, but would take as its diminished province the role of belief in domestic affairs. Intellectual history would de-emphasize leading thinkers in favor of the "platitudes and truisms" that make up the intellectual repertory of common folk. Instead of studying the forms of architecture, students would do critical analyses of the domestic living arrangements that take place within architectural structures. The study of great music and art would be replaced by the study of quilts, pots and breadloaf shapes. "Breadloaf shapes?" Economics would put more emphasis on unpaid labor, and composition courses would de-emphasize argumentation and exposition.

In this pure theoretical form, McIntosh's thought sounds like something out of the Third Voyage of Gulliver, a manifesto for a dithering, left-side-of-the-brain Utopia. But strange to think we would have taken such a wackiness seriously. The Brookline School District in Massachusetts, for instance, has actually paid McIntosh to talk to administrators, and her ideas about revising public education have actually been taken seriously by the superintendent.

What are the changes McIntosh would make in the schools? To begin with, "excellence" and "disciplined thinking" would be de-emphasized. In her view, these are not intellectual virtues in and of themselves, but merely part of the conventional hegemony practiced by a "white blond male." This elite practice of thinking "vertically" would be replaced by "lateral thinking," presumably one of the virtues of feminism, which McIntosh describes as being more "spiritual, relational, and inclusive."

The enemy of the lateral, in McIntosh's cuckoo vertical system, is the notion of "exact thinking, or decisive- ness, or mastery of something, or being able to make an argument." She worries that such standards cause young people discomfort and proposes the example of a child (McIntosh happens to refer to this child by a femininemonimnoni) that the author could not add 1+3=5. Why can't Janey add? Not because of insufficient attention, poor math instruction, or low test motivation, but by the very virtue of being a child. The child should be allowed to revise her addition worksheet "until it suits her."

It is lucky for the Chicano kids in Jaime Escalante's classes that he has such a compliant attitude. If he had, they would never have learned the vertical discipline of calculus and seen their way out of the Los Angeles ghetto. Mcintosh wants only that young people "be in a decent relationship with the invisible elements of the universe." This is not a proposal for ethics; it is a manifesto for mediocrity.

SANDRA HARDING
University Delaware

Sandra Harding is an Associate Professor of Philosophy and the author of The Science Question in Feminism. She is a self-described member of the "invisible College of feminists and social critics." In the early seventies, these indomitable scholars began to write about "the woman question in science." The "woman question" is a quaint locution that make possible regressive tendencies. Harding calls unoffending David Attenborough's "like a watermelon: green on the outside, white inside." In another context, she analyzes the tin can from which chimp-lady Jane Goodall eats, finding that it is a sort of magic potion preserving "feel, taste, and the social relations of the colonial, the desiring machine that make possible regressive tendencies." She worries that such standards cause young people discomfort and proposes the example of a child (McIntosh happens to refer to this child by a femininemonimnoni) that the author could not add 1+3=5. Why can't Janey add? Not because of insufficient attention, poor math instruction, or low test motivation, but by the very virtue of being a child. The child should be allowed to revise her addition worksheet "until it suits her."

It is lucky for the Chicano kids in Jaime Escalante's classes that he has such a compliant attitude. If he had, they would never have learned the vertical discipline of calculus and seen their way out of the Los Angeles ghetto. Mcintosh wants only that young people "be in a decent relationship with the invisible elements of the universe." This is not a proposal for ethics; it is a manifesto for mediocrity.

DONNA HARAWAY
U.C. Santa Cruz

Donna Haraway must feel right at home in the goofy History of Consciousness Program at the University of California Santa Cruz. (The names of the courses in this program are a shorthand description of the tragic fate of the universe in these fallen times: Genealogy of Lesbians, Place Space Subject, Xenogenesis, Unnatural History.) Haraway's expertise, but her feminist shtick is rhetoric. She teaches a grab-bag of trendy topics including "cultural studies," "local-global tensions and networks," and (of course) "gender and race and science in feminist theory and practice." This is to education what Motley Crue is to music.

One of the key ways of Haraway's book, Primate Visions: Gender; Race and Nature in the Modern Sciences. "Its like a like a watermelon: green on the outside and red within." She fiets that the difficulty of "approach- ing the..." constructions of science non-reductively de-
Creating Wackiness at the University of Minnesota

by Linda Seebach

Lois Erickson is a court appointed professor. An educational psychologist with a new age message ("non judgment and honoring of beingness will be discussed by the participants," is the way she described the focus of one course she wanted to teach), Erickson was turned down for tenure by the Psychology department and the College of Education at the University of Minnesota in 1984 because the quality of her work did not pass intellectual muster. Her reaction was swift and sure: she filed a suit after getting tenure to compel the University to let her teach. (The University's harassment policy is a tough one and would, in fact, be quite easy to violate it inadvertently. The policy says harassment can be "as a subtle as a lack") and often consists of "callous insensitivity to the experience of women." But in this case, the University—after seven months of agony for the faculty—dismissed all the charges. Not, however, before the women had written and circulated widely among the faculty at another university a letter stating they had filed harassment charges and soliciting reports of objectionable behavior. The atmosphere created by intimidating threat of suit is filled with paranoia and mealy-mouthedness. In July 1991, a female member of the Board of Regents succeeded in derailing by a week the confirmation of a white man as the new Dean of the College of Education after she found out that one finalist was an African-American woman. "It is hard for me to understand and today support not seizing an affirmative-action opportunity," Jean Keffeler told the Minnesota Daily. The University immediately rescinded its recommendation of the male dean and President Hasselmo meekly agreed with Keffeler. "We must not jeopardize in any way our commitment to diversity." Ten days later the African American woman withdrew her application and the appointment of the white male went through, leading to an outburst of moral sanctimony. "We were very sensitive to the issues of gender, protected classes of people and the need for diversity," said the chairman of the search committee. "Sensitive" is one way to put it. In fact, the University has become so fearful of controversy since the Rajender case that it has yielded the academic terrain to the feminist left. The literature table outside the Women's Studies Department office in Ford Hall is dripped with "Lesbian Hunger II," a spring series on the mind, body and soul of lesbian women, with registration forms from the University's continuing education division for a weekend retreat on women's sexuality featuring a discussion of a book called *Homophobia: Weapon of Sexism*, and similar delights. This past September, the University Senate awarded $10,000 to the Select Committee on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Concerns to study the hardships of the gay experience. The project is the first in the nation to survey faculty and staff as well as students.

The department of Women's Studies works closely with the Center for Advanced Feminist Studies, whose interim director is Naomi Schuman, an Associate Professor of Philosophy. Scheman is open about Women's Studies integral connection to the feminist political movement. "That doesn't mean that we don't care about good scholarship," she told the Minneapolis Star Tribune. "We care about it very much, because bad scholarship doesn't advance the revolution." In responding to the appearance of local author Katherine Kersten's *A Conservative Feminist Manifesto*, Schuman told a reporter for the alternative newspaper *City Pages* that Kersten would not be welcome in her program because "there are no anti-feminists in the Center," which is what I consider her to be. To be a feminist is to recognize that gender is a source of oppression. When hiring Women's Studies faculty at the University, Schuman said, care is giving to hiring feminist scholars who "take the oppression of..."
When the faculty at the University of Texas overwhelmingly rejected a "multicultural" graduation requirement in a mail ballot last month, Alan Gribben experienced an academic's version of delayed stress syndrome.

For most of his long teaching career, Gribben had been a respected and productive member of the UT English department. But by the time he left last spring to take an untenured job at the Montgomery campus of Auburn University, he had become, in the words of a sympathetic former colleague, "a designated victim of the progressive forces" on the Austin campus. His career was in tatters, and Gribben himself, in an odd reversal on the old Sixties notion that the personal is political, had been thoroughly stigmatized as a racist and sexist (in the words of one former colleague) a "useful idiot of the Far Right."

He was a victim of an intellectual culture which has made victimhood its summum bonum.

It was a strange fate for someone who had gone on his first civil rights demonstration in 1963 when he was just out of high school and whose claims to ethnic sensitivity are further established by his 20 year marriage to a Chinese-American whose parents did not even arrive in America until shortly before the Rape of Nanking and who are still more comfortable speaking Chinese than English. Nor did Gribben spend the radical Sixties hiding in the library, as did so many of the spokes- sons for trendy radical styles which tormented him at Texas. Arriving in Berkeley on the very afternoon in 1966 that Alan Ginsberg was brokering a compact of peace and understanding between antiwar marchers and Hell's Angels in one of those perfect Sixties moments, Gribben (who was caught in his microbus for three hours in the traffic jam that negotiation caused) soon became a move- ment activist himself, pursuing his PhD in English almost as an avocation. He was arrested in Sproul Plaza during the 1968 strike of the Third World Liberation Front (because it was a precursor of multiculturalism, he would later regard this movement as "the boomerang out of 1968" even as it went to Texas when he completed his thesis on Mark Twain's "The Library of Congress"

Gribben's specialty, bibliographic scholarship, had been well respected when he took his degree, but it began to seem a little dowdy in the late 70s when deconstructionism and the other imported intellectual delicacies began to agitate English departments across the country. Gribben was bemused by the new developments and especially by the way that his colleagues began to see themselves as the archetypal intellectual in a manner similar to the public in its own turn, even as the profession was reading books and writing about them in a way that honored the author's intentions. He hoped that the appeal of these new approaches would fade in time and that in any case the sort of work he did would always have a value, if only as a springboard which others could use in their more intricate critical maneuverings.

Over the next few years deconstruction itself did indeed ebb, but radical critical theory—reader response, the new historicism, the myriad neo-Marxisms that would coalesce into race/class/gender analysis—proved to be an enduring rather than a passing fad. The young people entering the department were cadre for this new movement, having been shaped at Duke, Yale, and other "cutting edge" institutions committed to "discourse theory," speaking what was esperanto to the old guard, and Gribben and other traditional- ists, they were Stepford Professors, talking alike and striding confidently into the tunnel of their shared tunnel vision.

In the mid-80s Gribben thought briefly about "joining up" (as one of his senior colleagues jokingly described his own cynical conversion to this new criti- cism), but he decided that doing so would violate the vestiges of his Sixties commitment to authenticity, and in any case he was put off by what he saw as the pseudo anti- Western dogma that had become de rigueur in the new theoretical sensibility. He decided that he had acquired enough stature to hold his ground and let the flash flood of moibish obscenities wash around him. "It was sort of a 'peace in our time' approach," he now acknowledges. He stayed out of arguments, continued to write about Twain, and concentrated on the classroom, winning a $5000 university-wide award for excellence in teaching. Ironically (given what was to come), it was he who introduced Sara Orne Jewett and other "minor" women writers into the Texas curriculum along with little known black literary figures like humorist Charles Chestnutt. Gribben was also a good citizen in the English department, taking more than his share of committee assignments and getting elected for two terms as chairman of the graduate program.

H e admits now that he was perhaps feeling a false sense of security about his career late in 1987 when he stumbled into his nightmare. The triggering event seemed minimal enough at the time—routine consideration by the Texas English de- partment of a proposal to institute a graduate program with a specialty in Ethnic Studies and Third World literature. Gribben voted in favor of a PhD program with such a concentration, but felt that students working for an MA ought to take more "traditional" course work before embarking on such a specialization and so he asked to be recorded as being against this part of the motion, the lone objector out of 45 votes.

"I thought it would be regarded as someone empha- sizing a principle," Gribben now says ruefully. "I didn't understand the depth of the waters I'd stepped into." Indeed, he readily admits that he was so anxious not to rock the boat that he had any inkling what this position would cost him later on he gladly would have voted the other way.

Nothing was said at the time of his vote, but shortly afterward he noticed that attitudes toward him were changing. The problem, as he tried to unravel it, seemed to be less that he had voted against the program—a single vote could have been rationalized as a statistical anomaly— than that he had explained his vote in terms that seemed to challenge the new orthodoxies about race and gender. Whatever the reason, a chill had entered his colleagues' attitude toward him. The hallway companionship he had come to depend on after 12 years at UT disappeared. Dinner invitations with other faculty couples ceased. Worse than the shunning and ostracism was his discovery that the term "racist" was being used to describe him. (A friend of his wife Irene's concluded a visit by commiserating, "I can't believe Alan is such a racist. And you an Asian! I'm so sorry for you."). What was happening was irrational and wholly unrelated to anything that he had thought or said, but under the new intellectual dispen- sary such charges had a velletri stickiness.

Colleagues who before might have privately consid- ered him "provincial intellectually and personally offi- cious and schoolmarmish" (as one UT English professor still describes him) now felt they could be publicly com-
temptuous. The hits were subtle but palpable nonetheless. One early warning of the predicament he was in came when Gribben was talking to a student near the department's mailroom door and a colleague came by and briskly asked him to move out of the way, even though Gribben was blocking his access, and then said, "Please move!" when he didn't shuffle fast enough. "This sort of thing happened more than once," states Maxine Hairston, a writing instructor at UT at the time of Gribben's ordeal. "It was that special sort of cruelty of which only literature professors are capable."

Deluding himself into believing that his problem might be one of cosmetics, Gribben went through a makeover with his wife's help: shortened mustache, less severe eyeglass frames, blow-dried haircut, pastel shirts. When that didn't work, he spent part of a semester in compulsive affability, dropping complimentary notes in colleagues' mailboxes and giving hearty greetings in the hall to people who ignored him. The next semester he spent hiding out, rushing off to the library immediately after his classes were over. And staying there until it was time to go home, where his wife, exhausted from dealing with two small children every day, had trouble understanding what seemed to her to be his subjective complaints.

He began to feel disoriented. "One of the reasons you get into this profession," he says now, "is for the collectivity—that sense you have that your department is something in your discipline when you are sharing this thing together, sharing new ideas and discoveries. Abruptly deprived of that sort of camaraderie, I felt unanchored, like an animal in one of those experiments where they suddenly withdraw all the controls."

He went to the chairman of the English department and ultimately to a Dean to ask them for help. They were sympathetic but said there was nothing they could do.

The term "political correctness" had not yet been applied to the academy, but Gribben began to realize that what was happening to him was ideological, as well as personal, and could not be explained by a single unpopularity vote. What he was facing was "one with a searing social relevance, but it was a thing which might be a career threat for a particularly paranoid sort of professor."

By the end of 1989, Gribben was looking for another job. He was a finalist for a couple of positions, but when he was invited back for final interviews he faced unexpected and sometimes accusatory discussions about his attitudes toward race and gender, and was tipped off in one case that people in Austin were trying to sabotage his chances. "One colleague was contacted by a person on one of the search committees..." says Ruscowitz, who had taught composition at UT at the time of Gribben's ordeal. "I have gotten all these calls about him from people in your department."

By the end of 1989, Gribben was looking for another job. He was a finalist for a couple of positions, but when he was invited back for final interviews he faced unexpected and sometimes accusatory discussions about his attitudes toward race and gender, and was tipped off in one case that people in Austin were trying to sabotage his chances. "One colleague was contacted by a person on one of the search committees..." says Ruscowitz, who had taught composition at UT at the time of Gribben's ordeal. "I have gotten all these calls about him from people in your department."

In the Spring of 1990 Gribben's "case" (as it was starting to be called) suddenly hemorrhaged into the controversy over E306, which would slowly become for a brief moment the most famous English course in the country. The basic composition class at the University (about half of all incoming freshmen have to take it), E306 was taught primarily by graduate students who had previously been able to choose from a variety of texts and approaches. Now Linda Braden, new head of the composition program, and her allies in the department proposed to make it a course on "writing about difference." The text they selected was an anthology titled Racism and Sexism: An Integrated Study, whose contents included court decisions and civil rights cases re-examined by Marxist, feminist and ecologist perspectives. The book was subtitled "Marxist feminist..."

The most generous remark Rothenberg could make was that indeed he had been so obsessed with his own protection of property rights and patriarchal privilege..."

By the end of 1989, Gribben was looking for another job. He was a finalist for a couple of positions, but when he was invited back for final interviews he faced unexpected and sometimes accusatory discussions about his attitudes toward race and gender, and was tipped off in one case that people in Austin were trying to sabotage his chances. "One colleague was contacted by a person on one of the search committees..." says Ruscowitz, who had taught composition at UT at the time of Gribben's ordeal. "I have gotten all these calls about him from people in your department."

The two men asked that teachers of the course at least be allowed to choose from a range of texts, including Rothenberg's. Alternatively, they suggested at least starting with a pilot program to see how the radically remodeled E306 would work before making wholesale changes. Both of these suggestions were peremptorily dismissed by those favoring the new version of the course. "There was utterly no inclination to compromise," says Ruscowitz, who recalls coming away from the meetings with the proponents of the course impressed by their arrogant self confidence and thinking to himself, "Now I understand fascism a little better."

Gribben, too, began to voice criticism of E306, and was impressed by their arrogant self confidence and thinking to himself, "Now I understand fascism a little better."

"...When the piece appeared, it caused a minor sensation. Gribben did not deny talking to Curtis or to a columnist for the Dallas Morning News who wrote a follow up. He was invited to the office of English department Chairman Joseph Kruppa who lectured him angrily for an hour, finally spurring that his betrayal of the depart-

HETERODYX PAGE 9
course. (The Houston Chronicle eventually called it, "Elitist cant masquerading as tolerance.") He appeared on radio talk shows and television newsmaker programs. When someone from a blue-ribbon alumni group composed of individuals giving at least $1000 a year to the University wrote him for information about the conflict, Gribben sent back an information packet with a cover letter saying that he believed the study of English at Austin was now dominated by a "highly politicized faction of radical literary theorists" and recommended that the department be put into an administrative "receivership" while its intellectual priorities were sorted out.

The E306 controversy happened to explode at exactly that moment that multicultural correctness was becoming a nationwide concern. It became a metaphor—for those disturbed by new developments, an indication of the politicization of the curriculum; for those who believed the study of English at Austin was now dominated by a "highly politicized faction of radical literary theorists" and recommended that the department be put into an administrative "receivership" while its intellectual priorities were sorted out.

The E306 controversy happened to explode at exactly that moment that multicultural correctness was becoming a nationwide concern. It became a metaphor—for those disturbed by new developments, an indication of the politicization of the curriculum; for those who believed the study of English at Austin was now dominated by a "highly politicized faction of radical literary theorists" and recommended that the department be put into an administrative "receivership" while its intellectual priorities were sorted out.

The struggle raged over the summer of 1990. Posters attacking Gribben appeared all over the Austin campus. He got wake up calls in the middle of the night ("Good morning, you have just been selected to answer for your inanity.") But he tried to guard against sour grapes, a refreshing enthusiasm for teaching undergraduates whom he found at least as competent as his former colleagues had found them, a capacity to put students to his side. He knew he could stay at UT; but if so it would be as a self-styled liberal, a displaced person, an academic community.
conscience, saying that as a citizen of the former USSR, he felt he owed them a "personal debt." The soft-spoken ambassador apologized for their oppression and the agony of all dissidents in Cuba, which he noted had been nurtured and sustained for 30 years by his own country. Even the most jaded journalists of this reception-ridden town put down their vodka glasses to take notes when Kovalev began to explain that he himself had done ten years in the Gulag and knew firsthand the value of solidarity. Then Kovalev announced that for the first time, Russia would vote at the United Nations to censure Cuba for repression.

Earlier that day there had been another speech before the Human Rights Commission about solidarity with Cuba. But then the speaker had been Vilma Espin, the wife of Comandante Raul Castro. As part of her effort to discredit Cuban human rights activists, she cited the International Friendship Rally held a month earlier at New York's Jacob Javits Convention Center by American leftists to show support for the dictatorship. This event was organized by show business luminaries like Martin Sheen, Harry Belafonte, Sidney Pollack, Kris Kristofferson, Margot Kidder, Ossie Davis, Paul Mazursky, and others who, even if they had never read Dr. Zhivago, had presumably seen the

Amnesty International estimates that there are thousands of political prisoners in Cuba today. But American film stars, artists and writers—even those who do not demonstrate in behalf of the dictatorship or journey to Havana like Robert Redford to support the regime—have never allowed themselves to become inspired by the pathos and heroism of their lives. Aside from the film appropriately entitled Nobody Listened by the great Cuban cinematographer Nestor Almendros, who died in exile last month, I don't know of a single American movie or television production that portrays the drama of Cuban dissent. And even the Almendros documentary was never shown to the American public in its entirety. After first rejecting it, PBS finally aired a cut version back to back with a "documentary" by long time Castro apologist Saul Landau.

In American cultural circles, Cuba has become the last vestige of the Sixties' juvenile romance with Third World Communism, clung to with the nostalgic passion of first love. European and Latin American artists and writers have outgrown this hang up. Mario Vargas Llosa, Eugene Ionesco, Federico Fellini, Paloma Picasso, Isabella Rossellini have publicly denounced Castro for "Stalinist orthodoxy and repressive methods to silence dissenters," among other abuses. In November, Nobel Laureate and former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, nominated Maria Elena Cruz, along with Cuban rights activist Custavo Arcos, for this year's Nobel Peace Prize. This spring major Cuban dissident support conferences are taking place in Italy, France, Germany and Russia.

Cuban dissidents began organizing a human rights movement over a decade ago. But few of what is now a significant movement have managed to achieve name recognition in the U.S., largely because the Solidarity Left in this country has continued to protect Castro as if he were a special asset. Some Americans may have heard of Maria Elena Cruz, but few know of political prisoner Sebastian Arcos, who with his brother Gustavo, founded the Cuban Committee for Human Rights, which provided the U.N. with much of the documentation for its report on human rights abuses in Cuba. Or Jorge Quintana, the student leader of a Cuban youth movement who made the political error of petitioning the Cuban Communist Party Congress to reform during a meeting last November and is now confined to a stifling "punishment" cell for his troubles. Or Maria Celina Rodriguez, head of the tiny human rights group called Freedom and Faith, who with her three year old son was beaten by one of Castro's mobs and then jailed in the Havana Psychiatric Hospital last August.

In this sense, the Geneva conference was the first of many steps. It had the intended effect. The morning after Sergei Kovalev's speech, Cuba's ambassador created a scandal by calling the U.N. police to have one of the young dissidents honored by the Russians, David Moya, thrown out of the conference room for distributing human rights literature to the other ambassadors. The police refused, but back in Havana, Castro's press continued to churn out fevered attacks against Ricardo Bofill, Carlos Franqui and the other Cuban dissidents who had gone to Geneva. (A political cartoon in Juventud Rebelde pictured these Cuban dissidents as animals popping out of a vodka bottle and waving an American flag.) Isolated, stigmatized (except for progressive supporters in America), and increasingly unrealistic, the Castro regime does not appreciate the perverse irony that human rights opposition is the last commodity it can produce with efficiency and in abundance.
sexuals who were not in therapy and who was influential is enthusiastic about the expansion of his department. About men, so Lesbian and Gay Studies is about dominantSome, like Health Science, are described as technical instruction, and Jonathan Katz of San Francisco City College, the largest two-year school places where the homosexual community had become growing radicalization of this academic movement. Jonathan Katz says that the term "queer" is all-inclusive, covering gays, lesbians and bisexuals. It also "speaks to politics." Dan Calder of UCLA explains that "homosexual" sounded "too liberal" and was connected to notions of sickness. In Calder's own queer-studies course ran into trouble in faculty committee, some members objecting on moral grounds that "a number of other departments" at the Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute." Duberman's choice of models is interesting. The Kinsey Report today seems dated, even quaint. But it was the Bible of the sexual liberation movement and Kinsey himself was a revolutionary who intended his work to attack the very idea of sexual normality, particularly Judeo-Christian norms. Kinsey's idea of normality was all kinds of people indulging in all kinds of sex. The new discipline unveiled. Blumenfeld sees the incorporation of Lesbian gay material into existing courses as an "exciting trend." There are also "mandatory courses in multicultural studies and we are being included in that." We are one of the innovators of queer studies," says Frederick Bertz of the UC Santa Cruz Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. A faculty research committee is developing curricula and by the end of next year, according to Bertz, the school will offer a BA in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies. Bertz describes enthusiastic administrators and overflowing courses, and says that "the social services are ready," says Duberman, "to move exuberantly toward its equivalent of The Kinsey Institute."
Sex is evil, sin is sin, so sex is in. This is an excerpt from every preteen's first sex education textbook: the wall of the public bathroom. Older brothers and sisters pass on this and other philosophies, creating a foundation of confusion, misinformation, and myth regarding sex and sexuality. But the horse's mouths as our friends embarked on the path of life, we knew the wonders of the female menstrual cycle firsthand. Our class was an exception of purely heterosexual students in our class were not like the others. We collected the absolutely most stereotypical butch females and campy males. They introduced us to the concept of role-playing because later that year a girl in my drama class gave birth to her third son, and she started at the top in one of the two oldest and most prosperous houses in the San Francisco area.

To balance the lectures, we had self proclaimed variants come and do show and tell type classes. A panel of gay men and lesbian women and bisexuals of both sexes held a discussion of alternative sexual orientation. Transvestites and transsexuals shared their feelings and experiences relating to the lecture content and the steps they took to achieve contentment and acceptance, explaining to us the complex differences between gender role conflict and gender identity conflict. Before the prostitute who said she'd got her start by questioning the prostitute who'd come to talk to this class several years before. Meeting the guest speaker on sex solicitors opened my eyes to the world. It is "a way to embrace an identity which can serve as a raving point for resistance to heteronormativity" and thus the basis of our political beliefs.

In their essay "Putting the Heterosexual Order in Crisis," New York academics Rosemary Hemeny and Ching Ingraham argue that "so long as heteronormativity remains unquestioned, it is sacred." The aim of queer theory, however, is "to claim an identity as other, a standpoint from which to imagine an alternative queer world." It is "a way to embrace an identity which can serve as a raving point for resistance to heteronormativity" and thus the basis of our political beliefs.

In the authors' view, the "straight Left" hasn't been paying enough attention to this aspect of class struggle. With the Cold War over, it may do so now. For the state of the art gay activist, the enemy is not only the military-industrial complex, capitalism, multinational corporations, sexism, racism and patriarchy. The enemy is normality itself and the arsenal that can be deployed against it is queer studies.

by K.L. Billelgny

TO SUMMARIZE

The UCLA School of Nursing, where I now study, requires that each student complete 16 units of upper division elective. Most of us take at least one human sexuality course and one socioanthropology course. I opted to take my human sexuality course at San Francisco State University during the summer session. The course was called Variations in Human Sexuality taught by a man who considers himself a sexologist as well as a historian. The term 'variations' was used to convey a positive idea toward alternative sexual practices. (The word 'deviant' was looked down upon and we were to refrain from calling the class by the name students of past eras had fondly bestowed on it: Nuts 'n Sluts.) The lectures covered the history of "sexual variance" beginning with the history of the history of the gay and lesbian culture and the issues concerning homosexuals today. The readings were vast and filled with information about gender roles, sexuality, the dynamics of ethnicity and alternative sexual orientation.

The lectures focused on the history of homosexuality in different places around the world and included films and guest speakers. Although this class is under the aegis of the Women's Studies Department, the usual imbalance of female to male students was absent; this was a chance for men to take a women's studies course that did not focus on feminist ideas but on minorities of gender and sexual roles. Class discussion sections were informal and generally became places for students to share personal experiences relating to the lecture content and the readings.

Not surprisingly, most of the people in the course were homosexual. Being part of a minority is not intimidating to me personally, so I felt no qualms professing my heterosexuality in class. I noticed that the other "hets" were hesitant at first, but soon opened up and presented their dissident views. There was one occasion when I felt the need to go beyond professing, to defending my belief. They were hesitant at first, but soon opened up and presented their dissident views. There was one occasion when I felt the need to do so. Meeting the instructor identified me as a "political lesbian," invoking Adrienne Rich's notion of a "Lesbian Continuum." This holds that heterosexual feminists are "political lesbians." I refused the designation with its attendant stigma. It is a term I dislike. The instructor, herself a lesbian, was genuinely apologetic.

I have never been pregnant or had a sexually transmitted disease. I don't practice bisexuality or sodomy. I am not homosexual or bisexual. I don't lust after small children. I'm not a hooker, a transvestite, or a promiscuous person. I am comfortable with my sexuality and with other people's sexuality and I know how and when to say no and I know what birth control methods and devices are available to me and where to get them.

It's just too bad that I had to go through so much education to get to this place.
women seriously..."

With attitudes like this so openly expressed, it is no surprise that the curriculum in Women's Studies is highly politicized, more involved with building cadre than spreading knowledge. One man who took the Women's Studies Department's introductory course caused a minor sensation when he wrote an article about it called "Victim's Studies" for the campus paper. He noted that Professor Lisa Albrecht's lectures contained "bizarre theories about world conspiracies dedicated to exploiting and exploiting women." He said that one day a dildo was handed out in class so that everyone could practice using condoms. A woman student who innocently suggested during a class discussion that male dominance might have started because men were usually physically larger than women was told that her theory was a gross stereotype.

The male author of this piece suffered the usual calumny. But one response to what he had written came from a female student who also had taken a Women's Studies course. "In an almost surreal series of events," she wrote, "I was made to feel as though I were dependent and weak for preferring men to women as sexual partners. And to feel that my opinions were not only insignificant, but somehow twisted." Yet another young woman reported that she had been told in class that her religious beliefs and sexual orientation were "not the correct ones." She said that her class had been instructed on what political party to join and whom to vote for. "One day, we were ordered to turn to the person next to us and state 'I am a lesbian,' despite what our individual sexual preference was."

The radical politics extends well beyond the Women's Studies Department. Lisa Albrecht is also an English professor and distributed the following hand-out to one of her beginning composition classes: "Any critical understanding of sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, ageism, etc. means that we need to recognize that we have been systematically taught misinformation...we cannot be blamed for the misinformation we have learned, but we will be held responsible for repeating misinformation after we have learned otherwise." Although practicing education by threat, Albrecht has been honored as one of the university's outstanding teachers.

Although luxuriating in the arrogance of power, the Women's Studies feminists have been loathe to lose their status as victims. Last November, someone put photocopies of a Wall Street Journal article on radical feminism by Christina Sommers in the mailboxes of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. The department chair, feminist Rene Jara, responded with a nearly hysterical memo to the department faculty and graduate students: "The article whose origin is not indicated is an inconsiderate attack on feminist scholarship...Perhaps, from now on, it would be a good idea to ask for an identification from any unknown individual who is seen in the surroundings of the mailboxes. This event can only be viewed as outright harassment and we will not condone it..."

Candidates continued

Dear Heterodoxy,

I was appalled that you left James Freedman, President of Dartmouth, off your list of the ten worst college administrators.

I have taught at Dartmouth since 1963 and am a senior professor in the English Department. I am currently teaching a course in 18th century English literature that enrolls in excess of 200 students. I am also teaching a seminar in the works of F. Scott Fitzgerald, which is very lively. I have published seven books and am working on two more. Last year, President Freedman was forced by the evidence to award me a Dartmouth Presidential Medal for Leadership and Achievement.

I had an experience with Freedman early in his tenure that made me feel like Nathaniel Hawthorne's Young Goodman Brown when he saw the orgies in the Massachusetts woods, a business that communicated a sense of serious sin. I was out of town at the time, but my wife phoned to say that something extraordinary and frightening had occurred on the Dartmouth campus.

The facts are not now in dispute. They have been established by William Buckley in his In Search of Anti-Semitism and ratified by Norman Podhoretz in an essay in Commentary. They have been further confirmed by an important essay in the Jewish magazine Middle East, in which President Freedman had held a Hate Rally in the midst of the Dartmouth campus. It was actually an orchestrated Against Hate Rally. The buildings and grounds people erected wooden structures. Those who spoke used campus amplifiers. In what he later characterized as his "Gettysburg Address," President Freedman, the silly narcissist, told us that he knew what he was doing.

He said that for "ten years" the independent newspaper The Dartmouth Review had attacked blacks because they were blacks, Jews because they were Jews, women because they were women, and homosexuals because they were homosexuals.

Only his first three words, "For ten years," were not lies. At the time he spoke, his Hate Rally whipping up a crowd, the editor in chief of the independent newspaper was a black student named Kevin Pritchett, now at the Wall Street Journal. The newspaper has had three female editors in chief. It has had black and Jewish students, a Jewish president and now has a Jewish editor in chief.

The Dartmouth Review has criticized, and praised, professors black, white, male and female—usually, in my judgment, accurately. It gave major offense to political correctness by criticizing the classroom behavior of a black music professor named William Cole. Its criticism consisted largely of printing a transcript of a Cole lecture recorded by a student unconnected with The Dartmouth Review.

The Freedman lies were trying a riff on the anti-Semitism charges, on which he has now been severely censured by serious students of the subject.

And so it goes, on and on, lie after lie. President Freedman, of course, is a "feminist" and a "multiculturalist." He has said that requiring such authors as Shakespeare or Dante might make students miss a "gem" like Alice Walker. Egal.

It is very unusual to experience an educational "leadership" that lies so shamelessly. Of course, President Freedman was caught by federal auditors in a Stanford/Kennedy-like scam, charging off as "research" all sorts of things like presidential parties and limousine travel—$25,000 in a single year.

But Dartmouth students are sound and intelligent and fair-minded. They do their work and are interested when a course is interesting. A recent poll indicated that some 73 percent are negative on Freedman. They know that he is in the business of propagating a noisy claque on the Dartmouth faculty that destroyed the presidency of his predecessor, David McLaughlin.

I believe that I have encountered only three people in my experience whom I would consider evil, and I do not use the word lightly.

The Freeemen lies were a riff on the anti-Semitism charges, on which he has now been severely censured by serious students of the subject.

And so it goes, on and on, lie after lie. President Freedman, of course, is a "feminist" and a "multiculturalist." He has said that requiring such authors as Shakespeare or Dante might make students miss a "gem" like Alice Walker. Egal.

It is very unusual to experience an educational "leadership" that lies so shamelessly. Of course, President Freedman was caught by federal auditors in a Stanford/Kennedy-like scam, charging off as "research" all sorts of things like presidential parties and limousine travel—$25,000 in a single year.

But Dartmouth students are sound and intelligent and fair-minded. They do their work and are interested when a course is interesting. A recent poll indicated that some 73 percent are negative on Freedman. They know that he is in the business of propagating a noisy claque on the Dartmouth faculty that destroyed the presidency of his predecessor, David McLaughlin.

I believe that I have encountered only three people in my experience whom I would consider evil, and I do not use the word lightly.

By evil I mean cold, arrogant, cynical, egotistical and brutal. Those three are Gore Vidal, Roy Conn... and Dartmouth's James Freedman.

Sincerely

Jeffrey Hart

James Freedman

One of Sommers' targets was musicologist Susan McClary, a star among the UM feminists, whose academic writings show mastery of the fine art of self parody. "As if the thrusting impulsive characteristic of torality and the aggression characteristic of first themes were not enough," McClary has written, "Beethoven's symphonies add two other dimensions to the history of style: assaultive pelvic pounding...and sexual violence. The point of recapitulation in the first movement of the Ninth is one of the most horrifying moments in music, as the carefully prepared cadence is frustrated, damming up energy which finally explodes in the throttling, murderous rage of a rapist incapable of attaining release."

McClary doesn't hear sexual violence in every tonal nuance. She thinks, for instance, that Ravel's Bolero symbolizes the bourgeois Protestant ethic of delayed gratification. Graduate students think this is all quite hilarious, and compete among themselves to parody it. Colleagues express outrage, just as long as the listener promises not to use their names.

And so the Women's Studies clique at Minneapolis sails on. A place where mediocrity achieves tenure by lawsuit, courses are designed by attorneys' threats, professors are political organizers, and scholarship causes people to smile, this is the wackiest ship in the navy.
Arthur Schlesinger is the archetypal American liberal, but what that means is no longer clear, unless it just means one who is basically decent, humane, well-intentioned and (probably) confused. In The Disuniting of America Schlesinger argues for the liberal view of race relations he has always held, and that sets him at odds with most liberals. How can this be? The confusion within liberalism on race makes it tempting to borrow the fudging devices that Marxists use to deal with their confusions. For example, in theory liberalism rejects racial segregation as discriminatory but “actually existing” liberalism favors ethnic separatism because it promotes black self-esteem. Or, “early” liberalism excluded race from hiring decisions because merit-based decisions protected blacks, Jews, Irish, etc., but “late” liberalism makes race the dominant factor in hiring decisions because merit entrenches white superiority.

In The Disuniting of America Arthur Schlesinger makes a classic liberal argument against ethnic tribalism (also known as multiculturalism). His book has been welcomed by such noted liberals—no, scratch that—cultural conservatives as Roger Kimball and Frank Kermode, and it often agrees with Dinesh D’Souza. Perhaps these are “late” conservatives rather than the “early” conservatives who were for segregation, and for race in hiring decisions? Then are “early” liberals really the same as “late” conservatives? Of course not: Liberals are always humane, decent, and well-intentioned, which is what confuses them. That’s why they are illiberal much of the time.

Schlesinger was a member of a New York State commission, which produced a study (the Sobol report) advocating a multicultural social studies curriculum in public schools. The commission was composed of twenty-odd academics and other prominent citizens, and its report was full of the usual multicultural absurdities about the wickedness, racism and sexism of America compared to the moral beauty found elsewhere. Now Schlesinger is so eloquent and authoritative a voice for “early” liberalism that one assumes he would easily prevail against the likes of Leonard Jeffries (the noted Afrocentrist and black racist). It must have shaken Schlesinger (it certainly shook me) to learn that his considerable powers of persuasion attracted just one vote out of more than twenty to his dissenting opinion.

This distressing experience is the background to The Disuniting of America. With one important qualification (of which more later) it is a convincingly argued case for an “early” liberal view of race relations. Schlesinger expounds the “melting pot” theory in which the unique solvent was the ideas and institutions which define America. New immigrants knew that to succeed, and to have the opportunities of national life, and says bluntly that if the KKK had invented it to handicap blacks no more diabolically effective plan could have been devised.

But what really moves Schlesinger to unrestrained contempt is the fantasy of third world moral superiority which fuels the attack on the Western tradition: “Is the Western tradition a bar to progress and a curse to humanity? Would it really do America and the world good to get rid of the European legacy? [It produced] great movements to end slavery, to free women, to abolish torture, to combat racism, to defend freedom of inquiry and expression, to advance personal liberty and property rights.” The West needs no unique source—of those liberating ideas of individual liberty, political democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and cultural freedom...to which most of the world today aspires. These are European ideas, not Asian, not African....There is surely no reason for the Western world today to go back to the self-indulgent, tribalism, and fanaticism....The West needs no lectures on the superior virtue of those “sun people” who sustained slavery until Western imperialism abolished it, who still keep women in subjection and cut off their clitorises, who carry out racial persecutions not against Indians and other Asians but against fellow Africans from the wrong tribes, who show their social inferiority by outside and out of the KKK had invented it to handicap blacks no more diabolically effective plan could have been devised.

Yet in spite of this blunt truth-telling, The Disuniting of America seriously distorts the problem by refusing to see and deal with its largest part. A warning sign that something is wrong can be seen in a recurring defensiveness. Schlesinger nervously insists on his liberal credentials throughout, sometimes directly (“I may be pardoned if I try to make clear where I come from...I have been a lifelong advocate of civil rights”) but at other times indulging in race-baiting about the racism of American society and repeating other parts of the multicultural litany that contradict the emphasis of what he says in the passage I cited above. Is he afraid of being called a racist? No, because he always blames multiculturalism on “ethnic ideologues,” “ethnic chauvinists,” “ethnic separatists,” “black ideologues,” and “self-appointed” ethnic spokesmen, and the specific people he accuses are Black Africentrists like Jeffries and Asante. But what about white liberals and radicals, especially radical feminists? Surely Schlesinger knows that they have been infinitely more influential in creating and sustaining the content and the hegemony of multiculturalism than a few Africentrists? Yet he barely mentions them, apart from one or two asides about people who “appease” ethnic ideologues. White left opinion didn’t just allow the excesses of multiculturalism to happen, it has been the major force in the multicultural lobby.

The victim psychology which now drives the racial situation was greatly intensified by the coalescing of “race, class, gender” analysis, and it was this that allowed crude anti-capitalist rhetoric to gain ground so destructively in discussion of race. What resistance existed among liberals to the self-genealogizing of black studies programs and ethnic dormitories collapsed as feminists began to demand and get women’s studies programs and women’s centers. The attack on the Western canon has been spearheaded by feminists who have also often been the inspiration for Western radicalism post-1968. Yet in spite of this blunt truth-telling, The Disuniting of America seriously distorts the problem by refusing to see and deal with its largest part. A warning sign that something is wrong can be seen in a recurring defensiveness. Schlesinger nervously insists on his liberal credentials throughout, sometimes directly (“I may be pardoned if I try to make clear where I come from...I have been a lifelong advocate of civil rights”) but at other times indulging in race-baiting about the racism of American society and repeating other parts of the multicultural litany that contradict the emphasis of what he says in the passage I cited above. Is he afraid of being called a racist? No, because he always blames multiculturalism on “ethnic ideologues,” “ethnic chauvinists,” “ethnic separatists,” “black ideologues,” and “self-appointed” ethnic spokesmen, and the specific people he accuses are Black Africentrists like Jeffries and Asante. But what about white liberals and radicals, especially radical feminists? Surely Schlesinger knows that they have been infinitely more influential in creating and sustaining the content and the hegemony of multiculturalism than a few Africentrists? Yet he barely mentions them, apart from one or two asides about people who “appease” ethnic ideologues. White left opinion didn’t just allow the excesses of multiculturalism to happen, it has been the major force in the multicultural lobby. The victim psychology which now drives the racial situation was greatly intensified by the coalescing of “race, class, gender” analysis, and it was this that allowed crude anti-capitalist rhetoric to gain ground so destructively in discussion of race. What resistance existed among liberals to the self-genealogizing of black studies programs and ethnic dormitories collapsed as feminists began to demand and get women’s studies programs and women’s centers. The attack on the Western canon has been spearheaded by feminists who have also often been the inspiration for Western radicalism post-1968. Yet in spite of this人たちの意見。
Let us now praise a man who have been more famous.

Friedrich A. von Hayek, who died last month in Freiberg, Germany, at the age of 92, was awarded the Nobel prize in economics in 1974 and the U.S. Medal of Freedom by President Bush last year, but he remained curiously underappreciated during his lifetime, perhaps because his life's work was to challenge socialism.

In his first book, The Road to Serfdom (1944), Hayek infuriated sophisticated opinion by arguing that the then-fashionable notion of a benevolent socialism "with a human face" posed a significant danger to the spirit of liberty. He pointed out the cynical role played by "the soft despotism of socialism in the Weimar Republic in helping prepare the way for Hitler. He said that the "soft despotism" of bureaucracy, not jackbooted tyranny, posed the greatest long term threat to democracy.

The book was not well received. One American publisher called it "unfit for publication by a reputable house." Once it was published, The New Republic reviewer wrote that "Hayek's book will not be long lived. There is no substance in it to make it long lived." And the University of Chicago's Herman Finer even went so far as to write a hasty and abusive rebuttal entitled, predictably, "The Road to Reaction."

The Road to Serfdom outlasted such criticism and sold several million copies. Its influence was deep and continuing. When Winston Churchill remarked in his famous campaign speech of June 1945 that socialism could not be implemented in Britain without "some form of Gestapo," he was using Hayek as a text. Hayek might be ignored and even reviled by theorists of the post-war left, but he would gain a growing following among the dissidents of Eastern Europe, his thinking on "the fatal conceit" of socialism passing among them in samizdat form, and when they were ready to throw off the shackles of communism, Hayek's thought about the relationship of freedom and free markets would guide their way.

Hayek's critique of socialism went deeper than previous critiques by pointing out what has become known as "the knowledge problem." As best explained in his seminal essay "The Use of Knowledge in Society," his idea holds that central economic planning cannot assimilate and process all the discrete bits of information necessary to make good decisions about resource allocation. This is why only the free market economy, which transmits huge amounts of "information" rationally through prices, will work, and why no system of government planning, no matter how big the computers or how smart the bureaucrats, can ever hope to succeed in outperforming a market economy. With a delicious sense of irony Hayek chose to talk about how the knowledge problem makes socialism impossible when accepting his Nobel Prize in socialist Sweden in 1974.

Although he was an economist by trade, Hayek was a political philosopher by inclination. The Road to Serfdom remains his best known book, but he wrote others about constitutionalism and the principles of justice. In The Constitution of Liberty, Hayek pointed out that the Rule of Law can be undermined and socialism embodied by the student movements of that decade. In a later edition of The Road to Serfdom, Hayek noted the importance of the institutional residue of this last fling with socialism. The main point of his book, Hayek emphasizes, is that "the most important change which extensive government control produces is a psychological change, an alteration in the character of the people." Under the onslaught of rules and regulations the self reliant, independent spirit of a people which is its ultimate strength begins to wither.

Friedrich von Hayek was a steady advocate for liberty during a time when liberty was out of fashion. His was a calm voice in a time of tyrants' ranting monologues and the cynical speeches of bullies and thugs. That he should have outlasted them all and prevailed in the great debate of the 20th century should give us hope that there is justice in this world after all.

Steven Hayward