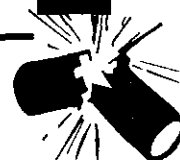


HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



IT'S A WAR, STUPID!

The good news is that the election of 1996 was a vindication of conservative principles—smaller government and greater individual responsibility. The bad news is that Republicans so bungled the political battle—before and during the campaign—that the electorate didn't trust a conservative to preside over conservative programs. And so, instead of a satisfying victory, the best conservatives can look forward to is four years of *schadenfreude* as the Clinton Administration attempts to cope with a national inquiry into its vulgar venality and penny-ante larceny.

It should have been otherwise. Instead of an ambiguous interregnum, these should have been the best of times for the conservative movement. After something close to a two hundred years' war with the Left, the Right has won a verdict so complete that (with the exception of some hermetically sealed offices of the American university) Marxism has disappeared as a political, economic and even intellectual rival of free market individualism. With the exception of Havana, Pyongyang, and a few other blighted precincts around the globe, the principles of private property, individual rights and the economic market—cornerstones of the conservative worldview—are everywhere triumphant, in principle if not always in practice.

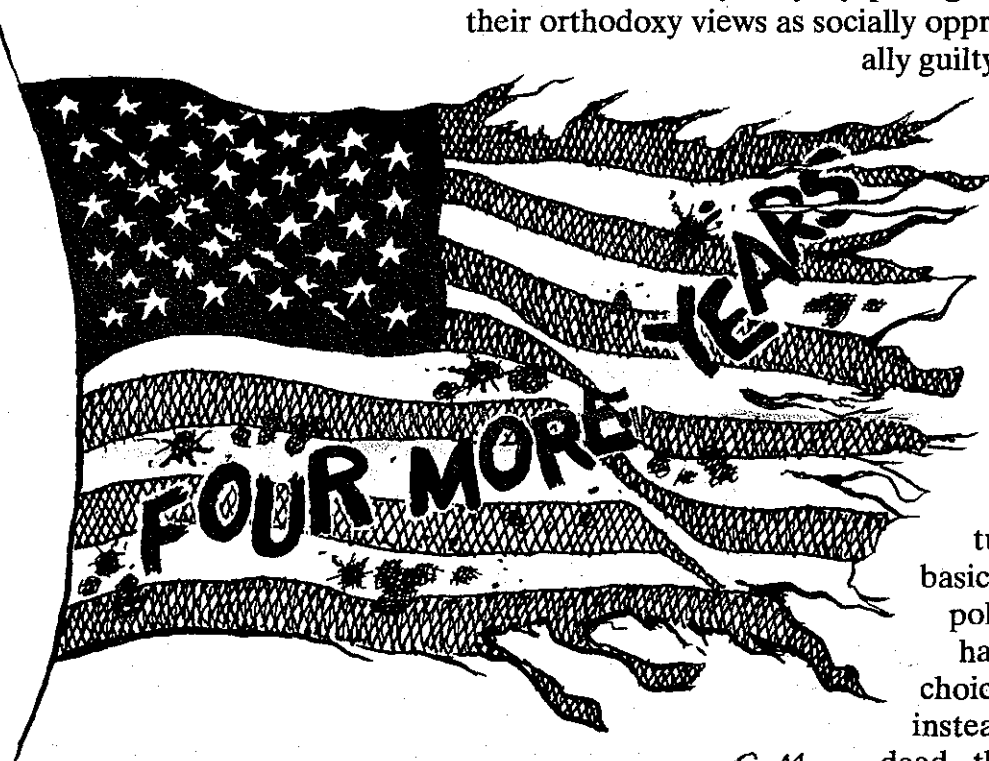
Conservatism is so clearly victorious in the battle of ideas that the only frisson of interest in liberal circles is how to plagiarize conservative policies and still present what seems to be a choice rather than an echo. So discredited are the programs of the Left that its candidates compete, as if in a *Saturday Night Live* routine, for the title of who is least liberal. They can contend electorally only by posing as tough on the criminals their orthodoxy views as socially oppressed rather than personally guilty, faithful in defending the

nuclear family they would like to implode, pessimistic about the principles of social entitlement and economic leveling that always have been and still are at the core of their social engineering project.

Conservative ideas are calling the tune so insistently on the basic issues of our civic and political life that even the hardcore liberals have no choice but to do the dance. Yet instead of the dance of the dead, the left-wing corpse does the macarena. The skeleton smiles!

And this raises the question: How does the Left appear to win battle after battle even though its war is lost? Why do conservatives so often feel like losers even though they've won? Or, as the old Bessie Smith song asks, what did we ever do to get so black and blue?

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C.M.

INSIDE

Left-Wing Labor
& Left-Wing
Intellectuals

God & Man at
Princeton

Female Journalist
Problems

FEMINISTS STILL AT WAR WITH THE NAVY THE QUESTION OF PILOT B

By K.L. Billingsley

On March 7, 1994, Lt. Carey Lohrenz, known in the voluminous documentation of what is now called her "case" as Pilot B, took off from Miramar Naval Air Station in San Diego at the controls of an F-14 Tomcat, a formidable fighting machine. The \$38 million twin-engine jet is capable of Mach 2 speeds, altitudes above 50,000 feet, and can track 24 targets and shoot down six at once with its Phoenix AIM 54A missiles and Vulcan 20 mm cannon. During the 1980s, U.S. pilots flying this plane splashed two Libyan MIGs without breaking stride and easily chased down the *Achille Lauro* hijackers, who ran but could not hide. For obvious reasons, not everybody gets to fly this awesome package, and its pilot seat has not, until recently, been considered a venue for affirmative action.

Navy pilots land the F-14 on carriers all over the world, in all kinds of weather and seas, day and night, during wartime and in peace. Those who cannot land the plane on "the boat," as aviators call the carrier, are of no use to the Navy. And this plane is not like the nimble trainers in which new pilots get "winged." Veteran F-14 pilots attest that the 54,000-lb two-seater is the Harley Davidson of fighters, tough to fly under the best circumstances, as Lt. Lohrenz discovered that March outing in field landing practice. In the euphemistic words of her own instructor, she had a "rough night."

The Landing Signal Officer (LSO) waved off three of her first four passes, one of them ruled a "CLARA," meaning that Lohrenz flew so out of position she could not even see the "ball," the series of fresnel lenses on the landing strip only visible from certain positions in the air. The landing F-14 must "call the ball" before final approach. "She is not where she needs to be

Continued on page 8

COMMUNIQUÉS

The J-School Blues

Linda Rawlings's report on the Berkeley Journalism School ("News Slanting 101," October 1996) does not check out. She refers to her J200 instructor as a he, while it really was a she. She refers to her J248 instructor as an African-American, while he was in fact a retired Caucasian publisher. She has misspelled the name of the building where she studied for two years. Readers can decide for themselves whether they can trust her memory of what other people said. She refers to a conversation with the former Dean that the Dean says never took place. Ms. Rawlings's exclusive source is herself, a practice she cannot have learned in our School. Perhaps we deserve a good kick now and then. While Ms. Rawlings was a graduate student, we hosted a critic from Accuracy in Media, an engineer of Gov. Pete Wilson's election victory in California, the CEO of the nation's most bottom-line newspaper chain, and a spokesperson for California's prison guards. Our Felker Magazine Center is a showcase for entrepreneurial talent.

We want people in the School who challenge beliefs about the content and the form of news. All we ask of our critics is that they arm themselves with the facts.

Thomas C. Leonard
Associate Dean,
Journalism
University of California
Berkeley, CA

Linda Rawlings replies:

First: J200 was team-taught, with some instructors leading discussion groups, others guiding the publishing of the school newspaper and others teaching copyediting. My discussion group leader was female, but I wrote my J200 story for the school newspaper under the guidance of a male instructor.

Second: J248's lead instructor was indeed a "retired Caucasian publisher," but he was only one of many lecturers for this course. An African-American instructor gave the lecture regarding the ethics of racial reporting and Jesse Jackson.

Third: How many ways are there to spell N-O-R-T-H-G-A-T-E H-A-L-L? I find it hard to believe that anyone would attempt to destroy my credibility by attacking my spelling.

Finally: My conversation with the

Dean regarding the Jason Kidd incident did take place in his office. I gave him my lecture notes, which I wrote up in a draft entitled "What's Good for the Goose—" I still have a dated copy of it, and two other instructors at the school received copies of it between the time of my meeting with the Dean and my editorial class, which took place on Wednesday, February 8, 1995 at 4:00 pm. I refuse to involve myself in a face-off with the former Dean but facts are facts.

I am glad I have a chance to offer additional comment about my journalism education. There are many fine professionals at UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism, and Tom Leonard is one of them. I do not understand why those journalism professionals who value objectivity, balance and fairness condone insidious violations of these values.

Libertarianism vs. The Drug War

Since you gave libertarians the entire

airport panhandlers—whose dimensions are so limited and familiar that to hear their arguments pro and con two or three times is to know once and for all everything of note that's ever been thought or said on the subject.

In my opinion, libertarianism vs. the drug war is such a topic.

O.M. Ostlund, Jr.
State College, PA

Political Cross Dressing

David Horowitz, in his devastating review of Michael Lind's *Up From Conservatism* ("Political Cross-Dresser," September 1996), left Mr. Lind stark naked outside the gates of rational discourse. I am an evangelical preacher of the Christian faith tired of the brainless and malicious notion that serious Christians must be anti-Semitic. I thank God for Mr. Horowitz, himself a Jew, for exposing this common lie along with the equally fallacious contention that "right-wing" political and religious conservatives all walk in lockstep with one another. Lind's stereotypical representation, like all prejudice, owes its currency to ignorance; and, in the case of Lind, egregious ignorance, at that.

Don C. Glover
Monroe, LA

Before reading David Horowitz's review-essay eviscerating Michael Lind in the September issue of *Heterodoxy* ("Political Cross-Dresser"), I had seen a few tepidly critical articles on this charlatan in other

conservative magazines. None of these articles succeeded in utterly discrediting Lind, as Horowitz did. I suspect that they really didn't try. It's a civility thing.

The zeal and effectiveness with which Horowitz dispatched this second-rate opportunist reminded me of Horowitz' comment elsewhere that "I feel too responsible for the destructive acts I committed as a radical not to recognize the need to defend conservatives, who are often too decent to respond in kind to radical attacks."

Mark Pulliam
San Diego, CA

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES

WRITE TO US

Send your comments to Letters Editor, *Heterodoxy*, by mail (Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067) or by fax (310)843-3692 or by e-mail (76712.3274@compuserve.com). Letters should be no more than 200 words and may be edited for length, grammar, and clarity. Please include your address and telephone number.

Letters page to critiques of Peter Collier's anti-drug legalization article ("Just Say Yes!" September, 1996), may I be permitted, in far less space, to rap *Heterodoxy* on a related point?

While I tend to agree with Collier, I have no all-consuming interest either way in the drug-abuse debate. Speaking strictly as a general reader, I submit that filling a whole page with libertarian polemics is both wasteful and—far worse—boring. I'm all for giving libertarians or anyone else a fair latitude for reply, but there are a certain number of hotly debated issues—viz., the "criminalizing" of helmetless bikers, "second-hand" smokers, seatbeltless drivers and

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

ROLL OVER MARIO: When Mario Savio, one-time leader of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement, died of a heart attack a few days after the election, much was made of the fact that he spent his last days working against passage of the California Civil Rights Initiative. Some old radicals, in a gesture that recalled communists' tendency to wave the bloody shirt of fallen heroes sixty years ago, even went so far as to suggest that disappointment over passage of Proposition 209 could have contributed to Savio's early death. But another lesson could have been drawn—about Savio and the movement whose premier historical figure he was. And this has to do not only with equal rights and an end to discrimination, which Savio supported in the days before the FSM, when he went South for Mississippi Summer, but free speech itself, which was theoretically at the heart of the movement he led back in 1964 in Berkeley. Unnoticed in the furor over 209 was an event that took place on the Berkeley campus on November 4, the day before the election. The student newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, in one of the truly brave gestures of this election, published an editorial in favor of 209 entitled "End Race And Gender Preferences." (In the editors' view, preferences had "out-lived their usefulness.") It was one of those bravura gestures of which the '60s, at its best, was uniquely capable; a gesture that was in your face and against the grain. Fifty-four percent of California voters agreed with the *Daily Cal* editors, passing Prop 209. But the local Rainbow Coalition didn't merely disagree: they wanted to make sure the student body didn't even get the editors' message. Thirty of them stormed into the paper's offices and tossed copies out the window, and others followed the *Daily Cal* delivery truck around town, carting off copies in a truck of their own as soon as they were put in newspaper racks. The editors had informed campus police of their distribution plans but the police didn't show. Then came phone messages to the paper like: "Don't bring that white boy bullshit around here, motherfucker," and one telling editor Mike Coleman "Watch your back. Every time you turn around I will be there. I will creep up on you." Berkeley City Police consider it a death threat, but Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien, never bashful about his own sensitivity to civil-rights questions, and who would call in the Delta Force if college Republicans so much as defaced a Chicano campus paper, failed to condemn the sabotage and issued no statement of any kind. Meanwhile, when partisans of race preferences burned copies of the paper, the significance was not lost on the editors. "It's kind of ironic," said news editor Ryan Tate. "In one hand, they hold a candle in a vigil for Mario Savio and with the other hand they are burning copies of our paper." No justice, no peace: that's the radical creed of the '90s. The Berkeley creed is even more depressing: no justice, no free speech.

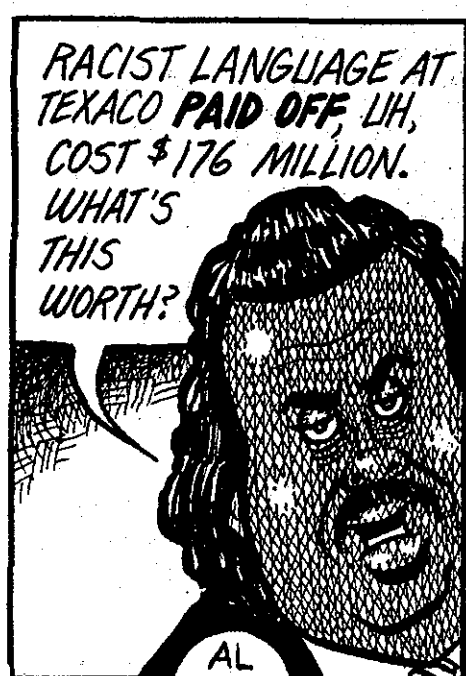
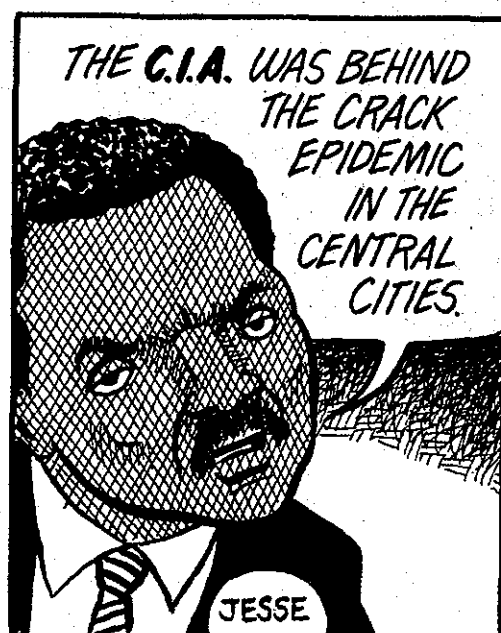
THE UN-DEBATE: The Women's Business and Professional Alliance, a program of the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center, asked the folks at the California Civil Rights Initiative office to send someone to debate

Proposition 209 with local talk-show host Tammy Bruce. They advised that the debater was welcome to bring his or her guests. CCCI chose David Bianco, a gay Jewish academic and liberal Clinton supporter who nevertheless backed Prop 209 on the grounds that the government should deal with all people equally, and not "as labels."

But when Bianco showed up at the debate, he was told, "The concern is that this is women's space," Bianco was not permitted to speak, "and you are a man coming into a women's space." The

Marlboro ads feature bleak, barren landscapes. Other ads show pictures of dead fish. But one attempt at satisfying the ASA's prohibition of beauty didn't turn out as planned. A series of ads by Embassy Regal featured an overweight, dull, baldheaded man named Reg, but rather than repelling the audience, the character soon became a favorite among teenagers. "It's something we never could have foreseen," said ASA spokesman Grahame Fowler. "He was bald and ugly. He became a cult figure in his own right."

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



Alliance disavowed knowledge of his invitation and said that the event was not a debate but an anti-209 speech by Tammy Bruce. Bianco asked if he could speak on behalf of Prop 209 for four minutes then leave. The organizers rejected the offer, then called police to have Bianco ejected from the premises, a West Hollywood restaurant frequented by gay men. Said Bianco, who holds a masters in history from Stanford, "I never did figure out whether they were more upset by my gender or my opposition to preferences."

THE GREAT ENGLISH SMOKEOUT: Fans of the Clinton Administration's war on tobacco may want to look to the United Kingdom for inspiration. Since 1975, the Advertising Standards Authority has been in charge of protecting British children from the Joe Camels of the world by rigorously inspecting cigarette ads before they appear in print. According to the Authority's regulations, cigarette ads can't be too funny, or show lakes, rivers, mountains, or anything that implies fresh air. Blue skies are also considered inappropriate, and the ASA typically asks that they be recolored gray. The people in the ads can't be attractive, and they can't be seen enjoying themselves. They can't even be shown smoking. As a consequence,

and Naturalization Service is inviting Mexican consular officials to set up an office in the U.S. port of entry near San Diego. "A lot of people think it's a wonderful idea," said INS District Director Mark Reed. Those people include the Mexican consulate and doubtless many illegals and smugglers who now have quick and efficient representation the moment they set foot on American soil. But INS workers are not so sanguine. As one of them remarked, "We fear the prospect of foreign agents looking over our shoulder, and we aren't crazy about the idea of taking advice from a nation where anti-government journalists and opposition politicians routinely get bumped off." As part of the new plan (and its final irony), the *Los Angeles Times* reports that the U.S. Department of Justice has agreed to let Mexican officials give human-rights instruction to U.S. border patrol trainees. Neither Mexico nor any other country allows a U.S. presence in their ports of entry, and this would be the first time a foreign government has been given direct access to U.S. immigration facilities. There was no word from INS officials about whether representatives of Fidel Castro's Cuba will now be allowed to observe the processing of refugees who flee that island gulag on inner tubes.

DUMB DOWN IN MICHIGAN: A report entitled "Declining Standards in Michigan Public Universities" published by that state's Mackinac Center for Public Policy doesn't pull any punches. It says that the state universities of Michigan are "suffering from a general erosion of academic standards and a radical politicization of the undergraduate curriculum" that have left them "in tatters." Study-author Thomas Bertonneau states that higher education in Michigan is characterized by "a general lowering—and in some cases, an abandonment—of standards of correct writing" and "a preference for trivia." He notes that "rigorous content in the traditional liberal arts has disintegrated in favor of cultivating emotions and politically correct emotions." Among the seven leading recommendations of "Declining Standards" is this one: "The rules and regulations against political indoctrination in the classroom should be vigilantly observed and rigorously enforced."

BORDERLINE MADNESS: Despite Clinton Administration claims of getting tough on the border, illegals continue to stream into the United States with the encouragement of Mexico's *kleptocracy* [rule by thieves] whose corruptions leave millions of Mexicans sans jobs. But instead of insisting that the Mexican government pull its weight, the U.S. Immigration

God and Man at Princeton

By Christopher Rapp

Political Correctness is out of style. The worldview it protects—relativistic, deconstructive, obsessed with higher education's holy trinity of race/class/gender—is in, but political correctness as an in-your-face commitment is out. Professors now somewhat smirkingly refer to it as they did the Communist threat during the Cold War—as a faraway, sometimes naughty bogeyman existing mainly in the imaginations of neurotic conservatives.

It is true that the witch trials of conservative dissidents and the speech codes and brutal fundamentalism of sensitivity training sessions now seem like part of a vanished past, in the museum of college high-jinx that includes swallowing goldfish and spinning in clothes dryers. But it is also true that PC has not so much disappeared as become intrinsic—part of the institutional apparatus of university life, embedded in procedures such as the selection of texts and authors; the hiring of faculty; the orientation process which integrates new students into the university community; in the organizations and activities to which the University gives funding, access, and official sanction; and, most important, in the sclerotic range of opinions which one can hold without being marginalized. Increasingly colorless and odorless, the PC ecosystem in most universities is nonetheless sometimes accidentally bodied forth by some chance event that makes the dark forms momentarily visible. Something like this happened last year at my alma mater, Princeton University.

It all started in September of 1995. To introduce the first-year students ("freshmen" is now sexist) to life at Princeton, the University holds orientation seminars during the first weeks of school on topics such as diversity, sexual health, sexual harassment, racism, and homosexuality. The seminars, which are as mandatory as anything is at Princeton, were conducted by student "peer educators" from various campus organizations and presented either to the entire class of 1999 at once or to groups of 10-12 first-years and an upperclass Residential Advisor.

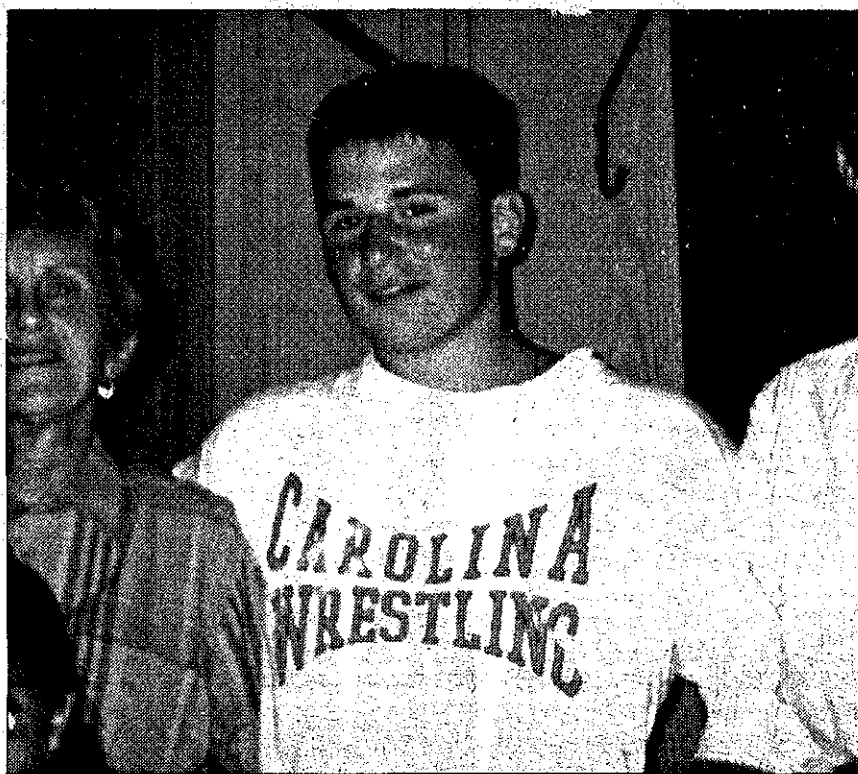
Incoming student Patrick Horn expected to hear some left-wing cant at the seminars—this was college in the '90s, after all—but he didn't anticipate the way in which traditional morality and conservative political views would be left entirely off the table. The presentation entitled "Reflections on Diversity" particularly caught his eye.

"It didn't seem to present any kind of traditional backgrounds, any kind of orthodox beliefs as part of the diversity on Princeton's campus," remembers Horn. "Diversity" did include racial minorities, as it should. There was also specific attention given to the homosexual community at Princeton. But the diversity they showed us didn't seem to include any kind of Christian backgrounds or conservative types of beliefs."

Horn wasn't moved to protest the orientation, but the experience was on his mind when he read a front-page article the September 20 edition of the school newspaper, *The Daily Princetonian* (known on campus as "the *Prince*"), reporting on a student's research which purported to show that 38% of the students on campus were "homophobic." According to the study, conservative students, people who attended religious services regularly or belonged to a religious organizations, and

those who played team sports posted some of the highest levels of homophobia, measured on a 1-to-100 scale with higher numbers indicating "more anxiety... about homosexuality (and) about being at close quarters with gay people." The article accepted the findings without question—no contrary or skeptical opinions were included, despite the accusatory nature of the study—and intimated that the numbers would probably have been higher if people's actions and not just their beliefs could have been measured.

To Horn, the article read like the orientation seminars, part two. So he sent an e-mail to



Patrick Horn, class of '99

the editorial offices of the *Prince*, objecting to the article's use of the term "homophobia" to describe all qualms about homosexual behavior. Showing his freshman naiveté, Horn, who intended the message as a private note, was surprised when his letter appeared in print.

As was the rest of the Princeton community, Horn's words were unfashionably blunt and decidedly against the grain. "The article... was not on the editorial page, but perhaps it belonged there," he wrote. "Despite the best efforts of the politically correct and homosexuality advocacy groups on campus and elsewhere, the gay 'lifestyle' cannot be elevated to a natural or acceptable trait. By grouping 'homophobia' with racism or sexism, one equates a behavior—which many people, like myself, find offensive—with human characteristics which are not chosen. Likewise, by characterizing those of us who are sickened by homosexual behavior as prudish or afraid, your report on 'homophobia' discriminates against our opinions."

Princeton, normally a fairly apathetic place, woke up in a hurry. As expected, a few students wrote to the *Prince* protesting Horn's comments. The most significant rebuke, however, came not from one of Horn's peers in the student body, but from the highest levels of the university administration. In a letter to the *Prince*, Dean of Student Life Jenina Montero responded to Horn by quoting the school's "Rights, Rules, and Responsibilities" guidelines which stipulated that the University "attaches great value to freedom of expression and vigorous debate, but it also attaches great importance to mutual respect, and it deprecates expressions of hatred directed against any individual or group." She closed her letter with a summons: "I invite all members of the university community to join with me in a reaffirmation of our support of the lesbian, gay, and bisexual community and all of our campus communities."

A backlash against Horn—exemplified in an ad taken out in the *Prince* by a student theater group denouncing him—began to roll through campus. But there were also some qualms about Dean Montero's words. For instance, Timothy Pavlis, another first-year student, felt that Horn's letter "could have been a starting-off point for good open debate, but then Dean Montero jumped in with the heavy hand of the University." The fact that Horn's fellow students showed they were perfectly able and willing to vigorously protest the views expressed in his letter did not seem to matter to the Dean of Student Life. "It almost seemed like she was trying to silence this freshman before he got any ideas," said Pavlis. "It was like, 'hey, where do you get off, all of a sudden stirring up trouble. Don't get the idea that in your four years here you're going to be able to write any kind of letter you want.'"

That was exactly the conclusion I reached after graduating from Princeton: don't get any ideas. My experiences paralleled those of Patrick Horn, and I have realized in retrospect what he recognized on the spot: that despite its rhetoric to the contrary, Princeton is not beyond political correctness. It's not the aggressive PC which we have come to expect—no fiery persecutions in the manner of Mount Holyoke, no bizarre sexual codes à la Antioch College, and no massive radical demonstrations like those at Stanford or Cal State Northridge—but a more subtle variety. At genteel Princeton, political correctness has the same function that good manners did fifty years ago, serving as the prerequisite

for inclusion in polite society and academia. At Princeton, expressing a politically incorrect idea is not only wrong-headed, it's rude—the equivalent of belching or not bathing. Flamboyant witch trials wouldn't fit in here; they'd be considered uncouth. Instead, the white-collar PC etiquette is continually reinforced by officially sanctioned campus organizations, a uniformly liberal faculty, dissembling administrators, Ivy League don't-rock-the-boat gentility, and Princeton's steadfast aversion to self-examination, until it becomes inevitable, a part of the air the students breathe.

Wide-eyed freshmen, ready to learn about life, are led around to seminars given by snappily acronymed groups whose status and sanction come directly from the University. These groups include SHARE (Sexual Harassment and Assault Resource Education), SECH (Sex Education, Counseling, and Health), SAPE (Student Alcohol Peer Educators), the LGBA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance) and the MAAs (Minority Affairs Advisors) who put on a TRACE seminar (Talking about Race, Attitudes, Culture, and Ethnicity).

This alphabet soup encompasses just about every designated victim group and promotes the standard leftist interpretations of social issues. There are some resulting ironies that seemed to have escaped the subtle architects of the campus mentality. Carey Wallace, for instance, who graduated last spring after serving two years as a Residential Advisor, believes that the absence of countervailing, traditional viewpoints actually "normalizes the behavior that they don't want to have happen."

When conventional moral norms like sexual conservatism and basic self-control are given short shift, the message that comes through loud and clear is that such attributes are impractical and out of synch with life at the university. "Because the seminars give the impres-

sion that it would be normal for your roommate to come home and sleep with a different girl every night, maybe that means it would be normal for you," Wallace said. "Because they put so much emphasis on what you are going to do when everyone else is drinking, people come into Princeton thinking that everybody else drinks. And I think that's damaging."

Sometimes the slant of the seminars is subtle, but other times the intended messages are painfully obvious. The sexual health seminars given by SECH can be particularly blunt. In Carey Wallace's first year as an RA, the SECH representatives began their presentation by asking for a volunteer. The students in her charge were hesitant, so Wallace raised her hand, a decision she would soon regret. The peer educators handed her a condom and a plastic replica of an erect penis. "I was supposed to open the condom and put it on this enormous dildo, and everyone was going to critique my performance," she said. "It wasn't a banana—it was a real dildo." Wallace later described the experience as "borderline harassment."

But the Princeton Sex Ed crowd has never shown much respect for such feelings. One year, every student on campus was mailed a SECH pamphlet with a condom affixed to the front. Inside, among other things, were directions on how to fashion a dental dam, and helpful drawings of two women (of course!) demonstrating how to use one, complete with lipstick marks. And the dildo given to Wallace pales in comparison with some of SECH's more high tech teaching tools. The SECH advisors occasionally make the rounds at the meetings of various campus organizations, and when they arrived at the chapter meeting of the fraternity I was a member of, they brought a life-like, mechanized dildo with them. A volunteer was instructed to put a condom on this technological wonder and to begin stroking. After a few minutes of "stimulation," the SECH peer educator could hold out no longer, and flipped a switch at the base of the dildo. The dildo then began to ejaculate into the condom, drawing milky white fluid from its testicle-reservoirs. In comparison to this spectacle, the two sentences the peer educators devoted to abstinence in the name of "balance" seemed somewhat less than sincere.

The din of propaganda might be tolerable if the student organizations representing conservative or religious viewpoints were also permitted to speak to the RA groups, but they are denied the access given readily to SECH and the LGBA. Professor of English John Fleming is currently serving his eighth year as Master of Wilson College, one of five dormitory clusters for freshmen and sophomores, and part of his job is to arrange the Orientation Week schedule. He explained that SECH, SHARE, and the like "are official University organizations... so obviously they can talk to an RA group." Religious campus organizations like the Aquinas Institute (Roman Catholic) or the evangelical Campus Crusade for Christ are not entitled to this sort of command performance ("Obviously, I'm not going to do that," Fleming said matter-of-factly) even, apparently, as part of a Reflection on Diversity. The University evidently puts more credence in people with condoms, dental dams, and dildoes, than those with Bibles, rosaries, yarmulkes, or Korans.

"All of the groups that are sponsored by the University have one perspective on things," says Dottie Hanks, a political science major and member of Campus Crusade who graduated last spring, "and it's unfortunate, because students come in freshman year and think, these are the viewpoints that are acceptable, this is the way that I'm supposed to see things now."

First-year students will find little on

campus to suggest otherwise. The organizations designated as arbiters of campus politics and culture are uniformly the same in outlook and politics despite all the earnest talk of diversity. The Women's Center is a case in point. Though its leaders have always insisted that the Center is a resource and advocacy center representing all women at Princeton, the Center's Statement of Purpose identifies it as a "feminist organization" and there is little doubt that this does not include moderate or conservative feminists.

Not surprisingly, as far as the Center is concerned women at Princeton can take only one position on the issue of abortion and still be

everything they had and risk a 100-mile float through shark-infested waters in makeshift inner tubes rather than remain in Castro's feminist paradise.

If the Center's first loves are abortion and Marxism, its favorite hobby is pornography. X-rated films brought to campus by the Center include *Gonad the Barbarian and the Venus Flytrap*, *The Spectacle of Female and Male Orgasm*, and *Damned If You Don't*, which featured "a young nun's struggle with her desires," as she explored the limits of "forbidden desire, repression, and lesbian seduction." Also deemed worthy of promotion were *Dyketactics*, *Women I Love*, and something called *Superdyke Meets Madam X*.

These film fests don't make it into the recruitment brochures, and neither does Princeton's funding of students' abortions. Several years ago, the school raised student fees by \$1 per person expressly to pay for abortions. After first dismissing the objections of religious students and faculty, the administration rescinded the measure, but this change in accounting apparently did not signify a change in heart. Administration officials become particularly uneasy when questioned about the policy, but have trouble denying that the abortion funding still takes place. A conversation I had with Dean of Student Life Jenina Montero was indicative:

Q: Princeton seems to spend money on a lot of things which might be considered morally questionable—abortion funding and so on.

Montero: Princeton doesn't do abortion funding.

Q: Princeton spends no money on abortions?

Montero: There is a student health plan that includes services for pregnancies, which includes bringing a pregnancy to term as well as not, but it's within the student health plan. I

don't know what you mean when you say "money for abortion."

Q: That question has been asked to you and to others a number of times and no one has ever said that Princeton doesn't fund abortions, so I just wanted to ask you one more time.

Montero: Well, I don't know what that means, "Princeton spending money for abortions." I don't know what that means, Cris, and I don't know what the implication of that question is...

A narrow band of opinion is also the rule of thumb in the Princeton classroom. The course I took on 20th-century U.S. foreign policy during my senior year was ironically taught by one of the few professors I encountered who actually attempted to bring conservative viewpoints into her class. She actually paused in her lectures to introduce the opinions of "post-revisionist" historians. But such gestures were overwhelmed by the rest of the course: lectures, readings, and films which tilted to the left. Why, for example, did Castro's Cuba become a Soviet satellite? Because the hostile U.S. gave him no other choice. (No mention, of course, of evidence given by Carlos Franqui and other dissident *barbudos* that Castro had been hooked up with Moscow all along.) Ditto for the Sandinistas, who were described heroically in the readings as "small, frightened, proud, [and] doggedly radical." Writing first that the Reagan-Bush Nicaragua policy "had not succeeded," the authors of the main textbook discussed the Sandinistas' crushing electoral defeat at the hands of Violetta Chamorro as if the two were unrelated, and even implied illogically that the Sandinistas' ouster was only a temporary phenomenon. "The Sandinistas are still young," Jimmy Carter was quoted as saying, "It's not the end of the world for them."

Carter was given star treatment in the textbook, unlike his successor, Reagan, who was



Princeton President Harold Shapiro

considered a female in good standing. During my time at Princeton, the student pro-life group invited then-Governor of Pennsylvania Robert Casey to speak, and three women asked the Women's Center if it would co-sponsor the event. No, they were told, not unless Princeton Pro-Life paid for a pro-abortion speaker as well.

One wonders if even that would have been enough. Mary Meany, a 1993 graduate and recipient of both the Rhodes and Marshall Scholarships, wrote that as a freshman she was startled when Princeton Pro-Choice advertised its first organizational meeting by saying, "Help Shape the Women's Center Agenda for 1989-1990." But when she visited the Center, Meany found its walls plastered with newsletters from Princeton Pro-Choice, NOW, and the National Abortion Rights Action League. One particularly crude example read, "Not every ejaculation deserves a name." The message was clear: women with differing opinions about abortion were not welcome at the Center.

The Center is equally enthusiastic about Marxism, bringing a host of pro-authoritarian speakers to the campus where James Madison once studied. Highlights have included a speech by Magda Enrigues Callejas, the Sandinistas' official representative to the United States and Canada, and a talk entitled "Struggling for Survival: Workers, Women, and Class on a Nicaraguan State Farm." An article appearing during my sophomore year in the leftist student publication, *The Progressive Review* written by then-director Jan Strout, a woman who never stopped kowtowing to male Latin American dictators, provided perhaps the best summation of the Center's ideology. Strout wrote that Cuba was a wonderful place for women—arguably preferable to the United States—because of its liberal abortion laws. Tellingly, her article appeared just as hundreds of Cuban rafters were arriving in Miami, preferring to leave behind

portrayed as having come very close to losing the Cold War with his "venomous rhetoric [which] poisoned the diplomatic environment." Courageous leaders like Mikhail Gorbachev and Jesse Jackson (!) overcame this mean-spirited view of the global game, perhaps realizing with the authors that Reagan had only a "shallow grasp of many issues" and "seemed to prefer watching movies and television to reading books, riding horses to roundtable discussions."

Once, I hesitatingly suggested in a class discussion that before we pronounced the U.S. and the USSR moral equivalents, perhaps we should take the gulag, the mass starvation of Ukrainian farmers, and other Soviet atrocities into account. A roomful of eyes rolled, Soviet crimes both domestic and international having already been attributed, ultimately, to American belligerence. This tone ran throughout most of the course, as key facts which would have disrupted the liberal construction were brushed over or omitted entirely.

This trend seems to be reflected both in the makeup of the faculty, which in a given year includes at most a handful of conservatives, and in the rest of the course catalogue. Professor of Politics Robert George, a former member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission who for years has been the most conspicuous conservative on the faculty, comments that "in the curriculum as a whole students are going to have a lot of trouble learning what is to be said on the conservative side of moral, cultural, and political issues, because there's just not that much out there. And where conservative points of view are incorporated into courses, they're often marginalized."

Perhaps because viewpoints which compete with the politically correct line are regarded as somehow illegitimate, Princeton tends to be a fairly apathetic place—if there is only one correct stance on social issues, what is the cause for strong feeling?—and liberal moral and political views are accepted by default rather than with enthusiasm. Strident views of all sorts, and particularly those which go against the grain, are generally looked at with suspicion. This of course, is most acute for those students who take their religion seriously. According to Carey Wallace, religion is an area with which Princetonians aren't comfortable. "I think it's an issue most people don't want to engage with because religions make such big truth claims, and that's considered sort of impolite right now," she explained with a chuckle. "Also, if the things most religions claim are true, most of the students at Princeton would have to totally reevaluate their goals and their lifestyles. So it's an easier thing just not to talk about it, to pretend it's something that's not relevant to you."

Students who openly profess their faith run the risk of having their academic bona fides questioned, as religious beliefs are considered anti-intellectual as well as intolerant. Rich Holland, a politics major who graduated last spring, pointed out, "If you voiced your opinion about [religious belief] and you believed in God and in religion, then no longer were your opinions considered academic—you were, ironically, some sort of Philistine, blind because you believed in God."

Even the most innocuous expression of religious belief can run afoul of the PC police. In December of my sophomore year, the student council of Forbes College, the governing body of the underclass division in which I lived, announced that at the suggestion of the Master of the College it was ending the dormitory's long-standing tradition of having a Christmas tree in the dining room, reasoning that it might offend students who didn't celebrate the holiday. Students soon learned that this censure of Christmas cheer extended to private spaces as well, when the college's Minority Affairs Advisors posted signs notifying residents that they would not be allowed to decorate their own dorm-room doors.

This was part of a pattern in which religious students put themselves at risk when they

expressed opinions on social issues which dissented from the PC orthodoxy. Professor John Fleming notes that whereas political correctness has been accepted as a sort of stealth doctrine by the Princeton establishment, traditional religious belief "is not respected as a kind of genuine cultural manifestation in its own right, but regarded as some kind of political aberration that has to be combatted. . . . I think that some University administrators would be quite happy if there wasn't a traditional religious articulation on social issues."

Administrators are dismissive of such



Thomas Pyle, class of '76

charges. "I find that very hard to take seriously, quite frankly," President Harold Shapiro told me. "I mean, how big is our chapel?—It's the biggest building on campus!"

President Shapiro is right—the University Chapel is a very large building. But tolerance isn't measured in square footage, and bricks and mortar laid down a century ago do not indicate acceptance of religious viewpoints today. And at least some students feel that the University's Office of Religious Life seems more concerned with staying in the good graces of the PC crowd than with providing religion a place in the public square. An example of this came last spring when the LGBA announced its Third Annual Drag Ball, EROTIC CITY, and the Office of Religious Life was listed as one of its sponsors.

I called Dean of Religious Life Joseph Williamson and asked him about this. Dean Williamson, who said he had "qualms" about the University's abortion funding but was "skeptical" about religious conservatives' other complaints, told me that his office had not in fact funded the dance and should not have been listed as a sponsor. But in public Williamson said nothing of the sort. In a letter to the *Prince* co-authored by Assistant Dean of Student Life Beth Morgan, Williamson gave a tortured defense of his decision to fund the drag ball:

When any particular university office contributes money to a given student organization there is no implied endorsement of the programs which are subsequently developed by that group. . . . We do not attempt to monitor or control the programs which the various groups create. . . . We do seek to be supportive of student initiatives which contribute to the diversity and vitality of the university.

As Professor Robert George points out, the idea that funding does not imply support is a bit specious: "If there were a Nazi group and the University gave funds to it, would anyone say that the University wasn't endorsing it?" And it goes without saying that the Office of Religious Life wouldn't pay for a wet T-shirt contest or a lambda dance put on by straights. That aside,

what is telling here is the complete divergence between Williamson's private claims and his public statements. Whether or not he funded EROTIC CITY, the fact remains Williamson felt it was necessary to say publicly that he did. Not to do so would, in the bizarre logic of the PC university, be regarded as homophobic. This situation, therefore, while relatively minor, is nonetheless a little case study in how political history operates on campus.

Dean of Student Life Jenina Montero pretended to be unable to fathom why religious and conservative students feel unwelcome at Princeton: "I don't know why they would imagine that the University is hostile to their views." And while she admitted that there were "ways in which the press, specific presentations, and perceptions that exist in academic environments" are "less than respectful" to traditional views, she insisted that "Princeton in many ways is one of the most balanced and even institutions."

President Harold Shapiro seemed to agree. When I pointed out that many religious and conservative students feel compelled to keep their beliefs to themselves, he responded, "That's a little mysterious to me," and said he remembered a conversation which he seemed to think was indicative of these students' true motivations: "I had one student say last year 'We shouldn't allow people with those beliefs on campus.' He was an evangelical person referring to other groups who didn't subscribe to his perspective. He said, 'Look, I just don't feel comfortable with those people, and it's up to the University to make me comfortable.'"

Whether or not this conversation ever occurred, what Shapiro gave as his response to the student was interesting: "I said, 'That's not the University's perspective. In fact a certain amount of discomfort is a symptom of growth. We all feel some discomfort as we grow and meet people with different ideas.'"

He is right. College should be a time when students' beliefs and assumptions are challenged, but it seems that only religious and conservative students are forced to endure this ordeal. "What is the University doing to make sure that the beliefs about sexual morality, which are overwhelmingly liberal, that students bring when they come to this university, are being effectively challenged by traditional Jewish and Christian beliefs, for example?" asks Professor Robert George. "This is pathetic! So the beliefs that should be challenged are those of the small minority who come in with conservative opinions about morality and the sanctity of human life. . . . You've got a great mass of liberal students here, who's challenging their beliefs?"

Patrick Horn's controversial letter and Jenina Montero's equally controversial response caused a minor crisis on campus and inspired several efforts to make intellectual diversity acceptable at Princeton. In particular, the exchange in the *Prince* attracted the attention of Thomas Pyle, a member of the class of 1976, who at the time was serving as an Alumni Delegate to the Council of the Princeton University Community (CPUC), the university's chief elected legislative body. He thought Montero's letter "seemed a little heavy-handed for Princeton" and had a "chilling effect" on campus dialogue.

"This is, I think, a free speech issue," Pyle said. "I don't feel that a kid expressing his opinion should be policed by the University and declared to be abusive and harassing. I don't think the university should be in the business of intimidating individuals who hold unpopular viewpoints. . . . The only way to combat 'hate speech' is more speech, not muzzled speech."

When other students voiced their frustration with the anti-religious atmosphere at Princeton, Pyle introduced a resolution to the CPUC in November asking that members of the Princeton community "vigorously promote tolerance for all individuals and groups, including those sincerely and legitimately holding traditional personal and religious beliefs, especially about morality, human, character, and sexual behavior," and refrain from "acts or calls for. . .

advocacy for groups whose actions may strongly offend" those holding such beliefs.

Pyle hoped that the resolution would at least inspire meaningful debate. But his efforts were blocked by Professor of Politics Alan Ryan, also a member of the CPUC, who proposed an "amendment to the amendment," which in accordance with parliamentary law, sent the bill to a vote without any discussion. The resolution passed, but as the *Prince* reported, Ryan's amendment gutted it of all specific content, "effectively reversing" its purpose.

Campus administrators and leftists generally supported Ryan's maneuverings, but some students were soured by the process. "I think it's appalling you people can't even discuss it and vote on it," said senior CPUC student-delegate Matt Mannix. Student Government Chairman David L. Calone also expressed dismay with the CPUC's disregard for the resolution.

A little shaken by this hostile reception in the CPUC, Pyle submitted a second resolution in February. The language was particularly mild, stating that since the tolerance issue had not been substantially debated, the CPUC would convene a "Select Committee," chaired by President Shapiro, to examine University policy and report back to the Council. In his proposal, Pyle cited students' letters in the *Prince* and complaints about the RA group seminars as evidence that the University needed to take a long, hard look at the way it treated traditional views and the students who held them. The faculty and administration delegates in the CPUC were unmoved, and the resolution was defeated.

Meanwhile, members of various student organizations formed the Coalition of Princeton Students for Tolerance (CPST) in hopes of creating some breathing room for religious and conservative students. Alex Fulks, a member of the class of 1998 and chairman of the CPST, identified the orientation seminars and Montero's censoring of Patrick Horn as two reasons for the creation of the group. "If the University can't tolerate a student's opinions in this case," he explained, "what's going to happen later on?"

The CPST quickly established itself as a presence on campus, circulating petitions, appearing before the CPUC, participating in campus debates, and generally becoming a burr in the saddle of the left-wing power structure. In February, Fulks and the members of the CPST board sent letters to several University administrators, including Dean Montero and SECH Director Brian Zack, requesting information about Princeton's funding procedures, RA selection, Orientation Week seminars, and abortion policy. Although Dean Montero's replies—she answered all of the letters herself—were characteristically vague, Fulks said that the CPST planned to continue these requests for full disclosure, and to continue "working toward an atmosphere at Princeton where anyone—and that goes for liberals, conservatives, homosexuals, and heterosexuals—who has an opinion can voice it without fear."

Princeton administrators were disturbed by these politically incorrect activists, and the school year ended with another episode of persecution. In late March, Alex Fulks saw an advertisement for a University-sponsored "Joint Peer Education Conference" which invited "those interested in becoming peer educators to attend." Since the CPST was considering holding religious tolerance seminars for interested freshmen at the fall orientation, Fulks called Janet Waronker, the director of SHARE and one of the organizers of the event, and she told him where and when to show up. When she called back 20 minutes later and told him that after talking with other organizers she had decided that it would be better if he didn't attend, Fulks concluded that he had to find out "what was so secret about this conference that they didn't want me there."

Fulks took a seat at the back of the lec-

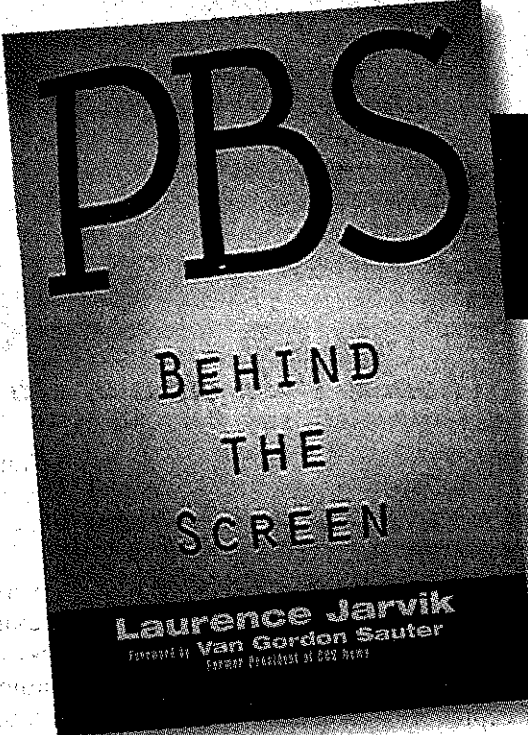
ture hall where the conference leaders were conducting a discussion on "Overcoming Resistance Groups." He was surprised to find out that the "resistors" identified specifically included Campus Crusade for Christ, people who practice abstinence, the CPST, and Alex Fulks himself.

A few days after the conference, Fulks got a letter informing him that he was brought up on disciplinary charges. Although administrators were reluctant to tell him exactly what the charges against him were, Fulks soon learned that he was being accused of "misrepresentation" and "unauthorized attendance of a non-public event." After discussing the case in a closed-door meeting (in accordance with University policy), the Discipline Board, chaired by an Assistant Dean of Student Life, gave Fulks a Dean's Warning.

SHARE-director Janet Waronker claimed that Fulks had not been singled out, that only pre-approved peer educators had been allowed at the Conference. But when I read to her the advertisements indicating that all interested students were welcome, her

response reflected the confusion of the born bureaucrat: "I don't know why that went out, because those really weren't the guidelines that we were all using—that I was aware we were using. I had nothing to do with that happening." Waronker also claimed to have not been involved with the Dean's Warning, although according to the Office of Student Life, it was she who first reported Fulks' "offense." Given all of this, it's easy to sympathize with Fulks when he says "Honestly, I think they are just trying to find a way to get me to shut up." Fulks is appealing the decision.

Against this backdrop, Princeton now celebrates its 250th anniversary. As it contemplates the candles on its birthday cake, the school can lay claim to some of the most ambitious and talented students in the country, a dedicated and star-studded faculty, a gorgeous campus, a rich history, and alumni (including the author) who feel for it a deep affection. But Princeton does not have free inquiry, intellectual openness, and tolerance, and this deficit, sadly, calls all its other assets into question.



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Pilot B, continued from page 1

at this stage," wrote her trainer in his Signal of Difficulty (SOD) assessment.

Eight months later, on October 25, 1994, Lohrenz's colleague Lt. Kara Hultgreen, the only other female F-14 flyer, crashed while attempting to land on the *Abraham Lincoln* off San Diego. Lt. Matthew Klemish, her Radar Intercept Officer (RIO) survived but Hultgreen did not. Initially the Navy, reeling under the unremitting assault of feminists in the aftermath of Tailhook, blamed the crash on engine failure. But the coverup didn't work: clearly pilot error had been part of it, as the Navy's confidential Mishap Investigation Report (MIR) confirmed. (See "Dancing With the Elephant," *Heterodoxy*, March/April 1995.)

After the state funeral at Arlington, the revisionism inside the Navy's aviator corps began its own informal history of the mishap. Many pilots, almost all of them sympathetic to Hultgreen, nevertheless claimed that she had been given special considerations because of her gender. Elaine Donnelly, head of the Center for Military Readiness (CMR), received training records which showed that Hultgreen had committed four serious errors in training, known as "downs" or "pink sheets." One or two downs or SODs, depending on the circumstances, is usually enough to get a pilot cashiered from the program. Donnelly also published records showing that Lt. Lohrenz, whom she called "Pilot B" to guard her privacy as much as possible, had received seven downs, with the last not counted, before being allowed to move on to the fleet.

On May 30, 1995, her Commanding Officer (CO) removed Lt. Lohrenz from flight status. On October 11, 1996, her VF-213 squadron left Miramar for a home base on the East Coast. Lohrenz, now married and pregnant, remained behind in a staff job, from which post she has recently cut loose a heat-seeking missile of her own. She has sued Elaine Donnelly and the Center for Military Readiness; the *Washington Times* and the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (which reported Donnelly's findings); and "John Does one through 100" who Lohrenz says defamed her with false information, thereby causing her to be removed from flight status on the day before her squadron was to begin flying combat missions over Iraq.

"It's almost as if they saw that I was improving, and they said 'We've got to stop her now, or she's going to be able to keep flying,'" she said on "Top Gun?" a *Dateline NBC* segment broadcast this summer. "They convicted me on gossip."

Was it "gossip" that clipped the pilot's wings? Had a praetorian guard of chauvinists deliberately quashed her career to preserve a bastion of male privilege? Or was her performance to blame? Navy aviators, officers, and LSOs knew the story but weren't talking lest they lose their careers, the price for candor in the post-Tailhook era. Before the current string of sex-crimes charges at the Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland and Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri, whose numbers are daily inflating to McMartin Pre-School dimensions, Tailhook prevailed as the military's sexual harassment inferno. The Tailhook flyers had been holding their annual bashes for years, but in 1991 pilots came from the Persian Gulf ready to party hard, and the Las Vegas affair quickly escalated into a kind of spring break on steroids, in which many Navy women willingly participated. The tales of leg

shaving, naked dancers, and drunken aviators groping women mobilized the politically correct forces in Congress, led by Colorado Democrat Patricia Schroeder, a senior member of the Armed Services Committee who was concerned that revelations about the 10 percent pregnancy rate on the submarine-tender *Acadia*, dubbed "The Love Boat," would stymie the advance of women in the military and their deployment in combat units.

For Schroeder and her comrades in arms, Tailhook was heaven-sent. Both feminists and the press dismissed the Navy's report on Tailhook as a smokescreen and continued to press the case. As writer Peter Boyer showed in



Lt. Carey Lohrenz and Lt. Kara Hultgreen

a recent PBS special on the issue, the Navy caved and the victims began to pile up in the institutional bloodshed that followed and contributed to the suicide of Chief of Naval Operations Jeremy "Mike" Boorda.

Some, like Gulf War hero and Blue Angel flyer Robert Stumpf, left the military rather than face another inquiry after being found innocent. Those who remained found themselves tattooed with a scarlet "T" and placed on a secret blacklist. And the Navy gave the previously anti-military feminists what they wanted. As writer John Corry put it, "the people who did not want the boys to go to Vietnam, Central America, or the Persian Gulf now want the girls to go everywhere else." The saga of Pilot B unfolded against the backdrop of this open institutional warfare and hidden ideological agendas.

Female aviators boast an impressive history in the U.S. military but have traditionally been barred from combat duty. On April 29, 1993, to the unalloyed delight of Pat Schroeder and her allies, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, with congressional support, lifted the longstanding restriction. With the fanfare of a Don King, Aspin and the Pentagon trotted out female flyers in their flight suits for the press. As NBC's *Dateline* put it, "The Navy suddenly had new celebrities, women fighter pilots like Carey Lohrenz. . . . She was on track to be a top gun. Then suddenly she flunked out. . . . was it because of her sex?"

Lohrenz, a University of Wisconsin graduate, completed her flight training in November of 1992 and on June 25, 1993, became the first female pilot to be assigned directly from the training command to the F-14, handpicked by Captain Charles Nesby. During their training at Miramar, both Hultgreen and Lohrenz experienced difficulties.

"It's not a gender thing," Lohrenz told *Dateline* interviewers. "The plane doesn't know if it's a guy or a girl flying it, for heaven's sakes,

and it's something that you need to be taught. . . . Certain girls can do it just as well as guys can if they're given the opportunity. . . . I think anybody is potentially a dangerous pilot. I'm potentially an astronaut. You can be potentially anything you want to be. I've never shown that I was a dangerous pilot. I've never had anything to allow them to draw that conclusion."

Lohrenz charged that they never told her about changes she needed to make in her flying, that they "just took what they wanted to see, and they hung me by it." Her superior officer, Capt. Dennis Gilliespie denied it, insisting that Lohrenz's performance had been evaluated fairly. "He's lying," Lohrenz responded. "That is not true. It didn't happen. It didn't happen with me. It didn't happen with several other female aviators."

But according to Elaine Donnelly, Lohrenz and Hultgreen got special treatment from the beginning of their F-14 training. In 1984, Caspar Weinberger appointed Donnelly to a three-year term on DACOWITS, the Defense Advisory Commission on Women in the Services, chartered in 1951. In 1992, George Bush appointed her to the Presidential Commission on Women in the Armed Forces, in which capacity she visited 12 bases, various ships and submarines, landed on carriers, and even flew in an F-15.

A frequent television guest on defense issues, Donnelly does not oppose women serving in the military. For her, the issue is not whether Lohrenz (and

Hultgreen before her) is an impressive woman, but safety and integrity in the military. "The degradation of standards goes beyond the issue of women," she says, noting that some 84 percent of commercial pilots come from a military background. "Lives are at risk and double standards elevate risk."

One of the reasons that Donnelly has been targeted by Carey Lohrenz in her suit is that Pat Schroeder and her allies—godmothers to Lohrenz and Hultgreen—have never forgiven Donnelly for opposing the Schroeder bill to allow women in combat. This animus stretches to the group with the ungainly name, Women Active in our Nation's Defense, their Advocates and Supporters.

WANDAS-founder Susan Barnes, Lohrenz's Denver-based lead attorney, is a former judge and a close friend of Pat Schroeder, who, according to WANDAS attorney Allison Ruttenberg provides the group with "a lot of formal support." The well-funded WANDAS lobbies DACOWITS and pushes for protections for those who blow the whistle on sexual harassment. But those who blow the whistle on double standards that degrade safety and readiness must go elsewhere for help. Indeed, they can expect to be attacked by this advocacy group.

"The purpose of the lawsuit is to intimidate me and take away my right to speak the truth and remove me as a participant in the debate," says Donnelly. "They want to discover and punish my sources. And they want to chill the media, which is the purpose of including the newspapers in the lawsuit."

The suit charges that "By dubbing Lohrenz as Pilot B, Donnelly created a derogatory label that stereotyped Lt. Lohrenz as a bad pilot. As her reputation spread to the fleet, it became almost impossible for her to obtain fair grades on her landings skills from those LSOs who were opposed to the presence of female pilots in combat aviation."

Her accusers say that Donnelly is guilty not just of career damage but a psychological

ult as well. As a result of the CMR action, according to the suit, "Lohrenz began to lose confidence in her ability to perform as an F-14 pilot. Other commanders, fellow officers and pilots who were opposed in principle to the presence of female pilots in tactical aviation saw the allegations of the Donnelly Report as an opportunity to remove Lt. Lohrenz from the F-14 and to preserve the Tomcat community as an all-male fighter pilot community for yet while longer [sic]."

In their inquisition against Donnelly and support of Lohrenz, WANDAS found an eager ally in Gary Matsumoto, a reporter for NBC who alleged that Lohrenz's training records had been "stolen" and actively published to show the truth in the worst possible light. During the preparation of his segment, Matsumoto telephoned Lt. Michael Onorato, a fighter pilot and trainer with thousands of hours in the F-14 and combat experience in the Persian Gulf.

"He was on a witch hunt," according to Onorato, who says Matsumoto claimed to have talked to an admiral who said that there was a difference between a "down" and a "signal of difficulty"—two slightly different types of check sheets. Onorato responded to the *Dateline* reporter that the critiques were basically the same and amounted to unsatisfactory performance. He knew this, he said, because flying F-14s and training combat pilots was his job, and he might know the subject better than a television journalist.

"That's bullshit," huffed Matsumoto. "I do my fucking research. I'm a fucking professional." (Matsumoto, now with News in New York, did not respond to a request for an interview for this story.)

Un-shy naval officials will not comment on the Lohrenz situation, citing an ongoing investigation into Air Wing 11. But on the question of Lohrenz's competence, two F-14 trainers, both combat veterans, agreed to speak on the condition of anonymity to avoid post-Tailhook reprisals. Both reviewed the training records, which they say are entirely authentic. And both reject Lohrenz's claim of being railroaded by leading Signal Officers, pointing out that LSOs handle life and death situations daily and that their own reputations depend on accuracy and honesty.

"Lose sight, lose the fight," runs an axiom of Navy pilots. But in the tactics phase of training, Lohrenz lost sight of the leader "on several occasions" and did not call blind. "If you say that, you say so right away. She didn't," says trainer 1, who is also a safety officer. He notes that during a simulated emergency landing on October 27, 1993, Lohrenz ran 4,000 feet long before her hook missed the arresting gear. In actuality, this would likely have resulted in a crash. On November 15, 1993, she failed to fire the right engine upon entering the refueling area, a lapse that could have resulted in a crash and crewman being sucked into the engine

(She technically qualified on her second attempt.) He personally would not have graduated her to fleet aviator, nor any male pilot who shared her grades at first carrier qualification, described as "well below average" and "unsatisfactory."

Trainer 2 notes that Lohrenz did not know Squadron Operating Procedures (SOP) for standing water takeoffs. She should have. In tactics, her Situation Awareness (SA) was judged "poor." In the "good" column the trainer lists her disengagement and pullout, but in "others," a gentle way of saying "bad," he cites combat spread positioning, visual responsibilities,



Elaine Donnelly

weapons employment and maneuvering. As her own trainer put it, Lohrenz "seemed to have lost her grasp of basic tactical concepts." Trainer 2 called the performance "worthless, to put it mildly," and says he would not have advanced anyone with her overall grades, male or female, to the fleet.

The record indicates that Lohrenz was given extra simulator periods and one-on-one tutoring plus extra training whenever she had problems, considerations not given other pilots. For example, they kept extra planes ready because she blamed problems on the aircraft. Such concessions to a single struggling pilot are practically unknown. One of her failures was counted as "warm-up." Though she had a higher number of practice passes than the other eight pilots in her group, her field grades were only slightly higher than the doomed Kara Hultgreen's.

On her first carrier qualification, the minimum grade was 2:60. Lorenz scored a day grade of 2.465, and her night grade of 1.25, with

Lohrenz is adamant that he not tell her what she was doing wrong, a record indicates otherwise. After the incident was "extensively debriefed" and after the shut-down incident, the recommendation was "let's talk."

WANDAS contends that they don't tell the whole story, but that is the edge of the sword. In the world of naval aviation, word gets around fast, from the inside. Experienced, top-notch pilots capable of a five-foot variation in a landing flare path. They can see and hear what the pilot is not. For example, at times the pilot can't hear the F-14's engine. That is why they are graded after a landing, pilots can't hear the engine lumps and defer to the LSO. But according to aviators who flew with Lohrenz, she would argue, saying things like, "that's what I saw." If a male did that, says trainer 1, he would be taken to task. In the post-Tailhook Navy, female pilots are slack. "Senior officers are scared," writes Navy Reserve Lt. Col. Hamblet about double standards in discipline. "They do not want to take disciplinary action against women who deserve it, because they will be accused of sexual harassment with a sexual harassment suit and their careers ruined. These mistakes of the Navy's top decision makers, thanks to them, women who are being advanced."

According to her, Lohrenz was reluctant to "pull the pole" and made wide turns (slowing to about 3 Gs while the F-14 is at 6 Gs) that would have got her shot down in combat engagement. Some aviators reportedly prepared to tell the truth that when her time came to the mission that they would refuse to fly with her for safety reasons. The refusal of others to go to war with Lohrenz have played a role in removing her flight status, a decision since upheld by an admiral.

But though grounded, Lohrenz is good, some contend that Lohrenz gets preferential treatment. In the naval officers, for instance, she is on national television and call the officer a liar. Since the July 1993, several aviators have noted that the violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, whether or not the accuser is on duty, is not accused present. The aviators hold that any male who did likewise would be swiftly prosecuted. No such action taken against Lohrenz.

For now, Carey Lohrenz's suit against Donnelly is in a holding pattern, pending a jurisdictional ruling from a Washington court. Her legal bills mounting, she laments that the suit has had a chilling effect on the press, which shies away from the story. And while attracted to military harassment stories like filings to a federal judge by writers proved willing to expose Hultgreen and Lohrenz, and to harass female recruits in Maryland, Lohrenz is not of some male comrades of misguided policies forced through the military by militant social engineers like Pat Schroeder.

Left-Wing Intellectual & Left-Wing Labor Stage A Get-Together Solidarity for a Little While

By Max Green

When I arrived a few minutes before the first session of the "Teach-In with the Labor Movement" held at Columbia University early in October, the anticipation was as thick as cigarette smoke. Hundreds were lined up to get into Low Library's already-filled atrium. The overflow had to listen to the proceedings over a public address system that was set up on the steps of the library or in other campus buildings where there was an audio feed. "This is the '30s and the '60s all over again," a serious-looking young man said, as he passed me in the hall.

Indeed, this past history and the hope that it would be repeated, neither as tragedy nor farce, was part of the event. Historian Eric Foner made mention in his introductory remarks of the New Left occupation of Low Library during the student disturbances of 1968. But this teach-in was not an exercise in nostalgia. It was to be a new beginning in which intellectuals (most of them socialists of one variety or another, with members of the Democratic Socialists of America heavily represented) re-established their broken ties with the labor movement, touching off a new populism whose electoral dimension would be expressed in both the AFL-CIO's ferocious \$35 million television advertising campaign just then targeting Republican Congressmen, and in the aggressive stance of the union movement's new chief, John Sweeney.

Names to conjure with in the ever-narrowing precincts of the left wandered through the teach-in with varying degrees of optimism on their faces—Todd Gitlin, Michael Kazin, Derek Bell, Norman Birnbaum, Stanley Aronowitz. The language speakers like Cornell West and Francis Fox Piven used, of course, was deliberately circumspect, not mentioning Marx or the "s" word. Even speakers who had previously been identified to me as Communists or nearly so, eschewed the sectarian language of the Left. On the contrary, they argued that the central political and economic conflict in America today was not between the Right and the Left, but rather between the top and the bottom. As far as I could tell, every speaker agreed that there was a growing inequality of income, with a few benefiting outrageously at the expense of the many whose real incomes were plummeting. So, for example, one of the most moderate of the intellectuals, Richard Rorty, a philosopher at the University of Virginia, asserted that the standard of living of fully 80 percent of Americans was in decline, which he attributed to the rich "ripping off the rest of the country." In most speeches, the "rich" were more the beneficiaries than the cause of the new political and economic equation. The real cause was greedy corporate America which had reasserted its own narrow priorities in the post-Great Society era.

In between the appearances of intellectual-labor speakers trooped to the speaker's podium I made it clear that they agreed with this analysis of the American condition. In his speech at the conference (as in his recent book, *America Needs a New Deal*), John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO, trusted a halcyon post-World War II era, during which there was a social pact between business and labor that made it possible for a "rising tide to lift all boats," with the last several decades during which, he alleged, American corporations broke that pact with labor and declared "war" on American workers. Their weapons were and are downsizing, outsourcing of union jobs, just about anything that weakened unions and harmed workers. As a result, Sweeney argued, workers are suffering as they haven't since the Great Depression.

His portraits of the lives of working Americans today are what he calls "snapshots from hell."

Sweeney, and the troupe of left-wing intellectuals who mirrored his analysis, implied that the labor movement had lost its way under



AFL-CIO president John Sweeney

the previous leadership of Lane Kirkland, and that it had somehow drifted rightward, requiring this dramatic mid-course steering correction. Yet this was a rhetorical shell game. In fact, although few political analysts might have been paying attention, the AFL-CIO had drifted far to the left on a whole raft of economic, social, and political issues during the Kirkland years. And although fancied up with new rhetoric, Sweeney's analysis of the American condition is the same as that given by Kirkland at the end of his reign, when he was issuing anti-corporate, anti-capitalist diatribes that in some cases trumped Sweeney's.

Why then didn't the attempted rapprochement with the intellectuals take place during Kirkland's reign? It was a question that came up frequently at the conference. The answer offered most often was that there had been an intellectuals-labor alliance from the 1930s through the 1960s, when it collapsed, in part, because the labor movement dragged its heels on civil rights, but, more important, because the AFL-CIO had supported Cold War policies, particularly the Vietnam War, which progressive intellectuals had opposed.

Not that all the intellectuals drawn into this new venture are or were anti-anti-Communists. *New Yorker*-writer Paul Berman actually praised the historical role of labor in the struggle against dictatorships of both the right and the left. Berman argued that while labor support of the Vietnam War was disastrous, its anti-Communism was just as correct as was its opposition to fascism. Not only did Berman say this at a well-attended session on "Labor and the Intellectuals," but to my surprise, no one took specific exception to his claim; there was not even an isolated hiss or boo.

Yet it was also true that while Berman was given a safe-conduct pass by the audience, he was clearly in the minority. The co-chairs of the conference, Nelson Lichtenstein and Steven Fraser, have portrayed anti-Communism as reactionary in their books. In his biography of labor leader Sidney Hillman, for instance, Fraser writes that "By 1940 anti-Communism was bidding fair to become the new civil religion of American politics, a black box of all the fears and resentments about what the

New Deal had done and might still do to a mythologized American republic; an obsession that despite the putative object of its wrath, had precious little to do with the Soviet Union." The views of anti-Communist stalwarts in the AFL-CIO, like ILGWU president David Dubinsky, are described as "obsessive." Fraser calls the effects of anti-Communism a "toxic red discharge" and "a festering sore." At the end of his book he concludes that one of the prime victims of this anti-Communism was the labor movement itself: "The 'labor question,' which had spoiled the equanimity of the American political and social order since at least the Civil War, had at last found its answer in the insatiable cravings of mass culture and consumption and the phobic repressions of anti-communism."

Similarly, in his biography of Walter Reuther, Nelson Lichtenstein refers to the AFL's anti-Communist views (which would soon be those of the merged AFL-CIO) as an "obsessive vision of the USSR" and asserts that Reuther's ambition to build a stronger more progressive labor movement was stymied "by the poisoned legacy of Reuther's own 'obsessive anti-Communism' which undermined 'his claim to the vanguard role he had staked out for his union in American politics.' Later, Lichtenstein argues that the "bipolar orthodoxies" of the Cold War had "suffocated social reform" and that in supporting LBJ in Vietnam, Reuther had "squandered a real chance to link at least one important institution of the working class to the thousands of men and women energized by the movement against the war."

Although Fraser and Lichtenstein themselves were silent on these issues at the conference, their opinions were part of the backdrop for the event. University of Wisconsin economist Joel Rodgers undoubtedly spoke for them and for a majority of the organizers and speakers when he accused the AFL-CIO of having committed "heinous crimes" in international affairs.

Although the Cold War ended while Lane Kirkland and his team were still in office, the legacy of their anti-Communism counted against them among the left intellectuals who showed up at Columbia. For a labor-left intellectual alliance to be activated, this tainted old guard had to be replaced by new leadership that was free of the "anti-Communist taint." Sweeney's group clearly passes muster in this regard. Most of the leaders of the unions that elected Sweeney actually opposed key U.S. policies during the endgame of the Cold War. Sweeney himself was a member of the National Labor Committee, which was organized in the 1980s to oppose the AFL-CIO's official, anti-Communist labor policy in Latin America, and of a group of labor leaders that called for defense cuts years before the Berlin Wall went down.

There was gestural leftism in this vein all during the teach-in. Ron Blackwell, named by Sweeney to head the new Department of Corporate Affairs, revealed that he had spent time in prison during the Vietnam War, presumably for draft resistance, and Bob Welch, a top assistant to Sweeney, told a workshop audience that he, too, had opposed the war and had for that reason participated in a "Dump the Hump" movement in 1968 to deny Hubert Humphrey the presidency. Among the intellectuals, Joel Rodgers vouched for the new staff, especially Barbara Shailor, new director of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, whose anti-war credentials, according to Rodgers, were impeccable.

While the anti-Communism of American labor goes some way towards explaining the split between left intellectuals and the AFL-CIO during the post-war era, it is not by any means the

whole story. What no one at the conference admitted was that starting in the 1960s, the Left developed a growing contempt, not just for labor leaders, but also for American workers, particularly those who belonged to unions and suffered from the fatal ideological disease of false consciousness.

One of the dirty little secrets never exposed at this lovefest was that it was the left intellectuals, not labor itself, that had changed. In the '30s, the Left supported labor because it believed that workers were exploited proletariat who might serve as the agents of radical change. But starting in the 1950s, left intellectuals began identifying workers in the most heavily unionized industries as part and parcel of the American establishment, which in a significant sense they were. Walter Reuther had boasted that labor was creating a new and vast middle class. And the more that the workers benefited from the system, the less interested they were in radically changing it and, indeed, the more committed they were to protecting it from the schemes of its alienated critics and enemies.

So those who wanted radical change were forced to search elsewhere for a substitute proletariat. During the last 30 years, the intellectuals of the Left, many of them in attendance at this teach-in, had auditioned a variety of groups for this role. First it was blacks, then students, then women, and more recently homosexuals. But an underlying assumption of this event—although no one would have admitted it for fear of offending the etiquette of political correctness—was that “identity politics” hadn’t worked. As conference speakers understood, even if they didn’t admit it, the country is now more conservative than it has been at any time since before the Depression. So now, the left intellectuals, battered by self-inflicted wounds in the long and strange journey leading from the '60s, have come full circle back to what used to be known as class politics.

No one less than Betty Friedan, godmother as it were of the modern feminist movement, argued that it was time to transcend (but not to retreat from) “identity politics” with a politics that emphasized the “common good.” In a not particularly coherent set of remarks, Friedan went on to castigate corporations for downsizing, which, she claimed, had led to a 20 percent decline in the wages of college-educated white males. She said that the closing of the wage gap between men and women, therefore, could be attributed to falling wages for males, not rising wages for females. After going through all this, Ms. Friedan called for a 30-hour work week.

Their circumspect and non-sectarian language notwithstanding, the objective of these intellectuals remains a radical transformation of what to them is a fundamentally sick society. One of the audience-pleasing events at the teach-in was the speech of DSA leader and Harvard professor Cornel West who fulminated black preacher-style against the “unregulated capitalism” that “is killing us,” and the “still alive and well white supremacy” that is “suffocating us.” Joel Rodgers echoed these sentiments by asserting that business “owns the political system.” Columbia University professor Manning Marable held that the United States cannot claim to be a democracy so long as “1 percent hold more wealth than 95 percent.” Another DSAer, City University professor Francis Fox Piven, alleged that there is a “conspiracy” on the part of the power structure to push welfare reform, reduced unemployment benefits, social security reform and the like for the purpose of forcing more people into the labor market, which would increase the supply of labor and, thereby, force wages down. Co-chair Steven Fraser denounced a “culture of meanness and greed.”

What was proposed as new at this conference was actually a repackaging of what was old and borrowed and blue. At times, the event was trapped in time warp, as when Katha Pollitt of *The Nation* (which was overrepresented here) argued in the fashion of the late Herbert Marcuse

that, appearances to the contrary, big business controls the culture as well as the state. So, for example, a publisher like Random House will print “occasional left-wing voices” because to do so “lends credibility to the hegemonic, conservative nature of corporate publishing.”

The new labor leadership is, at least, willing to talk this talk. In his book *America Needs a Raise*, John Sweeney sees the malaise afflicting the country as extending beyond economics. At the heart of the matter is the fact that workers now are “without a voice in their lives and their livelihoods,” on the job or in the political arena.



Betty Friedan

In his speech at the teach-in, Sweeney alleged that the “future of the country is bought and sold by day in the corridors of Congress”—bought by corporate lobbyists, sold by the Republican Gingrichites, whom he described as a “gang of thugs.”

This sort of talk was music to the radical intellectuals’ ears. Nonetheless, one sensed a certain skepticism, particularly on the part of the ultras like Katha Pollitt and Francis Fox Piven as to whether labor really intends to “transcend” its own narrow self-interest. For them, a raise is not going to cure the disorders of the American system which, in their view, are terminal. They suspect that if Sweeney got his raise, he would likely ditch the intellectuals and their schemes for social revolution, as Walter Reuther did.

There is some reason for their caution. To Sweeney, the 1950s was a great decade in American life; a time when labor not only had a seat at the table but was at the head of the table. But for the likes of historians Lichtenstein and Fraser, the '50s was the nadir of recent history. These contractions were papered over by the frenzy of mutual need that underlay the Columbia teach-in. But the fact that Sweeney seems to want nothing more than to take up where the Great Society left off suggests that, in the unlikely event that it ever obtained power, this re-alliance between labor and the Left would immediately head toward a crack-up.

Clearly, labor very much wants the support of left intellectuals. It wants them to serve as organizers as they did in the 1930s by turning out propaganda for the labor agenda. That is why all three AFL-CIO officers and most of the top staffers spoke at the conference. But the problem at hand goes beyond earning the support of a small and irrelevant group like Democratic Socialists of America. The major task facing organized labor is not getting a love letter in outdated Marcusean prose from Katha Pollitt, but proving that it is not obsolete. In the 1950s, that decade much abhorred by left-wing intellectuals, 35 percent of private sector workers were unionized.

Now, slightly over 10 percent are. If it weren’t for the rise of the public sector unions over the past several decades, the trade union movement would have gone the way of the Wobblies years ago.

Sweeney and the other new leaders admit the decline and acknowledge that it is going to be very difficult to reverse it. As Bob Welch pointed out, labor would have to organize a net increase of 300,000 workers each year just to maintain its current standing in the labor force. And to get back up to 35 percent of its halcyon days, it would have to organize one million new workers per year for the next 20 years. In the year since the Sweeney team’s election, a year of talk and strange events like this teach-in, the numbers have probably gone down rather than up. The truth which no one at this event grappled with in the homogenized enthusiasm for a new beginning is that labor just doesn’t have as much to offer to workers as it used to.

If the fact wasn’t really admitted, explanations were offered at the conference. Columbia Law School professor Patricia Williams referred darkly to the “worldwide corporate structure that transcends national boundaries.” Katha Pollitt talked similarly about an attack against social safety nets that crisscrossed the globe from the United States to Costa Rica, from Germany to Australia. Most speakers at the teach-in, however, were at pains to argue that too much had been made of “globalization.” They emphasized that most jobs could not be moved, no matter how high unions raised salaries. But the fact is that international competition has had a profound effect on the strongest of the industrial unions, which is why the AFL-CIO flip-flopped on the free-trade issue. Moreover, international competition is not anywhere near so important as domestic competition.

Consider, for example, the fate of International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Long before clothing factories began to relocate overseas, the union’s negotiating strength dwindled as factories moved out of the heavily unionized urban areas like New York and Chicago. As a consequence, the ILGWU shrunk. For the same reason did the other needle trade unions, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers. All three are now merged into a new union (UNITE) that has fewer members than the ILGWU alone had in its heyday. As it happened, there were quite a few young and attractive UNITE organizers at the conference. But, the likelihood is that once it becomes clear that UNITE can not fare better than its predecessor unions, they will be off to better things.

That could be sooner rather than later, if the results of the 1996 election are any indication. Many of the intellectuals at the teach-in were ambivalent about labor’s strong support of President Clinton, although they were intrigued by the fortune spent by the AFL-CIO—in cold, hard cash and staff time—to help “reclaim” the Congress which the Republicans had “seized” in 1994. It was bad enough that the Republicans retained their control of the House and Senate, but what it signified was worse yet for labor and the economic radicals attempting to enter an alliance with them: the status quo was endorsed in 1996 because the electorate feels that the economy is healthy and that the last thing that is needed is a return to left-liberal government policies. Hungry unions do not fare well in such an environment, nor do radical intellectual movements.

At the Columbia teach-in, many organizers and speakers exulted that they had “turned a corner” and were about to “change the course of American history.” But rather than doubling their power, the unions and the left intellectuals may simply have increased awareness of their marginality.

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It's A War, Stupid!, continued from page 1

The Left's hardy survivorship comes almost wholly from its recognition that, in an ideological age, politics is war conducted by other means. The Left understands this in the marrow of its bones but the Right understands it only with the tip of its brain. The Right mobilizes like an army only during elections, and not a particularly good army at that (unless shooting oneself in the foot ranks as a warlike act). Otherwise its troops are like the sunshine soldiers of a bygone day—doing their couple of weeks annually with the National Guard every summer and otherwise enjoying the ease and freedom of civilian life.

Indeed, despite lip service to the idea of a cultural conflict, most conservatives do not believe that we live any longer in an "ideological age." ("Would that it were," the editor of one conservative magazine commented upon reading a draft of this article. "By now, aren't we post-post ideological?" To which we replied, "Would that it were.") Conservatives have so unconsciously absorbed the polyannaisms of Fukuyama's "end of history" that they fail to see that history is happening right at home in the paradox of their own movement, unrequited and out of power after the victory has been won.

Part of the reason for this failure of vision is that the Right is taken in by the Left's most subversive stratagem (which can be seen in Clinton's '96 campaign)—which is to join the ranks of the hated opponent, to pose as the Other and cover your tracks by calling yourself "liberal." The Right doesn't seem to believe that its opponent is the Left in all its antagonistic and alien malice, shape-shifting like a creature from an episode of *X-Files*. Instead, conservatives think of America's cornucopia of present ills as the result of a liberalism gone overboard, not a liberalism subverted.

This is the argument, in fact, of Robert Bork's new (and otherwise indispensable) book, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*, which explores the unnerving dimensions of the national plight. "The enemy within," writes Bork, "is modern liberalism, a corrosive agent carrying a very different mood and agenda than that of classical or traditional liberalism." He sees the country's mood as one in which there are no restraints on individualism and self-interest; the agenda is that of equality without limit.

But is this really all that is going on? The transformational crucible of liberalism, Bork rightly observes, was the '60s, "a politicized decade... whose activists saw all of culture and life as political. The consequence is that our culture is now politicized.... We have a new extremely divisive politics of personal identity. We have invented a range of new or newly savage political-cultural battlegrounds." But this mentality has a name: it is left, not liberal.

Liberalism has a long and honorable pedigree, but since the 1960s it has just not been able to say no to the Left. Today liberalism often finds itself stuck in the political equivalent of a fugal state, supporting anti-American and anti-democratic ideas such as racial and gender preferences and the feminist assault on the family with which it is—or should in theory be—wholly at odds.

Unlike traditional liberals, even those who have sometimes embraced its excesses, the Left is permanently at war with America—day in and day out, year in and year out, on every front and every issue, no matter how moderately it disguises its aims, nor how modestly it announces its objectives. The Left's agenda is to consolidate its parasitic hold on the liberal host and then to create a world in which conservatives and conserva-

tive values have no place. What it envisions is the political equivalent of an ethnic cleansing.

And so the Right fundamentally misunderstands the situation it faces when it accepts the Left's public self-image as a fragmented, disorganized and ad-hoc remnant. In its private mirror, the Left views itself as an army—one that may temporarily have its back to the wall, but is still the proud bearer of a code that forbids surrender. What the Right regards as a victory in the battle of ideas, the Left sees as yet another contested ground. A small but potent illustration of this mentality was given on the morning after the California election, when conservatives were savoring the victory of their anti-racial preference initiative, Prop. 209. Television cameras turned to feminist Eleanor Smeal, in the "No on 209" head-



Building That Bridge to the 21st Century

quarters did not see a gracious concession, or an acknowledgment that the people had spoken. Instead, they recorded her confident dismissal of the outcome as "only round one" in the larger war, as she and her supporters vowed never to accept the voters' decision.

Judge Bork is right in saying that the radical break in our political tradition that occurred during the '60s is at the root of our present moral chaos. In opening his book about America's troubles with a memory of student activists burning law books in the Yale law library thirty years ago, he draws the appropriate parallel between the student fascism of the '60s (and '90s) and the radical totalitarians of the 1930s. He could have gone further. He could have drawn the parallels between an earlier socialist defeat in 1914, and the birth of "identity politics" (the cult of the nation) midwifed by one-time Leninist, Benito Mussolini. He could have shown how the radical rebellion against traditional liberal values and "bourgeois society" is a recurrent theme of the modern history of the West, and how these revolts have regularly resulted in episodes of Communist and fascist tyranny. But in his attempt to see the destructive developments as an outgrowth of liberal rather than left-wing ideas, Bork fails to grasp the movement he deplors as a logical extension of radical totalitarianism and its destructive agendas into the domestic arena, and portrays it rather as the development of philosophical tendencies inherent in the liberal tradition itself, specifically liberty and equality.

There is a way, of course, in which this presentation makes sense. The ideas of Rousseau and Marx which lie at the root of modern totalitarianism share many Enlightenment elements with liberalism. But to make the one a mere extension or exacerbation of the other is to deny the two hundred years of civil and cultural conflict, culminating in the Cold War, that have shaped our world.

The radical passion goes far beyond extremist forms of egalitarianism and individual-

ism. Consider the crusade of the Left and its liberal allies to dismantle the nuclear family. The crusade does not always take the form of a frontal assault, but pursues many avenues—from no-fault divorce to opposition to parental consent for abortion, to same sex marriage, to rainbow curricula in the schools. It is possible to see all this as an outgrowth of radical individualism (as Bork does)—the desire to be free of all restraints. But in fact it has a more powerful impetus—the desire of Leftism to break down all resistance to its totalizing agenda and to deconstruct all social institutions that stand in its way. State power is the messianic force through which the Left intends to implement its social redemption, and the family is the last bulwark against the power of the state. And thus, in the malicious syllogism at the heart of the Left's strategy, the family is the enemy of progress and progressives everywhere.

Moreover, the egalitarian principle in itself would not explain the anti-white racism that pervades the thinking and rhetoric of the Left, the attack on the culture of "dead white males," the preference for particular minorities—Indians, blacks, Hispanics and "Pacific Islanders." These, of course, are the four groups most "alienated," most "dominated," most "oppressed" according to the Left's version of the American narrative. To understand the pecking order of grievance reflected in official affirmative action policies, it is necessary to enter the Left's world-view, and ultimately its vision of history itself.

It was in the aftermath of the '60s, in a desperate effort to find a host that would

support their parasitism, that radicals, having spent the decade tormenting liberalism and provoking it into a deep crisis of faith, appropriated the liberal identity. By succeeding in this audacious political sex-change operation, radicals were able to fool others into thinking they shared the same agenda with the liberalism they had displaced. But radicals do not want an equal opportunity society, the hallmark of traditional liberalism. They want socialism, even if they have to dress it up in the clothing of liberalism to make it palatable. The "liberals" they have become over the last 30 years are not distinguished from conservatives because they choose different means to the same social ends. They aspire to different ends altogether. That is why we live in an ideological age and are engaged in an ideological war.

Conservatives are not unaware that a cultural conflict is under way. Nor do they fail to understand, for the most part, that it is often more subtle than the one envisioned by Pat Buchanan involving pitchfork populists marching on government and taking potshots at the black helicopters overhead. In fact, conservatives talk constantly about the culture wars, often quite knowledgeably. But while they can talk the talk, they don't feel comfortable when it comes to walking the walk.

Even more disastrously, they don't pull the trigger when the enemy is clearly in their sights. Consider the battles over Supreme Court nominees—a series of skirmishes that conservatives have lost so badly that the Court is now poised to drive the first tanks over that bridge to the 21st century as soon as the next justice retires. Some conservatives, Judge Bork most notable among them, are now suggesting a change in the Constitutional system to reduce the power of the Court, so alarming does the future appear.

Judge Bork's own nomination to the Court was a pivotal point in preparing this future. Yet the effort not just to discredit but to destroy Bork achieved critical mass long before conservatives even understood they were in a battle.

Partially because they believed that their opponents' philosophy was somehow related to the liberalism of Harry Truman and Hubert Humphrey, they expected their opponents to observe tradition and respect an obviously qualified nominee.

Conservatives didn't understand they were in a war that for the other side was total, and take-no-prisoners. They still don't understand it. After Bork's nomination was killed, after Clarence Thomas was bloodied and tainted, conservatives turned the other cheek when Clinton nominated an ideological leftist—Ruth Bader Ginsburg—to the bench. Instead of staging an inquiry into Ginsburg's views that would at least dramatize what was happening, even if it didn't prevent her confirmation, Republicans on the judiciary committee fell over themselves in the attempt to be gracious by "taking politics out of the process." Of course, all they were doing was taking politics out of the process until the next conservative is nominated, whereupon the Left will once again unleash the dogs of war.

The recent response of some Republicans to the Democrats' blitzkrieg against the Speaker of the House, shows the persistence of the myopia. "Newt is the nerve center and the energy source," one Democratic strategist wrote. "Going after him is like taking out command and control." Yet despite the military metaphor that makes the war mentality clear there has been no counter-assault on Gingrich's antagonist and opposite number, David Bonior, from the conservative quarter. Yet Bonior's politics, although tarted up as Gucci Marxism, are nothing if not classically Left. Throughout the '80s, he consistently opposed America's attempts to put the Soviet empire out of business, and supported the Marxist dictatorship in Nicaragua and the Communist guerrilla front in El Salvador, pawns of Castro's empire in the hemisphere. The question, however, is not so much why Bonior embraced these comrades then and continues to push his "populist" version of class warfare now, but why Republicans have allowed his leftism to be no-fault and why they allow him to bash Gingrich with spurious ethics charges without launching a counter-offensive.

Although experience should have caused conservatives to realize the nature of the conflict in which they are engaged, the flaws in the conservative posture—an air of superiority that leaves them speechless when their opponents point it out, a psychological remoteness that leads at times to blunted intellectual affect and the appearance of chilly indifference to the fate of the Other—make them reluctant to get into the trenches with the Left, or to use the same weapons in contesting for ground on which the Left has no hesitancy to plant its red and black flag. While the Right dithers over a military code of conduct, however, the Left prosecutes its war with a fierce evangelical commitment captured so well by the old Guevarist sign-off—*Hasta la victoria siempre*, until the ultimate victory.

Every day, the Left's warriors go into battle in a war that for them is not about this particular bill or that particular issue, but about the total transformation of existing social institutions, values, psychologies; about transforming "human nature," which the post-modern Left believes is waiting to be "socially reconstructed" for the greater social good.

For the Left, it is permissible—even inevitable—to lose all battles except the last one. For the Right, war interferes with commerce.

As the Cold War unraveled, the Left, sensing subliminally what conservatives dared not hope—that it was going to lose everything, internationally and domestically—retreated into the guerrilla mode of the long march: dig holes deep and store much grain. It began to prepare for battle on the last ground it occupied: the elite cultural institutions involved with the production of knowledge and the manufacture of images. The campaign was one for which the Left was ideally suited by its basic character—hostile and aggressive in language and psychology, sinuously evanescent when it came to principle; always on a war-footing because that is its species-essence.

Whittaker Chambers long ago warned that the source of the Left's strength was not the appeal of its theory, but the power of its faith. It is believing in something worth dying for that makes leftists a formidable foe. Reason and experience are neutralized by the Left's preening assurance of its own rectitude and of being on the side of the angels. It never explains how its efforts to create economic "justice" and plan social abundance have blighted the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings and caused mass murder on an epic scale. The radical faith has outlived "the end of history" and the fall of the Berlin Wall. The ideas that inspired its odious schemes continue to thrive because there is only one law that the Left obeys, a law on which its survival is based: don't look back. Reactionary in ideology, immune to evidence, impervious to logic, the Left still sees itself as forward-looking and humane and its opponents as regressive and "mean spirited."

The remarkable aspect of all this is that it has succeeded in getting American culture as a whole to tolerate this view of itself as idealistic and "progressive," and to forget about its past. The ultimate proof of the Left's success in dominating the culture and hiding its memories can be seen in the fact that for all intents and purposes there is no "Left" in American politics. On that side of the spectrum, there is only a group of well intentioned people working hard to neutralize the selfishness and greed of the unenlightened Right.

The Left has colonized and conditioned the media to such a degree that when describing Republican politicians, conservative academics, Christian evangelicals, libertarian publications, redneck militias, or crackpot racists, the label "right-wing" is used ritualistically to describe them all. But of course no Democratic politician, radical agitator, "progressive" publication, or environmental terrorist is ever labeled "left-wing." To the copy editors of the *New York Times*, *The Nation* magazine with its 70-year history of supporting Communist causes is "liberal." *The Los Angeles Times* refers to the kooky New Left extremist Noam Chomsky, someone so committed to the Palestinians' cause that he romances holocaust revisionism, as a "Jewish liberal." Even national poll categories lack a true ideological ambidexterity, ranging only from "liberal" to "moderate" to "Right" and then "far Right," ignoring altogether the left-hand side of the political scale.

Conservatives are well acquainted with this asymmetry. What they don't acknowledge is their own collusion in the charade. When was the last time a Republican leader referred to Chris Dodd, Pat Schroeder, or Ted Kennedy as "left-wing"? Conservatives allow the Left to rail about right-wing Christians, but they never challenge the left-wing Christians—if Christians they are—who operate like moles in a vintage LeCarre novel inside the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. If Newt Gingrich is not going to call David Bonior a leftist, who is?

In the first theater of combat—the war over definitions and language—the Left's armies of the night have rolled over conservatives. In the national press (and the national imagination as well) there is presumed to be a common thread of paranoia and malice connecting the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke and Timothy McVeigh to Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole. But the media chooses not to see signs of the snail trail that could be said—with equal plausibility—to link the Unabomber, Louis Farrakhan and Fidel Castro to David Bonior. Because the Right is so ready to concede the field of language to its political enemies, right-wingers like Jesse Helms are often "fascists" but left-wingers like Bonior are never "communists" (small "c" of course).

It is understandable, perhaps, that conservatives are gun-shy about using this term after what happened during Sen. Joseph McCarthy's wild ride in the 1950s. But fascists were also targets of the Un-American Activities Committee, which doesn't inhibit the Left from using that epithet. Half a century has passed and the country no longer lives in such fear of nuclear attack that the

innocent are in danger of being labeled with the guilty. Most importantly, the Venona papers and evidence from internal Soviet sources have shown that reckless as he was in pursuing the red menace, if McCarthy was not completely right about it, he wasn't entirely wrong either.

Calling things by their proper names, after all, was one of the first responsibilities God gave Adam. If conservatives do not begin to exercise their God-given privilege of naming the opposition (and thereby associating it with its real agendas) they will continue to take casualties while the Left continues to command the linguistic—and moral—high ground.

Republicans and conservatives not only seem a little embarrassed about pinning the tail on the donkey; they actually almost seem to enjoy the stigmas that are applied to them by the Left. Thus a cover of *National Review* features Rush Limbaugh dressed up in period costume addressing a 19th Century assembly as "Leader of the Opposition"—making the Left's point for it that conservatives are a hundred years behind the times. Why do Republican attacks misfire in the political arena? Because somewhere in their unconscious, Republicans seem to buy the liberal worldview of themselves. When liberals attack Willie Horton commercials as racist, many Republicans feel the critics may have a point. Jack Kemp never stops apologizing for Republicans' absence during the civil rights revolution of the '60s. In doing so, he forgets that the opponents of civil rights reform were the southern Democrats and that Republicans actually voted in greater majorities for the Civil Rights Acts of '64 and '65 than the opposition party.

On the other hand, when the Left invites David Duke to California and then, in a gesture cognate with the setting of the Reichstag Fire, uses video of his appearance to link him and the Ku Klux Klan to Pete Wilson, Newt Gingrich and other supporters of the California Civil Rights Initiative, Republicans don't get publicly outraged, or point out that this is far worse than reverse Willie Hortonism. It is guilt-by-association-McCarthyism with a vengeance.

Seizing the moral high ground often seems, in fact, to be the last thing conservatives want to do. Recently, for example, Pete Wilson named Janice Brown to California's state Supreme Court. Daughter of an Alabama sharecropper, Brown was the first African-American woman ever appointed to the post. Did Republicans gain any political capital from this choice? If they did, it was minimal because before the choice could be celebrated, liberals attacked the nomination using a state bar commission on judicial nominees they controlled and claiming that Brown (though a highly regarded appellate court judge) was "unqualified." The Democrats' partisan attack—their real objection was that Brown was an outspoken conservative—was the pure distillation of racism. In particular, this was the currently permissible racism of the Left in which progressive whites who kow-tow slavishly to "people of color" in all other things are allowed to blast "right-wing" blacks as political minstrels, affirmative-action charity-cases and inauthentic representatives of their race. Our blacks are real, the Left is allowed to get away with saying, and yours are whites in *black face*.

But while the Left had a field day with Brown, not a single Republican legislator, leader or pundit—not even Wilson himself—responded to attacks by calling the liberals and Democrats who opposed her what they were: racists. Brown survived the attacks but Republicans missed the opportunity to inflict any wounds on the Left. By failing to call things by their right name, they gave liberals the safe conduct pass for libel they have come to rely on in our political culture.

Thanks to the bias liberals have built into the culture, those *bien pensant* people of the Left who assassinated the character of Clarence Thomas and tried to destroy his career are still able to portray themselves as defenders of blacks. But bewildered conservatives who snicker, quite properly, when the idea of midnight basketball is presented as a serious anti-crime measure find

themselves derided as racists. Better yet, conservatives who want to stigmatize illegitimacy in teenage mothers and save future generations from predictably miserable fates are racist and "sexist"!

In fact, the only party that has vocal racists among its elected officials is the Democratic Party, which has a forty-member caucus that recently lined up with the nation's premier race-hater, Louis Farrakhan. (It is a mark of conservatives' inability to understand their enemies—or their own principles—that Jack Kemp recently tried clumsily to line-up too.) At its Chicago convention, the Democratic Party selected its delegates by racial and gender quotas. It was a throwback to the Democratic Party of the segregationist era. But did Bob Dole or any other Republican leader attempt to make a political point out of that?

Beyond Farrakhan, the "liberal" commitment to affirmative action preferences is not only reverse racism but also, in its bureaucratic superstructure, politically-correct Jim Crow. Yet conservatives are timid about making the charge that the Left—were the shoe on the other foot—would level in a heart beat. In the just-concluded election, the California Civil Rights Initiative was subjected to an obscene attack by the Left, which was so bereft of arguing points that it was forced to make David Duke the centerpiece of its campaign. ("Who supports Proposition 209?" asked the voice of Candace Bergen in one anti-209 ad. "Pete Wilson, Newt Gingrich and David Duke.") Did conservatives supporting Proposition 209 at least point out the obvious—that the racist Duke and the racist left-wing students and adult activists and administrators who participated in these smears were birds of a feather who share a commitment to racial apartheid? Hardly. What conservatives did in the face of this odious charade was to bite their tongues and hope that it would soon be over.

Affirmative action is racism. Yet Republicans avoided the word and shrank in embarrassment from the battle, as though it was they who had something to apologize for. Then, to compound their error, in the waning days of the campaign, as the Dole-Kemp effort lurched towards defeat and support for 209 swelled to landslide proportions, Republicans lunged hungrily to embrace the initiative, in an effort to appropriate its constituency. It was one of those maneuvers that gives opportunism a bad name.

Conservatives believe in definitions; the Left believes in epithets. The recently minted "mean-spirited" (which shows every sign of becoming permanent) is a good example of how effective their use of language is when conservatives don't challenge the assumptions which supply its meanings. "Mean-spirited" emanates from that Old Left melodrama perpetrated with such effectiveness by Marxists and other 19th Century romantics in which the only ones opposing their deadly schemes were bosses, slumlords, jailers, Scrooges, plutocrats and flinty administrators of poorhouses and orphanages. These are the resonances "mean-spirited" picks up: the smug bourgeois of "I've got mine, Jack;" the "haves" who live in their gilded cages in gated communities, clipping the coupons produced by the exploited labor of the "have-nots," who toil in the dark Satanic mills and never make ends meet.

Leftist definitions, replicated by the media like a computer virus, also pre-determine the political outcome of the nation's racial debate, or at least load it so heavily as to make the conservative project a Sisphyeian task. "People of color," a term of the Left now enrolled in the general vocabulary, is designed to parallel the Marxist paradigm of "haves" and "have-nots" in the sense that there are the "people of color" and their "white oppressors." Forget for a moment that use of "people of color" conjures eerie memories of when the patronizing term of choice was "colored people." The fact is that the Japanese, the Koreans, the Indonesian friends of Bill Clinton, emigres from the ruling castes of India, etc., hardly fit the radical schema. They are colored but they are neither "have-nots" nor oppressed. "Hispanic" covers high-achieving Cubans and European-stock Argentines, as well as lower-

income Mexicans, and largely Mestizo Bolivians and Guatemalans. By incanting the magic words of the Left, those people who conquered the continent to the south become oppressed and candidates for affirmative action privileges the moment they cross the border, legally or illegally, and join the other "people of color" groaning under the yoke of white oppression and racism.

The radical cartoon is a cartoon, of course. But it has enough resemblance to the big picture to make it work for the Left. "Mean-spirited" and other attack-words are able to stick because there is a tincture of truth in them. There are racists who are conservative, and conservatives often do have dismaying blind spots in their worldview. There is a willingness by more than a few proponents of welfare cuts, for example, to let the underclass stew in its awful juices. Yet if conservatives are guilty of a sin, it is one of omission: ignoring the intractable suffering and daunting structural problems created by thirty years of left-wing welfare. The Left's sin is the far greater one of commission, since it is its own policies which have sentenced the underclass to its present misery. But, with cheeky perversity, the Left successfully projects its guilt onto the mean-spirited Right—first for pointing out the moral chaos caused by the welfare state, and secondly, for failing to produce a "humane" solution.

When the Republican congress failed to stick liberals with the crimes they had committed against the poor (a series of congressional hearings on welfare abuses, failures and frauds would have been useful), Newt Gingrich and his followers walked right into the charge of "mean-spirited." The argument they needed to make and—except sporadically—didn't, is that because welfare has addicted its wards to dependency, destroyed their families and blighted their lives, cutting welfare is not just good economics, it is morally imperative.

Republicans' battle cry should have been: we seek to dismantle the death camps you have constructed in America's inner cities. Gingrich, who understood this and did speak about liberal culture "ruining the poor," should have prefaced his reform proposals with hearings and a press conference in which he surrounded himself with black welfare mothers crying, "You have broken up our families, driven away our husbands and fathers, destroyed our work ethic, failed to protect us against violent criminals and promoted homicidal behavior among our young. You must end a welfare system that is anti-black, anti-poor and anti-human." But instead of attacking from the high ground, conservatives mainly argued that they were not cutting welfare that much, as though welfare were the charitable institution Democrats make it out to be. In doing so, they stepped into the trap sprung for them by the Left, in which the argument revolves around the question of *How much hard-heartedness is enough?* In this contest whoever argues more is thereby damned.

If language is one arena where conservatives have shown the white flag, the war over historical memory is another. In the '70s, Marxist radicals overran America's liberal arts colleges and its professional intellectual associations. The Right didn't think these institutions important because they weren't inside the beltway. But the Left was following the operating manuals of Orwell's totalitarian state: "Whoever controls the past controls the future." As a result of their seizure of the academic establishment, the Left has been able to see to it that the specters of right-wing Scrooges and ruling class agendas, dark paranoid traditions and unleashed nativism are conjured daily in college classrooms, the training centers of the nation's new elites. Subtexts abound; at this point they are on automatic pilot and don't even need a teacher to explicate them.

Every movement of the Left derives its political power from the Myth of Oppression, which is for the devoted leftist what the parable of the Fall is for the conservative. Every leftist operates with an historical schema in mind—a passage from slavery to freedom, with the Left as the "chosen people" leading the way to the promised land. That is why the leftist message is as com-

pelling to others as it is to itself. It places its adherents on the side of the victims (an unassailable position in democratic combats) as well as on the side of progress and thus of History itself.

But while the Left connects conservatives with a pseudo-history of domination and oppression, the Right fails to put forward a counter-history that connects Marxist ideas with the political gulags and economic miseries they created. Conservatives have not even begun to take credit for their successes in the Cold War. There have been few efforts to give Reagan's successful campaign to re-knit the tattered strands of Truman's containment policy its due, which means that those who want to deny it that due have carried the day.

In the writing of history, as well as in the running of states, the Left has been allowed to get away with intellectual murder. While the USSR was expiring, Princeton historian Stephen Cohen, who is still trotted out as a Soviet expert by CBS, was looking to Gorbachev to rescue the socialist regime and hoping he could reach back to a figure like Bukharin to give it that old time moral authority Stalin had squandered! Our university faculties are filled with leftists like Cohen—and far worse. Bard College has an Alger Hiss Professorship—appropriately occupied by a small "c" communist who teaches that America is racist and that anti-Communism is a psychological disorder. The cognitive dissonance is deafening. Why not a chair named after Benedict Arnold?

An association of academic Marxists—Marxists!—claims 16,000 members. When Columbia University's history department celebrates two unrepentant Communist hacks, Angela Davis and Herbert Aptheker, the *New York Times* refers to the professors who masterminded the political event not as the ideological leftists they are but as "distinguished historians." And the only professor in America whose course is being investigated by a committee on ethics for being political is Newt Gingrich.

The irony is that while the Left lost the Cold War, it is winning the war of damage-control that allows it to explain away its defeat. Thus, the general acceptance of the left-wing cliché (which has become a cliché of the intellectual culture generally)—"We" didn't win the Cold War; "they" lost it, an outcome that would have occurred much more rapidly if "we" hadn't pursued a costly and dangerous foreign policy of opposing the Communist bloc. In this standard left view the whole conflict stemmed from a Cold War hysteria, an unnecessary overreaction on the part of intolerant, McCarthyite, xenophobic America—exactly what the holder of the Alger Hiss Professorship teaches.

The same sort of thinking infects views of the domestic side of the Cold War: the revelation that there were spies and traitors among us. The reaction to recent revelations about domestic Communist espionage on the part of conservatives has been a relatively complacent, "We told you so." There has been no call for a war crimes tribunal; no demand for the rehabilitation of Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, Elia Kazan and all the other "contemptible snitches" who preferred truth to treason and who have been vindicated as American heroes by the revelations coming from Venona and the archives in Moscow. Because conservatives have not hammered home the truth that domestic Communism was sometimes treason of the deed and invariably treason of the heart, left-wing academic historians continue to construct the Big Lie that the American Communist Party was comprised of small "c" communists who were uninterested in international Soviet politics and concerned only in "social justice" here at home. In colluding, if only by silence, in the obliteration of the fact that the Communist Party was a foreign-directed and funded conspiracy to destroy America, conservatives allow their enemies to escape their own taint and to construct a myth in which "McCarthyism" was a greater threat to the nation than the anti-American Left.

What makes this important is that while the Communist Party is now gone, a desiccated page in the scrapbook kept by the likes of Angela

Davis and Herbert Aptheker, the old time cry for "social justice," meaning a Marxist redistribution of individual income, is louder than ever. Consider an echo which sounded recently in *The New York Review of Books*. In the course of reviewing the Republican and Democratic conventions, the left-wing critic Garry Wills (notice how resonant the adjective can be) dropped the following remark: "By the standards of any other society, or of reason itself, the great and growing disparity of wealth in America is a form of successful class warfare waged against the poor and the moderately well-off."

Ignore the empirical falseness of Wills' claim about the disparity of wealth and focus instead on the means by which its transfer is alleged to have been accomplished—a "successful class warfare." What possible meaning can these words have? Who has waged this war against the poor? What agency has singled out these particular individuals to hobble them in the scramble for economic rewards? What are we to make of the liberal majorities that have dominated American governments since the inception of the New Deal, instituting progressive income taxes and welfare measures that have redistributed trillions of dollars in transfer payments from the wealthy to the poor? If the wealthy are able to create the poor, in the first place, by ruthless "class warfare," why are they not able to control the state and block its redistributionist agendas?

Wills' statement is just the incendiary blather of the Left. Yet in our elite culture it passes the test of high intellectual content, and echoes the sentiments of the Democratic leadership of the House. There is a continuum that links his allegations of "class warfare" to Pat Schroder's statement

that the Contract With America amounted to a "war on women" and Mario Cuomo's Democratic convention charge that "Republicans are the enemies of women, children and the poor."

In the current cultural climate, the Left can make such charges about the Right and be portrayed as conducting a spirited debate. But when Pat Buchanan engaged in the same rhetoric from the other side of the spectrum, the liberal press easily marginalized him as a demi-fascist.

The vast territories ceded by the Right in the culture have become the Golan Heights from which the Left trains its rockets on Middle America. Not only the universities but the popular culture as well has become occupied territory, but conservatives don't have a coherent response to the terrorism that follows.

Consider the flips and flops of Republican spokesmen in addressing the issue of Hollywood, the media capital not only of America, but of the entire world. For decades, the Right saw Hollywood as vulgar and irrelevant. Then, when its importance in the struggle could no longer be denied, it decided that the entertainment industry was an implacable enemy. Bob Dole is symptomatic in his admission that he doesn't watch the movies he holds responsible for our moral decline. Even worse, when he decides to deride, out of a large number of stronger candidates, a feature starring the wife of one of the only two superstars in Hollywood who are out-of-the-closet Republicans, he shoots himself in the foot and kills an ally with friendly fire. All this to make a rhetorical point that was quickly forgotten and never particularly serious in the first place.

So ready are conservatives to be the losers in the culture wars that it seems inconceivable to them that Hollywood might actually be a *tabula rasa* on which they could inscribe their own messages. Or that there might be some conservatives already there. For all its gestural liberalism, Hollywood is not Harvard. It is a big American

business with no artificial barriers to entry by conservatives or anyone else. To attack Hollywood is, in effect, to think of oneself as an outsider in the most quintessentially American of geographies and to give up territory that once belonged to conservatives and ought to be reclaimed.

It is perhaps part of the conservative worldview to feel that the time is out of joint and the glass half empty. Conservatives want to believe that it's morning in America, but many feel in their hearts that because of the damage Leftism has done to the social fabric over the last thirty years we are really entering the long twilight struggle and perhaps things are beyond repair. As conservatives talk of family values, for instance, they worry that even functioning families seem, on the



whole, to have become too dependent on forced feedings from the therapeutic state and lost forever their autonomy and sense of purpose. Even as conservatives try to re-instill values, they fear that in the post-modern world, a world invented by the Left, individuals have lost the instinct for a moral compass as well as the device itself, and will continue to walk through their lives like survivors of airplane disasters.

There is violence and incivility, and there are strange gender arrangements, and discordant messages from the popular culture. And it all seems inexorable, beyond comprehension, let alone change: what history feels like after history has ended. Worse yet, the Left thrives in this menacing, post-modernist, *Blade Runner* environment.

Being "progressive," the Left naturally sees progress in what conservatives know in their bones to be disintegration. To leftists, any "progressive" change, such as that which enfranchises and entitles its designated victim groups is good—less because of the benefits that may or may not accrue to its clients (whose rising expectations the Left actually hopes will be unsatisfied and therefore turn bitter and revolutionary) than because of the way such changes perturb and (even better) deconstruct the status quo.

The Right reacts in a piecemeal, harumphing sort of way to modern occasions, or with a libertarian obtuseness, or with a shrill millenarianism that has the appearance of maneuvering desperately to close the barn door after the horses are out. What is needed, instead, is a counter-attack that exposes the Left's support for changes in gender, family and behavior as not just misguided but as an invisible Trojan Horse which the radicals are trying to maneuver into the heart of that sanctuary of certainty and rationality in which society has traditionally lived. Not an intolerant assault on individuals and individual differences, but a firm insistence that these differences should not drive social policy and that certain norms should be maintained because they confer survivorship on society as a whole.

Conservatives, by their nature, like to be intrinsic. They like to have conventional lives of quiet achievement and hook themselves into the organic rhythms that are so much a part of their view of what life—a life of human limitations—is all about. In order to fight the Left successfully, conservatives must acknowledge that their traditional attitude is a form of complacency that can be self-destructive. Recognizing that politics is a moral equivalent of war does not mean that rules of combat, don't apply, or that there cannot be tactical detentes, or shifting coalitions, or that engagement invariably requires maximum levels of fire power. But it does mean understanding the high stakes in the present culture conflict, and being ready to act on that understanding.

But it is not easy to feel confident that such preparedness will occur. Of all the portents suggesting that the Right just doesn't get it, consider a recent event at the Reagan Presidential Library. As the fall campaign was just starting to heat up, the Library announced that it would hold a day-long "fun-in" at the Library to celebrate the opening of a new exhibit titled "Back to the '60s." (And yes, the zero in the decade was defaced into a peace symbol).

The '60s, of course, was the moment it all came together and came apart for America, a decade whose long half-life continues to plague us today. No one recognized this better than Ronald Reagan himself, who first ran for governor of California by running against "Berkeley"—that symbol of the revolutionary decadence that had seized the day.

But that was then and this is now. Events at the Reagan Library during this "fun-in" dealt with the '60s as if it were just more American graffiti, betraying an amnesia about Reagan's positions and statements during the decade that made it seem that the former President's Alzheimer's had spread to the curators as well.

Jon Wiener, an unreconstructed '60s radical who covered the fun-in for a Los Angeles paper couldn't believe his eyes. Recalling Reagan's famous 1964 speech nominating Barry Goldwater and warning of the tide of socialism that was steadily engulfing America, Wiener wrote: "Any serious exhibit about Reagan and the '60s, would put 'the speech' at its center, on a big screen in a darkened corner. Instead, Reagan's speech runs on a TV (the volume turned so low that no one was paying attention) in a room where visitors are greeted by a gigantic 'Love' poster. . . . The room is dominated by a VW Beetle painted pink and decorated with yellow flowers and butterflies, surrounded by life-size white-plaster figures wearing hippie garb, posed working on signs for a demonstration. The signs read 'Vets for Peace in Vietnam,' 'Hey, Hey LBJ—how many kids did you kill today?'"

Entering the room of the exhibit focused on Vietnam, the amazed Wiener finds no dominating imagery of POWs and MIAs; no commentary about the long totalitarian night that fell in Southeast Asia once the New Left got its way and Hanoi conquered the South. Instead, he finds a text that speaks of "a winless war. . . that weakened America's confidence and resolve," which, as he notes with pleasure, was "miles away from what Reagan was saying in the '60s."

And so it was. And so it goes.

The Reagan Library first opened as a shrine to America's victory in the Cold War. It is now rented out as the venue for a festival of feel-good memories about a decade that nearly destroyed America and threatens it still.

With a Right like this, who needs a Left?



—Peter Collier and David Horowitz

Times-Tribune Feature Writer Sues to Regain Job

By Judith Schumann Weizner

Becky Scribner, a three-year veteran feature writer for New York's *Times-Tribune*, has filed suit against the paper seeking reinstatement to her duties. Scribner says that after a disagreement with her editor she was told that if she wished to remain on staff she could work in the research department but that she would never see her name on another story. In reassigning her, management cited her "inability to grasp the emotional essence of a story and failure to meet basic journalistic standards." Scribner claims that she is being punished for attempting to portray events and personalities accurately.

Scribner's problems began last July 16 when she was told to cover the explosion and fire in Hart's department store, an event which was overshadowed in the news by the crash of TWA Flight 800 a day later. Scribner was assigned to write a human interest series dealing with the aftermath of the catastrophe at Hart's in which 543 people perished, most of them trampled to death in the panic following the huge explosion that demolished the century-old building on West 31st Street.

It was quickly determined that the explosion, which took place at noon on the first day of Hart's annual 60 percent off sale, occurred when a male suicide bomber, disguised as a woman, carried 40 pounds of nitroglycerin into the store under the voluminous skirt he was wearing. In the sale basement, he was jostled by avid shoppers and the bomb was detonated. The explosion caused the entire eight-story building to collapse and touched off a fire that raged for two days.

Scribner's assignment was to describe the ways in which various people affected by the tragedy were coping with it. The first piece she submitted dealt with the problems encountered by many of the victims' family members as they sought coverage for psychological counseling from their HMOs. Dismissed as "routine sob-sister journalism unfit for the greatest newspaper in the world," the story was spiked. Editor Barbara Amenditt says she told Scribner that she would have to look for a more unusual angle and pointed to a front-page article by Paloma Piccione-Taube as an example of what she was after. (Piccione-Taube's article, which is reportedly under consideration for a Pulitzer Prize, described the heroic rescue of several kittens trapped in the collapsed building by a four-month-old Labrador retriever which was subsequently treated for serious burns in the West Side Medical Administration Hospital. The dog, quickly dubbed "Hero" by hospital staff, received its treatment and

follow-up care for free after Humans for the Sensitive Treatment of Animals [HuSTA] threatened to blockade all emergency rooms in the city if the Medical Administration billed Hart's pet department for use of its hyperbaric chamber.)

With a clearer idea of what her editors wanted, Scribner wrote a second piece dealing with the conditions under which hundreds of rescue workers struggled to find people who were trapped under the debris at Hart's, a job made particularly trying because no one had any idea how many shoppers had been in the store at the time of the

Mohammed (she stressed that many of them attended his funeral and donated money to his family) and that they all understood that his strong religious convictions had compelled him to undertake the suicide mission, Amenditt once more spiked Scribner's story, telling her that the angle was far too obvious. She suggested that Scribner instead interview Mohammed's family and friends and write a vivid description of the emotional torment he must have endured as a result of his assignment. She also reminded Scribner of the *Times-Tribune's* policy of avoiding references that might foster a lack of tolerance among its readers.

Scribner argued that without an understanding of Mohammed's religious beliefs, readers would find it difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend his emotional state, and that if done correctly, the piece might have the effect of increasing, rather than decreasing, tolerance. She received a go-ahead on condition that his religion not be mentioned by name.

Research for the article proved difficult because Mohammed's family refused to be interviewed, vehemently insisting that their statements might result in another member of the family being chosen for a similarly glorious end. Scribner's efforts to speak with Mohammed's friends met with identical objections, and she was obliged to rely heavily on anonymous sources and indirect quotations. Despite these hurdles, however, she managed to write a compelling account of the alleged bomber's daily life for the two weeks before his suicide mission.

While conceding that the slant was acceptable and that she was not too put off by the heavy reliance on indirect quotations, Amenditt suggested a rewrite

in which Mohammed would be referred to only as "M," as mention of his name might lead readers to believe that he was a practitioner of a religion founded by a prophet of the same name, and cause the public to become inflamed against its adherents.

Scribner balked, explaining that Mohammed's identity was already a matter of public record. Amenditt spiked the story.

Citing Scribner's inability to meet basic journalistic standards, Amenditt recommended that she be reassigned, noting that on a previous occasion Scribner, in a piece about a slain rap artist, had refused to describe the young man's short career as a triumph over the handicap of numerous felony convictions.

Scribner says she is confident of regaining her position as feature writer despite the apparent bleakness of her situation. "My entire output over the years proves my ability to meet basic journalist standards," she says. "One of the first things you learn in J-School is that there are going to be times when something you write may offend someone, but regardless, you must be willing to call a spade a spade."



Journalist Becky Scribner

blast. Scribner was careful to devote a substantial portion of the piece to the dogs that were brought in to try to locate living victims. Amenditt allowed that the piece had possibilities, but told Scribner that the emphasis was wrong again. Instead of stressing the physical difficulties encountered by the workers, she should focus on the emotional toll the round-the-clock effort was taking on the workers' spouses and the obstacles they faced when forced to make emergency child-care arrangements.

But it was Scribner's third story that resulted in her demotion and reassignment and ultimate law suit. When the alleged bomber was finally identified as one Ali Farouk Mohammed, Scribner quickly sought background information and discovered that he had worked as a doorman in an upscale building on Manhattan's Upper West Side. Scribner's article detailed the shock experienced by the residents of the building when they learned that the well-liked Mohammed was responsible for the deaths of two equally well-liked neighbors who had worked at Hart's. Although the piece made it clear that the tenants bore no grudge against

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