

Center for the Study  
of Popular Culture  
P.O. Box 67398  
Los Angeles, CA 90067

NONPROFIT  
ORGANIZATION  
U.S. POSTAGE PAID  
PERMIT #1425  
LOS ANGELES,  
CALIFORNIA

VOL. 5, NOS. 4 & 5

APRIL/MAY 1997

\$2.50

# HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



## WEIRD FEMINIST SCIENCE

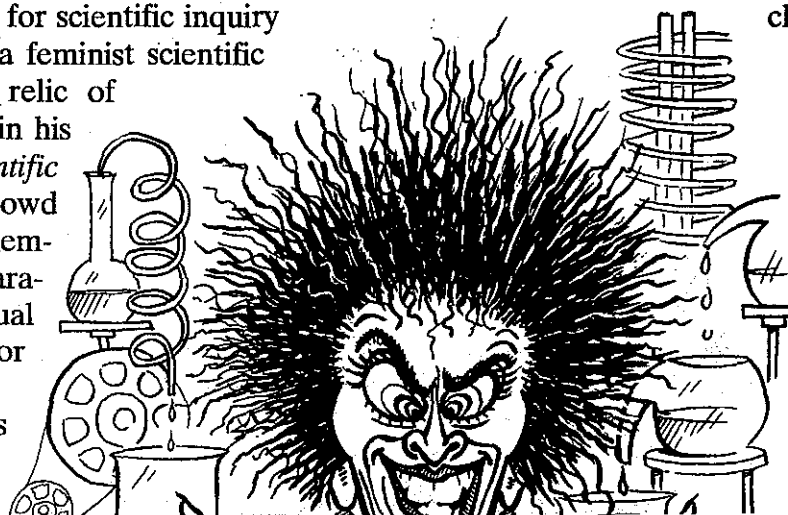
**I**t is the last thing you'd expect from a feminist—adapting the ideas of a Dead White Male. Yet that is exactly what UCLA women's studies professor Sandra Harding and her gender-fem companions did when they began writing in the mid-1980s about what they considered the unveiling of the feminine in science, their new paradigm for scientific inquiry and understanding. The notion of a feminist scientific paradigm is in fact a corrupted relic of Thomas Kuhn's critique of science in his 1962 book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Harding and her crowd were, in essence, congratulating themselves on having accomplished a paradigm shift of the prevailing intellectual climate on par with that of Einstein or Newton.

The curious thing about this postmodern paradigm shift, however, is that unlike previous revolu-

are.") and Brown University medical science professor Anne Fausto-Sterling ("The state and the legal system have an interest in maintaining a two-party sexual system [but] they are in defiance of nature."). Sue Rosser is forced to admit regretfully that "a fem-

inist critique has *not yet* produced theoretical changes in the area of cell biology."

(Emphasis added. According to Christina Hoff Sommers, Rosser offers workshops on how to reinvent the biology curriculum, so she is apparently hopeful that feminist science will soon have solved the problem of unveiling the feminine in research on cell biology.) And feminist engineers have not succeeded in creating feminist airplanes that fly without the benefit of traditional notions of physics, to borrow from philosopher of mathematics Margarita



## COMMUNIQUÉS

## Natural Born Killers

Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley's "Natural Born Killers" contained a number of sobering statistics and scary anecdotes about youth crime and violence, including a few that came from things I've written. It is important, however, to remember three things. First, most young criminals, even today, are not violent or incorrigible "super-predators." Rather, they are "minnows" who might become "sharks" if they are not held accountable for misdeeds and given adequate adult supervision and mentoring. Most of the 500,000-plus kids who will be put on probation this year are not a lost cause. Second, the literal bottom-line of my "super-predators" essay was "Build churches, not jails." I know of zero evidence to suggest that incarcerating juveniles with adult convicts lowers costs or cuts recidivism. But there is more and more evidence to suggest that faith-based programs can save many at-risk youth, including some types of felons, before it's too late. These kids need adult clergymen, not adult convicts, in their lives. Third, remember that demography is not destiny. Youth-focused crime-prevention partnerships involving police, probation officers, and preachers have cut juvenile violence in many places.

We may yet have to incarcerate more people, but no-nonsense prevention efforts are a far, far better bet while there is still time.

John J. DiIulio

Director, Partnership for Research on Religion and At-Risk Youth (PRRAY); Professor of Politics and Public Affairs Princeton University  
Princeton, NJ

The title of "Natural Born Killers" should have been a question, not a statement. Billingsley, as have others, did not ask WHY the crime conditions mentioned in his story exist, or how they may be prevented. Yes, his references were sound, but outdated (1984), and his statistics were valid and his tales true, but something was missing. Billingsley, referring to observations of Dr. Stanton Samenow, stated "... violent criminals came from all strata of society, not just poor areas, that they had rejected their parents, not the other way around, and that they were not forced into a life of crime and violence but rather chose it. Criminals know right from wrong and, [quoting Samenow's conclusion] 'crime resides in the minds of human beings and is not caused by social conditions.'"

This statement is no longer readily accepted. And if Billingsley had asked "Why does crime reside in the mind?" he would have found a story of hope, not despair. In the book, *High Risk: Children Without a Conscience*, Dr. Ken Magid and Carole McKelvey explain why many children have no conscience. It is based on the quality of care that they receive in the first few years of their lives. Many criminals were "unattached children." Somehow the normal process of "bonding" and "attachment" necessary to develop a social conscience, failed, and this failure often leads to Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD), even to uncontrollable psychopaths. Veteran pediatricians Dr. Jack Westman, Dr. Lee Salk (brother of Dr. Jonas Salk), and others agree. The most critical period of each child's life is from a year before birth to about three years after birth. The development of

his character, conscience, intelligence and personality all depend on the health of the mother at the time of conception, and the quality of care received during the first few years.

James A. Robb  
Savoy, IL

## Reviving Ophelia

I read with interest your review of *Reviving Ophelia*, the book about the tendency of teenage girls to lose their identities as a result of cultural pressures and society's "anti-female" influences. I think the author of *Ophelia* has a point—something does happen to girls in early adolescence. But I don't put primary blame on our culture, and I don't think the solution is militant feminism. I think the problem is rooted in biology, the deteriorating family, and bad personal decision-making.

About biology: females are born tending to be more relationship-oriented, more passive, and more sensitive (no militant feminist can tell me that these differences are socially constructed—even my female dogs have shown me these sex-linked personality traits). So the idea of being attractive to boys is important from early on.

About families: being more relationship-oriented, girls overinvest in the idea of romantic love. Especially if a girl has experienced divorce and emotional insecurity in her own family while growing up, she feels insecure and vulnerable and will seek out love relationships above all else. Not because her culture tells her she's worthless because she's a woman—but because her family life left her emotionally "empty." And with today's deteriorating families, romantic love looks like a solution to happiness and security (even though it isn't).

About bad personal decision-making: Early on, an attractive girl leans she can trade on her looks for power. If she's sexy, she doesn't have to work hard, doesn't have to be successful in a career, and she can get what she wants from people in positions of power. It's about selling out—choosing the "easy way out" to gain a sense of self-worth. Most of us women, I believe, take this easy way out to some extent, because good looks offer us an unearned shortcut to self-esteem (even though that self-esteem will prove to be superficial and vulnerable). Only later do we learn that true self-esteem comes from being the emotional center of a loving family, from developing our characters, and from doing our work well. Neither time nor a broken romance can take this "earned" form of self-esteem away from us.

So, yes—I think the author of *Reviving Ophelia* is right about what happens to adolescent girls but I think she misunderstood why. It's too easy—wrong—to blame an "anti-female culture."

Linda Ames Nicolosi  
Thousand Oaks, CA

## Closed Minds

There is much to be said for the Bible, but that "Biblical teaching" deserves credit for abolishing slavery, while this horrible institution was supported by the Enlightenment, is a serious distortion of history, as well as of the Bible (see Letter, "Closed Minds"—March). Can anyone deny that the Bible was cited in defense of slavery for more than 1800 years, and that in our own nation the

Christian churches were divided on this issue until the end of the Civil War? Granted that a few Christians, led by William Wilberforce in England, led the opposition to slavery in England, as Quakers did in this country, these Christians had to reinterpret the Bible in such a way as to make its teaching consistent with the principle that all human beings had an equal right to life and liberty, which is clearly a basic principle of the Enlightenment.

Although it is true that socialism was originally rooted in the ideas of the Enlightenment, especially in its emphasis on the equality of all human beings and the use of scientific methods to understand politics as well as economics, the brutal despotism of the Soviet dictatorship is now seen by most historians as a development of the despotism of the Russian monarchy, and as a repudiation of Western, bourgeois humanism.

But aside from these errors, this letter loses sight of a fact which may not be so obvious, namely, that the long conflict between the Enlightenment and Christianity has come to an end in Western Europe, as well in this country. Most Roman Catholics, even in Spain and Poland, have come to accept the Enlightenment principles of political democracy, scientific education, and freedom of religion, while the deists, agnostics, and atheists in our time have come to accept the fact that the majority of people will remain religious. This development may not be so clear in our country as it is in Europe, only because here the conflict between religion and the Enlightenment was never very serious even in the 18th century. The ideas that formed the basis of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution reflected both the Enlightenment and Protestant Christianity.

The opposition to the Enlightenment now is more likely to come from the radical left, which attacks Western culture for its emphasis on rationality, scientific thinking, and capitalism, than by the mainline religious institutions. Such an attack is out of place in political movement dedicated to the defense of the ethos of Western democracy.

Lawrence Hyman  
Ridgewood, NJ

## Editor's Note

Errors were inadvertently introduced into "Tales from the Black Studies Ghetto" by Anita Susan Grossman in the March 1997 issue of *Heterodoxy*:

• On page 7:

"Zululand" should be "Zulus"; "an event about William Leo Hansberry" should be "an anecdote about William Leo Hansberry."

• On page 8:

The title of Black Studies 201 was changed in 1994, not 1991; it is the San Francisco State University *Golden Gate*, not the *Golden Gator*; the "Sumeria" referred to by Oba T. Shaka should be "Samaria"; the word "teach" was inadvertently deleted from the line "every undistinguished non-black that comes along to teach part-time"; and Venerable announced that "the universe"—and not "the university," as was printed—is governed by three principles; the word "complement," was misspelled as "compliment"; the mathematical operation used by Venerable to denote this relationship should have been  $a \times a$  and not  $a + a$ ; Venerable's equation for describing additive social groups was mistakenly printed as:  $a + a (-a) = 0$ . It should have been set off from the text as  $a + (-a) = 0$ ; the last eight lines on the page, beginning with "People are looking for people..." are a direct quotation and should have been set off from the text as such.

• On page 9:

The first four lines of the indented quotation from Venerable were not in fact part of that quotation; the indenting should have begun on the fifth line with "the Abel quality..."

For accounting purposes this is a joint issue of *Heterodoxy*, April/May. It will count only as a single issue on your subscription.

Editors  
Peter Collier  
David Horowitz

Literary  
Editor  
John Ellis

Staff Writers  
K.L. Billingsley  
Cristopher Rapp

Art Director  
JP Duberg

Illustrator  
Carl Moore

Circulation  
Manager  
Bruce Donaldson

**HETERODOXY** (ISSN: 1069-7268) is published by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. The Center is a California 501(c)(3).  
Editorial: (916)265-9306. Fax: (916)265-3119. Subscription: 12 issues, \$25. Send checks to Center for the Study of Popular Culture,  
P.O. Box 67398, Los Angeles, California 90067. Visa and MasterCard accepted.

**Inquiries: (800)752-6562**

*Heterodoxy* is distributed to newsstands and bookstores by Bernhard B. DeBoer, 113 East Centre Street, Nutley, NJ 07110.

# REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

**POETIC LICENSE:** One of the late Allen Ginsberg's poems, "Young Boy, Give Me Your Ass," was apparently a mystery to the many journalists who wrote articles about Ginsberg's recent death because not a single major newspaper (with the exception of an approving line in the *Village Voice*) mentioned that he was an outspoken advocate of pederasty and a lifelong member of the North American Man-Boy Love Association. NAMBLA-member Leland Stevenson (profiled in the September 1994 *Heterodoxy*) noted that Ginsberg made no secret of his love for boys. "I would be very surprised if Ginsberg was interested in true children, 6 or 8 years old, but he certainly was interested in teenaged boys," said Stevenson. "This was obvious. He wrote about it and rhapsodized about it. It was something he supported, something he viewed as a positive human value." Indeed, the poet once said, "I'm in NAMBLA because I love boys too—everyone does who has a little humanity." The national obituaries also portrayed Ginsberg as a gentle and embracing soul (which he partly was) who went beyond ideology in trying to reconcile all the contrarities of life—one of the few figures who could have brought the Hell's Angels and the Berkeley anti-war protesters together back in 1967. There was, however, the matter of his statement to *Progressive Magazine* in 1994: "I have no doubt that if Rush Limbaugh or Pat Buchanan or Ollie North ever got real power, there would be concentration camps and mass death." Perhaps this was simply poetic license.

**TORRICELLI REDUX:** The House Intelligence Committee recently released a report on U.S. Senator Robert Torricelli's decision in 1995 to give away CIA secrets on behalf of an American Marxist-sympathizer named Jennifer Harbury, a case reported on in the January/February 1997 *Heterodoxy*, by Paul Mulshine, a regular *Heterodoxy* contributor who is a columnist with the *New Jersey Star-Ledger*. The article showed how Torricelli had, at the behest of his then-girlfriend Bianca Jagger, leaped to a number of inaccurate conclusions about the CIA's role in the deaths of an American hotel owner named Michael DeVine and a Guatemalan guerrilla named Efraim Bamaca Velazquez. The article reported that Torricelli's decision to give away the name of a CIA source in Guatemala was based not on fact but on a conspiracy theory of the loony Left. The Intelligence Committee agreed: "None of the allegations raised by Rep. Torricelli in the March 22, 1995, letter to the president or subsequent public statements concerning the involvement of the CIA in the DeVine or Bamaca deaths in Guatemala have proven to be true." The report also stated that Torricelli's actions, taken when he was a House member and a member of the Intelligence Committee, compromised American intelligence-gathering abilities around the world and that numerous other CIA sources had decided to stop giving information for fear they would be outed by a Congressman. Torricelli, who is nothing if not nifty, was undaunted by the criticism. A few days later, he appeared on the TV show *Politically Incorrect*. Host Bill Maher asked about the movie *The English Patient*, in which the protagonist gives away English military secrets during World War II to protect his mistress. What should a person do in such a situation, Maher asked. "If it's a choice between the girl and the country, you go with the country," Torricelli said. Too bad he didn't think of this back when he was dating Bianca.

**AGITPROP 101:** Cal State University at Monterey Bay offers a course in "Equity," requiring students to produce "an informed historical interpretation and analysis of contemporary issues of struggles for power as related to the oppression of various racial, cultural, social and economic groups of people in the U.S." To satisfy the requirement, students must demonstrate "an understanding of culture and cultural diversity; an

understanding of social, political and cultural tensions among various groups in the U.S.; an understanding of the different and unequal treatment of people of color, females, gays and lesbians, the poor and others from historically oppressed groups in the U.S.; an understanding of strategies and policies such as affirmative action which are intended to address inequities in institutions such as schools, governmental agencies, and businesses; how you, the student, have worked towards building a more inclusive and equitable society."

**CARIBBEAN GULAG WOODSTOCK:** "Come to Cuba: Join the July 19 to Aug. 7 Venceremos Brigade. Take part in the Youth/Student Festival and/or International Workers Meeting. Join Cuban people at work in fields or on construction sites. Meet govern-

dropout bussing tables in the U.S. makes more money in a week than does the average Cuban worker in 52 weeks. Of course Castro's apologists tell us that all the poverty in Cuba is due to the evil U.S. embargo and the Helms-Burton Act. Only one problem. In recent years, Cuba has in fact been awash with investments by Western governments which defy U.S. policy. The Sherritt International Corporation of Canada alone recently invested \$675 million in Cuba, no mean gesture considering the fact that the entire Cuban economy—at the government's own grossly overvalued exchange rate—is about \$7 billion. In its March 17 issue, *Business Week* (which happens to oppose Helms-Burton and wants the U.S. to end the embargo of Cuba) did a study of wages paid Cuban workers by Sherritt showing that for each Cuban worker hired, Sherritt gets charged \$10,000 a year, but out of that, the

Cuban government takes \$9784 and leaves the Cuban worker with \$216. This is still much higher than the Cuban can earn working for local Cuban enterprises and so Cubans are knocking one another aside to come work for Sherritt. This 97% shake-down and organized theft is labor policy in the workers' paradise of Cuba—no surprise given the fact that similar shake-downs and larcenies have always been conducted in other Commie countries.

**GANGSTA REPS:** Kevin Murray, a state assemblyman from Los Angeles, proposed that the Assembly adjourn for the day to commemorate the death of "gangsta" rapper Christopher G. Wallace, also known as "Notorious B.I.G.," recently gunned down in Los Angeles, probably by other rapper-gang members. Wallace was arrested last year on weapons and other charges that could have landed him in the slammer for 18 years. At the time of his death, he was also a suspect in a New York City murder investigation. Selections from Mr. Wallace's art:

*In the Land Cruiser Jeep with the Mac-10  
by the seats...  
Then I'm dipping up the block and I'm  
robbing bitches too...  
I've got gin, mad blunts and bitches suckin'  
dicks...  
I wouldn't give a fuck if you're pregnant...*

*I'm slamming niggaz like Shaquille, shit is  
real*

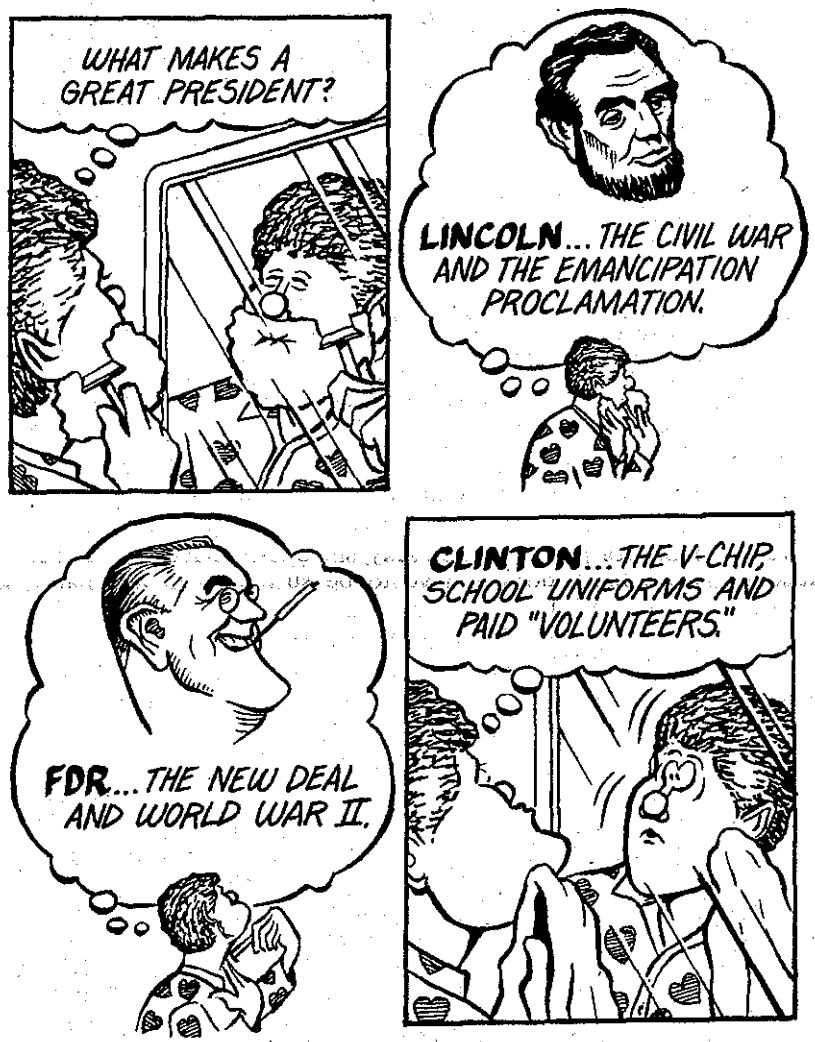
*When it's time to eat a meal I rob and steal*

*Cause mom Duke ain't givin me shit  
So for the bread and butter I leave niggaz in the gutter.*

Thirty-three members of the Assembly joined in the vote to honor Wallace, including the Speaker Cruz Bustamante, Denise Ducheny of San Diego and lesbian activist Sheila Keuhl, a lawyer who in another life played Zelda Gilroy on the *The Many Loves of Doby Gillis*. When the vote failed, the pro-rappers vowed to bring the matter up again.

**LOST WEEKEND:** Late in April, students at the University of California at Santa Cruz got to see Jean-Luc Godard's *Weekend* (1967). That was the good news. The bad news was that they also got to listen to a lecture by Kaja Silverman and Harun Farocki. (Actually there was a warning of what was to come. The film was advertised as "a never-ending nightmare of traffic jams, revolution, cannibalism, and murder as French bourgeois society starts to collapse under the weight of its own consumer preoccupations.") In the lecture, titled "Anal Capitalism," Silverman and Farocki promised to deal with the Godard film as "a meditation on late-twentieth century capitalism, one which proves the truth of Marx's claim that the ultimate form of class struggle is that between commodities and gold. The speakers will argue that in this class struggle the phallus will sooner or later lose its position of privilege, giving way to an anal libidinal economy. However, as *Weekend* shows, this is no cause for celebration: it will level not only sexual difference, but difference as such."

## LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



ment, women, labor and youth leaders. Enjoy free time in Havana at beaches talking with anyone you want. The Venceremos Brigade has been going to Cuba for 28 years. Because of this proud history, the Cubans look after us particularly well. We meet with Cuban government leaders such as Ricardo Alarcon (Speaker of the National Assembly), Pedro Ross, (General Secretary of the Cuban Trade Unions), and others of the same caliber. Last year, we were just across from Fidel during the 1,000,000 person May 1 parade. We also work alongside ordinary Cubans—discuss, dance and swim with them. Come join us." From a Venceremos Brigade '97 ad in the April *Change Links*, an "independent progressive newspaper" in Los Angeles, a city whose leftists, including failed mayoral candidate Tom Hayden (endorsed by *Change Links*), continue to defy satire.

**CARIBBEAN GULAG ECONOMICS:** Who makes more money—a black teenage high school dropout bussing tables for McDonald's, or the average worker in Cuba? Economist Steven Plaut points out that the Cuban official governmental statistical agency reports that since 1991 the Cuban GNP has fallen by about 20%. It also reports that the average Cuban worker earns monthly wages of 203 pesos. Now if we take the official exchange rate set by the Cuban government as somehow realistic and meaningful (it is not; the peso is not convertible and the number is far too high), this means that at this official rate of conversion the average Cuban worker earns about \$140 per year. So this is the answer to the question at hand: a black teenage

*"Heterosexual Reproduction Is Now Obsolete"*

# Gay Clones

By Cristopher Rapp

As they marched in front of New York's Sheridan Square, the ragtag protesters looked like they'd escaped from the time warp of the '60s. Amidst the signs and songs stood drag queen Sylvia Rivera, a veteran of the Stonewall Riot, as venerable gay rights advocate Bob Kohler watched from the sidelines. A few homeless people had been recruited to fill out the ranks. The Gay Liberation monument in the center of the square and the infamous Stonewall Inn across the street added to the sense of authenticity. But despite its retro feel the demonstration crackled with anticipation of things still to come. "I was only two years old during the moon landing, so I kinda missed out on that," explained one of the marchers. "I also missed out on the '60s, so it's very exciting to be here now, alive and aware, on the brink of this major happening."

And while the demonstration borrowed scenery and personnel from the gay rights movement, what brought the protesters out into the muggy night air wasn't the right to "just be themselves," but rather the right to make copies of themselves. Three days earlier, New York state senator John Marchi had introduced a bill banning the cloning of human beings, and the protesters now gathered to register their opposition. One marcher carried a sign demanding, "KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF MY DNA." Others informed that "ANTI-CLONING ZEALOTRY = HOMOPHOBIA" and, more ominously, that "MALES ARE NO LONGER NECESSARY."

The march was held under the auspices of the Clone Rights United Front (CRUF) and was the brainchild of its founder, Randolfe Wicker, himself a significant figure in the early gay rights movement. "This is a movement about people's constitutional right to control their own reproduction," he explains. "The DNA is my personal property." His favorite poster at the march paid homage to the lamb "Dolly," cloned by researchers at the Roslin Institute in Scotland, by depicting a sheep kneeling on a cloud, forelegs outstretched, with the caption "THE DOLLY LAMA—OUR NEW SPIRITUAL LEADER." Wicker says that it was a tongue-in-cheek gesture, but it's clear that for him this issue is about more than humor and more even than civil liberties: "This is eternity!" he says. "This is the idea of the second me!"

Eternity may actually be right around the corner. The debate over Sen. Marchi's bill has made New York the first battleground over the issue of cloning, and despite his personal eccentricities, it looks as though Wicker has lined up on the winning side.

When Keith Campbell and Ian Wilmut of Scotland's Roslin Institute announced in late February that they had successfully cloned a female sheep, most people seemed to regard the revelation with a mixture of fascination and revulsion. President Clinton banned the use of federal funds for human cloning experiments and asked privately funded scientists to voluntarily refrain from such research until its

can't believe I'm the only person in the world who wants to be cloned."

As a lonely only child, Wicker vowed to have a large family someday, and the emergence of his homosexuality did nothing to lessen this desire. At first he thought he might get married. ("You know, I'm a little bit bisexual," he teases.) Then he considered hiring a surrogate mother, an option which he ultimately found unsatisfactory. "If nothing else," says Wicker, now 59, "I'd get enough money and go somewhere like Mexico or some third world country and pay a woman to bear my child. But the problem with that is, half of the genes of the child are going to belong to this woman."

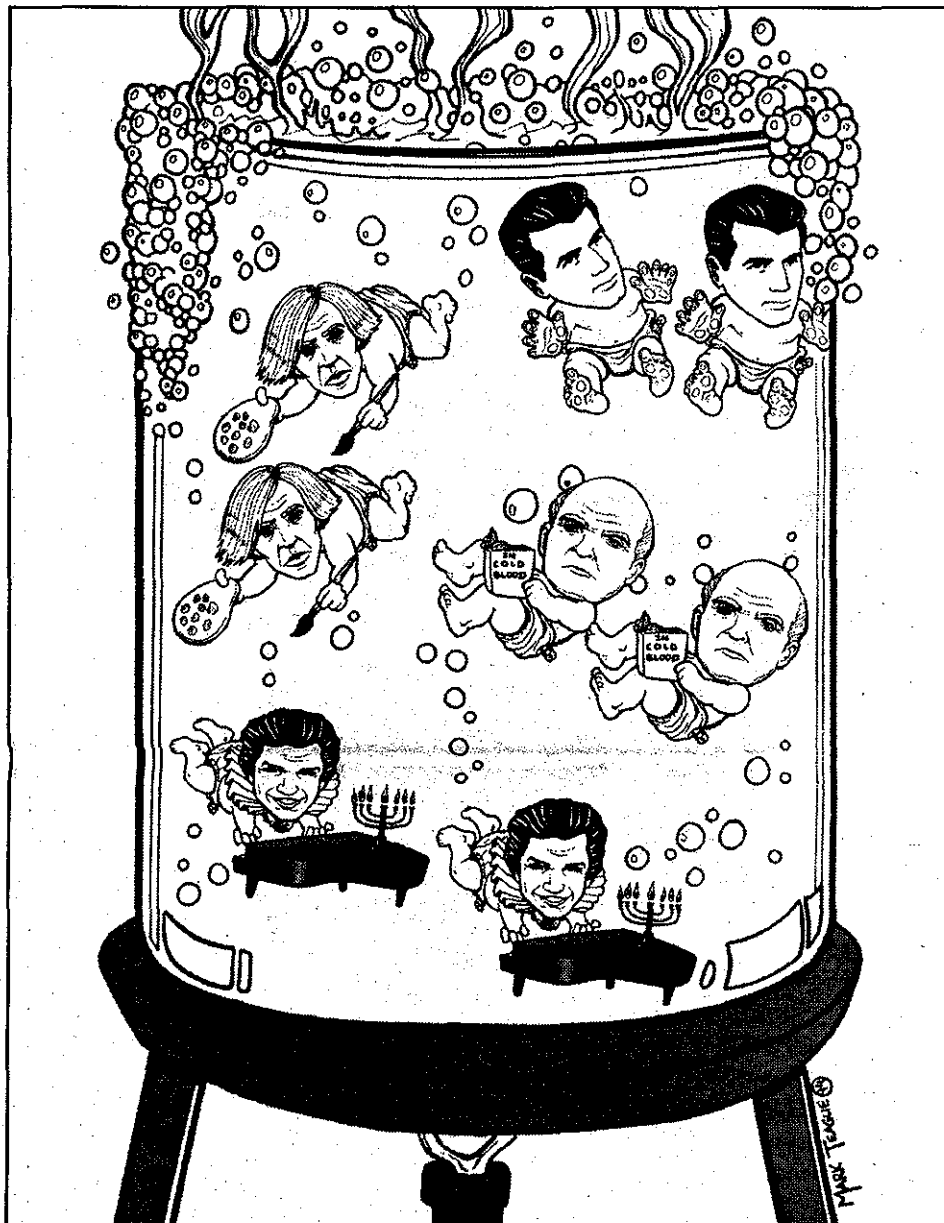
The advent of "Dolly" offered Wicker the solution he had been waiting for—reproduction without compromise. But Marchi's bill, filed in late February, threatened to take that possibility away, making human cloning a Class D felony punishable by up to seven years in prison, with conspiracy to clone warranting up to three years. Wicker had been an activist all of his life, in Fair Play for Cuba (a cause he gave up when Castro began jailing gays), the Sex Freedom League, and the Mattachine Society (an old-line gay militant organization). As a Vietnam War protester he sold more than 2 million antiwar buttons from his shop in New York, and he has been active for years in efforts to legalize marijuana.

In 1962, he became one of the first open homosexuals to speak on radio, and in 1964 he was arguably the first to appear on television. The anti-cloning bill seemed like another call to action, and in late February Wicker founded the Clone Rights United Front from the

Manhattan antique lighting shop he's owned for twenty years, and subsequently held the demonstration at Sheridan Square on March 1.

If some aspects of his quest seem like a subplot from *Les Cages aux Folles*, Wicker is quite serious in his belief that human cloning should appeal to the gay community. And in fact, the Internet magazine *Gay Today* has been instrumental in promoting the CRUF, and its literally non-stop coverage led to the group's first national coverage, a story on the front page of *USA Today's* "Life" section, which in turn landed Wicker guest spots on the conservative *Bob Grant* and *Bay Buchanan* talk shows, in addition to New York-area TV coverage. "It's a gay issue," explained Wicker in an article in *Gay Today*, "because heterosexuality as a route to reproduction is now historically obsolete."

But in the fractious world of minority rights, Wicker's attempt to get a gay patent on this issue has had some resistance. Ann Northrop, a columnist for the New York gay newspaper *LGNY* and a supporter of Wicker, caused a stir when *USA Today* quoted her belief that because cloning gives "complete control over reproduction"—everything used to clone Dolly was taken from ewes—it could, "carried to its logical extreme, eliminate men altogether." Though Northrop insists she didn't mean to be taken literally, she does think



implications could be debated. Wilmut himself told a Senate committee that he could think of no use of human cloning which he would consider "ethically acceptable," calling it "inhuman" and requesting "an international agreement of any kind to prohibit this work." The American public evidently agreed: a CNN/Time poll found that 69 percent were "scared" by the prospect of cloning humans, and 89 percent considered it "morally unacceptable," compared to just 7 percent who said they would clone themselves if presented with the opportunity.

For Randy Wicker, however, this news only confirms his status as a pioneer. "There is something very depressing about the human spirit that is afraid of any new frontier," he says in his rapid-fire delivery. "It's just like when Columbus wanted to go to the New World, they were afraid they'd fall off the end of the earth." And besides, the almost empty glass could be interpreted as half full: he points out that the 7 percent who responded positively in the CNN poll amount to "15 to 20 million Americans a day who want to be cloned. And take 7 percent of the entire population of France and England and all of Europe, take 7 percent of Japan and the affluent Far Eastern countries, and you end up with a population of 100 or 200 million people in the world who want to be cloned and have the power and resources to do so . . . I



cloning has a feminist aspect. "While women might go so far as to refuse to replicate men at all, which would be an interesting concept, at the very least it would change the balance of power somewhat," she told *Heterodoxy*. (In other words, men would have to treat women with more respect, because if they didn't women wouldn't reproduce with them.) "I get along wonderfully with men, and I'm not looking to immediately eliminate men from the earth," says Northrop, who discussed cloning on a recent issue of *The Montel Williams Show*. "On the other hand, I don't like a lot of the things men do, like create war and poverty and violence and all sorts of other things, and I think it wouldn't hurt to reexamine some of that."

Further complicating matters for Wicker, thus far the gay mainstream has hesitated to embrace the CRUF's cause. Both *The Advocate* and *Out* magazine reported the March 1 demonstration, as did regional publications like *Baltimore Alternative* and *Miami Metro*, but coverage was neutral at best, with *The Advocate's* at times bordering on mockery. An *Advocate* poll found that only 10 percent of the magazine's readers felt it was important for the gay community to support human cloning; 38 percent said cloning was "immoral and impractical." Felicia Park-Rogers, director of Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere, an international organization headquartered in San Francisco, is equally skeptical. "It's a very dangerous precedent to start reproducing ourselves and calling that 'family,'" she says. "Our society tends to be so individualistic, narcissistic, and egocentric already, and to predetermine who you will love based on it being a duplicate of yourself just furthers that trend."

This reaction doesn't faze the indefatigable Wicker. "I think a lot of people in the gay community don't really think it through. It's also a yearning for respectability. They don't want to be tainted."

Some people, however, are beginning to see the light. Chandler Burr, the author of *A Separate Creation: The Search for the Biological Origin of Sexual Orientation*, had written in *The Advocate* that cloning offered homosexuals nothing more than did the "good-old-fashioned turkey-baster method," and was not terribly significant. But while discussing the CRUF in an interview for this article, Burr changed his mind. "I hadn't thought about this before," he said, "but theoretically, if I had a husband and we obtained an egg, removed the woman's genes and inserted half of mine and half of my husband's...theoretically, he and I could produce a kid that had both our genes. And it would be even easier for lesbians."

And while it could be years before the technology becomes readily available, human cloning already has important symbolic implications. "It takes us another degree further from the idea that babies are produced only by two heterosexual people having heterosexual intercourse," Burr explains. "And in our society, possibility becomes normative."

Straights needn't feel left out, Wicker says, as cloning will take the uncertainty out of procreation and offer couples an unprecedented level of choice. "I don't think people are going to settle anymore for this random collision of random sperm and random egg," he is quoted in a *Gay Today* interview. "If you're going to spend twenty-one to twenty-five years

or whatever and you're going to give it a college education, do you really want to just settle for what pops out of the womb?" When asked to clarify, Wicker explains that he doesn't think cloning "is ever going to in any way compete with the old nasty-nasty in-out technique," but will enable discriminating parents the opportunity to get "exactly what they want."

"We have an obligation, the way this society is structured now, that if you bring a child into the world, you're supposed to provide for it and house it and educate it and help it along in life and protect it, and we all know people who have had kids that were real, pardon the term, f---ups and losers . . . This is [parents'] reproductive right," says Wicker.

Indeed, cloning could one day become

down."

Nichols thinks this challenge to eternal verities is of particular interest to the homosexual community. "From the gay angle, one of the most important things is the devaluing, through Dolly, of the entire concept of virginity. Dolly is the actual result of a virgin birth that is actually on record, unlike the Virgin Mary. Dolly also was born not of a man, the product of same-sex reproduction, and that's very significant from a gay standpoint."

In case the gay community, not to mention the populace as a whole, does not find blasphemy compelling, most of the CRUF's public positions are much less controversial, focusing on the possible scientific and medical benefits of human cloning. "Suppose they found someone whose blood cures AIDS or stops cancer or immunizes against Alzheimer's," says Wicker. "Who's to say something like that is never going to happen? Who's to say we shouldn't clone more of those people and cure these epidemics that are besetting the world?"

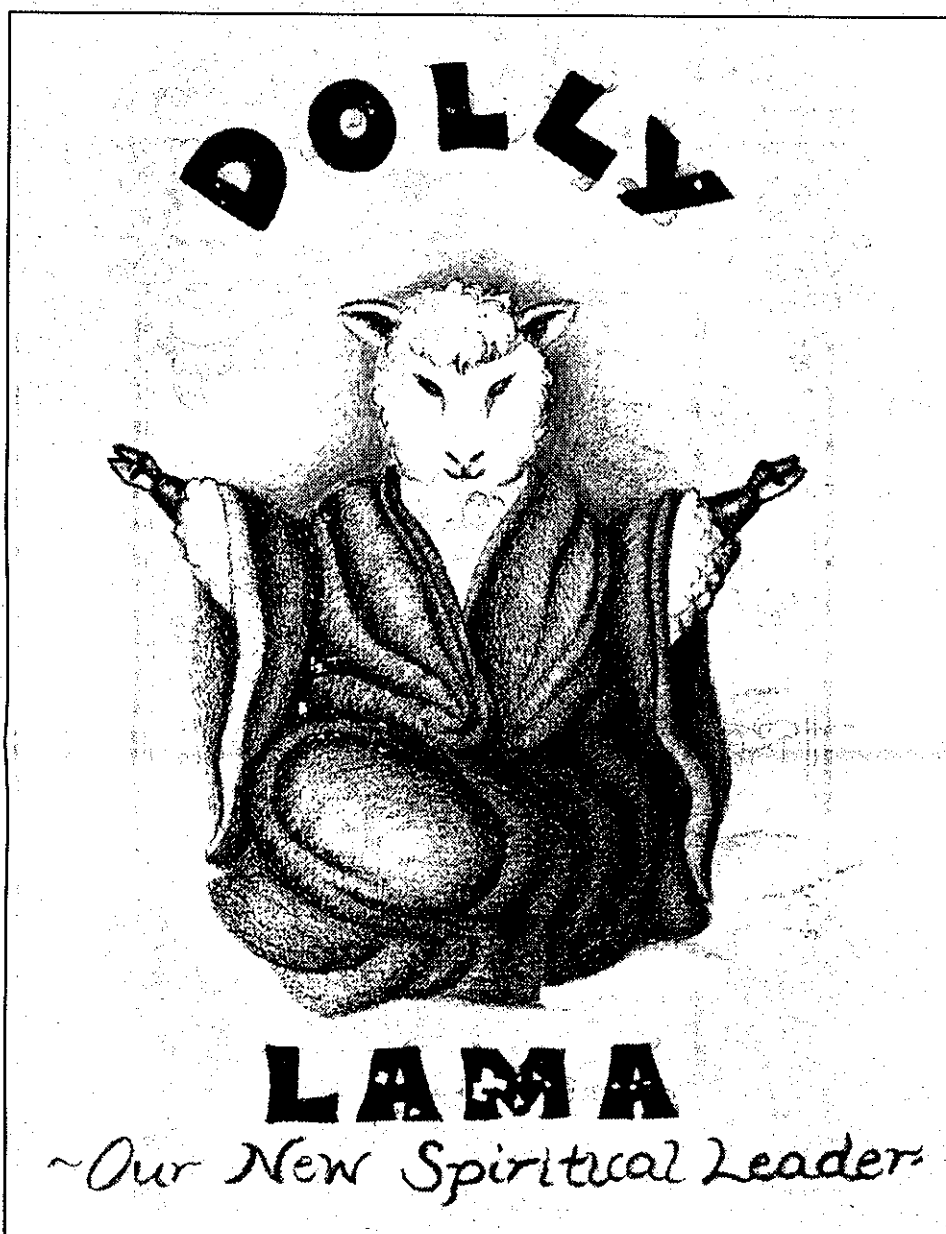
It's a sentiment echoed by witnesses from the science and bioethics fields who spoke at a mid-March hearing held by the New York State Senate Investigations Committee and suggested that a ban would be contrary to scientific freedom and difficult to enforce, particularly as cloning technology is just being developed. (Wicker was permitted to testify after the CRUF held a protest outside the building.) "At our hearing, issues were raised by a wide variety of very learned people," commented Rachael Gordon, chief counsel to the committee, "and while they may have disagreed on a variety of things, all agreed that the issue needs further study, that it's not something that you should have a knee-jerk reaction to." Marchi's bill received a similarly chilly reception at an Assembly hearing in April.

In the bill's defense, supporters point out that it specifically exempts medical research from the ban, as long as it does

not result in the cloning of a human being, and that Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, Australia, and Spain already have human cloning bans on their books. "This has been the law in England since 1990, and it didn't stop Wilmut—he produced Dolly in the UK," reminded David Jaffe, counsel to Sen. Marchi. "I don't see bioethicists and scientists screaming that Great Britain is second rate in terms of science."

"Senator Marchi's position," explained press secretary Gerald McLaughlin, "is that human cloning ought to be prohibited, at least for now, until the scientific, religious, ethical, political, and moral communities define what the appropriate uses and limits are."

Arguments like this may not be enough to save the bill, which observers say is unlikely to pass the Assembly. Indeed despite the caution urged by Clinton, Wilmut and others (six other states are considering restrictions), it looks as though scientists—and Wicker—have won this round of the cultural debate. In the coming months, Wicker hopes to build alliances with NOW, the ACLU, and the Sierra Club (cloning could conceivably be used to rescue endangered species), and all in all it's not surprising he feels he's on the verge of something special. "One of the signs we carried said 'CLONE ME ETERNALLY,'" he says. "And as the founder of the movement, I would hope they would consider that."



the only acceptable way to reproduce. *Gay Today* editor Jack Nichols, a friend of Wicker's since the early '60s and the author of *The Gay Agenda: Talking Back to the Fundamentalists*, envisions a time when massive overpopulation would necessitate forced sterilization. Each generation would be produced primarily through cloning to ensure the best traits were passed along, while keeping population levels low. "Cloning of humans, as with plants or animals, could give us some very good strains of bright and capable human beings, while simple random collisions of sperm and egg do not," he explains. "Just as China has had to say 'don't have more than one child,' we may conceivably have a situation where, when we cut a person's umbilical cord or perform a circumcision, we have to operate on them so they can't reproduce."

But according to Wicker and Nichols, cloning's greatest impact may be spiritual. "A new religion is going to grow from this," says Wicker. "Remember the right-wingers who taunt gays, by saying 'it was Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, not Adam and Steve'? Well now it could be Eve and Yvette in the garden of Eden." Furthermore, Wicker tells a story of a Catholic woman who remarked that with this new technology, "nuns could clone little girls in the convent and give birth and still be virgins. This is how it throws everything, including traditional religious belief, upside-

## On Maneuvers with the Co-Ed Military

# Booty Camp

By K.L. Billingsley

On a clear desert night the sweat began to pour down Mahmoud's face as he guided the truck toward the perimeter of the American encampment. Here he expected to find resistance and was ready to return fire with his H&K G-5 submachine gun. But to his surprise, the headlights revealed no sentries blocking his path. He thought it might be a trap, but when no guards appeared he thanked Allah for blessing his mission and sent the truck hurtling toward the tents. Now he could hear the American soldiers yelling, amidst the pop of rifle fire, but it was too late. "Allah is great!" Mahmoud screamed as he detonated the thousand pounds of explosive, perishing in the fireball but turning the infidel encampment into an inferno of blood, with body parts raining down amidst twisted metal.

Nothing of this sort actually happened during the Gulf War, but not because those who wanted to blow hundreds of sleeping American troops to chunks, in the style of the Lebanon truck bomb of 1983 or last year's attack in Saudi Arabia, didn't have their chances. Back in 1992, in testimony that received no national press coverage, Sgt. Mary Rader of the 213th Supply and Service Battalion told the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces: "We had females and males that would go to guard duty together and be caught necking and they're supposed to be out there protecting us and pulling guard duty at 2, 3, and 4 o'clock in the morning. And they had no idea what was going on there."

The reality that, in the middle of a Middle East war, co-ed American sentries were slipping off to a sand dune to kick up a little dust did not manage to penetrate the consciousness of feminists led by former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder who for years have been telling anyone who would listen that the "masculinist military" needed to "desexegrate," and that problems of Tailhook machismo and sexual harassment would eventually vanish under a regime of gender equity that centered on allowing women in combat. While Pat Schroeder and her sisters have had their way with the Armed Forces, the evidence of what actually happens in the co-ed regime has become apparent.

In co-ed theory, women are interchangeable with men, but on the other hand they are held to lower, gender-normed standards. Being equals, women should pull combat duty, but because we live in a world of rampant sexism, women also need special protection from predatory males. This leads to the contradictions which have come to govern, and to some degree, deform contemporary military life. Most striking among these contradictions is the notion that the sexual drive, which in other contexts radical feminists see as determining what people are and do, will supposedly fade away in the sexually integrated military, like the state in Marx's utopia.

The tragic tangle at the Aberdeen

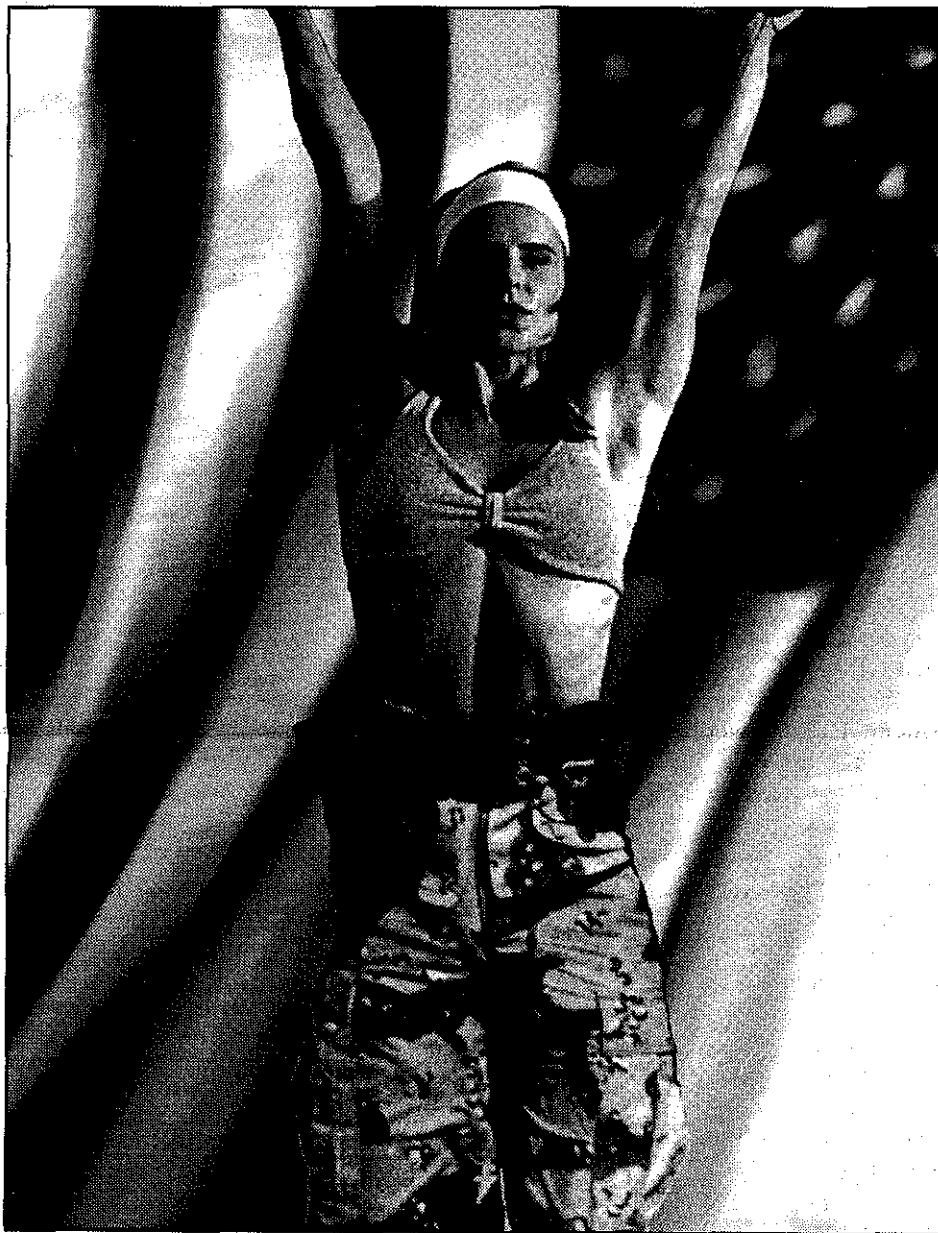
Proving Grounds, which ended in late April with Sgt. Delmar Simpson being judged guilty of committing 18 rapes, shoots down that theory. The day the judgment was announced, a female spokesman with the Army rushed to CNN to assure viewers that "this was not about sex." The implication, following feminist clichés, was that it was about power. But sex was exactly what it was about. In some cases, drill sergeants had converted their

"Freshette Complete System" a device supposedly allowing women to pee standing up.) A photo shows a pair of male and female sergeants at Camp McGovern trading back massages before going to sleep. "What's the big deal?" protests Sgt. Steven Davis. "We're not sleeping together, we're just sleeping together."

Here advocacy journalism meets high concept: all is perfectly platonic camaraderie, with snapshots of women smoking cigars, explaining how cool it is to fire the M-19 grenade launcher and blast away with Serb AK-47s, and generally acting like one of the guys. At Camp Demi, PFC Kristi Dowds crouches with her M-16 as though posing for a recruiting poster, or maybe a still for *Platoon*. But, later in the *Post* piece, the happy picture of androgynous harmony in Bosnia begins to fade.

It turns out there were seven allegations of sexual misconduct and three of improper consensual relationships among the troops of the 1st Infantry Division. Out of 4,970 women in the Bosnia operation since last November, including those who worked in logistics bases in Hungary and Croatia, 174 were sent home early because they were pregnant—a pregnancy rate of 3.5 percent. However much these co-ed forces might enjoy cigars, grenade launchers, and bunkhouse back massages, they were not deployable, and therefore useless to the Army.

During the American deployment in Haiti, male and female personnel, both officers and enlisted, lived in co-ed tents and barracks with no barriers for privacy. Explained Major Cindy Sito: "In my opinion, it's easier to run a unit if you're able to reach out and touch everybody." Plenty of such touching was going on in Haiti and certainly during Desert Storm, where 40,000 females were deployed and where the stakes



were higher. units into a kind of bordello, using their rank to dominate females and leverage favors from them. But as testimony revealed, it is also true that women have been willing sex partners in the new military.

The high-profile Simpson case will no doubt be used by feminists in and especially out of the military to prove the predatory inequities that rule the military and thus launch another Tailhook-style inquisition. One of the subsidiary tragedies of this event will be muffled—that the present chaos in the military is the result of an impossible desire to reconfigure human nature, to keep boys from being boys and girls from being girls. The metaphor for the new military is less *Courage Under Fire* than a zany co-ed version of Bill Murray's *Stripes*, a G.I. spring break where everybody enjoys a good shot at becoming a liaison officer of sorts.

Co-ed tents are the latest trend with U.S. forces in Bosnia, as the *Washington Post*, the voice of the beltway establishment, recently noted in a highly promotional article titled "Engendering a Warrior Spirit: Women Easily Assimilate in U.S. Army Forces in Bosnia." Author Dana Priest writes that "it is often impossible to tell the women from the men." Priest has evidently never seen a female soldier drop her camos and squat to relieve herself in open terrain. (To resolve this physical inequality, the Army has studied the

were higher.

"It may have taken five of us females to three males, but we did the same physical labor as they [the guys] did," Sgt. Mary Rader proudly told the Presidential Commission. But if she was confused on the issue of women pulling their weight in the new military, she was explicit on the subject of fraternization. In fact, for many of the women, the military is not just a job, it's an adventure.

"We had one female that we could not keep out of one of the male bunks. She was caught sleeping in the male tent more than once."

Commissioner Elaine Donnelly asked if such events involved a large or small number of people.

"It was very heavy," said Rader. "Our company only has 69 people and it was very heavy in our E-4s and below. It didn't just stop there. We had a captain and an E-4 having an affair. I had a female officer who had an affair with an E-5 male she worked with. It was very heavy."

"When you say 'very heavy,' would you say more than a majority, a heavy majority?" asked Donnelly.

"Yes."

"When these things happened, what kind of discipline was there?"

"There wasn't any."

"There was none?"

Rader shook her head. "No."

The Commissioners asked if other wit-



nesses would comment on that.

"Okay, the situation was the same," said Sgt. Lori Mertz of the 395th Ordinance Battalion. "First of all, there is no discipline required—well, the guard duty and that, there, of course, is but the relationships that developed were—some of them were wrong, the captain and the E-4. You know, I don't know you know, in the military that's fraternization and that's wrong, and I'll give you that. But the fact is friendships were made that helped us get by. . . .

"When I would go—we went for one of our R and Rs on what was called the 'Love Boat.' And you would get on and these men who were in all-male units had not seen a female for this many months, and they just—you know, they're raping and attacking, and it's just—the friendships helped us get by, and I don't think there's anything wrong with that."

"When you say friendship you mean a sexual relationship?" said Donnelly.

"There were some that were sexual, there were some that were—you know, if you kissed him or whatever. And that happened, and there were friendships."

"You mentioned rape," said Donnelly. "That's not friendship. Was that a serious problem?"

"We went on the Love Boat or you went into the cities and stuff like that, the men who were without women—I mean, these men would come up to you, and you know the ratio with men and women in the Army in the first place. 'You know, I haven't seen a woman in this long. I've been out in the field. I've been living in a tank.' . . . you know, it might not have gone as far as rape."

However far it went, there were consequences. Overall 9.1 percent of women assigned to the Gulf War were "nondeployable" vs. 2.4 percent of men. Nearly half the nondeployable women were pregnant, with the number of pregnancies soaring after orders for deployment. The number of military careers ended by parenthood jumped from 97 in 1989 and 85 in 1990 to 610 in 1991.

Sex in the military goes on without distinction of rank. An officer who served in Desert Storm says a general ordered one of his subordinates to drag a group of nurses into their private compound, where they all consented to get up close and personal. Another general lodged a young female medic in his tent on the pretext he was "protecting" her. Both incidents were well-known and created resentment among the troops.

"The presumed code of behavior is so Victorian, completely out of touch with what goes on among kids," says David Wood of Newhouse News Service, who has covered the U.S. military around the world. "They are having sexual relations in high school, and by the time they get to the military they are experienced, but expected not to

do it. Well, guess what?"

In addition to past sexual experience, many new soldiers are away from home for the first time and put in close proximity with members of the opposite sex in situations of sudden stress interrupted with long periods of boredom. That Victorian anti-fraternization rules have little effect on the troops will come as no surprise to all but the willfully blind.

"It's going on all over the place," said Capt. Chris School. "Where there is a will, there is a way." Favorite sites include Humvees, a vehicle providing concealment if not comfort, as well as tents, closets, barracks, underground bunkers and even latrines. "Any time they can get alone there are going to be liaisons," says retired Lt. Col. Robert Maginnis. While the grunts do it in the road, the Navy provides other opportunities for fulfilling the adage perhaps best articulated during the 1960s by Wayne Fontana and the Mindbenders: "The purpose of a man is to love a woman and the purpose of a woman is to love a man."

Aboard one supply ship, scantily clad off-duty female sailors sunned themselves in full view of the men, as though posing for a Club Med brochure on the deck of some giant Chris-Craft. As for the men, they need no such encouragement. When the Navy limited females to non-combat ships the pregnancy rate was as high as one in three. Since 1994, when women began serving on combat ships, there have been five babies born at sea. On the aircraft carrier Eisenhower, 39 out of 400 women on the first co-ed cruise became pregnant. The Navy lamely explained that the couplings had taken place in port. One Navy pair went so far as to prop up a mini-cam and tape their below-deck maneuvers and were caught only when they screened the performance for others. On another ship, an officer opened a boiler room closet and a half-naked couple, suddenly disengaged, tumbled out onto the floor.

The *Abraham Lincoln*, one of the combat ships refitted at great expense to accommodate women, was formerly the "Abe" but is now known as "the Babe." The *USS The Sullivans*, an Aegis-class destroyer commissioned April 19 in New York, is the first ship specifically designed to accommodate male (314) and female (6) crew members. Dating shipmates is not permitted but, based on past experience, that rule might be tough to enforce. During the Gulf tour of the *USS Acadia*, dubbed "The Love Boat," 36 out of 360 sailors had to be evacuated for pregnancy. The *USS Samuel Gompers*, was described by sailor Elizabeth Rugh as "a big high school." And according to another officer, the Navy's only two female JAGs (Judges Advocate General) who have served aboard ship both had to be shipped ashore, one for pregnancy the other for fraternization. As in the Army, everybody's doing it.

The co-ed regime is imposed from the top down and to defy or criticize it is to risk ending one's career. That is why military personnel clam up tighter than a bathysphere when asked to speak on the subject, even off-the-record. Little has emerged from the Marines, the branch of the service with the fewest women, but the problems likely differ little from those of the Army. And the lack of sexual news from the Air Force does not mean that nothing is going on. An officer who has often flown in the C-5 notes that the giant aircraft is honeycombed with all sorts of cabin areas providing ideal places to hide. Many C-5s have mixed crews and "it would be easy" he says, to form a military mile-high club.

Lt. Kelly Flinn, the nation's first female B-52 pilot, of the 23rd Bomb Squadron in Minot, North Dakota, was pulling G-forces with both an enlisted airman and the civilian husband of a junior enlisted woman. Flinn disobeyed an order to stay at least 100 feet away from one of the men she was seeing. While Flinn's flagrante is nothing out of the ordinary, not even chaplains can escape the desexegrated regime.

In April and May 1995, an Army reserve chaplain and former infantry officer who served in Desert Storm went on two-week training exercise with 50 male and 3 female chaplains at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. These broke down into three groups of 18 men, each with a woman in the tent. The former infantry officer objected, verbally and in writing, but the brass ignored his complaint. As some observers see it, this co-ed chaplains retreat had a strategic purpose. Those who object to the soldiers' co-ed arrangements can now be told that even the chaplains are sharing tents.

While promoters of the PC regime see these policies as a groundbreaking experiment, the military has previous signs of what happens when males and females serve together. Signal battalions have had women for some time, many of them drivers. A former high-ranking officer recalls that in Europe, a commanding officer was using military vehicles to, as Big Daddy put it in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, cut himself a piece of poontang. "It was often the scenario," the veteran says. "You are always on the move and basically live in the vehicle." During the early 1970s at Fort Riley, Kansas, soldiers who were supposed to be on the firing line were found in the back of the ambulance (regulations require that one be kept on hand) getting horizontal with members of the medical crew. A Vietnam veteran says that troops in the Mekong Delta would crawl through mines and concertina wire to bring prostitutes into camp.

Gender-integrated training was tried in the early 1980s and abandoned, with most of the records of it mysteriously missing. Those involved say it was a complete disaster. For a wartime comparison, one could consider the Women's Army

## In The Field With G.I. Jane

**S**elections from *Sustaining Female Soldiers' Health and Performance during Deployment: Guidance for Small Unit Leaders*, U.S. Army Medical Research and Materiel Command, July 1996.

No unique medical or health issues, other than pregnancy, prevent women from being deployed to field situations.

Increased incidences of urinary tract infection, vaginitis and other gynecologic infections may occur during deployment.

Approximately 12% of female soldiers are pregnant at any time, many without realizing it. . . . Pregnant soldiers must be evacuated from the theater. There is no option. Evacuation occurs at great cost. The stress of military operations may harm the fetus.

Pregnancy during deployment disrupts unit cohesiveness. Loss of unit members requires modification to operations and affects morale.

Abstinence from sexual intercourse prevents pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease (STD) and is clearly the best choice.

Female soldiers should ensure partners use a new condom for each sexual encounter regardless of other birth control protection.

Vaginal infections affect readiness. Fungal and bacterial vaginitis may occur during deployment. Limited showers increase difficulty maintaining good hygiene, especially during the menstrual period.

Encourage soldiers to use non-deodorant panty-liners if clean underwear is not available.

Avoid anal intercourse, which causes tissue damage and increases susceptibility to STD.

Some women may experience changes or disruption of their menstrual cycle.

When compared to her male counterpart, the female soldier's physical differences are in size and muscle mass and the addition of a complex reproductive system. Females are prone to more lower extremity injuries because of the differences in size and muscle. In fact, the incidence of lower extremity injury in women is approximately twice that of the men. Female soldiers are likely to use a greater percentage of their strength on a task, resulting in quicker fatigue and/or greater vulnerability to non-battle injury.

Some women may have greater difficulty staying warm enough to sleep at night. Chronic disruption of sleep will adversely affect performance as well as morale.

Deployed female soldiers may have added separation stress from defending their decision to serve in the Armed Forces, particularly if they have children. Recent mothers may experience extended post-partum depression. Because of these concerns and pressures, soldiers may be irritable, nervous, inattentive, and have difficulty sleeping.

Sexual harassment occurs more often to female soldiers than to male soldiers.

Urinary directors minimize disrobing during urination. If used, directors should be cleansed with wet wipes after each use.



Corps of World War II.

In *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II*, Leisa D. Meyer notes that in May 1943 there were approximately 61,000 women on duty, 70 percent single, 15 percent married and 15 percent widowed, separated, or divorced. Though barred from combat, WAC officers were given weapons training and some WACs also served with the 5th Army in Italy in 1944, as part of an experimental unit to determine if it was possible to employ women in Army ground forces tactical units. They lived in tents, wore shirts and trousers, and were generally 12-35 miles behind the front lines. But Meyer, a feminist, concedes that their very presence caused tensions.

The presence of few women among many men created a "lack of sexual restraint" with many WACs suffering "burn out" from the barrage of requests for "dates. Sometimes things weren't so delicate. So many soldiers tried to enter the WAC barracks that high wire fences had to put up to keep them out. After men invaded their compound at Fort Benning, WACs were issued nightsticks and told "use their judgment" on interlopers. But many WACs welcomed the attention.

One of their songs was the self-explanatory "I Want a Man," and another favorite, "Real Camp Girl," went like this:

*She's got a private in the Service Company  
She's got a T/5 in the Motor Pool  
She dates a corporal in Demolitions  
And her sergeant, he's a jewel  
And from Company B of the 52nd  
He's the one who has her in a whirl  
though she swears that she loves them all the same  
For she's a typical Camp Abbot Girl.*

In one WAC unit, "sex-crazed females" would pick up men, and a patrol stumbled on a sergeant and his WAC lover frolicking naked in the woods. Meanwhile, lesbian WACs coupled in hallways, barracks, and latrines. Integration of the sexes into combat units have expanded the

opportunities for nature to take its course.

"Guys are saying it's just not working, that it's okay to have a few women in office jobs but we can't keep shoe-horning women into these places," says David Wood. Two years ago, Wood went to Fort Jackson, South Carolina, for a story on black female drill sergeants. Without prompting, he was told how female recruits hitting on female drill sergeants had become a huge problem.

A former high-ranking officer tells *Heterodoxy* he gets calls from contacts in the Israeli military telling him how "stupid" the co-ed policy is. (After one disastrous experience, Israel has kept women away from front-line combat.) But the U.S. military, alone in the world, keeps to the PC course. And things appear to be getting worse.

Secretary of the Army Togo West has taken as his adviser Madeline Morris, a feminist Duke University law professor with no military background, who recently authored "By Force of Arms: Rape, War and Military Culture." In this piece, she recommends that the military eliminate its "masculinist" tendencies and adopt an "ungendered vision" in which units look to Alcoholics Anonymous, religious orders and other groups as models. The Army, she says, must combine its "aggressivity" with compassion, and cultivate idealism and moral conviction instead of manly "posturing."

"Surely," Morris writes, "if armed force is ever to be deployed, then idealism and moral conviction are preferable motives to macho posturing." Her examples of cohesive groups centered on ideological rather than "gendered bases" for bonding include Communist Party cells and the French resistance underground. Masculinist military culture, she says, promotes violence against women and Morris urges an end to the land-combat exclusion which, she says, "may tend, in both concrete and symbolic ways, to reinforce the traditional military gender and sexual norms that may be contributing to the military rape differential."

Elaine Donnelly counters that if anything

promotes violence against women, it is the current policy of training women for combat, where they will certainly get equality in death. When Peruvian commandos recently broke into the Japanese ambassador's compound in Lima to free the hostages, the two teenaged female guerrillas of the Tupac Amaru rebels shouted "We surrender." Displaying no gender bias of any kind, the commandos shot them dead.

U.S. Air Force Lt. Laura Boussy says that the claim that soldiers can be trained to conduct themselves properly in an asexual, professional manner in brutal ground combat is "a utopian fantasy." Boussy says that sexual tensions and misconduct would be sure to increase and unit morale and cohesion would suffer.

Morris was hired by Secretary West to look into the Aberdeen incidents of rape and sexual harassment. But whatever specific recommendations she makes, the truth is, as Stephanie Gutmann says in a recent issue of the *New Republic*, that the Aberdeen incidents "are bound to recur. In a military that is dedicated to the full integration of women, and to papering over the implications of that integration as best they can... sex and sexual differences will continue to be a disruptive force." She adds: "We will not really know [the full costs] until the forces are called on to do what they are assembled to do: fight."

UCLA anthropology Professor Anna Simons, who spent a year and a half living among Special Forces soldiers for her new book *The Company They Keep: Life Inside the U.S. Army Special Forces*, does not hold high hopes for the result if and when it comes to fighting. "Allowing women into ground combat units could hurt the morale and cohesion of the armed forces," she recently wrote in the *New York Times*. "A combat unit's very success depends on something that is hard to measure, but too easy to discount: male bonding." One way they bonded was to talk about sex, which "allowed the men to define themselves separately, while not challenging the group's unity." Adding women to combat units, she says, "would obviously alter, if not completely stop, these discussions."

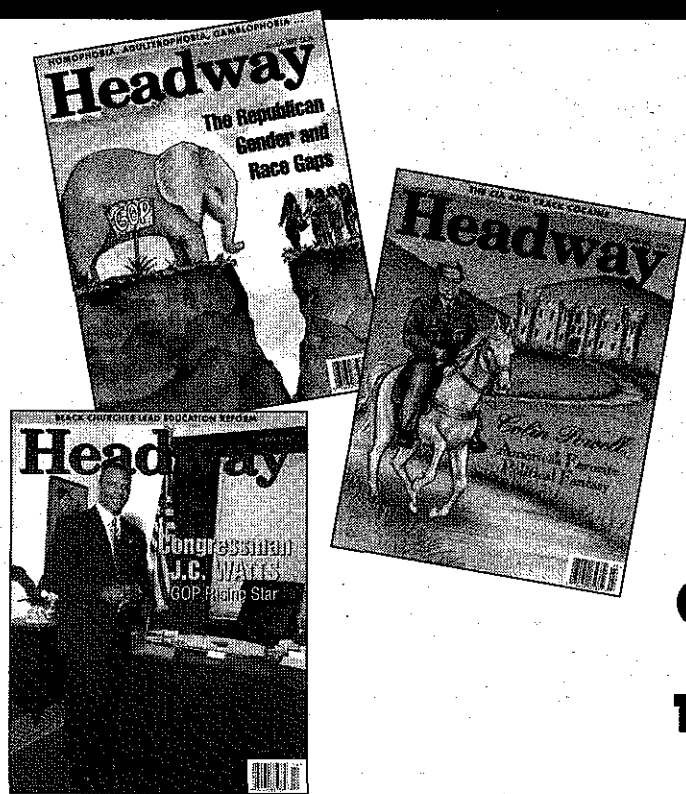
Like Elaine Donnelly, Simons believes that women are capable of filling many jobs in the military—but not in combat units. "Men who volunteer for combat, men who are willing to put their lives on the line," she says, "have their own way of communicating, and all the political pressure in the world can't change that."

Simons told *Heterodoxy* she is "not sure that women are capable of the same kind of teamwork" and said that the presence of two women with a Special Forces unit in Arkansas caused "significant behavior changes" among the men. She was sure that the female presence "will just eat up cohesion." A male professor told Simons that maybe men and women can fight together, but added, smiling, that if the combat slacks off, then aha! we'll all have some fun. "Most guys will admit it if they are honest," says Simons. "But too many of the PC crowd can't be honest about this."

The gender warriors have already begun to attack Simons, who doubts she will get tenure. Meanwhile, free at last to speak out, a former fighter pilot and retired Marine colonel Jerry Cadick recently unleashed a salvo in *Newsweek* titled "On Being a Warrior." He writes: "We gotta get down to basics, like where we evolved from and some real hard natural selection rules Mother Nature wrote in the Standard Operating Procedures manual." Cadick has heard the argument that technology has made the military more female-friendly but doesn't buy it. "The only test of who can function in combat is combat," he says, and those currently in the "stampede toward correctness" have embarked on a mission impossible. One wishes that Cadick had made his case in a televised Congressional hearing, with Pat Schroeder in attendance.

"Guess what," he says, shaking his head over attempts to control the Rabelaisian atmosphere that now defines the military, "you are bumping up against millions of years of genetic conditioning. Good f---ing luck!"

## THE NATION'S ONLY MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF BLACK CONSERVATIVE OPINION...



**Subscribe  
Now  
and  
SAVE!**

**ONE-YEAR  
SUBSCRIPTION  
ONLY \$29.95**  
Call  
**1-800-340-5454**  
To Subscribe

# Headway

13555 Bammel N. Houston Rd., Suite 227 • Houston, TX 77066  
713-444-4265 • Fax: 713-583-9534

Willie A. Richardson, Publisher

Gwen Daye Richardson, Editor



## Weird Feminist Science, Continued from page 1

While Sandra Harding's notion that Newton's tract on classical mechanics, the *Principia Mathematica*, masquerades as a rape manual is absurd, it is difficult to become outraged over such nonsense on other than intellectual grounds. We must ask, then, to what extent has this feminist "science" infiltrated the mainstream practice and understanding of science and medicine? While the scientific method has not been upended as the best method for acquiring scientific knowledge in university laboratories across the land, the trappings of the science—tenure, grants, medical test group demographics, official classifications of disease and areas of specialization, and so on—are being affected.

Even more significant, though, the way in which students, especially women, are learning about science both inside and outside of the science classroom has changed. An unhealthy affection for relativism and a sneaking suspicion of claims to objectivity is cultivated in the minds of college freshmen before they have even picked up a dissecting instrument or been handed a copy of the periodic table of the elements. Fresh from an enlightening English literature lecture on unveiling sexist metaphors in the bastion of patriarchal oppression, the literary Canon, an undergraduate is primed to "read" an intro chemistry textbook by searching for sexist or oppressive metaphors to interpret rather than by simply reading the words for their literal, technical meaning. Likewise, feminist groups led by women's studies professors, who emphasize writing "personal histories" and having students' experiences validated by others in the class, actually teach young women that the best way to approach the quest for knowledge is not through objective study, discipline, and hard work but by relying on one's intuitive reactions to the world without.

Rosser may not have had any luck yet in reinventing cell biology to reflect the feminine in science, but in a speech given to the AAAS in February 1996, Indiana University professor of history and philosophy of science Noretta Koertge offered several fascinating examples of feminist science at least partly successfully at worming their ways into academic texts. Koertge explained how "the French philosopher Irigaray speculates that the mechanics of fluids was slow to develop because men prefer thinking about rigid bodies." She then offered a quotation from Katherine Hayes, writing on Irigaray in the journal *Differences*: "These idealizations [of the male as rigid and the female as fluid] are reinscribed in mathematics, which conceives of fluids as laminated planes and other modified solid forms. In the same way that women are erased within masculinist theories and language, existing only as not-men, so fluids have been erased from science, existing only as not-solids."

Lest her audience think that such theories about women being erased from existence because of their natural identity as fluid creatures have no real-world implications, Koertge cited a 1995 volume on new directions in mathematics education from Cambridge University Press that cites Irigaray and posits that women have "trouble with elementary physics problems because they presuppose a linear theory of time while women more naturally think of time as cyclical (as in menstrual periods)." When such arguments are used to justify young women's failure to excel in basic physics, it both reinforces the notion that physics and other hard sciences are merely part of a patriarchal plot to oppress women and encourages young women to drop out of such fields because they are supposedly incapable of succeeding in them.

Although Koertge also cited "a professor of mathematics [who] suggests that it might be advisable to teach Navajo children calculus before fractions since supposedly their worldview stresses continuous processes and is uncongenial to the idea of fragmentation," she concluded her talk with noting that we will probably not "see a wide-scale adoption of menstrual conceptions of time or calculus-without-fractions" mathematics. This does not mean, however, that the anti-rational and anti-science premises behind such wild ideas are not seeping into certain areas of the academy and research and treatment institutions.

The study and practice of psychology, for example, is an area under particular assault from the feminist camp. So-called feminist psychotherapy has gained such ground as a serious practice that the

American Psychological Association is considering adding it to the list of recognized areas of specialization. Yet as described by Washington, D.C., psychiatrist Sally Satel, feminist psychotherapy is "not therapy at all; it is a political exercise." Satel, a former faculty member of the Yale University School of Medicine, who is widely published in medical journals as well as the mainstream media, describes the sessions as focusing on the diagnosis that any stress you might have is attributable to the patriarchy oppressing you. And as with many feminist interactions, the participants are extremely sensitive about the issue of power in the relationship: The patient is never just a patient, but a client or customer, and, to maintain the balance in this highly unorthodox relationship, the therapist is apparently as concerned with unburdening herself by relating her own experiences of disempowerment and oppression as with listening to those of her "client." Regardless of the APA's decision on whether to sanction such unprofessional arrangements between patient and doctor, feminist psychotherapy is already seen as a requisite for those professionals preparing to be licensed in the field of psychology: The current study guide and review book for the national licensing exam, published by the Association for Advanced Training in Behavioral Science, devotes an entire section to feminist psychotherapy.

The general medical field is not without its attackers struggling to shed the new feminist paradigm in its patriarchal underpinnings—in medical textbooks, for example. In a 1994 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, "Sex and Gender Bias in Anatomy and Physical Diagnosis Text Illustrations," the authors (three students working with two professors of medicine) concluded that women are underrepresented in illustrations of non-reproductive anatomy. "This underrepresentation of women in anatomy texts," according to the authors, "may prevent students from becoming as familiar with the female body as they are with the male body and may create the perception that the male body is 'normal' and the female body 'abnormal.'" Despite the fact that there is no relevant difference, other than average size, in the liver, or heart, or lung, of a female cadaver than that of a male cadaver, the tendency to regard woman qua woman as a medical specialty represents an unsettling trend.

Sally Satel reported in the *Wall Street Journal* one year ago, that the San Francisco Civil Service Commission already requires that nurses, orderlies, social workers, and other non-doctoral staff members pass what is called the "African American Health Services Specialists" exam before they are allowed to work in the race-specific psychiatric unit at San Francisco General Hospital. Noting that such a policy is an open invitation for those in the medical field to discriminate against minorities by claiming that they are not "qualified" to treat them, Satel says that such policies represent a "horrifying precedent" when one considers extending the argument to women. Designating half of the human population a medical "specialty" becomes a handy excuse to marginalize women from standard medical practice and is a far cry from the current necessary areas of medical specialization that pertain to actual female or male problems. Americans already angered over restricted access to quality health care brought about by Health Maintenance Organizations are unlikely to embrace the creation of an entirely new area of specialization that the average general practitioner is suddenly deemed "unqualified" to handle anyone female.

The extent to which we are already allowing feminist philosophy to drive policy—and thus scientific practice—is evidenced by a little-remarked section of the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act railroaded through Congress back in 1992 by the Congressional Women's Caucus over the opposition of Dr. Bernadine Healy, director of NIH at the time, as well as the NIH's own Office of Research on Women's Health. Known as the "Clinical Research Equity for Women and Minorities" provision, this piece of legislation created the ultimate in politically correct medicine—scientific research by quota. Say that a group of medical researchers believe they have discovered a drug that reduces the chance of death from heart failure in white men, to use Satel's example. Once, the NIH could simply allocate funding to such a research group to follow up on their hypothesis with patient test studies of this potentially lifesaving

drug. At the newly revitalized NIH, things are not quite so simple. To receive funding, the researchers would have to expand their test group to include women and racial minorities—even if there was a complete absence of scientific evidence that the drug had any effect on women or non-Caucasian men. (This attitude toward empirical evidence is the political fallout of the gender feminists' philosophical conviction that because there is no such thing as objective fact and that actual evidence is not necessary to support anything one says—since every person's "truth" is different, the statement that this is how you see or experience the world is enough to validate anything you say.)

Prohibitive costs or a dearth of acceptable minority patients in the researchers' immediate geographical area would not qualify the researchers for an exemption. The law explicitly prohibits using financial burden of expanding patient test groups or the geographical difficulties encountered by researchers in demographically homogenous areas of the country from exempting the researchers from the requirements.

The result of such affirmative action science was predicted to be a huge inflation of costs and lengthy delays in patient testing of new drugs and treatments—leading to fewer medical breakthroughs overall as researchers reliant on government grants struggled to meet the requirements of the new law. Since the "Clinical Research Equity" provision has only been in effect for less than three years, however, the real extent to which this quota-quantified science would actually affect medical discoveries remains to be seen. Who knows, some researchers may still have their projects on hold as they struggle to track down the last Aleutian Native or Tohono O'Odome tribe member necessary to meet their quotas and get back to their laboratories.

With feminists exerting their pressure to micromanage scientific research at the federal grants level, it's no surprise that they have managed to impose policies of scientific appointment by quota at the academic level as well. At Yale University, for example, departments are now required to justify not granting tenure to female members of the medical faculty. While granting tenure to faculty members based on their sex is morally and intellectually repugnant—and as sure to backfire against women as all examples of government-sponsored preferential treatment for women have done—it is an issue which for now is confined to the ivory tower. There is one realm of American society in which the logical outcomes of the gender feminists' anti-science beliefs have had a widespread and significant impact, however—the courts. As the Independent Women's Forum's executive vice president and general counsel Anita Blair says, "Certain opportunistic lawyers stumbled on a gold mine when they discovered an entire 'victim class' that is suspicious of science."

The most famous of the court cases influenced by feminized science, of course, is the furor over silicone breast implants. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration banned the sale of the silicone implants in 1992, ending three decades of their widespread use. When FDA chief David Kessler announced the ban, the only "evidence" linking the use of the implants with autoimmune and connective tissue disease in women was anecdotal—that is, subjective and impossible to verify by a physician or anyone else, such as claims of fatigue, ache in the joints and muscles, and troubled sleep. Despite what the junk science experts testifying in court cases to this day have to say, there is still no scientific evidence linking silicone breast implants and such complaints. By the mid 1990s, however, former manufacturers and distributors of the implants were facing more than 20,000 lawsuits and so decided on a \$4.25 billion global settlement. Dow Corning, which had sold half of all the implants used, then declared bankruptcy in 1995 after shelling out \$400 million in legal costs and settlements to the implant "victims" and their lawyers.

The attacks on corporate health supply companies like Dow Corning were applauded by feminists because such corporations were seen not only as victimizing the implant users with their faulty products, but as perpetuating the oppressive image of women as mere physical playthings by encouraging implants for purely cosmetic reasons. As with many feminist efforts, however, the only "victims" around are those female survivors of breast cancer now prevented from



having access to the silicone implants for reconstructive surgery.

Women aren't the only ones hurt in this collision of feminist anti-science and attorney greed though. Medical devices such as cardiac pacemaker wires, mechanical heart valves, artificial joints, and implantable arteriovenous shunts all contain parts made of silicone. As Dr. Marcia Angell, author of *Science on Trial: The Clash of Medical Evidence and the Law in the Breast Implant Case* and executive editor of *The New England Journal of Medicine* since 1988, points out, the future of such devices is thus threatened as manufacturers shy away from getting

caught up in the web of liability law that ensnares anyone even remotely connected with a product.

The scientifically unproven fears of silicone are now threatening the birth control device Norplant, the first long-term, reversible contraception for women—a topic one would assume feminists would rally to defend. Despite support from scientists, physicians, and even the FDA, manufacturer Wyeth-Ayerst Laboratories now faces more than 200 lawsuits (including 50 class action suits), many of which are being pursued by the same lawyers involved in the silicone breast implant cases. Once again, the total absence of scientific fact is being waved off as irrele-

vant in the face of the myriad "truths" about Norplant's negative side effects which have been "perceived"—although never documented or proven—by its female victims. With more than 1 million American women using Norplant within the first four years after its introduction, the lawyers have an ample supply of "victim" plaintiffs for years to come.

While the importance of Norplant is its convenience, reliability, and relative low cost (the six tiny rods containing an anti-fertility hormone and implanted in a woman's upper arm are effective for up to five years), there is another female-related product whose withdrawal from the medical market has brought

## Scientific American Goes PC

Science has always challenged all orthodoxies, first religious, then political, then its own. Nearly all scientific facts we know today began as heresies. Every working scientist is forced on a regular basis to sacrifice favorite beliefs when the evidence goes against them. And all scientists turn out to be wrong at times. Einstein was wrong in fighting quantum mechanics; Newton was wrong about the basis of the calculus. In fact, the most important phrases in a scientist's vocabulary may be "I don't know," and "I was wrong." Those phrases see a lot of daily use. The result is the ultimate in subversive democracy.

Today's ideologues oppose science just like the Inquisition opposed Galileo and Hitler opposed the "Jewish physics" of Einstein. Maybe ideologues don't like science because it is always finding evidence that disproves their fantasies. Marxism, which claimed to be scientific, turned to be just plain wrong. AIDS has not become a heterosexual disease, as the ideologues insisted it would. Babies in the womb can feel pain, no matter how much we try to deny it. It is no surprise that the ideologues have mounted a sustained effort to undermine free speech in scientific journals and to drive uncomfortable truths from the pages of many publications. It is a surprise, however, that they have found an ally in the most widely read science journal in the world, *Scientific American*.

Is there a statistical difference in IQ between blacks and whites and Asians? No, says *SciAm*, contrary to decades of robust evidence. Do free markets work efficiently? *Scientific American* scurries to deny it. What about apocalyptic predictions about exploding overpopulation, disappearing oil supplies, and global warming? As the evidence in favor of such theses becomes more and more tenuous, *Scientific American* continues to thunder the fashionable line that prosperity leads inevitably to global disaster. When welfare reform was passed in the last Congress, *SciAm* predicted doom even before any changes were implemented and assessed.

As the most widely read science journal in the world, *Scientific American* could have insisted that standard public health measures be used to retard the spread of AIDS, and saved thousands of lives. It could have exposed epidemic alarms about false diseases and health scares. It could have opposed the growing attacks on science itself. But on most current issues that require going against the grain, *Scientific American* is silent. Indeed, today we have the postmodern *Scientific American*, flaunting the trendy line that science is, after all, only a social product, obedient to the powers that be, and that reality is in the eye of the beholder.

One indication of the thinking that goes into the new *Scientific American* comes from a curious recent book by its Senior Writer, John Horgan, naturally called *The End of Science: Facing the Limits of Knowledge in the Twilight of the Scientific Age*. It is a breezy survey of the sciences, presented in short, chatty chapters, all with the same formula: The End of Progress, The End of Philosophy, followed by The End of Physics, Cosmology, Evolutionary Biology, Social Science, and Neuroscience. "Science," we are told, "will follow the path already trodden by literature, art, music, philosophy. It will become more introspective, diffuse, obsessed with its own methods."

It's extraordinary how Horgan, a onetime English major, has managed to divine the future of all the major sciences with the certainty of a Nostradamus. But the reason for this clairvoyance is not far to seek. Like his postmodern professors, Horgan merely applies the same simplistic formula to all the sciences, from cosmology to neuroscience, and always comes to the same conclusion: Science is dying. Steeped in deconstructionist discourse, Horgan tells us in his penultimate chapter about a life-shaping mystical experience in college, in which he felt he was God, but a God afraid to know him/her/it self. This book is the result. It is precisely the sort of thing for which the word "sophomoric" was invented, echoing all the thousands of self-important sops who derive their whole meaning in life from their one supreme interest—themselves. At no point does the book transcend such narrow narcissism. "Our plight," Horgan proclaims in the final lines of *The End of Science*, "is God's plight. And now that science—true, pure, empirical science—has ended, what else is there to believe in?"

Such vacuousness would be less disturbing if it was not mirrored in the current editorial philosophy of *Scientific American*. Many articles in the latest issues are written by science journalists, who fill many of its pages each month with a profusion of short science bites, the journalistic equivalent of Short Attention Span Theater on the Comedy Channel.

The decay is visible also on the letters page. In science, arguments are resolved by an appeal to evidence, or if the evidence is not in, by making testable predictions. If a question cannot be decided either by evidence or rigorous theory, there is simply no way to decide it. Frontier issues are in fact often undecidable, because the future almost always has a tendency to prove us wrong. So a lot of humility is generally in order. In the new *Scientific American*, however, we encounter little humility and a whole new way to resolve controversy—by accusing a letter writer of bias or corruption. A factual debate about the long-term casualties of Chernobyl breaks down into accusations of "immorality." A disagreement about the economics of a manned space station ends in accusations of dishonesty. Genuine differences of opinion are simply ignored. Ad hominem argument is now the only possible kind, and political struggle the only solution. Evidence? Forget it!

What about the definitive feature articles that once made *Scientific American* the journal of record, a *locus classicus* of expositions of major scientific findings? Here the old ways are not entirely dead. The October 1996 issue, for example, has two articles the old *Scientific American* might have been proud of. They are "Microbes beneath the earth" and "Friction at the atomic scale." These pieces are quite wonderful, full of unexpected insights.

But the authors of the other full-length articles just don't get it. "Ten days under the sea" is ecological puffery. The scientific value of living for ten days in a technobubble at the bottom of the ocean is so small as to be invisible. "Single mothers and welfare" makes predictions of doom about the effects of welfare reform laws that had just passed, and could not possibly be in evidence yet. "Controlling computers with neural signals" contains nothing new. "Charles Darwin and associates, ghostbusters" is gossip history about Darwin's dislike of spiritualism. It has no scientific interest, and is not even interesting as gossip. "Confronting science's logical limits" is lightweight speculation by mathematician John Caspi, one of the Deep Thinkers of Mr.

Horgan's book. It draws no conclusions, nor does it contain a coherent line of argument that might lead to any conclusions.

"Sounding out science" attacks the way ecological damage from the Exxon Valdez disaster has been assessed "because of the way (investigators) have framed their inquiries." That's the standard cliché of deconstructionism, of course, and it is written not by an expert in the field but by a traveling staff writer. Rethinking assumptions that may lead investigators astray usually requires a profound understanding of why researchers do what they do. Superficial critiques from visiting reporters rarely get to the bottom of such complex technical questions. And, in fact, this article turns out to be the usual denunciation of those who play the heavies in Hollywood movies—scientists, engineers, and business owners; in other words, people who actually do things. The aim of this kind of journalism is not to understand but to blame.

In sum, out of eight major articles in the October 1996 issue, only two are genuine contributions to knowledge. The remainder is soft propaganda. What a falling off is this!

*Scientific American* has been missing in action on the AIDS crisis and the prospect of a "second wave" among young gay men which could, after all the billions for education, result in an infection rate comparable to that which decimated the first generation of AIDS victims. And what does the magazine have to say about *Ebonics*, another hot-button issue? Its brief comment is titled, "A Matter of Language—The popular debate over *Ebonics* belies decades of linguistic research," and what follows is the most deceptive piece of science journalism in years.

While the title invites the reader to infer that "Ebonics" is a separate language, the article itself quotes linguists to the effect that *Ebonics* is a dialect of standard English. Like any other dialect, it is a linguistic entity, a "language" in that sense of the word. But it is not, of course, a separate language from standard English, which might justify bilingual funding. The whole point of the slippery argument is, of course, to show how compassionate and liberal the writer really is. Instead of showing that *Ebonics* is an educational fraud, designed to obtain federal money for an imaginary problem, *SciAm* heroically takes the side of scamming bureaucrats against the children they are failing to educate.

Where was *Scientific American* with all the false disease scares of the last twenty years? Where was it when women were persuaded by the popular media that silicone breast implants led to cancer, a fraud that has finally now been exposed in court? It was exactly where it was with the Alar scare, with the asbestos scare, and with the radon scare, all expensive popular frauds that went on unchecked for years. *Scientific American* was silent. The magazine has been complicit in the undermining of honest scientific debate in many major areas of public concern, including health and education.

As the most influential science magazine in the world, *SciAm* could have made a difference. It could have stood for objectivity, for free and open inquiry, and for the idea that scientific truth is and should be above intellectual fad and polemical fashion. In failing to do this, it has fouled its own nest and contributed to the political assault on science that will have disastrous consequences for us all.

Jeremy Aaron is a Bay Area science writer.



about an actual increase in health problems in women. In the 1970s, Merrell Pharmaceutical was hit with numerous lawsuits alleging that its morning sickness drug Bendectin was responsible for birth defects in children. Even though the company won every lawsuit filed against it (except one, which is currently pending appeal), its legal and insurance costs had skyrocketed so high the company decided it could no longer afford to manufacture and market the drug. So in 1983, the only morning sickness drug available in the United States was removed from the market—despite an official protest from more than 12,000 physicians and the absence of any medical or scientific evidence that the drug did indeed cause birth defects. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* reported a subsequent doubling of hospitalization for severe vomiting and nausea during pregnancy after Bendectin disappeared from the market.

Although not a strictly female ailment, Multiple Chemical Sensitivity or MCS is gaining an increasing crowd of women victims and consequent media attention, despite a complete lack of any actual evidence that such a disorder exists anywhere other than in the minds of its sufferers—an overwhelmingly white, financially comfortable, well-educated, thirtysomething female crowd—and the clinical ecologists, junk scientists, and trial lawyers who are getting very rich off of them. Although MCS is unrecognized by the mainstream medical community as a specific disease or syndrome, its proponents are working to get it classified under the Americans with Disabilities Act as a disability. Washington, D.C., lawyer Melinda Ledden Sidak describes the disabling effects of this new disease: "Sufferers of MCS report a wide variety

of symptoms, including mental confusion, nausea, headaches, heart palpitations, joint pain, irritability, and insomnia. Some believe that the onset of their symptoms coincides with exposure to any one of a number of common substances, including perfume, air fresheners, cleaning products, pesticides, and petroleum products. Other sufferers have blamed more exotic agents, such as fireworks, the ink in books and periodicals, salty licorice, and toothpaste. Some think their symptoms are provoked by certain types of behavior, such as crying, being tired, talking too long, being in an overheated room, or sitting in front of a computer screen or television."

Unfortunately, as described at a recent conference on "Women's Health, Law, and the Junking of Science" sponsored by the Independent Women's Forum, "the actual people labeled with MCS are failing to get appropriate and effective treatment for their symptoms, but instead are made to believe that the only way to survive is to isolate themselves from the world." Sidak can point to at least one woman whose need for isolation from the world actually encouraged her to leave it by committing suicide. She adds that "while the majority of those purporting to suffer from MCS do not resort to suicide, many are driven to bizarre extremes in their efforts to escape from the substances they believe are slowly poisoning them." One woman fled her Manhattan apartment for the woods of upstate New York; others have retreated to steel and porcelain-lined trailers in the deserts of the Southwest.

From breast implants to birth control, then, the genderfeminists' anti-science ideology and anti-rationalism combines with their belief in inherent

female victimhood to do real-world damage to women (and by extension to men with certain health problems) through manipulation of these ideas in the courts.

As Paul Gross, co-author with Norman Levitt of *Higher Superstition* points out, the damage done by the gender feminists is not in the way real science is (and will continue to be) conducted in truly serious research laboratories. The threat is in the way ideas about science are being taught in and outside the university classroom—in philosophy classes, in women's studies and cultural studies classes, in political science classes, and even in some science classes. (The professors of such classes might thank those elementary school teachers who now tell their students that there are no "correct" answers to math problems for preparing those young minds to be receptive to the irrationalism they will face in higher education.) When college students internalize the idea that truth is relative, that perception is more valuable than observation, that opinion is more "true" than fact, that one's sex is a social construct, and that the scientific method is a tool of female violation and oppression, then real-world consequences will follow that are at least as disturbing as those already witnessed in the courts.

Stepping back from the country's future to that of the young female students for whom the feminist movement ostensibly fights, it is a sad irony that the more the gender feminists succeed at making science female friendly, the more they will alienate women from true science.

Elizabeth Larson is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.

## Pop Anti-Science

**D**ebunking is, generally, an honorable trade. It disperses the fogs emitted by PR-moguls, advertisers, branches of the professoriate, political commentators, harlots of infotainment. Such fog-dispersal is for getting at the truth; serious debunkers believe that truth can be gotten at. They know that if a case exists, then the facts of it must exist too. Debunking is especially useful when it points to naked emperors, causing sycophants and courtiers to focus on the posteriors thus exposed.

But there is another kind of debunking. It is especially popular in Academe just now; and its most recent and most unlikely target is science. To be sure, its purpose is to deflate; but unlike debunking, it cannot, by definition, get at the truth, nor is that its goal. This pseudo-debunking starts with the insistence that "truth" is just a success-word, a self-congratulation by which those in power distinguish their beliefs from what the powerless think. "Objectivity" (like "truth" it tends nowadays to be in scare-quotes) is either a pretense or a delusion.

These science-critics argue (and teach, in a thousand college courses), that science, which we used to consider a quite reliable kind of knowledge about the physical world, is a house of cards. For starters, it is blind to telekinesis, alien abductions, humans alongside dinosaurs, cancer cures in peach-pits, energy-fields and auras emanating from us all. They characterize "Western" science, moreover, as the spearhead of cultural imperialism: biased, radically incomplete, offering lies about The Other (women, homosexuals, indigenous peoples), the tool of militarists. Or, they swagger: science has done well in the past; but it's over now.

If the "truth" about anything is merely the self-congratulation of those in power, then there is indeed no such thing as knowledge: there are only "knowledges," of which science is one, no better than any other. This is the newest way of putting science down. In it, socio-political thought is both necessary and sufficient for understanding science. This business (it is, academically speaking, a pretty big business) is a love-child of the intelligentsia and lately, also, of the media, where a lust for ratings and the perfume of postmodern Theory have aroused what even *The Boston Globe* calls "the X-filing of America."

This is not a new trick. "There is no such thing as truth, either in the moral or the scientific sense," said

A. Hitler to his fan, Hermann Rauschning. In the last century, Karl Marx, anticipating the claim that knowledge is just a social construct, announced: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." Nevertheless, it was not until the 1960s that such epistemological nihilism really came into its own. Nazis had blustered about *Blut und Boden*; but most of them valued science and used it, horribly, leaving the higher criticism to Hitler and Heidegger. In the Soviet Union, science got its due, except for Stalin's Lysenian aberration, which merely destroyed Soviet genetics (and geneticists). In their hearts, the sycophants knew that "Jewish physics" and "Mendel-Weismann-Morganism" were just political passwords.

Your credentialed social thinker might have predicted that with the defeat of Nazism and the implosion of Marxist regimes, relativist, social-constructivist anti-science would expire. But it didn't. It rose from the ashes and lives within women's studies, gay and lesbian studies, "Africology," cultural anthropology, sociology of science, and the like. The derogation of high culture among literati and the subsequent ennoblement of pop have their exact match here: the pseudo-debunking of science and scientists (dead and alive), the boosting of pop-anti-science (as in "Intelligent Design Theory," "alternative medicine," "non-linear thinking").

Thus the question: why now? What could have brought to such an unlikely coupling: radical feminism, say, with the old-time religion, the New Age with Nietzsche, networks with poltergeists?

From those few who recognize this as a question, you get answers: the arrogance of science, the prevalence of "scientific fraud," weapons of mass destruction, promises not kept, the assault of science on common sense. But none of these will do: they can all be shown to be false or irrelevant as answers. One answer you don't get from journalists or the sociological clerisy does, however, offer at least a plausible explanation. We now see, in the assault on science, an unprecedented agreement, a sharing of hopes and hatreds, at opposite ends of the cognitive spectrum—by cultural mandarins and dropouts.

Pushing anti-science and rehabilitating pseudoscience go back at least thirty years. That popular bumper-sticker, "Question Authority," was the whole worldview of two generations. Lots of them grew up in college. No trivial number became professors or powers in politics and the media. They are now the bosses; but the charm of imagining themselves virtuous revolution-

aries, Che Guevaras on campus, has not diminished. Their middle-class parents were brainwashed to the conviction that "protest" is an honorable thing—always and ipso facto.

The kids, now opinion-makers, grew up with that belief unchallenged, because most of them had been out protesting when history was being taught. The sense that there is something wrong with society (which is always true), the belief of the dropouts that it must be somebody's fault, the loss of religion, with its fingering of the culprit (Satan) and its hopes of relief, demanded—demands—a different culprit.

For the dropouts, of course, the culprit is still as always "the system," the toppling of which will fix things. For those with education (such as it was), it is either capitalism, if they absorbed a little Marx or Marcuse, or—at the top of the social-thought ladder—"modernity." What are the defining characteristics, for these thinkers, of modernity? Well, universalism, free-market economies (the alternatives having failed), and—science, that bag of tricks, that offspring of privilege, by which machines replaced animate power and the rich got richer. If you don't bother with data or with serious study of other cultures; if you are willing to define "objectivity" as "all opinions count"; if you don't know the difference between science and technology; and if you are nostalgic about Woodstock, you can easily conclude that capitalism and science are two faces of evil: exploitation of nature, of women, of The Other—dominion and profits. This looks idiotic as I write it; but you can read it every day on a hundred web-sites and in a like number of university-press books.

At the cognitive bottom, in short, there is the perennial hatred of "the system" plus the ineradicable longing for Something Else Out There. What's new is that at the top, among those with authority, tenure, or a by-line, many share that hatred and the same longing. This is what brings together the old orthodoxy with the new, the uneducated and frightened with the multiply-degreed and cocksure. The synergism won't make much difference soon to the way science is done: most scientists are oblivious to it. But it must diminish further the already meager capacity of society for judgments—urgent and difficult judgments—about how we are to survive on a troubled planet, in an unimaginably vast and hostile cosmos that does not care about us.

Paul Gross is author of *Higher Superstition* with Norman Levitt.



**Arming the Enemy, Continued from page 1**

our allies against the inevitable rise of new enemies, but actually facilitated, indeed even encouraged, the emergence of new military threats. It began with George Bush, Jim Baker, Brent Scowcroft, and Dick Cheney and continued at a far more rapid rate with Bill Clinton, Warren Christopher, Ron Brown, William Perry, and Anthony Lake. All of them have helped dismantle the philosophy and apparatus created by Ronald Reagan and his team—most notably Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger—to defeat the Soviet Union by denying it access to advanced technology and thus protect American military superiority for years to come. To understand our current plight with China, it is necessary to understand what we unilaterally dismantled under Bush and Clinton.

It is widely believed that the fall of the Soviet Empire was a great "implosion" produced by the failure of the Soviet economic system and the visionary policies of Mikhail Gorbachev. This is the leftwing view of recent events, a view intended to deny credit to democracy and America in forcing the outcomes. Western policies are rarely credited with a key role in this drama, but in fact they were the crucial ingredients. The Soviet economic system, for example, had failed long ago. In fact, it had failed from the very beginning, as each disastrous "plan" was replaced with another. Russia was the world's greatest grain exporter before World War I, and half a century later had become the world's greatest grain importer. That is not an easy accomplishment, and testifies to the shambles created by the Communist regime.

Things were not much better in the industrial complex, even the vaunted military sector. The Soviets were rarely able to design and manufacture advanced technologies on their own. Without exception, when the Soviets needed to modernize an assembly line, they went back to the original source and asked the Western company to build them a new one. They were especially dependent on Western technology in areas like electronics, computers, and advanced machine tools. This gave the West a great opportunity to get a stranglehold on Soviet military technology, and, under Reagan, the opportunity was exploited. An international organization Combat Command (COCOM) was created to control the flow of militarily useful technology from West to East. A list of dangerous technologies was agreed upon, and all members of COCOM undertook to embargo all of them for sale to the Soviets, or to any country willing to resell to the Soviet Union or its allies. Unanimous agreement was required for any exception.

Despite predictions that such a system could not possibly work, it proved to be devastating, as shown by the behavior of Gorbachev himself. Hardly a week went by without Gorbachev or Shevardnadze or other Soviet leaders begging the West to treat the USSR like a "normal" country, and thus dismantle COCOM. Their cries of pain were fully justified, for the gap between Soviet and Western military technology grew relentlessly during the Reagan years. So much so that when the Soviet crisis arrived, the Kremlin could not even dream of solving it by a successful military action against us.

It does not require an advanced degree in international relations to understand the great value of such a system of export controls in a hostile world, and it should have been maintained after the Cold War, especially if we were going to

dramatically reduce our research and development of new weapons systems and technologies to upgrade existing systems. The one thing we should not have wanted was to see potential enemies acquiring the very technologies that had given us such great military superiority. And of all the countries we should have worried about, China was Number One, with Iran a distant second.

There were, and are, two main reasons to think long and hard about China. The first is size: China has the world's largest population, and can therefore put into the field the largest army. And the likelihood of conflict with China stems from reason number two for thinking long and hard about this threat: China is the last major Communist dictatorship, and the history of the twentieth century is one of repeated aggression by dictators. Simple prudence dictated that, until and unless China joined the society of democratic nations, we should have tried to maintain a deci-

puters are more than one generation behind, and the radars and "com" links are old-fashioned. The Chinese know all too well how easily American stealth and smart bombs overwhelmed what the Russians supplied Iraq. In need of a "quick fix" to be able to bully its neighbors, China has been taking the Russian technology, but it needs much more.

A second source of armaments and military technology is Western Europe. European weapons are better than Russian, and come close to American standards. But European systems are frightfully expensive, and, for extras, the Europeans have generally been unwilling to sell the manufacturing technology for weapons. They want to sell the systems, and then supply the spare parts in the future. The Chinese want their own manufacturing capacity. Like any country preparing seriously for war, China doesn't want to be dependent on others for weapons.

A third source is Israel. Israel has been willing to sell arms and arms technology to China, and has done so for a number of years. Starting with air-to-air missile technology, Israel appears to have sold Lavi 3rd-generation fighter aircraft technology to China and is now trying to get the Chinese to buy an Israeli version of the advanced early warning radar aircraft, AWACS, which played such a big role in the Gulf war by providing early warning and vectoring allied aircraft against Iraqi planes, operating at stand-off ranges in excess of one hundred miles.

But Israel's assistance to China is limited in a number of ways. Because China sells arms to Iran and Iraq, and has sold missiles to Saudi Arabia and Syria, Israel has to exercise extreme caution about what it sells to China. The Chinese suspect—and they are surely right—that Israel is not going to sell China a system that Israelis cannot defeat.

Another difficulty for China buying from Israel is that Israel is not a one-stop solution. The Lavi is a good example. The Lavi is a modern, lightweight, single-engine, high-performance fighter plane with an advanced engine, composite structures, advanced computers and electronics, ECM pods, and missile and weapons launch capabilities. But China wants to manufacture the aircraft, and many of the parts

come from the U.S. and were provided to Israel under carefully controlled munitions export licenses. In most cases the manufacturing know-how was not even released to Israel, and other valuable design and manufacturing secrets were also withheld. The engine is an even graver problem: the only two sources for a suitable Lavi engine are American companies, Pratt & Whitney and General Electric. There is no other engine with the performance and weight to match it. While some have suggested the Russians could soon give the Chinese an acceptable engine, none has yet appeared. The U.S. engines are a generation ahead of anything the Russians have. So the Chinese have been able to acquire some of the technology from Israel. But to get the rest they need the United States.

It is often said that, in the world of advanced technology, embargoes or export controls cannot possibly work, because if they don't get it from us, they'll get it from somebody else. This is false. To compete with the U.S. militarily, China has to get our technology, and, most of the time, that means getting it directly from us.

It's easy to understand why the Chinese want our technology; it's far more difficult to comprehend why the American government would let them get it. We know that the Chinese routinely sell advanced weapons to "rogue nations" that



sive military advantage. Call it deterrence.

Instead, for reasons that will intrigue the psychohistorians for many years to come, we have not only bent over backwards to be generous to China (our enormous trade deficit leaves no doubt about our largesse), but we have been busily arming the People's Republic so that it can give us grief.

For China to effectively project power in the future, it would have to get the technologies for its army that the U.S. used to rout the Iraqi forces—actually superior to China's in many regards—during Desert Storm. But from where?

China has four main sources of supply. The most prominent is Russia. Russia has been able to offer China important help in aerospace, missiles, and submarine technology. China has bought Sukhoi fighter aircraft and Kilo-class diesel submarines from Russia, and the Russians have provided assistance to many other Chinese Army projects. But the Russian connection is only a stopgap for China, not a solution, because, while Russian technology is, in most cases, better than China's, it is not the equal of the United States. Russian military systems have well-known weaknesses: poor reliability, mediocre performance, and outdated technology. Russian arms lack the electronics found in American systems; the com-

rank among our worst enemies: Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya. We know China is a totalitarian regime. And we know that the stronger China becomes, the easier it will be for Peking to maintain its evil regime.

There are some extraordinary cases in which it might make sense to sell a limited amount of advanced military technology to China, but there aren't many of them. (It might make sense to sell them devices for nuclear safety, or for certain military systems with important civilian applications—satellite launchers, for example.) But that is not what is going on. The American government is allowing massive sales of highly advanced military technology to China, and the policy has reached dimensions and achieved a momentum that make clear that we are not doing so on a limited, special-case basis. It is a deliberate policy that appears to have full approval from the highest levels of the Clinton Administration, despite strong objections from government agencies or from individual officials outraged at what is happening. The Clinton Administration has not done this openly and honestly, by going to Congress and asking for a change in legislation. It has, for the most part, acted secretly, resorting to clever bureaucratic maneuver. Take the case of the aircraft engines for the Lavi, for example.

Powerful aircraft engines contain special technology that greatly enhances their thrust, and this technology has long been on the so-called "Munitions List" of goods and services that would endanger American security if they were sold to hostile or potentially hostile countries. It is illegal to sell anything on that list to anyone, anywhere, without formal approval from the State Department, which in practice almost always clears its decisions with the military services. Moreover, hard on the heels of the Tiananmen Massacre in Peking, Congress passed laws forbidding the sale of anything on the list to China, unless the president felt it so important that he were willing to issue a formal waiver. In the eight years since Tiananmen, this has happened just once, when a waiver was issued for technology having to do with the launch of commercial satellites on the Long March rocket (a military rocket).

The administration was unwilling to openly issue any other waivers, knowing there would be a political firestorm. So Clinton and his people did it slickly, by taking the engine technology off the Munitions List and shifting control from State to Commerce, where the president's buddy Ron Brown held court. Within days, Commerce issued licenses permitting U.S. engine producers to sell the technology to China. And since the sales have the explicit approval of the government, we can be sure that American corporations will do everything they can to help set up the manufacturing facilities. The result of all this maneuvering is that China will soon have the world's finest engines in its fighter aircraft.

The story is repeated elsewhere. Supercomputers, for instance, are the crown jewels of computers, and are in use at some of our best national laboratories such as Lawrence Livermore, Sandia, and Los Alamos. The U.S. National Security Agency uses supercomputers to keep track of our adversaries. The Defense Department, and leading defense contractors, use supercomputers to develop stealth technology and simulate testing of precision guided weapons, advanced weapons platforms, and delivery systems.

Only two countries, the United States and

Japan, build competent supercomputers. And both countries, recognizing that the random sale of supercomputers would constitute a grave risk to Western security, agreed in 1986 to cooperate and coordinate sales of supercomputers. This agreement made it impossible to sell supercomputers to China. But that was then, and this is now, and Clinton & Co. have sabotaged any effective control over supercomputer sales to China.

The first move was to change the definition of supercomputers. In the Bush administration, it was generally agreed that a computer with a speed of 195 million theoretical operations per second (MTOPS) was a "supercomputer," and therefore strategic. Two years later, the Clinton administration lifted the ceiling to 2,000 MTOPS. This ten-fold increase wasn't nearly enough, though, and shortly thereafter the administration unilaterally renounced the existing regulatory controls, such that China could get supercomputers up to 7,000 MTOPS. This drastic move provoked violent protests from many of our allies, including several that did not even manufacture such computers, and hence had no commercial interest in the matter. We thumbed our nose at them.

But even this was not enough, because it would still have been possible for the Department of Defense to oppose supercomputer sales to China on strategic grounds. The solution was to redefine the computers for "civilian use," and within the past 15 months, U.S. companies including IBM, Convex (later, Hewlett Packard), and Silicon Graphics (and perhaps others) have sold the Chinese at least 46 supercomputers, many of them going into China's defense industry, or being put to use in nuclear weapons design.

This represents a truly terrifying hemorrhage, for supercomputers are the central nervous system of modern warfare. The sales of 46 supercomputers give the Chinese more of these crucial devices than are in use in the Pentagon, the military services, and the intelligence community combined. They enable the Chinese to more rapidly design state-of-the-art weapons, add stealth capability to their missiles and aircraft, improve their anti-submarine warfare technology, and dramatically enhance their ability to design and build smaller nuclear weapons suitable for cruise missiles. Thanks to the folly of the Clinton Administration, the Chinese can now conduct tests of nuclear weapons, conventional explosives, and chemical and biological weapons by simulating them on supercomputers. Not only can they now make better weapons of mass destruction, but they can do a lot of the work secretly, thus threatening us with an additional element of surprise.

Finally, since supercomputers are the key to encryption, we have now made it easier for the People's Republic to crack commercial and, perhaps, even government secret codes.

There are many other areas where the American public has been told almost nothing about our arming of China, and reports indicating major problems with the Chinese have been suppressed or buried. In the past two years, for example, the Customs Department has interdicted 15 shipments of military parts going from the United States to China. Some of these were parts from our latest air-to-air missiles and from fighter aircraft like the F-15. These parts were "scrapped" by the U.S. military, but were never demilitarized. At much less than a penny on the dollar, Chinese agents were buying the parts and shipping them back to China. Customs acted in

the belief that the sales were illegal, yet not a single charge has been filed against the exporters.

Worse still, China has been buying up whole defense factories in the United States, and the administration, fully aware of what is going on (in fact, the Defense Intelligence Agency has sent some of its top Washington experts to witness some of these transactions), let it happen.

As America downsizes its defense programs, many defense factories are being shut down. Some produced state-of-the-art fighter aircraft for the Air Force and Navy. Others were involved in building intercontinental ballistic missiles. Still others were developing advanced electronics. One building at a Defense site contained sophisticated spectrometers, clean rooms, special plasma furnaces and lasers, and special measurement antennas operating at very high radar frequencies. It was a laboratory for testing "stealth" technology, and everything in it was sold, for a pittance, to the Chinese. So we have not only guaranteed that the Chinese will have superb fighter planes, we have ensured that we won't be able to "see" them in combat.

Defense factories being "decommissioned" have provided a bonanza for the PRC. For example, a multi-axis machine tool profiler (measuring hundreds of feet long), designed to build main wing spars for the F-14 fighter plane, which originally cost over \$3 million, was gobbled up by the Chinese—for under \$25,000. There is more: Global Positioning System manufacturing know-how, which will make Chinese cruise missiles uncannily accurate, was licensed for sale by the administration, as were small jet engines for a "training aircraft" that doesn't exist. The Chinese are working to copy those jet engines to modernize their Silkworm cruise missiles, and substantially extend their range and payload.

There are so many scandals swirling around Washington these days that it is difficult to get anyone to pay attention to another one. Yet the policy of arming China involves more than punishing people who stole from the public trough, or lied to Congress, or destroyed the lives of innocent public servants. This criminality could threaten the lives of our children in years to come by forcing them to fight the largest army in the world, equipped with the finest weapons American technology could design.

A great deal of the damage done to our security by the Clinton Administration—and to a lesser degree by the Bush Administration before—is irreversible, and ultimately we will undoubtedly have to spend a lot of money and effort to ensure that we have military technology even better than what we've given the Chinese. But it is long past time for Congressional leaders to stop the hemorrhage. Export controls must be enforced; the Munitions List must be tightened; we must once again try to piece together workable agreements with our allies. Above all, our politicians have to start earning their money. Is there not a single committee in the House and Senate capable of holding hearings on this madness? Is there not a single "news" organization that judges this scandal worthy of daily coverage? Or must we wait for another Pearl Harbor?



*Dr. Stephen Bryen is a former deputy undersecretary of Defense. Michael Ledeen's most recent book is Freedom Betrayed published by AEI Press.*

Visit the Center's New Web Site  
**www.cspc.org**

## REVIEWS

## Wills' World

*John Wayne's America: The Politics of Celebrity*  
by Garry Wills  
Simon and Schuster, 1997, \$26.00.

REVIEWED BY PETER COLLIER

Garry Wills is a political pamphleteer at heart, far more concerned with American corruption than American renewal, and fatally attracted to the worldview of the leftover Left. (A typical sentence in one of his recent articles in the *New York Review of Books* held that the U.S. is now witnessing "successful class warfare against the poor and moderately well off.") Despite the passing of the years and despite the fact that he was something of a conservative back then, Wills still has perfect pitch for the raucous intellectual tonalities of the '60s—the belief that the American people are mired in false consciousness, the inclination to transform a minor moral blemish into a suppurating sore, and the conviction that consensus is a cover for conspiracy. No wonder Oliver Stone, in endorsing Wills' new book, *John Wayne's America*, calls him a "master thinker," which, given the circumstances, is a little like having Jeffrey Dahmer approve of your dinner guests.

A punching bag for the Left at least since Ron Kovic's famous complaint, "I gave my dead dick for John Wayne," America's greatest film star is an obvious target of opportunity for Wills. Yet *John Wayne's America* is no mere broadside. It comes with all the up-to-date critical ergonomics and the creased brow of Deep Thought. Wills believes that Wayne offers him a chance to get to the heart of the matter—America's malevolent innocence which turned homicidal during the Cold War.

He begins by noting that Wayne was no "murkily erotic object" like Madonna and Elvis. He was not a cult figure in the sense of Bogart or Brando, individuals who sought a screen presence that defined itself against the grain of authority. Wayne was authority, a persona who "entangled all Americans, whether they knew it or not, in the peculiar definition he gave to 'being an American.'" Over the years, Wills asserts implausibly, he became a more powerful presence in our national life even than Presidents: "Nixon had policies but beneath these policies were the values Wayne exemplified."

This is not a biography, per se, Wills announces early on in a gesture that allows him to avoid the requirements of constructing a coherent life, while retaining the right to draft off more primary sources and borrow their psychobabble. (Wayne had a submissive mother which accounts for the fact that he married a series of Latin women; his unacknowledged mythomania caused him to inflate his exploits as a college football player; and, worst of all, he avoided serving in World War II, although he refought the war on screen for years to come. Wills repeats this last charge several times in the narrative, in much the same tone of voice that others whose ideas were formed in the '60s use when criticizing the hypocrisy of alcohol-swilling parents for unjustly forbidding their children access to drugs.)

No, this is not a biography, it is "a biography of an idea." And the idea is that Wayne, a natural born B-movie star, was made into something larger as a result of the efforts of great directors like Howard Hawks and John Ford, and that in time this something larger became larger than life, allowing "Wayne" (whatever role he was playing) almost single-handedly to shoulder 'the sense of imperial burden' that came into American life after World War II and tragically caused this country to acquiesce in the secret machinations of the CIA, the perversion of the FBI, the advent of loyalty

oaths and security hearings, and the other sinister expedencies that led implacably to a Pax Americana with all its well-known consequences.

Wills appears to take seriously Eric Bentley's stupid statement that Wayne helped get us into Vietnam. He finds it portentous that Ollie North was a John Wayne fan and that Newt Gingrich (like all the rest of us) tried to imitate that famous cantilevered walk when he was a boy.

To his credit, Wills appears to enjoy Wayne's movies, even if he has contempt for Wayne himself. Some good moments occur in *John Wayne's America* when the overdetermined thesis is put on hold momentarily by a discussion of the films. Wills' critical instincts yield a solid payoff, for instance, in his analysis of the odd triangular relationship between Wayne, his auteur John Ford, and the old western star Harry Carey, who was a friend to both of them; and in his insights into the way in which Wayne "created an entire language of body signals" that defined the western hero.

Wills correctly sees *The Sands of Iwo Jima* as pivotal film, the moment when, in the character of Sergeant Stryker, Wayne more or less formally adopted the persona he had accidentally stumbled into a few years earlier when playing Tom Dunston in *Red River*. "He is a lonely man burdened with responsibility," Wills writes of the Wayne hero. "His wife or lover he has lost to death, divorce or estrangement—and with her he has lost potential or actual sons (daughters don't count). This character will find in a follower the son he never had. The 'son' at first resents Wayne, but eventually finds himself coming to understand the responsibility he bears, the reasons for his strangeness, his emotional stuntedness."

But at times the close readings of the individual films and of the sources from which they come are a little too close for comfort. Wills flirts with race-class-gender stuff, does some deconstructive gymnastics, and engages in enough trendy semiotics to make him resemble an anxious assistant professor in one of our vandalized English departments, huffing and puffing as he unpacks the text in an attempt to convince senior colleagues that he is PC enough to deserve tenure. Indeed, the taste for weird similitudes in *John Wayne's America* calls to mind that combination of hermeneutics and junk scholarship in the multicultural university that has made Madonna Studies into something approaching a stand-alone discipline and White Studies the next big thing. At one point, for instance, Wills suggests that the bar fight in *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* where Victor McLaughlin, Wayne's Sergeant Major sidekick in the cavalry movies, stands off seven men and is finally quelled only by the authoritative voice of an officer's wife, "anticipates" a scene in Fellini's *Amarcord* where a crazed man in a tree ignores all efforts to get him down until a dwarfish nun tells him to descend. (One can imagine all those pseudo scholars who spend their days turning out monographs on pop culture smacking themselves in the forehead with the heel of a palm and saying, "Damn! Why didn't I think of that?")

Wills likes the Wayne-Maureen O'Hara collaboration in *A Quiet Man*. He has the proper reverence for *The Searchers* and appreciates the terrifying power of Ethan Edwards, the character Wayne plays there, as the first and most implacable terminator to hit the American screen. Yet every time he finds himself appreciating the Wayne oeuvre a little too much, Wills quickly swallows an ideological emetic. After discussing the cavalry trilogy of *Fort Apache*, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, and *Rio Grande*, for instance, he gets down to the reductionist business of showing how Ford's mythologized frontier is merely a scrim for Cold War hysteria: "Beautifully crafted as *Rio Grande* is simply as a story, it also resonated with Cold War concerns, with the duties of empire when the burden of the free world had a global mission that refused to observe national borders. Wayne put a human face on empire, but that didn't make it any less an empire."

Yet this malevolence was not really accomplished by Wayne, of course, whom Wills snidely says "had no interesting ideas in private life," but by his directors, who saw the implications of what Wayne had become. Wills drubs John Ford personally as a bitter and controlling individual, and,

because he maintains allegiance to an era that believes that the personal is political, he drubs Ford politically as well. No knee-jerk conservative like Wayne, Ford, who was once attracted to the cause of loyalists in Spain, was a liberal who came home from the war (where Wills believes he was corrupted by OSS chief Wild Bill Donovan) and joined up with other liberals to found the Americans for Democratic Action to attack the candidacy of Henry Wallace. (Wills says they thought he was "soft on communism," whereas the ADA actually recognized the balder truth that Wallace was a one-man communist front). These "Cold War liberals" (it has been a while since we heard that term) then put the issue of internal subversion on the front burner of American politics.

Wills, of course, believes that what they really did was set the table for the *Great Fear*. By leaning on Truman to get tough on the Soviets and then convincing him to justify the international conflict by looking for enemies within, they inadvertently midwived the monster birth of McCarthyism. This is not a new insight. The theory has been around for nearly forty years, since William Appleman Williams and his colleagues first started doing the revisionist shuffle, and digging up such a cliché now out of the ash heap created by the end of history only makes Wills look like a slow walker and an intellectual ragpicker.

And he looks like a partisan of the double standard, too, when he charges that Wayne's big directorial effort, *The Alamo*, distorts the facts of that event. There are reasons enough not to like this lumbering and banal film without becoming irritated that drama is not documentary. And Wayne is hardly the only director, after all, not to get the facts straight. Serious (and seriously malicious) distortion of history, after all, is the cinematic trademark of Wills' fan Oliver Stone and the heart and soul of a self-aggrandizing film like *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, where Milos Forman and his unofficial publicist Frank Rich have collaborated in proposing a scumbag who routinely degrades women, including his own young daughter, as a hero of the Constitution.

Reveling in the *Schadenfreude* of it, Wills suggests in his discussion of *The Green Berets* that the unraveling of the American empire in Vietnam castrated the epic persona that had helped Wayne define American manhood in the postwar period. The U.S. defeat created a "postimperial time of fuzzed ideological focus," after which it was possible to embrace the once-toxic Wayne as a harmless anachronism and to enjoy his last films without worrying over the fate of the world. (So: neutering what was dangerous in our popular culture turns out to be yet another of the good works performed by the '60s.) Wayne cooperated with the changing zeitgeist by offering a shadow of his former self in films like *True Grit* and *The Shootist* where he could "still be seen as larger than life but he no longer posed a menace in the message he had preached." Wills sees the artistic falling off, but he appears to think we were better off for it—better off once the post-Vietnam syndrome had replaced John Ford's vision of the American west with the apocalyptic nihilism of Sam Peckinpaw; and replaced the John Wayne hero with all those buffed solipsists played by Stallone and Schwarzenegger, who are at odds with rather than representative of the social order they narcotically serve.

Despite the occasional classy *aperçu*, reading *John Wayne's America* is a little like bathing in someone else's bath water. It is supposed to be about Wayne's World and at times it is. But it is even more about Wills' World, and this is not a good place to live. In Wills' World, America is always a bully hiding a sinister agenda; its citizens are always on the verge of being stampeded into paranoid nativism by a man on a horse; and their fixation with communism is always foolish because the communist foe was internationally provoked and domestically manufactured.

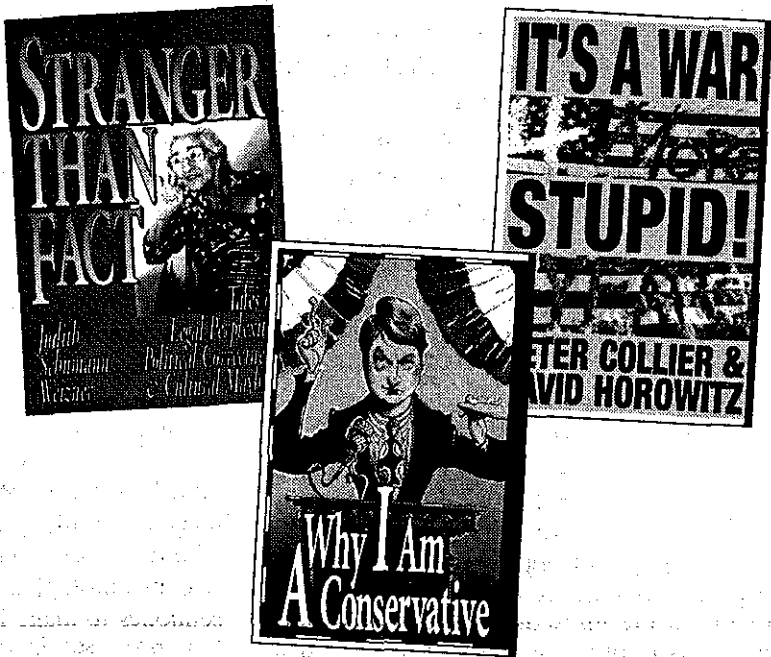
Is it possible that Wills' World bears any semblance to reality? Anyone who knows his films can easily imagine John Wayne's raspy response: "That'll be the day."

A different version of this essay appeared in National Review.





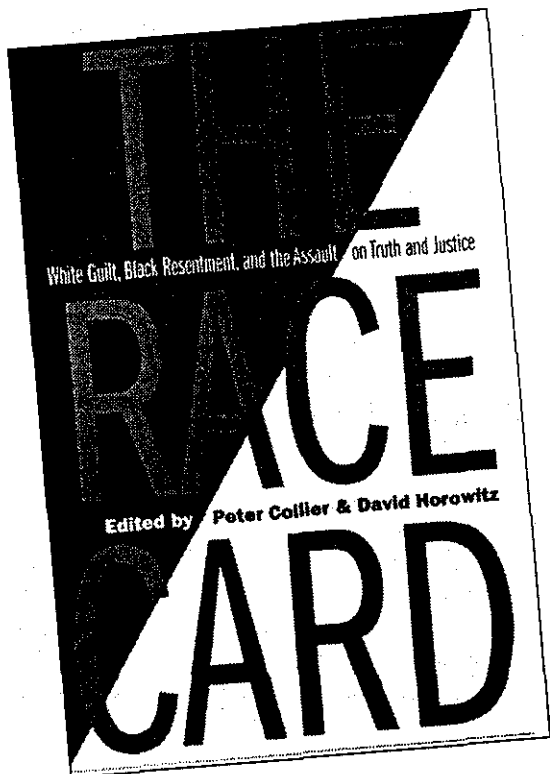
Subscribe or Renew Your Subscription to *Heterodoxy* for \$25 and Receive either *Stranger Than Fact*, *Why I Am A Conservative*, or *It's A War, Stupid!* FREE!



YES! I would like to subscribe to *Heterodoxy* and please send me either  
☐ *Stranger Than Fact* OR ☐ *Why I Am A Conservative* OR ☐ *It's A War, Stupid!*  
Enclosed please find: ☐ Check ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ AMEX for \$25  
Account Number \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone Number \_\_\_\_\_  
Mail this subscription form to Center for the Study of Popular Culture,  
P.O. Box 67398, Los Angeles, CA 90067

“This book shows how the race card is always dealt—off the bottom of the deck.”

—RUSH LIMBAUGH



“A harrowing account of a journey across America’s troubled racial landscape, now densely populated with double-dealing opportunists and incendiary crackpots. By exposing these charlatans, Horowitz and Collier point the way to a rehabilitation of the good name of civil rights.”

—DINESH D’SOUZA

Published by Prima Publishing  
Available at local bookstores;  
or call (800) 632-8676 to order copies.

# Violin Maker Facing Discrimination Charges

By Judith Schumann Weizner

**A**lfredo Amati, a well-known violin maker in Queens, New York, and a direct descendant of the Cremonese master, Andrea Amati, has been charged with discriminatory employment practices under Title XIX of the New York Fairness in Employment and Networking Decisions Act (FIENDA). If found to have violated Title XIX, Amati faces up to ten years in jail or seven hundred thousand dollars in fines and additional monetary penalties.

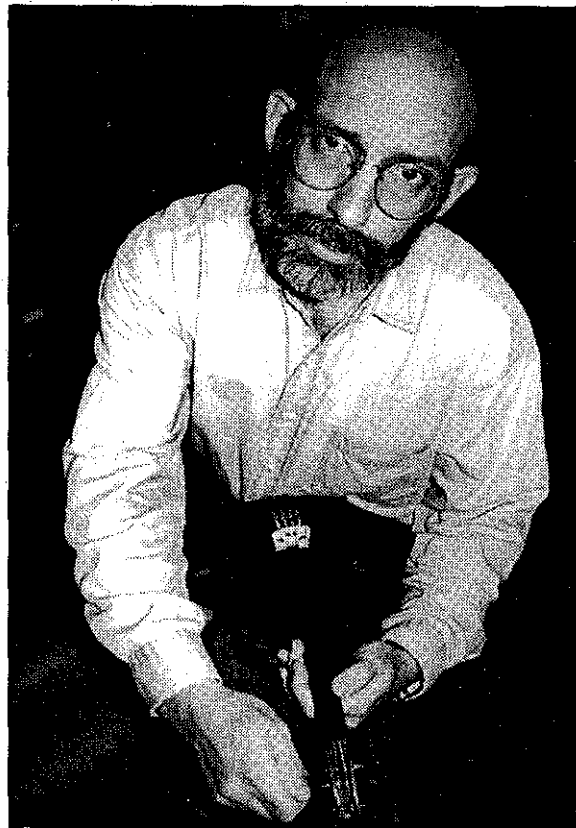
The complaint against Amati was filed by Anwar Mochtar, an Iraqi-American naturalized following the Gulf War, who alleges that Amati, operating under his corporate name of Queens Scroll & Purfling, Inc., unlawfully discriminated against him on the basis of his nationality when he sought employment there.

Mr. Amati has vowed to fight, insisting that he is in full compliance with Title XIX.

The Fairness in Employment and Networking Decisions Act was passed following an inquiry prompted by civil rights activist Jesse Sharpley into the hiring practices of the state's small businesses. Two years ago, Sharpley, Chairman of the National Center for the Righting of Wrongs, brought traffic in Albany to a halt when he led a crowd of hooting demonstrators, estimated by police to number some ten thousand and by Sharpley's organization to number a million, to the State Capitol. Finding itself in agreement with Sharpley's contention that the state's small businesses were enjoying a free ride in deciding whom they wished to hire, the legislature passed FIENDA, bringing hiring practices at companies with fewer than six employees into line with those of their larger counterparts.

Shortly after FIENDA went into effect, Mr. Amati, like all the state's small employers, was advised that he must immediately improve the diversity of his workforce. At that time, Mr. Amati had two assistants, Peter Geigermeister and Luigi Corda, who had worked with him for 14 and 22 years, respectively. Because his shop was so busy, he had been planning for some time to hire a young violin maker to handle some of the less exacting aspects of violin making while perfecting his skill. He placed an ad in the *American String Monthly* and James Kim, a young Korean luthier who had recently completed his studies at the International Academy of Violin Making, Restoration and Repair, responded. Impressed with the young man's qualifications, Mr. Amati engaged him at a mutually satisfactory salary, with the understanding that his compensation would increase as he refined his workmanship.

Several months after Mr. Kim began his employment, a representative of the New York State office for Diversity Compliance, an agency created under Title VI of FIENDA, visited the studio. The agent observed activities at the shop for three days before filing his report which, among other things, noted the fact that although Queens Scroll & Purfling operates in a neighborhood that is 23 percent African-American, no African-



ALFREDO AMATI

Americans were employed there. The report pointed out that although half the workforce at Queens Scroll & Purfling (including Mr. Amati) was Italian, the percentage of Italians in the area was just under nine percent; and although another 25 percent of the Scroll & Purfling workforce was German, that Germans were statistically non-existent in the area. Since Koreans numbered 16 percent of the neighborhood population, Mr. Kim was an approved hire, but Mr. Amati was told to replace Mr. Corda with an African-American or lose his business licence. When Amati protested that his Italian colleague was nearing retirement and replacing him would not only be inhumane but would also leave Scroll & Purfling open to charges of age discrimination, he was given the option of hiring an additional approved minority worker along with the African-American.

A second ad in the *American String Monthly* drew a response from Ken Plunkett, an

African-American guitar repairman. Faced with a Diversity Deadline, Mr. Amati hired him, but after several months, when Mr. Plunkett was still reluctant to fashion unfretted fingerboards, Mr. Amati let him go. Plunkett appealed to the Office for Diversity Compliance, which ruled that Amati must re-hire him. Thus, Queens Scroll & Purfling, Inc., acquired a Division of Fretted Instruments.

Still facing the requirement to hire another minority assistant, Mr. Amati placed yet another ad in the *American String Monthly*. Of the two respondents, both white European males, he hired the darker one, an olive-skinned, black-haired Sicilian, with the understanding that the man would legally change his name to Garcia. Thus Garcia came to work at Queens Scroll & Purfling, where he performed satisfactorily until, several months later, while filling out the Employment Satisfaction Questionnaire from the office of Diversity compliance, he inadvertently signed his old name. After an exhaustive investigation into his family background, he was arrested and charged with fraud under Section 23.a of FIENDA, a felony carrying an eight-year jail term.

At that point, the State Office for Diversity Compliance ordered Amati to advertise weekly in each of the city's 247 ethnic newspapers in addition to his ad in the *American String Monthly*. This resulted in Mr. Mochtar's application.

Mr. Amati scoffs at the idea that he has discriminated against Mr. Mochtar on the basis of his country of origin, insisting that the answers on his application make it clear that he has no experience whatever in making, repairing, or restoring violins.

Mr. Mochtar says that Mr. Amati's ad in his neighborhood's *Weekly Jihad* did not mention violins, but said only that Queens Scroll & Purfling sought a maker of string instruments. He says he can produce witnesses who will testify to his expertise in devising string instruments during the period of his Iraqi Army service just prior to the Gulf War when he was stationed in Kuwait.

Mr. Amati has been told that if he cannot provide work for Mr. Mochtar he will be declared in irrevocable violation of Title XIX. In this event, if he wishes to avoid a jail sentence, he will be required to pay a fine and reparations to the Iraqi community, which would probably take the form of establishing a scholarship at the Allah Aqbar School for Children of Iraqi Soldiers.

If, after paying his fine, Mr. Amati is unable to raise sufficient cash to pay reparations, Paragraph 89.f of FIENDA provides the mechanism for compelling New York residents who own old Amatis to sell their instruments and donate an amount equal to the pre-tax proceeds to the reparations fund.



## What Heterodoxy does for political correctness, The Report Card does for education.

### REPORT CARD



TO ORDER A FREE ISSUE, CALL (800)752-6562