

# HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



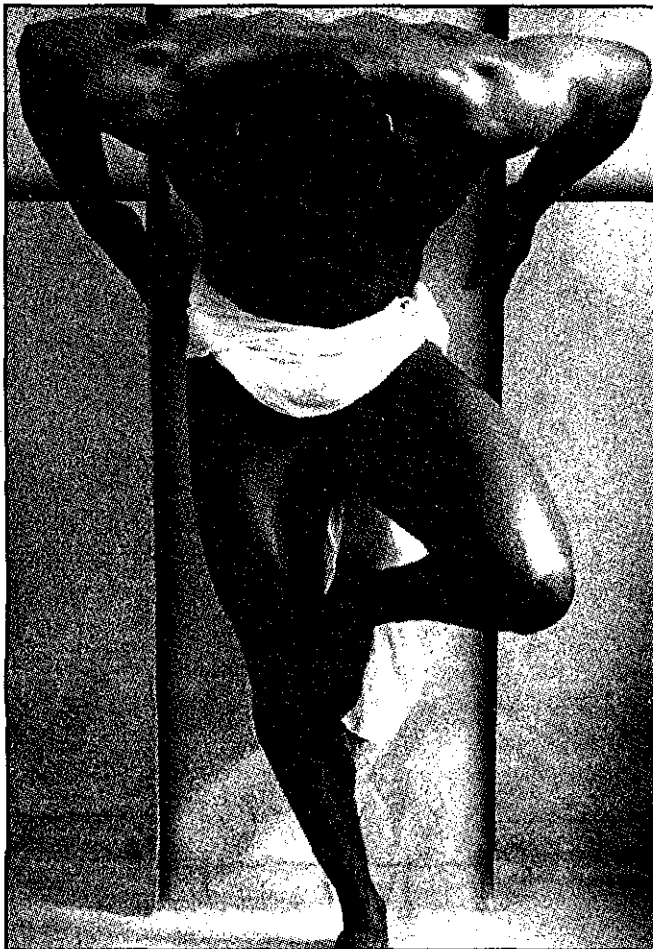
## MODERN SLAVERY

**"T**hey came early on March 25; Akuac Amet was too old to run; so they caught her and beat her so badly it was impossible to know if she was alive or dead. The enemy returned and killed her four sons and kidnapped her daughter. . . . 'About 300 people were killed . . . the enemy divided into two groups—some on horseback, some on foot. . . . We ran with the children to try to hide them in the long grass but they found us and drove the older children away. Any who refused to go, they killed them. . . . Those who went were tied with rope and pulled like cows behind horses. Some children were as little as seven years old. Some died of thirst . . . they were not given any water . . .'"

You might expect that, given the U.S. history of slavery and the guilty conscience about this issue manifested by President Clinton during his Africa trip, the current enslavement of black Africans in Sudan—an atrocity whose bare outlines are suggested by the above report—would merit some attention, especially among civil rights groups. You might expect it. But you'd be wrong.

As Charles Jacobs, the director of the American Anti-Slavery Group, laments, "Every schoolchild in America knows that women have been raped in Bosnia. . . . Everyone knows the whales have to be saved. But no one seems to realize you can buy a black woman as a slave for as little as \$15 in Khartoum."

Jacobs says that almost everywhere his organization has



turned in the previous three and a half years—the eminent human-rights agencies, the women's groups, the church councils, the civil rights coalitions—they have encountered the same response: Yes, we know about the slaves. No, we're not prepared to fight for their freedom. Augustine A. Lado, president of the human rights group Pax Sudani Network, said the Congressional Black Caucus, Trans-Africa, the Rainbow Coalition, and the Nation of Islam have "forsaken us. . . ." Charles Jacobs adds "For two years we tried to get Reverend [Jesse] Jackson on the record against slavery. . . ." He "returned our document packages unopened." (In explaining why Jackson wouldn't even give an anti-slavery statement, an aide explained that the Rev. "is busy with affirmative action . . . right now slavery is not on his agenda.")

We know how affirmative action works. What about modern black slavery? In Sudan the real power is Hassan Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front. The western-educated Turabi is leading a program of Islamization through genocide. The regime eradicates any non-Islamic expressions or people (and Muslims who disagree) and controls the food supply of refugees dumped in the desert. Non-Muslims are given the choice of converting to Islam or being denied food, clothing, and shelter. The unconverted are left to die, naked in the blazing sun. And for the converted there is no turning back: Sudan applies the death penalty to anyone who tries to leave Islam.

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### INSIDE

**Gay Jim Crow**

**Sex-Change  
Child Birth**

**Global Warming  
Scam**

### FUTILE CARE THEORY AND MEDICAL FASCISM THE DUTY TO DIE

by Wesley J. Smith

**"M**y mother's doctor is refusing to give her antibiotics," the woman caller told me in an urgent voice.

"Why is he refusing to prescribe antibiotics?" I asked.

"He says that she's 92 and an infection will kill her sooner or later. So, it might as well be this infection."

As disturbing as this call was, and as outrageous the doctor's behavior, I wasn't particularly surprised. I have been receiving such calls with increasing frequency over the last several years. Not every day. Not every week. But with enough regularity to know that something frightening is happening to American medical ethics.

There was the case of the Indiana teenager whose doctor refused to treat the boy's 107 degree fever because he was severely brain damaged from an auto accident. Had the boy's father not been a powerful cor-

porate executive capable of bringing great pressure to bear on the doctor, his son would have died. Today, the young man is conscious, back home, and slowly recovering.

Then there was the Oregon woman whose nursing home doctor placed a DNR (Do Not Resuscitate) order on her medical chart over her and her family's objections. Even though the patient was competent to decide for herself, it took a lawyer's threat of litigation to get the DNR removed from the chart.

Lawyers were also required by the brother of a Colorado woman with brain cancer. When he insisted on continuing treatment after the disease went into remission—a decision with which his sister agreed—the health insurer sued to disqualify him as the surrogate decision-maker. Not only that, threats were made to charge the family for the entire cost of treatment. The case ended when the woman died after surgery to repair a severe bed sore.

These cases show that something is rotten in

*Continued on page 10*

## COMMUNIQUÉS

## Dark Side of Dogpatch

Peter Collier ("The Long National Nightmare," February 1993) reflects a common view that Clinton's strength in his current difficulties is the strength of the economy. It is useful to recall that Hitler's strength in bending the German people to his will was also the strength of the economy, which, with military measures, did pull Germany out of the pit of the Great Depression. In the Clinton situation, however, the President's policies are not obviously major contributors to current economic health. Many very favorable factors are at work for which he has no responsibility. The end of the Cold War bolstered the economy by budget reductions, and gave the entire society a burst of self-confidence. Another sharp boost was due to surging computer use that is permeating the entire economy and stimulating innovation at an extraordinary pace, creating new opportunities, new efficiencies, new productivity, new needs in every direction. Another factor in our affluence is major enlargement of the work force as more women go to work. Of course as more women enter the work force, sexual harassment at work becomes an ever bigger problem, and that is a problem to which President Clinton's contribution is distinctly negative. In fact, it has led one Clinton defender, Gloria Steinem, to assert on the op-ed page of the *New York Times* that anything sexual can go on in the workplace as long "as there is no coercion." In short, according to Steinem, the sexual ethic of the workplace is the same as the sexual ethic of a bar, bedroom, or dating bureau. So what workplace can Madame Steinem be talking about as a model, where, after all, anything consensual goes? Bordellos. Bordellos, of course, are just such workplaces. That *reductio ad bordello*, is where Clinton's allies may eventually find themselves, and when that is finally realized, Clinton may be on his way out. His departure might produce a down-tick in the stock market, but it won't last, while the up-tick in the dignity and security of women in the workplace would endure.

Lawrence Cranberg  
Austin, TX

You are just a bit off on your target on the Clinton administration. You should lambaste Skunk Hollow, not Dogpatch. The late Al Capp, creator of *L'il Abner*, would be a bit miffed because he did a number on the S.W.I.N.E. (Students Wildly Indignant About Nearly Everything) back in the '60s. And the lefties came to hate him just as they hate you. He lost clients (papers) because of it. See if you can find someone my age (I'm 72) who remembers. You might even find preserved copies of the *L'il Abner* strips of that time. They were a gas. More power to you.

Dick Mallow  
Cinniminson, NJ

## For the Record

The third column of the first page of Paul Mulshine's article on the School of the Americas, "The War in Central America Continues," in the February issue contains the following, "I make a habit of listening to WQXR, a public radio station in New York City that is still pushing the Marxist line with a side order of New Age diet and health

tips!" For the record, WQXR is the radio station of the *New York Times*. Its format is classical top 40. The editorial policy is closely aligned with that of the newspaper. When they do read the headlines or the titles of the op-ed page, the radio station and its chief sponsor, Citibank, disclaim any responsibility for those opinions. Although the newspaper of record has declined precipitously over the years, one must be several cans short of a six pack to describe their line as Marxist. The premier public radio station in New York City is WNYC. This venerable bastion of mayoral patronage is also a classical radio station. Their editorial opinion, as expressed in their AM talk shows, is aligned with that of the Upper West Side Jewish intelligentsia for which New York City is so justly famous. These are the sort of people for whom all weapons may be divided into two categories, assault and nuclear, and for whom any financial transaction in which one of the parties is not the government is immediately suspect. The radio station that Mr. Mulshine is no doubt referring to is WBAI, part of the Pacifica network. Although they receive an ungodly amount of federal funding they are not a public radio station.

**HETERODOXY**  
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They do not rebroadcast NPR shows and always refer to themselves as a community radio station. Mr. Mulshine is much too kind in his characterization of this station. Callers to any of WBAI's numerous talk shows are disconnected if they have the temerity to refer to Fidel Castro as a dictator. Their science show demonstrates the sort of science in support of politics that Lysenko would have appreciated. In fact, WBAI and the entire Pacifica network would be an excellent subject for a *Heterodoxy* article.

Kevin Tyson  
Marlboro, NJ

## Sid Vicious

I have just visited your web site for the first time and have just read the article by K.L. Billingsley about Matt Drudge ("Free Matt Drudge" Oct. 1997). Why do I feel as though I have been drafted into another army to preserve Democracy—a WWII with words and agendas instead of guns and tanks? Can "at least the trains run on time" be translated into "he'll save Social Security and Medicare"? I have not believed Clinton to be the person I want in the White House but I certainly will read the news with a different and sharper perspective.

Carol Ericson  
Via Internet

Thank you for this wonderfully informative

account of Matt Drudge and Sidney Blumenthal. I learned a great deal. I find myself in many a political paradox in Hawthorne, NJ. It's good to know that I am not alone.

Rebecca Greene  
Hawthorne, NJ

It doesn't seem to me that Drudge made a careless error, rather that he couldn't have cared less if what he had to "report" was true. Other media outlets have also had to pay a price for their own overzealous reporting.

A "careless" error would be, say, writing something, not intending to publish it, and accidentally it gets published. What would conservatives think if someone told someone like Drudge that Nancy Reagan was a lesbian and he reported that?

It often times seems, from national on down to local elections, that Republicans are planting false sex stories. Or false stories in general, as inherited from Sen. Joe ("I have a list of names in my hand") McCarthy.

You have an interesting take on things, just a little out of step.

Evan Rofheart  
Via internet

Interesting article on Drudge and Blumenthal. The only saving grace here is that with the end of the Clinton administration, in a few years or less, we will no longer have to bear Mr. Blumenthal's presence. What a sleaze!

Carl Gottlieb  
Via Internet

In a banana republic the rule of law is inevitably accompanied by a knowing sneer and a hefty transfer of funds. If Clinton continues to operate under the premise that the rule of law does not apply to him how, pray tell, is the United States of America any different from a banana republic? How can the U.S. ever again have the hope of being the moral exemplar to the rest of the world when, because of Clinton's actions, we now have no legitimate moral grounds from which to preach? Good thing I like bananas on my Grapenuts.

Nancy Morgan  
Redondo Beach, CA

## 1984 on Speed

I am writing to commend you for the *15 Tips on How to Be a Good Leftist*. It is hilarious, and oh-so-true. Although I've always been conservative, gravitating to libertarianism in the political sphere, I was a child of the '60s, and Mr. Glazov's description of a *Good Leftist* left me breathless with laughter. While I am regaining my breath, let me just add that Horowitz and Collier—besides being insightful analysts—are really very good writers. As for Judith Weizner: Like all good libertarians I was going to wait for competition to drive the price down of her book *Stranger Than Fact*. However, her columns are just too darn good. Reading them is like visiting 1984 on speed.

Bryan Taplits  
Cincinnati, OH

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# REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

**BAWANA DEVIL:** In his foreign affairs equivalent of a good old fashioned minstrel show, Bill Clinton has felt the pain of Africa. And felt their pain—and felt their pain. He apologized for slavery without noting that Africans were willing co-conspirators. He apologized for tyrannical governments during the Cold War without noting that perhaps for some African nations gripped by dictatorship character was destiny. He held hands with Nelson Mandela and smiled as Mandela denounced the U.S. for not being more friendly to Castro and Quadraffi. Why does it come as no surprise that the eminence noire behind this trip was Jesse Jackson, who appeared at the White House at the onset of the Lewinsky affair to feel Bill's pain, and who has tried to keep Betty Currie and other blacks appearing before the grand jury in line since then?

**APRIL FOOLS:** Hysteria was unleashed among higher academics on April 1 when UC Berkeley and UCLA, the two "elite" campuses of the University of California system, announced, in black-bordered scare language, that there had been a large drop in admissions for the fall semester among "non-Asian minorities." The Orwellian implications of the term "non-Asian minorities" are obvious. It allows a mixed story—Asian enrollment actually increased—to be played as a monochromatic social tragedy. Moreover, the spin doctors in UC administration, still fighting a rear guard action against Proposition 209, made sure that a glass that was half full—there was a significant increase in black and Hispanic enrollment at two other UC campuses, UC Riverside and UC Santa Cruz—was portrayed as being all the way empty by the press. (It was left to Ward Connerly to point out the moral. The drop in black and Hispanic admissions, the UC Regent said, shows that instead of just being "a factor," race has been the dominant factor in affirmative action admissions.) That this was actually a success story rather than a dismal tribute to the racism of those who voted to ban race preferences in 1996 could be seen in the words of students quoted in an otherwise apocalyptic *New York Times* article about the UC situation. Gabriel Escobar, 18, a Mexican-American, told the *Times* reporter that he had already been accepted to the University of California at Davis and Santa Barbara but was waiting to hear from Berkeley. "Since I was a little kid I've wanted to go to Berkeley," he said. "With affirmative action gone, part of me wishes I was born a little earlier. There are people with much worse grades who got in last year. But it's going to be harder for me. Still, it doesn't bother me. I just have to work harder." One Los Angeles high school senior, Maria Prado, has been accepted by Santa Barbara but rejected by San Diego and UCLA. "I think that taking away affirmative action has hurt me in a way," she said. "But in a way, I think it is better because they don't empha-

size who you are but what you can do." Amen to that.

**AFFIRMATIVE RACISM:** Another view on why the fight against preferences and in behalf of a government that is color blind (instead of color coded) comes from columnist Deroy Murdock. Murdock notes that the Seattle Public School District asks potential employees to complete a form designed to foster "an ethnic configuration, both male and female, that reflects the multiracial char-

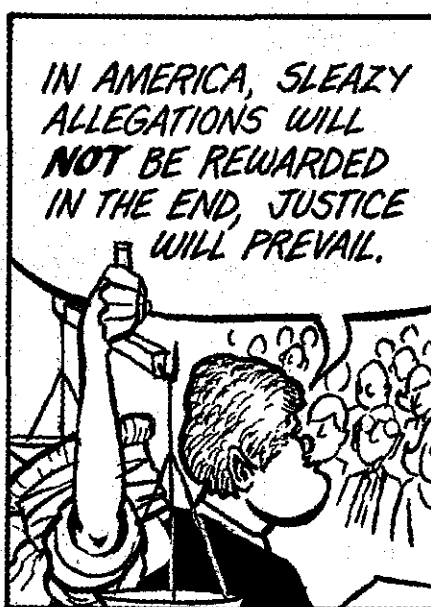
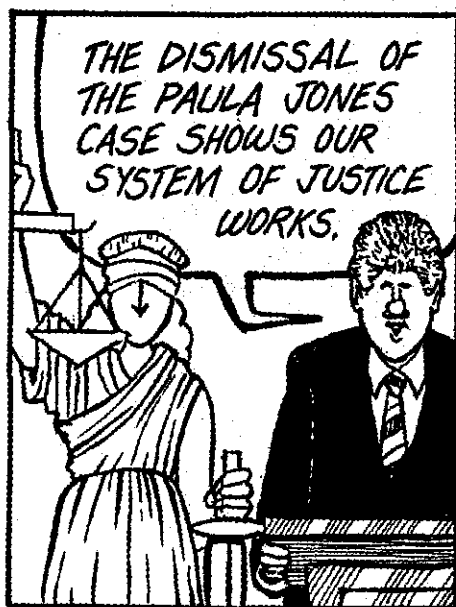
sisted of three rows of sanitary napkins, each festooned with a red dot. It was called "Period Piece." A similar work involving tampons, was dubbed "Successful Showing." The works were allegedly an homage to the late French Dadaist Marcel Duchamp, whose "Fountain" (1917) was simply a urinal placed on end. Rosen first displayed his work under the pseudonym "Melissa LEVY," (*sic*) a play on "c'est la vie" and a reference to the alias favored by Duchamp, "Rose Selavy" (*sic*). But if Rosen was expecting plaudits from the postmodernist crowd, he must have been disappointed. While most observers might have wondered "But is it art?" some activists on campus took issue with Rosen for being just a little too artful. Had the works truly been produced by a woman they would have been praiseworthy "feminist" art. Since he was a man, they said, the works were just tasteless.

## PAYCHECK PROTECTION:

In June the number 226 will join 187 and 209 on the liberals' short list to be demonized as evangelicals demonize 666. Proposition 226, the Campaign Reform Initiative, is shaping up to be the hottest political issue in the country that does not involve oral sex. Dubbed the Paycheck Protection Initiative, 226 would require unions to get a member's permission before spending his dues money on political activities. It's a simple idea and it seems unexceptionable—it is the individual union member's money, after all. But unions see it as Armageddon. They zealously guard their right to confiscate members' dues for political purposes the same members may find offensive. It is little wonder why rank and filers want power over their own purse. On average, 40 percent of union households vote Republican, but 98 percent of union campaign money goes to Democrats. When a similar initiative passed in Washington

state four years ago, 83 percent of the state's teachers chose not to support their union's politics. Two years ago, the success of California's Prop. 209 jump-started a national debate on racial preferences, and a victory for Prop. 226 would likewise give "paycheck protection" legitimacy across the country. (Similar laws are already on the books in four states, and are under consideration in 20 others.) The audacity of union satraps in girding for this battle is breathtaking. The latest Field Poll in California found that not only the general public, but union members themselves support Proposition 226 by nearly a two-to-one margin. Undaunted, California unions plan to take at least \$10 million from members' paychecks to oppose the measure. In addition the AFL-CIO recently announced that it is deducting an extra \$13 million from its national membership to come to California and join the fight against 226. Confiscating money from the paychecks of union members to convince them to change their vote for a measure they overwhelmingly support. That, in a nutshell, is exactly the sort of arrogance Proposition 226 is meant to stop!

## LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



acteristics of the student population." The form instructs applicants to "select from below the one most appropriate racial/ethnic group with which you choose to be identified." The menu includes 18 "permissible codes" in check-off boxes. "White" is grouped with "Gypsy," defined tautologically as "a person having origins in the original Gypsy groups of Europe." Other codes include "Alaskan Native," "East Indian" (covering those from India, Ceylon and, "in some cases, Pakistan"), and "Latino White," which involves Latinos with roots in "North Africa, the Middle East or the Indian subcontinent." The document doesn't go easy on applicants who resist being shoehorned into these boxes. They may describe their ethnicity in writing. In such cases, the form explains, "a member of the Personnel Department will assign one of the racial/ethnic codes to you based on his or her best judgment."

**PERIOD PIECES:** Grabbing attention a recent faculty art exhibit at Georgia's Augusta State University were two offerings from art professor James Rosen. One con-





## Homophobia Is Not Jim Crow

# The Rage of a Privileged Class

by Norah Vincent

Today, most gay men still consider themselves an oppressed minority.

Their advocacy groups, in fact, are committed to fostering the belief that gays now stand squarely in the mainstream of the civil rights movement. Consider, for example, the gay world's most high-profile fund-raiser, the Human Rights Campaign's annual gala held last November in Washington. Headlining this event were President Clinton and Ellen Degeneres, both of whom gave speeches decrying homophobia and lauding the work of their venerable hosts. Clinton was careful not to pose too close to Ellen, and more careful still to work the crowd's soft spot for the first chief executive who designed to address them.

Writing soon after the gala in the *Weekly Standard*, William Bennett offered a pointed critique of the event: "In his November 8 speech to the Human Rights Campaign dinner, Bill Clinton made a startling claim. He equated today's homosexual movement to the struggle of blacks during the time of legal segregation.

"Thus, the threat facing homosexuals is bigotry and discrimination against homosexuals—and when they occur, they should be condemned. But for all the talk of homosexuals-as-victims, the President is surely aware of the privileged position of homosexuals in America. They are, as a group, wealthy and well-educated. They exercise enormous influence in the worlds of higher education, art, theater, literature, the news media, and entertainment. And their lifestyle is celebrated in much of the popular culture. The real threat to homosexual Americans is not discrimination but physical devastation... so much of [the gay community's] misery has been self-inflicted—and could easily be prevented."

Maer Roshan, deputy editor of *New York* magazine and former editor of the gay weekly *QW*, gave me his thoughts on Bennett's view: "This dialogue [on the spread of HIV] was going on in the gay community for a long time before Bill Bennett came on the scene. The gay community doesn't need Bennett's commentary. He's not a friend of the community. It's equivalent to Jews accepting Louis Farrakhan's criticisms. Even when he may have a point, his criticisms are suspect, because they're not constructive and come from a place that seeks to destroy. While Bennett points out the problem, he stands in the way of proposed solutions like gay marriage that would validate gay life and gay relationships and prevent self-destructive behavior."

But Bennett was right, whatever his motives, and right is right. It's hopelessly partisan to deny the truth when you dislike the source. How are we ever to make progress if only the approved insiders have authority to speak? To use an analogy similar to Roshan's, it's like Spike Lee saying that only blacks can make films like *Jackie Brown* and *Amistad*. What happens, then, to public discourse? Moreover, the sad fact of the matter is that gay men who do have their community's best interests at heart (Larry Kramer, Gabriel Rotello, Michelangelo Signorile, Andrew Sullivan) have made basically the same argument as Bennett's, and their views are scarcely more

welcome among gays than Bennett's are.

It's typical liberal party line to blame society for the bad behavior of individuals. Thousands of gay people all over the world abstain from the kind of self-destructive behavior Roshan is talking about. Being gay is not the cause of irresponsible, suicidal/homicidal behavior. The same false argument has been made elsewhere—for example, teens in the inner city shoot each other not out of human rage and

male liberals like to pretend that they are above discrimination, nepotism, or greed, that the rest of the depraved/racist/sexist/classist/homophobic world needs to join them in their fight for social justice. They want you to believe that they've banished the prejudices from which the rest of us suffer. Witness, however, as I said above, that the queer elite (the attendees of the HRC dinner) is comprised largely of wealthy white men who rarely if ever fraternize with people of color, and who, by and large, have no use for women, except a certain class of divas and vamps, who are redeemed only by their love for men, or, ridiculous as it sounds, by the way they dress. Whether they'll admit it or not, and impolitic as it is to say, a great many gay men are raving misogynists who run shrieking back to their hermetic world at the mere mention of menstruation.

Here's the little known secret of queer life: Lesbians, especially low-income, cosmetically challenged lesbians, are the untouchables of the elite gay male world. It's no surprise, then, that a woman was ousted from the top job at *Out*. But the hypocrisy runs deeper than that.

Representatives of the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) were there at the Human Rights Campaign event, the ubiquitous sponsors of the best party in Anytown, U.S.A. (Miami to New York, Washington to L.A.); that supremely well-endowed AIDS advocacy group just moved into its swank new nine-story Chelsea home on W. 24th St. The GMHC has an overall budget of \$35 million, all of which they spend on programs and services, none of which they give for AIDS research.

The American Cancer Society, for purposes of comparison, has a budget of \$440 million. If you subtract the \$97 million they give every year for research, you get a

non-research budget of \$343 million. According to the ACS, eight million Americans have cancer, which means that this organization is spending \$42.8 per person. If you do the math, you'll find that even if it catered to all of the approximately 100,000 gay men in the U.S. who are infected with AIDS (which it doesn't), the GMHC alone would be spending \$350 per gay man. This is about eight times more money per AIDS-infected gay person than the American Cancer Society is spending per person with cancer. Did I hear the word oppressed? Disenfranchised?

The GMHC is, of course, proud sponsor of gay circuit parties—those blow-out, all-night, all-day, drug-drenched free-for-alls held every year across the country. There's the Black Party here in New York, the White Party in Miami, the Morning Party on Fire Island, to name just a few.

Again, being a lesbian (the lowest form of life, after the Christian Right, among most gay men) and unkept by a sugar daddy, I haven't been offered a \$125 ticket, but my gay friends have described them to me over and over. First off, no cool party in the gay circuit finds its feet until at least 4 a.m. (unless it's the eponymous Morning Party). After a late-ish dinner, most attendees have what's known in the trade as a "disco nap" from, say, 11 p.m. to 3 a.m. (Some sleep till 6 to arrive at peak hour, around 7.) In those quiet Sunday morning dawns, when the rest of us are clocking REMs, these guys rise from their beauty sleep, shower, slather their



greed, but because racist/classist society has conditioned them to hate themselves and each other. In Rwanda in 1994, Hutus killed Tutsis not because ethnic hate is human, but because white colonials taught Africans ethnic hate.

I think that blacks have cause to resent the party line expressed at the Human Rights Campaign dinner—that this was a gathering of a disenfranchised minority, a group of proxy blacks whose Jim Crow is homophobia. Moreover, what you didn't read about that dinner in the papers is that most of the attendees were male, all were wealthy and, as I heard it, a token few ("probably four," one attendee told me) were people of color. Tickets alone were \$250. I wasn't invited. The soon-to-be-ousted, now-former editor of *Out*, Sarah Pettit, was there among the token dykes, however, surrounded by Armani-clad colleagues and friends who, chances are, already knew she wasn't long for their world.

Yes, *Out*, the *Pravda* of poofers, that bastion of rippling abs and pumped torsos; the queer home of Absolut and all manner of high-end merchandisers cashing in on the gay elite's disposable income; that glossiest of all glossy lifestyle zines whose every issue seems to be the fashion issue—*Out* was offering a female honcho who just couldn't seem to cater enough to its 70 percent male readership, despite the fact that ad revenues increased by 45 percent during her tenure, even in the middle of this solemn civil rights moment.

But, grand moralizers that they are, gay

various parts with Clinique "M" lotion, Bulgari pour homme, Paul Mitchell pomade and the like, put on their new Versace jeans (if it's one of the color-theme parties, the jeans are of the requisite Black or White), slip into their Gaultier mesh muscle shirts, Tag Heuer \$2,500 stainless steel and gold wristwatches, nylon bomber jackets, or other sleek outerwear (purchased, until recently, at Barneys), and either square-toed Prada loafers with the indicative platinum bar across the top or well-heeled wing-tip combat boots. Then it's drug vials in pocket, along with bullet (the handy little inconspicuous snorting chamber that delivers perfect snuffs, or "bumps," when needed). The drugs of choice are Special K, cocaine, crystal meth, and ecstasy.

Finally, armed, ammoed, and amorous, Caligula takes his penis to the venue. The arms, legs, torso, hair, and eyes are mere appendages, peacocked enticements for the mother lode between his legs. If he could go just as his penis he would, but he'll settle for adorning his loins as an appetizing and ritual prelude to the ensuing fuck(s).

The fucks are a virtual guarantee at these gatherings. They're the tacit *raison d'être*. Ostensibly, circuit parties are fund-raisers for their GMHC sponsors, but they're really cash grabs that milk gay male carnal excess as a means of paying for the expensive medical consequences. The electric cool-aid fuck, the ecstasy orgy, the anonymous grind are what they come for—that and an ostensible sense of acceptance and community (euphoric drugs tend to have that effect). The promise of these limitless pleasures is the inducement for showing up, because, frankly, the GMHC wouldn't quite be rolling in so much dough if its "benefits" were, say, book groups.

So with one hand the GMHC is doling money for AIDS care, for support groups, buddy programs and lobbying initiatives; with the other, it's accumulating funds from parties where HIV is being spread. This would be like the American Cancer Society holding a big smoke-a-thon as a fund-raiser.

Believe me, it's that bad, even at the minor parties. I have been to Twilo, the only game in town for gay A-listers on Saturday night; I have witnessed and partaken (mildly) in what goes on there; and I have witnessed all the preening, primping, and popping that precedes the party scene.

On one of my several excursions to Twilo, (again, an overwhelmingly white male lub) I decided to approximate whatever experience the bacchantes around me were having. I took a few snorts of K from a friend's bullet and proceeded, like all neophytes, to dive brain-first into the K-hole—the affectionate term for that state of retardation and paralysis at results from taking too much. When you're in the K-hole, the thing you realize about K is at it's not meant to make you feel good. It's simply meant to mess you up—and that's what it does. The idea of being in any way responsible for your behavior when you're on K is patently absurd. You can't be. You can barely walk or remember your own name, much less remember to use a condom.

And for most of these guys, a few bumps K are just for starters. Most of my acquaintances say they combine some measure of alcohol, K, ecstasy, and crystal meth. The most I did do was wrestle a lawn chair out of some incontinent's grasp and sit there, unable to move, for a good 45 minutes. Call me a lightweight, but I'd only done a few bumps.

What must it be like when you've done your whole pharmacy?

So HIV spreads and spreads, and the same guests who are spreading it are clam-

oring most vociferously for a cure. I've heard them on morning-afters all across town. In their typical self-entitled way, many gay men are throwing tantrums in their playpens—wondering why life just isn't the way it used to be, where everything comes easy, no desire goes undiluted, and actions don't have consequences. They don't like being told, even by an impartial virus, that promiscuity can be fatal. They'd rather blame neo-Victorian mores and what they see as a sluggish, homophobic government.

When AIDS began, gay activists insisted that the government and the CDC didn't act quickly enough—or as quickly as they would have if it hadn't been gays who were dying in such numbers. They don't like to admit, even now, when Rotello, Kramer, and Signorile have finally done so, that gay men must bear respon-

party queen with more money going up his nose every weekend than, say, a pizza guy makes in a year. Why doesn't he deserve to be in this study instead of someone who caught HIV because he was too spoiled and irresponsible to curtail his libido?

Why? Because he's not a part of the privileged elite. He's the pleb without the connections who couldn't get in or fit into most of the parties where these eager assassins are whoring their wares. Probably he's going to languish in his HMO or his lack of medical coverage, while the well-medicated young upstart alpha-gay will go on to attend more circuit parties in the full bloom of his manhood, taking more K and coke and ecstasy (against his doctor's strongest warnings) and, quite possibly, infecting more people. We medicate HIV-infected fops at public expense and they counteract, with their fun-drugs, most of the good their expensive medical care is doing them. Forgive me, but that's a classic case of having it both ways—something the oppressed never do.

No one contests that homophobia exists—that many gay people are discriminated against and truly maligned by the likes of Jerry Falwell and his home-made defamation videos. But let's put this in perspective. Gay and other AIDS patients are not being medically discriminated against. Given the numbers I just cited, they are, in fact, better off, financially speaking, than their counterparts with cancer. Moreover, a good portion of our latter-day AIDS-infected population were not victimized by a random genetic nightmare; they contracted a disease they knew how to avoid getting, and they did so out of willful negligence.

Nobody begrudges the Gay Mens' Health Crisis the money it raises. What I and like-minded people decry is the hypocritical way in which the GMHC raises this money at parties where the very disease for which they demand a cure is being spread. If the GMHC is so concerned about its community, why doesn't it publicly denounce its own circuit parties? Instead of crying "homophobia" whenever gay male sexual promiscuity is criticized, even if just for public

health reasons, why don't they criticize promiscuity (which is still an integral part of certain gay male subcultures) themselves as Rotello, Signorile, and Kramer have done? Why, as Bennett said, do they always place the blame elsewhere, and pretend that homophobia is the greatest danger to gay survival when it is, quite literally, promiscuity that is killing them?

The GMHC has finally endorsed reporting HIV infections to health officials. Now roguish lotharios, who poke everything that moves—sometimes with a condom, sometimes without—and never stop to give their innumerable partners a heads-up, won't be quite so inconspicuous. Still, the anonymous infecting goes on insouciantly, as though we were still living in the 1970s. Many of these willing executioners are gay men basking in the delights that wealth, privacy, and the GMHC afford, and they are, if the word still has any meaning, living freely—as freely as anybody else is or could be. What else but freedom can we call the ability of certain party-going gay men to sleep with ten men in an evening, to spread an easily preventable disease, to get the best medical care, to have access to magnanimous advocacy groups, and, all the while, to claim victim status and have the President of the United States kiss their feet?

If that's the lifestyle of an oppressed, disenfranchised minority, then America has lost its perspective on freedom.



MIAMI'S WHITE PARTY

sibility for the spread of AIDS. To keep their hard-won sexual freedoms, they opted to sacrifice a few hundred thousand young studs who saw unprotected, indiscriminate sex as their inalienable right—whatever the epidemic fallout. Rotello et al. are now apostates, reviled exiles whose truth-telling has earned them ridicule from much of the gay world.

Now we have Sex Panic, the new gay academician's activist group, sounding a call to the sexually oppressed. Defend your sexual rights! Don't let them re-criminalize gay public displays of affection! Hail promiscuity and the love that dare not curb its appetite. There's a new crackdown on public sex, they say. (If there is, I haven't seen clear evidence of it, but it's about time.)

One acquaintance of mine, an irresponsible Priapus who caught HIV in 1995—well after he should have known better—is getting the best medical treatment in the country. Why? Because he's a gay white male plugged into the A-list network, hooked up with the best HIV doctors who, in the grand tradition of gay nepotism, shuttled him into a special state-of-the-art drug study, where he gets his drugs for free and enjoys the best medical attention money doesn't have to buy.

But what about the pipe-fitter from Canarsie, the pizza guy from East New York, the crap-shooter from West Orange who's living with AIDS? Maybe he fools around a little, maybe the condom broke, who knows, but he's not, by any stretch, an orgy-goer or a circuit



# Karl Marx at the *L.A. Times*

by David Horowitz

## Los Angeles Times

### Profit Celebrated on 150th Anniversary of Sacred Document



### U.N. Study Assails U.S. Executions as Biased

■ Justice: Rights panel

**I**t is the 150th anniversary year since the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. To commemorate the occasion, the *Los Angeles Times Book Review* organized a symposium of experts and asked them to assess its significance in light of all that has happened since it was written. I was one of those asked to contribute and I submitted the following 256-word article. The symposium appeared on Sunday, February 8, 1998, along with half my article:

#### *The Communist Manifesto After 150 Years*

The opening statement of Marx's famous *Manifesto*, that the history of mankind is the history of class struggle, is really the essence and sum of its message. This message is above all a call to arms. According to Marx, democratic societies are not really different in kind from the aristocratic and slave societies that preceded them. Like their predecessors, liberal societies are divided into classes that are "oppressed" and those who oppress them. The solution to social problems lies in a civil war that will tear society apart and create a new revolutionary world from its ruins.

This idea of Marx has proven to be as wrong as any idea ever conceived and more destructive in its consequences than any intellectual fallacy in the history of mankind. Since the *Manifesto* was written 150 years ago, 100 million people have been killed in its name. Between 10 and 20 times that number have been condemned to lives of unnecessary misery and human squalor, deprived of the life chances afforded the most humble citizens of the industrial democracies that Marxists set out to destroy.

Marx was a brilliant intellect and a seductive stylist, and many of his insights look reasonable enough, on paper. But the evil they have wrought on those who fell under their practical sway, far outweighs any possible intellectual gain. It would be a healthy development for everyone, rich and poor alike, if future generations put Karl Marx's *Manifesto* on the same sinister shelf as *Mein Kampf* and other destructive products of the

human mind.

The request for my contribution had come from the editor of the *Book Review*, Steve Wasserman, an old radical friend from Berkeley. Wasserman had been a political protégé of Tom Hayden and *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert Scheer when they were leaders of the "Red Family" and were running around quoting Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il Sung, while attempting to organize "guerrilla fronts" in American cities. They hoped to launch a "war of liberation" in America, and Wasserman was one of their foot soldiers. Inspired by texts like the *Manifesto*, the Red Family practiced with weapons at local firing ranges and planned for the day when they would abolish private property and smash the bourgeois state. It was therefore of some interest to me how Wasserman would treat the *Manifesto* now that he was an editor of one of the largest metropolitan newspapers in America.

After the failure of the revolutionary hopes that the '60s encouraged, Wasserman had gone into the literary world and become the editor of Times Books, a New York publishing house, before arriving at the *Times*. I kept in touch with him from a distance over the years. Although chastened by his experience in the revolution, like many other radicals he had not given up on the intellectual traditions and political ambitions that had unleashed its destructive energies. So I was curious and interested when he called me to this task.

Wasserman requested a piece assessing the *Manifesto* in 250 words. At 256 words, the article I submitted was six over his specification. But when it came to publishing the piece, he cut the first one hundred and twenty-six words, so that the copy available to 1 million *Times* subscribers began with the sentence in the middle paragraph that reads "Since the *Manifesto* was written 150 years ago . . ." The part of the article that described the sinister message of the *Manifesto* as an incitement to civil war and pointed out the falsehood of all its major claims did not appear.

Wasserman had not indicated to me his true design, which eventually required that space be taken from my piece and given to others. He had told me that the symposium would include six or seven writers, and I assumed that each would have two hundred and fifty words. Not so. The "symposium" of mini-pieces was actually appended to a two-page spread with a picture of Marx and a poem by the German Communist Bertolt Brecht. It featured a 3,000 word essay

that celebrated the wisdom and prescience of a prophetic masterpiece. This lead article was written by Eric Hobsbawm, an unreconstructed Marxist who had joined the British Communist Party in the 1920s and remained a member through the 1960s and all the slaughter of innocents along the way. Hobsbawm's worshipful paean to the *Manifesto* was the real impression with which the *Times*' editor wanted to leave his readers.

For leftists like Hobsbawm, the nightmare of Soviet Communism was only "actually existing socialism" and not "real socialism." Therefore, it had little to do with Marx. My comments about one hundred million people being killed were obviously beside the point, even though Marxists like Hobsbawm had done the killing and had justified it to fellow travelers and credulous followers in the West. For Hobsbawm, the *Manifesto* was not really a historical document. It was a living prophecy, correctly analyzing the dynamics of capitalist societies and providing a vision of the social future. The concession Hobsbawm was willing to make was that Marx was not correct in predicting that the proletariat would be the carrier of revolutionary truth: "At the end of the millennium we must be struck by the acuteness of the *Manifesto*'s vision of the then remote future of a massively globalized capitalism, . . ." But, "it is now evident that the bourgeoisie has not produced 'above all, its own gravediggers' in the proletariat."

The error is of no consequence, however. The *Manifesto*'s central theme remains that democratic capitalism must be destroyed or it will destroy us. Even the failure of Communism only strengthens this idea, according to Hobsbawm: "The *Manifesto*—it is not the least of its remarkable qualities—is a document that envisaged failure. It hoped that the outcome of capitalist development would be 'a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large,' but, as we have already seen, it did not exclude the alternative 'common ruin.' Many years later another Marxian rephrased this as the choice between socialism and barbarity. Which of these will prevail is a question which the 21st Century must be left to answer."

In other words the democratic society we inhabit, with living standards higher and living conditions better for the mass of its citizens than have been available to any other people since the beginning of time, is no more than "barbarity"—a "common ruin." And the only alternative is the socialism that Marx really envisioned.

This, in 1998, is what the editor of the

*Los Angeles Times* thinks is the epitome of progressive thought and useful for his readers to believe. Of course the slogan "Socialism or Barbarism" was first raised by Rosa Luxemburg at the end of the First World War, when Communists like Hobsbawm set out to destroy the liberal societies of the West and to create a Marxist utopia in the ruins of the Russian empire. Seventy years and 100 million deaths later, Eric Hobsbawm and Steve Wasserman have apparently learned little from the experience. Of course, neither Hobsbawm nor Wasserman is going to mount the barricades tomorrow and attempt to implement the vision laid out in this intellectual trash. But might not others, younger than they be tempted to do so? And is not the persistence of the ideas associated with the *Manifesto* a primary cause of the corrosive cynicism of the intellectual class towards private property, individual rights and the economic market, which are the foundations of our free society?

When the symposium appeared, I did not attempt to phone Wasserman. Instead, I wrote him a note:

February 16, 1998

Dear Steve,

The 75th anniversary of *Mein Kampf* is coming up. It's too bad that Heidegger and deMan are dead, but I'm sure you could get David Irving or David Duke to come up with a 3,000 word spread telling us why, even though it was written so long ago and has resulted in nothing but human misery ever since, it is still one of the most prescient and indispensable works for understanding Western Civilization and the Jews. You might also try that French Holocaust-denier, Faurisson, whom Chomsky likes so much. For my part, I'll be glad to provide you with two hundred and fifty words of balance again. Of course, if you should you need more room for the fascists, feel free to cut whatever I send you in half.

How embarrassing, my friend.  
David

On March, 20, 1998, after receiving a phone call from me on another matter, Wasserman responded:

Dear David,

I would have responded immediately to your letter of 16 February had you not e-mailed it. I don't have e-mail, alas. I do reply, however, to all missives received via post or fax. Nevertheless, I am happy to have your note, however belatedly.

Let's agree to disagree. *Mein Kampf* is the rant of a madman. There is nothing in it whatever of any merit. It remains only interesting only because its author went on to create (and to preside over) one of the most monstrous and murderous regimes it was humanity's misfortune to suffer.

This is not the case with Marx, who never killed anyone nor ruled a state whose purpose was genocide. To be sure, ideas have consequences and much of the chiliastic impulse in Marx was deeply, profoundly dangerous. But to read history backwards, to hold him guilty for the sins of those came after him, is I believe, an error. Moreover, much of what he wrote about capitalism remains as penetrating as the day he penned his polemics. About socialism, alas, he was dead wrong.

Best wishes, as ever,  
Steve Wasserman

March 23, 1998

Dear Steve,

Thanks for the reply. Now I know why you felt you could cut my little piece in half, eliminating 1) my analysis of

what the *Manifesto* is about and 2) my conclusion that what it had to say has been refuted, in a definitive way, by the tragic history of Marxist regimes. The reason you thought this matter was dispensable is because you not only disagree with it, but think it is a claim without merit.

"Much of what [Marx] wrote about capitalism remains as penetrating as the day he penned his polemics." Like what for instance? The labor theory of value, the reserve army of the unemployed, the rejection of the market, the reduction of political and historical issues to issues of economic class, the prediction of increasing class polarization, the prediction of increasing misery, the prediction of a falling rate profit, the prediction of capitalism's collapse? Marxism is mythology. The fact that you don't realize this yet, is not a satisfactory reason for censoring the views of those who do.

Your desire to hold Marx, and Marxists like Hobsbawm, blameless for the deaths of millions is touching but not very persuasive. The view that Marx was right about capitalism but wrong about socialism is superficial in the extreme. The entire Marxist critique of capitalism is premised on the assumption that a socialist economy is possible. Von Mises and Hayek refuted this assumption theoretically 70 years ago. The history of those 70 years has proved socialism impossible in practice. There is nothing

significant left of the Marxist analysis after this. My problem with your editing of the symposium is that you did not give those who have been vindicated by this awful history even a chance to make this case, while you gave those like Hobsbawm, with blood on their hands, a platform to repeat and perpetuate the errors that Marx made.

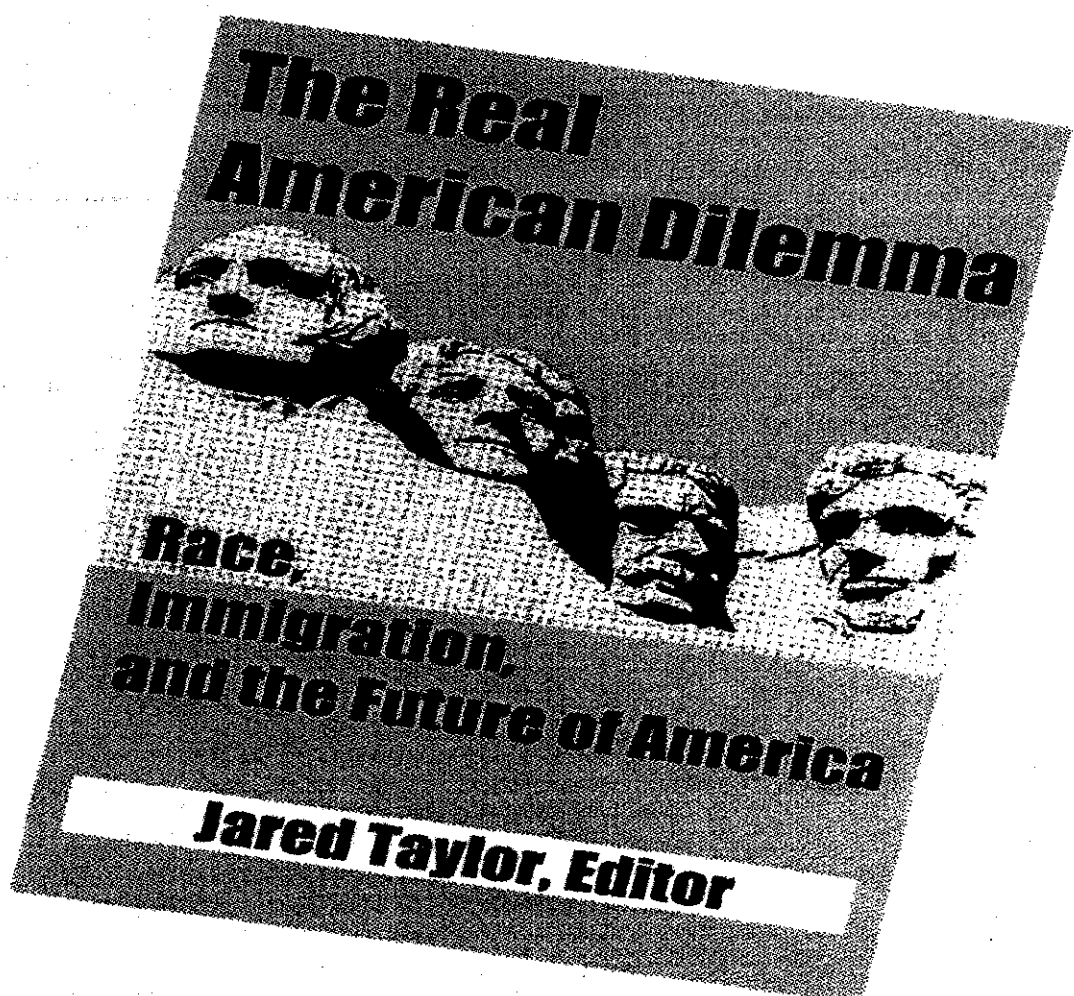
And they are not just errors. The *Manifesto*, as I wrote in the part you cut, is not only not innocent of the massacres committed in Marx's name. It is an incitement to civil war and therefore to such massacres. And you have repeated this "error" in your editing by giving Hobsbawm a platform for the same kind of incitement (although muted by an academic tone). Re-read the piece. What Hobsbawm says is that the *Manifesto* was right in its analysis of capitalism then and now, and that the choice before us is "barbarism or socialism." Read his book (*The Age Of Extremes*) and you'll find that the thesis is exactly the same. If we don't destroy American capitalism, it will destroy us. An incitement to declare war on American capitalists may not be equivalent to a call to kill the Jews, but it is not as far removed as you would have it either.

Yours,  
David Horowitz

And that seems to have been the end of our correspondence on this matter.



## Why is Race the Problem that Will not Go Away?



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# Modern Slavery, Continued from page 1

Children are taken to Sudanese militia camps to be trained in Turabi's form of Islam. Others, especially women and children, are enslaved, either for labor or sex, or both. Slaves have been branded for identification, and some have had their achilles tendons cut so they cannot run away. The going rate can be five head of cattle per child, sometimes ten for a boy. There have been reports in the Nuba mountains, including from a Catholic bishop, of crucifixions of Christians by the army. Hundreds of thousands of Nuba have been killed in the last ten years, and hundreds of thousands more forced into camps.

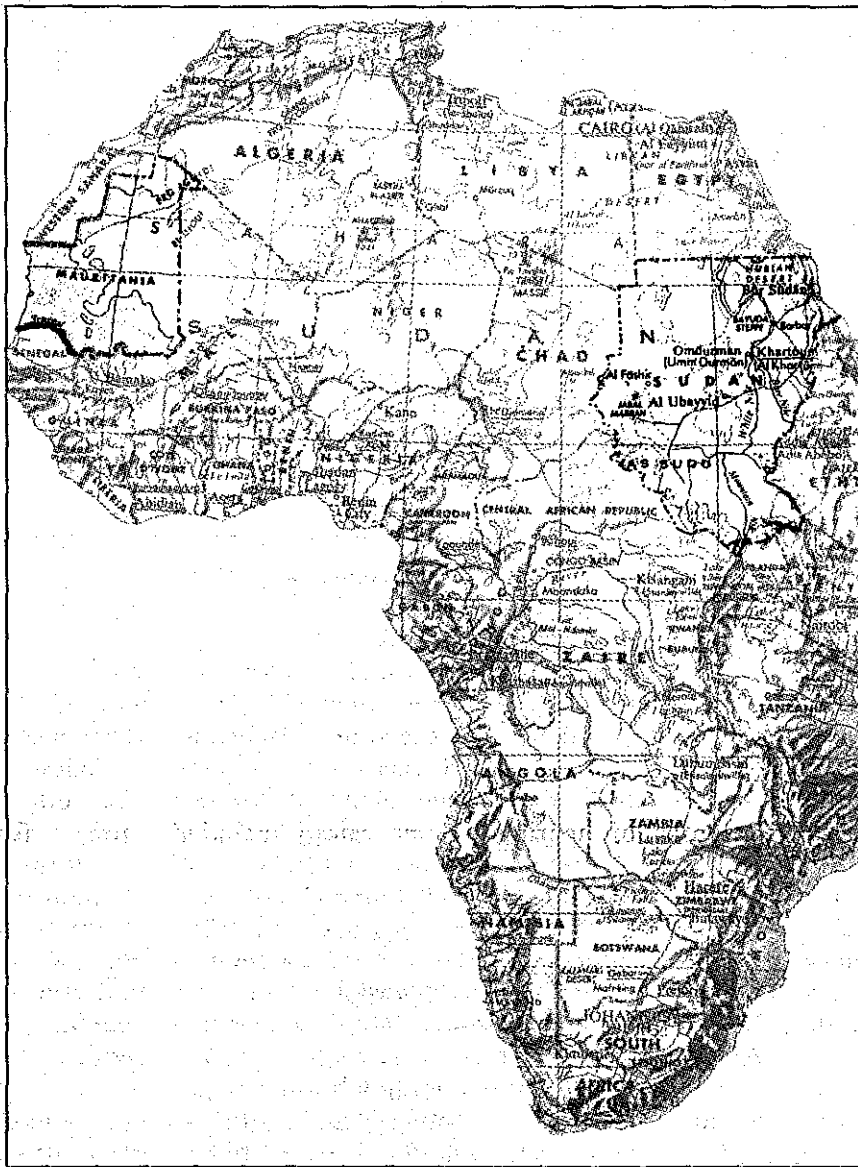
Meanwhile, the architect of these crimes, Hassan Turabi, has continued to visit Western countries, and even to speak at "inter-religious dialogues" with church representatives.

It may be a savage irony that slavery is practiced on the very continent Bill Clinton has called a crucible of hope, but Sudan is far from the only country where such atrocities are committed against Christians. In China authorities arrest underground house-church leaders and dole out three-year labor-camp sentences. Any religious believer refusing to submit to state control on the choice of religious leaders, seminarians, pastors, priests, bishops, sermon topics, religious organizations, and membership lists faces discrimination, harassment, persecution, and perhaps imprisonment, torture, and death. Similar patterns occur in Vietnam, North Korea, and Laos.

During my 1997 visit to China, 85 house-church Christians were arrested in two dragnet operations on May 14 in Zhoukou. Christians reported brutal beatings resulting in paralysis, coma, and death. Other methods of torture reported include binding detainees in excruciating positions, hanging them from their limbs, tormenting them with electric cattle prods, electric drills, and other implements, and crushing their ankles while they are forced to kneel. A few weeks before China's President Jiang Zheming made his October, 1997, state visit to the U.S., Xu Yongze, perhaps the most important underground Protestant leader, was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp. At about the same time, Catholic Bishop Su Zheming was re-arrested, one of at least four bishops currently under detention.

Apart from the remaining communist countries, there are now intensifying attacks on religious minorities, mostly Christians, throughout the Islamic belt from Morocco on the Atlantic eastward through to the Southern Philippines. While Islam has often been more tolerant than Christianity, and countries such as Jordan and Kuwait remain so, in many areas this tolerance has collapsed. In Saudi Arabia,

Elsewhere the agent of repression is mob violence, often prompted by radical Islamicist leaders. This is true in Egypt, where the Coptic Church is increasingly subject to church burnings and local massacres. It is widespread in Nigeria, in Liberia, Ghana, and the Philippines. In Pakistan in 1997 one Christian town, Shantinagar (population 20,000), was razed by fanatics. In Indonesia, which has long been a place of toleration between Muslims, Christians, and other minorities, there has been an epidemic of church burnings. There are also direct attacks on religious minorities by radical Islamic terrorists in Algeria, the Philippines, Turkey, and Egypt.



In non-Islamic societies, there is violence and discrimination against minority religious groups in Mongolia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, India, Bhutan, and Kampuchea and in the central Asian republics which were formerly part of the Soviet Union, especially Uzbekistan. It is a growing phenomenon in Burma in the SLORC regime's war against tribal minorities, especially the Rohingya Muslims in the west and the Karen and other tribes in the eastern part of the country, where Christians constitute a large proportion of the minorities.

There is also widespread discrimination and legal control. India has affirmative action laws to ease the plight of the dalit, or "untouchables." While groups such as Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists are included, Christian untouchables (a majority of India's 28 million Christians) are explicitly excluded. In

erage of debates on Nation trading status, tion to what goes on in pattern holds elsewhere latest of a series of mu Catholic priests, monks Algeria, the *New York* gave this overview of te the militants have expa tary, and political figure and prominent secular expatriates and hundre als, teachers, writers, un servants have been amo

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Specter bill ("The F Persecution Act" HR Congress this spring. monitor religious pers tify countries in whic plicit in "abduction imprisonment, forced crucifixion, or other f sale of goods which c ution, and cut off U to offenders.

The Act has bipartisan group of groups such as the I Jewish Coalition, Ne A.M. Rosenthal, Conference, Gary E Coalition. Unbeliev wide opposition. F



## Apologising for Slavery

President Clinton was in Africa apologizing for Americans buying slaves from Africans, he neglected to mention that Americans are buying slaves from Africans. Last year almost a thousand were bought by outsiders—this time with the intention of freeing them.

In the Sudan, slavery is buttressed by religion. In April 1992, leaders in the Southern Kordofan region, with government support, issued a *fatwa*, a religious decree, that an "insurgent who was previously a Muslim is now an apostate, and . . . a non-believer standing as a threat against the spread of Islam, and Islam has granted the freedom of death to him. Of course, if they are useful, their life can be spared and they are enslaved."

Militias armed by the Sudanese government raid towns in the region and in the south, where the population are predominantly Christians and animists. The troops burn homes and crops, kill the men, and take the children and younger women into captivity in the north. Tens of thousands have been sold (some reportedly to Libya and the United States) for labor and for sex. They are forced to become Muslims and can be branded to prevent escape. Slave traders travel back south and they are sold in open air trading areas outside the villages.

These are not wild rumors. Gaspar Biro, the U.N. Special Representative on Sudan, has produced five reports detailing this deplorable situation. It has been documented by the U.S. State Department. Reports from NBC, AP, and the *Baltimore Sun* have observed it. Photos are available.

The question is not whether it is happening, but who's doing any-

thing about it. Organizations like Christian Solidarity International are engaged in the ongoing redemption of slaves. For a few cows or less than \$100 you can buy one yourself and set her free.

The President could have liberated some slaves when he stopped in Senegal. He jetted into that country via neighboring Mauritania, where slavery is also alive and well. Up to 100,000 black Africans live in traditional chattel slavery there. They can be bought, sold, and bred, the children belong to their Arab masters.

Former Democratic Congressman Mervyn Dymally—in the '60s and '70s something of a black radical—lobbied Washington as a highly paid tout for the Mauritanian Government. The U.S. Administration waffles. The aptly named State Department spokesman William Twaddle devoted his recent congressional testimony on the issue to an incorrect and casuistic claim that it's merely the vestige of slavery, and really only permanent, unpaid, indentured labor.

The "Freedom from Religious Persecution Act" especially targets Sudan. According to the Hudson Institute's Michael Horowitz, one of the strongest voices opposing slavery in Africa, senior staffers of the House International Relations Committee say it faces "the most intense Administration campaign in opposition to any bill that they have ever seen." Meanwhile the Administration has granted an exception to import sanctions on Sudan for gum arabic, an additive used in soft drinks, cosmetics, and ink. What is about the only thing the U.S. imports from Sudan? Gum arabic. Maybe the President will apologize for this shameful dithering on a basic human rights issue on his next trip to what in some sense is still a Dark Continent.

—PM

interested in such things, two and one Jew—to accompany a story about a "religious right" were supporting the bill.)

In spite of such bias, the Clinton administration responded to the growing pressure. It appointed a State Department official to coordinate its policy on religious persecution, and instructed foreign affairs personnel about religious persecution, and to human rights reports on religion. Under Congressional mandate, pro-1997 survey of religious persecution, especially on Christians. In January 1997, Clinton announced that it would appoint an official level officer to coordinate its policy on religious freedom. Taken in isolation, these moves are laudable. But, for Clinton's political moves, they are attempts to head off any debate and aid.

His latest initiative is to dispatch religious leaders on a three-week, 1998 trip to China under the supervision of the Institute of Foreign Affairs. The *Washington Post* the Chinese government as providing political cover for the administration while it continues to improve relations with Beijing." The *New York Times* reports that both governments see this as "defuse . . . a popular human rights issue."

A major opponent of the campaign against religious persecution is America's churches. In early 1996, the National Council of Churches (NCC), the main umbrella of "mainline" churches, was asked by the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) "Statement of repentance for the previous neglect of worldwide religious persecution. The NCC declined, correctly, that the Statement was directed to Christians.

The NCC has a long and shameful history of inaction over the persecution of Christians. In 1972 a book published by the organization urged visitors to China as "enthusiastic" about the role of the Church—this at the height of the Cultural Revolution when pastors and priests (those who were not sentenced to the labor camps) were persecuted. It frequently praised the role of the churches, and its 1984 report extolled religious freedom. Such blindness moved Russian President Boris Yeltsin to declare in frustration that the NCC's sister, the World Council of

Churches' (WCC) General Assembly, "It is so difficult to reach you, so very difficult. . . . Much more difficult than to reach God. . . ."

When the WCC testified before the U.N. Human Rights Commission in 1996, it bypassed religious persecution, choosing instead to focus on U.S. racism, a matter on which it had, with the aid of the NCC, spent months of hearings. Items raised included California's Proposition 187 on illegal immigrants, the book *The Bell Curve* on race and intelligence, U.S. housing policy, and the results of the November 1994 congressional elections. It included an accusation that the U.S. has political prisoners and claims that America is on the verge of race war.

In its current relations with the Islamic world, the WCC once again gives priority to dialogue and peaceful relations. It sponsored a Christian-Muslim inter-religious dialogue in Khartoum, capital of Sudan, in the fall of 1994. Unlike the Christian contingent, the Muslim participants contained government representatives, including from Sudan, Pakistan, Libya, and Yemen. The final communique affirmed "religious liberty" and called on Christians and Muslims jointly to offer an "alternative vision to the materialist, secularist view which dominates western society." A particularly ghoulish air was added to the proceedings when the keynote address was given by Turabi, the actual power in the Sudanese regime.

And an air of hypocrisy was thick enough to cut when Albert M. Pennybacker, Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, testified recently before House of Representatives committee hearings leading up to Wolf-Specter that the NCC has "been a longstanding, vigorous advocate" of religious liberty. Rather than exhorting action, he warned that we must respect "the integrity of the resident religious communities." But what Pennybacker does not acknowledge is that NCC ties with "resident religious communities" are often with state-controlled official churches. In these situations, "respecting the integrity" of state-sponsored church bodies means giving de facto veto power to repressive governments.

Opposition to the Wolf-Specter bill is not confined to liberal churches. *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis opined last fall that the proposed legislation tells "other governments that we care less about such things as genocide, political repression and racial persecution . . . that we now favor . . . a hierarchy of rights." What actually worries Lewis is who is

placed atop the hierarchy. He seems to want political activists on top of the list, since politics is more important than religion.

Others echo the Lewis position. Ken Roth, the executive director of the liberal Human Rights Watch has called a focus on religious persecution "special pleading" and "an effort to privilege certain classes of victims." But, as the *New Republic's* Jacob Heilbrunn responded, "This seems a remarkable attitude for a human rights activist since, by definition, all arguments on behalf of all persecuted groups—racial minorities, political minorities, ethnic minorities, etc.—are 'special pleadings' intended to help certain classes of victims."

And the pitfall of special pleading has not stopped Human Rights Watch from its own priority list of "Special Initiatives" including "drugs and human rights," and "lesbian and gay rights." The scorn for the "parochial" nature of religious groups' concern for the fate of their brothers and sisters worldwide does not carry over to other special pleadings. When Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced in 1997 that the U.S. would pay special attention to the rights of women there was no complaint. When the State Department Country Reports on Human Rights expanded its labor coverage, there was no outcry. When PEN focuses on the rights of writers it receives no condemnation. When the Journalists Union stands up for journalists, it is not excoriated for being parochial. When B'nai B'rith highlights anti-Semitism it is not accused of myopia. When the Dalai Lama expends his energy on behalf of Tibetan Buddhists he is not pilloried for religious exclusivism. When Bosnia is highlighted while Rwanda and Sudan are ignored, there is no complaint of double standards.

But when there is a campaign for slaughtered and beaten Christians, now expanded to cover all religious groups, we hear a different note: "partiality," "privilege," "special pleading." Why are these victims politically incorrect? Is it because the beliefs for which they are tormented are "traditional"? Is it because the religious right are also concerned about them and thus they are guilty by association? Could it be that many of them are, God forbid, Christians?

Paul Marshall is a senior fellow at the Center for Religious Freedom at Freedom House. His most recent book is *Their Blood Cries Out*.

### The Duty to Die, Continued from page 1

the state of our current medical system and getting more rotten every day. Patients are entitled to make their own health care decisions based on "informed consent," that is, they may accept or reject medical treatment based on information supplied by the doctor as to its hoped-for benefits and potential risks. Instead they are being precipitously shunted toward the "exit" sign and being urged to take early checkout from life.

Back when a lot of money could be made in medicine keeping people alive on machines, some patients and families complained bitterly that their right to reject unwanted medical treatment was violated by doctors who refused to disconnect life support when it was no longer desired. This was seen, correctly, as an unwarranted interference by doctors with the personal autonomy of their patients. The problem was addressed by enacting laws protecting people's right to refuse unwanted medical treatment, even if the likely result was death. If anything, we now err on the other side. The imperative for personal autonomy in medicine has now grown so strong that the feeding tubes of cognitively disabled people who are not terminally ill can (inappropriately in my view) be removed at the request of surrogate decision-makers, with the explicit intention of causing their death by dehydration.

If people can say no to life-saving medical treatment in the name of autonomy, consistency requires that they also be allowed to say yes. But that is not how things are working out. In the emerging brave new world of medicine, personal autonomy applies strictly only when the "correct" end-of-life health care decision is made. Patients or families who make treatment decisions disapproved of by doctors, government bureaucrats, and health insurance executives—people who choose, in Dylan Thomas' famous words, to rage against the dying of the light—frequently discover to their dismay that personal autonomy has its limits.

### Futile Care Theory

While society and the media have focused primarily on the importance of personal autonomy in the context of the "right to die," little attention has been paid to concurrent efforts to disregard autonomy when a dying or disabled patient wants care that bioethicists, moral philosophers, doctors, and managed-care health insurance executives deem "futile." Futile Care Theory goes something like this: When a patient reaches a certain predefined stage of age, illness, or injury, any further treatment other than comfort care shall be deemed "futile" and shall therefore be withheld, regardless of the desires of the patient or family. The personal values and morals of the patient are no longer relevant. End of story, and often, end of life.

If Futile Care Theory were an objective concept, this would not be cause for alarm. Using an extreme example to illustrate the point: in simple objective terms, a doctor would properly and ethically refuse a patient's request that a kidney be removed as treatment for an ear infection (even though this request was an act of personal autonomy) because the requested "treatment" would have no possible medical benefit to the patient. Indeed, it would be unethical to remove the kidney since it would cause the patient very real harm.

But this objective approach is not what Futile Care Theory is all about. Rather, as preached by the medical intelligentsia, the notion of futility is based on the perceived subjective value—or better stated, the lack thereof—of the patient's life. In this context, futilitarianism becomes an exercise in raw social Darwinism in

that it views some patients' lives as having so little quality, value, or worth that the treatment they request is not worth the investment of resources or emotion it would cost to provide.

The first group of patients attacked by futile care theorists were the permanently unconscious. Unsatisfied with limiting the removal of feeding tubes to those circumstances where dehydration is specifically requested, futilitarians have begun to promote ethical policies that *require* food and fluids be withheld from such patients regardless of the desires of patient or family.

Advocacy of this position comes from the highest levels of the medical establishment. For example, in May 1994, Dr. Marcia Angell, executive editor of *New England Journal of Medicine*, wrote in the *Journal* that the legal presumption in



favor of life as applied to patients diagnosed with permanent unconsciousness should be removed so that "demoralized" care givers won't be forced to provide care they believe is futile or which wastes "valuable resources." How? One way suggested by Dr. Angell would be to change the definition of "death" to include a diagnosis of permanent unconsciousness. (A November 1, 1997, article in the British medical journal *Lancet*, took the next logical step by urging that such "dead" patients have their hearts stopped by injection so that organs could be harvested.)

Realizing the PR difficulties inherent in declaring a breathing body a corpse, Dr. Angell wrote that she would settle for mandatory time limits on providing medical treatment for the unconscious or the creation of a legal presumption forcing families with the "idiosyncratic view" that their loved ones should be given life-sustaining treatment to prove in court that the patient would want such care.

People with severe brain damage are not the only ones futilitarians want to push out of the life boat. In 1993, Daniel Callahan, one of the world's foremost bioethicists, urged in *The Troubled Dream of Life* that health care be rationed based on age. He has since gone further, arguing that treatment should be deemed futile if "there is a likely, though not necessarily certain, downward course of an illness, making death a strong probability," or when "the available medical treatments for a potentially fatal condition entail a significant likelihood of extended pain or suffering," or when care would "significantly increase the likelihood of a bad death."

These definitions are so vague that almost any serious life-threatening medical condition potentially qualifies. Moreover, they beg the question: what if patients *want* to assume such risks of treatment in order to save their lives?

All of this sounds suspiciously like the creation of a duty to die. Indeed, the idea that people deemed done for by the medical intelligentsia have such a duty is under active discussion within bioethical circles. A peer reviewed article, "Is There A Duty to Die?" in the March-April 1997 *Hastings Center Report*—one of the world's most respected bioethical journals—is a case in point. According to the author, John Hardwig, an East Tennessee State University medical ethics professor, among those with a "duty to die" are the elderly above the age of 75 and people whose continued life will "impose significant burdens—emotional burdens, extensive care giving, destruction of life plans." Among others who are expendable are people whose loved ones "have already made great contributions—perhaps even sacrifices—to make their life a good one," and people whose illness or disability renders them "incapable of giving love." People who don't accept this duty, according to Hardwig, suffer from "a moral failing, the sign of a life out of touch with life's basic realities."

It is important to emphasize that these advocacy articles are not the ranting of some fringe. They are being published in the most prestigious medical and ethical journals in the world and insinuating their way into a status of respectability. It is the beginning of the route to consensus which effectively excludes public input. The "experts" argue among themselves in professional publications and seminars about what a specific health care policy should be. Agreement is eventually reached and then it is on to the courts and legislatures to solidify these agreed upon policies into legal precedent and statutory law.

We have seen this routine before. Fifteen years ago, journals such as the *New England Journal of Medicine* and the *Hastings Center Report* led the way in molding an ethical consensus that tube-supplied food and fluids should be considered medical treatment, leading directly to current laws and court decisions permitting intentional dehydration of people—both conscious and unconscious—suffering from severe cognitive disabilities. Ten years ago the discussion concerned living wills. Five years ago (and continuing), the hot topic was assisted suicide. In some sense, Jack Kervorkian is merely a battering ram for those who follow him but never have to deal with the outrage his activities occasion.

Pay close attention to this ongoing dialogue in the medical world today and it becomes vividly clear that Futile Care theorists seek to create public policies that promote death as the answer to the problems of old age, debilitating and terminal illnesses, and dependency caused by cognitive disability. Futile Care advocates view people who reach these stages of life as better off dead—for their own benefit, for that of their families, and for society. If "choice" achieves the death goal, thereby preserving the ideal of personal autonomy, all well and good. But if the claims of personal autonomy are a hindrance, then "choice" will be discarded as counterproductive and the decision will be made for the patient and family.

### From Theory to Practice

Futile Care Theory is not merely some ominous possibility lurking in the future. It is already being imposed on some patients. In Michigan, when the parents of the prematurely born infant, Baby Terry, refused doctors' advice to turn off their child's life support, they were



brought up on charges of child abuse and stripped of their right to make medical decisions for their baby—solely because they insisted on continuing medical treatment. (The child died before the trial court's decision could be appealed.)

In Massachusetts, a 71-year-old woman, Catherine Gilgunn, explicitly instructed doctors and family that vigorous efforts be made to keep her alive. After she became unconscious from a stroke, rather than obeying her instructions as reiterated by Mrs. Gilgunn's daughter, the doctor instead removed her from the respirator, resulting in death. The family sued for malpractice but lost the case when the judge instructed the jury that any treatment that did not promise a cure was futile.

In the state of Washington, another family was turned in for child abuse by a hospital administrator when they obtained a court injunction ordering kidney dialysis to continue for their prematurely born son, known as Baby Ryan. Next, the doctors and hospital administrators vigorously fought the parents in court over who had the right to decide the level of Ryan's care. Doctors even signed sworn affidavits that the child had "no chance" of surviving, arguing that continued treatment thereby violated *their* ethics. Happily, the doctors were dead wrong. Baby Ryan survived when his care was transferred to another medical team. Today, at age 5, Ryan struggles to overcome health problems associated with his premature birth, but he no longer needs kidney dialysis. Had the doctors' "values" prevailed over the autonomy of the parents, Ryan would be but a painful memory.

These legal cases are the first drops of a coming torrent. All over the country and to an ever increasing degree, policies permitting the refusal of desired care for the frail elderly, very prematurely born infants, those who are diagnosed as permanently unconscious, the severely disabled, and the terminally ill—the weakest and most vulnerable among us—are being formally implemented and put into clinical practice.

In February 1997, the Alexian Brothers Hospital in San Jose, California, instituted a formal Futile Care ("Non-Beneficial Treatment") policy. Its stated purpose: "to promote a positive atmosphere of comfort care for patients near the end of life" and to insist that "*the dying process must not be unnecessarily prolonged.*" Who decides what is unnecessary prolongation of dying? The hospital, of course.

The Alexian Brothers policy presumes that requests for medical treatment or testing, including CPR, is "inappropriate" for a person with any of the following conditions:

- Irreversible coma, persistent vegetative state, or anencephaly.
- Permanent dependence on intensive care to sustain life.
- Terminal illness with neurological, renal, oncological, or other devastating disease.
- Untreatable lethal congenital abnormality.
- Severe, irreversible dementia.

The only care such patients are entitled to receive is comfort care.

This is devastating to such people who want treatment. Under the policy, healthy severely mentally retarded people could be denied CPR that their families want for them as well as other

medical treatments such as antibiotics to fight infection and reduce fever. Dying people may be denied the extra weeks or months of life that desired CPR might provide them. People who are deemed permanently unconscious (a condition notoriously misdiagnosed) will have tube-supplied food and fluids withheld whether their families agree or not.

Worse yet, doctors who violate this policy must "provide written justification" for the treatment provided. Moreover, to ensure that doctors toe the line, snitching is encouraged by nurses and others against physicians who provide treatment or testing "such as antibiotics, dialysis, blood tests, or monitoring," that the hospital's policy has declared inappropriate. The punishment for deviation from the policy is unmentioned, but it can be presumed that a doctor who consistently refuses to follow the hospital's dictates would be in jeopardy of losing staff privileges.

Patients and families are also subjected to pressures that are hard to withstand. If the patient or family "insists on continuing treatment after advisement that it is non-beneficial," the matter is sent to the bioethics committee, an anonymous group whose deliberations are held in private. "If the recommendations of the bioethics committee are not accepted by the patient (or surrogate), care should be transferred to another institution." And if, as is often the case, there is no other institution willing to take the patient? The policy is silent, but one presumes the care will be refused despite patient and family desires.

#### Toward Collective Medical Decision-Making

Futilitarians are working to replace the current medical system in which private health care decision-making between patient and doctor is sacrosanct with a legally enforceable collective standard of allowable—and disallowable—medical care. So admits Dr. Donald J. Murphy who heads up the Colorado Collective for Medical Decisions (CCMD), a futilitarian think tank that expects to distribute futile-care guidelines throughout the nation by 1999.

In an interview given during my research for *Forced Exit*, Dr. Murphy described the future he and other futilitarians envision: Health will be a community concept as much as an individual one, and will include other community considerations such as the need for "recreation and transportation." Doctors' duty to their patients will be subsumed by their overarching responsibility to the collective. Consequently, the parameters of private health care decision-making will be limited to those choices considered appropriate by the community. (For example, according to Dr. Murphy, mammograms would be permitted for women in middle age but not for women who are elderly.) And when people reach certain predefined stages in life, in the infamous words about the elderly by CCMD co-founder, former Governor Richard Lamm, they will have a "duty to die and get out of the way."

Futile Care Theory has already poisoned Oregon's Medicaid Program, the first in the nation to explicitly ration health care. The rationing program seeks to expand eligibility for Medicaid by cutting costs through limiting certain

treatments. Here's how the program works: A list was created consisting of 745 medical treatments. The lower the number, the more beneficial the treatment is deemed. Every two years, a cut-off line is determined based upon budget estimates. If the number of the treatment a poor person needs is below the cut off line, it will be covered by Medicaid. If it is above the cut off line, it will not be funded—which, of course, means that it will not be provided. In 1994, for instance, the cut-off number was 606. It is currently 578.

The number each treatment received in the rationing hierarchy was established, in part, by the kind of futilitarian political determination advocated by CCMD. The effect was to pit some poor, sick people against other poor, sick people. Not surprisingly, those with political clout generally did well, while the relatively powerless found their treatment needs excluded from coverage. For example, as initially proposed, curative treatment for late stage AIDS would have been excluded from coverage based on the futilitarian concept that such treatment is "ineffective." When the gay community learned of the plan, it organized and successfully maintained coverage for AIDS treatment. At the same time, lacking an organized political constituency, some late-stage cancer patients were excluded from coverage.

Considering the philosophy behind Futile Care Theory, it should come as no surprise that the Oregon Department of Health recently declared assisted suicide to be a form of "comfort care," a covered treatment in Oregon's Medicaid rationing scheme. Thus does the ultimate death agenda which underlies futile care theory come full circle. Imagine the scenario: a poor Medicaid patient wants treatment not covered by the rationing plan. Denied desired care by the new bureaucratic rules, in desperation she turns to assisted suicide. No one ever has to see this as a killing. The woman's early death is seen by the powers-that-be as best for her, her family, and the budgetary needs of Oregon's Medicaid plan.

CCMD's Dr. Murphy sees the coming battle over Futile Care as the key to the future ethics of American medicine. He is right. The 92 year-old woman mentioned at the top of this story who was initially denied antibiotics was eventually able to secure treatment that saved her life. But if Futile Care Theory is imposed on the American people through formally enacted guidelines and enforceable public policies, similar cases will not have equally happy endings. For if Futile Care Theory becomes the law of the land, health care decision-making will have little to do with personal autonomy—unless the choice is the politically correct one of choosing to die—but will become primarily a matter of "doctor knows best," with available choices limited by the dictates of the collective will. No problem for the young, healthy, and productive, but devastating for everyone else.

There is a term that aptly describes the health care system that futilitarians seek to impose upon us: medical fascism. Its implementation may be closer than you think.



Wesley J. Smith is an attorney for the International Anti-Euthanasia Task Force and author of *Forced Exit: The Slippery Slope from Assisted Suicide to Legalized Murder*.

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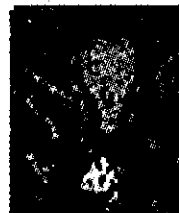


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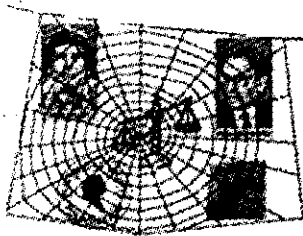
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## REVIEW

## Obstetric Lunacy

*Childbirth and Authoritative Knowledge: Cross Culture Perspectives*

Edited by Robbie E. Davis-Floyd and Carolyn F. Sargent  
University of California Press  
510 pages, \$19.95

REVIEWED BY JOHN ELLIS

**Y**ou can learn a great deal from this book about the nature of present-day feminism, the state of American college campuses, and research in the modern university; but not very much about its ostensible subject—childbirth.

Anyone who was born before the second world war will probably remember that the birth of a child was awaited with some foreboding. Many in that generation had somewhere in their recent family history a female relative who had died early in her adult years, in childbirth. In the 19th century, even in the most medically advanced societies, childbirth took an enormous toll on the lives of women. One statistic tells the story: before modern medicine the life expectancy of men and women was roughly the same. At the present time, by contrast, the life expectancy of women is about seven years longer than that of men—but only in those countries that have access to modern medical knowledge. This gift to women of (on average) the best part of an extra decade of life is due in large part to the successful management of childbirth on the part of Western doctors and medical scientists. Modern medicine is good for all of us, but especially for women.

This, one might think, would make feminists rejoice. It doesn't. The problem is that childbirth is the issue where it is clearest that feminist dogma and reality can not coexist. Like a religious cult whose beliefs cannot be shaken by any test of experience, campus feminists are convinced that the West oppresses women, that its scientific knowledge is just one discursive practice among others, and that science is really all about power and social control. And so I up picked up this book curious to see how far feminists writing about childbirth would push their dogmas—could they give even this area of life the standard campus feminist treatment? Would they actually denounce and dismiss as just more patriarchal oppression the very aspect of Western knowledge and technology that saves the lives of women to the tune not just of hundreds and thousands, but millions—giving them in the process a life expectancy far in excess of men's?

But the contest between feminist ideology and reality is no contest: the ideology wins hands down. Western childbirth, we are told, must be seen as "just another ethno-obstetric system" among others. In case you thought that doctors can only do the work they do because of their long training, experience, and skill, this book will set you straight: the "authoritative" knowledge claimed by doctors "isn't produced simply by access to complex technology. . . . It is a way of organizing power relations." In North America, it takes the form of "active suppression of whatever it is that women might know, think, or imagine about themselves in the birth process." Just the patriarchy up to its dastardly tricks again—men seeking "medical hegemony over women's reproductive experiences," with a system that "objectifies the patient, mechanizes the body, and exalts practitioner over patient."

In fact, all of this "technobirth" or "medicalized birth" (you can almost see the flinching at these disgusting words) insults women by assuming that there is something wrong with them—machines are required precisely because of this "devaluation of women's bodies as defective machines." This is "the pathologizing technocratic approach to birth that is dominant in the United States. . . ." This horror is apparently the work of the "technomedical establishment" which has a degrading view of women, a "male doctor essen-

tialist definition of women: that woman-plus-machine approaches the ideal of the feminine." To counter this, "birth activists; in maintaining an alternate definition of women . . . attempt to weaken or break women's reliance on 'doctors' masculine knowledge,' which they consider mechanical and disenfranchising for women."

Back to reality for a moment: haven't these women noticed that there are plenty of female doctors around these days, and that about half the intake of medical schools is currently female? Just imagine: all those misguided young women queuing up to acquire destructive masculine knowledge so that they can get to work degrading their fellow women. . . .

Naturally enough, things are much better for women in the kinder and gentler third world. "In preindustrial societies birth usually has an element of the sacramental. It links past, present, and future." A midwife has "a spiritual function." In the Yucatan, instead of the hierarchy of "Western medicalized births," nobody—certainly not a male—is in charge. There are vast differences, we are told, between "birthing systems that give authority of knowing to women and their communities and those that invest it in experts and machines." How sad it is for Western women that they don't have a shot at the "Ideal of Unassisted Birth"—one of the chapter titles of the book. The chapter concerned gives a glowing account of how brave young women in Botswana and Namibia wander off into the veld to give birth by themselves. Perhaps, muses the writer, "a mature society is one that encourages those who give birth not to hide from pain and ecstasy but squarely to confront them—and death—in that moment of maturation."

Lest we drown in this sentimental picture, let us come up for air again. Doubtless you are by now thinking, as I was when reading this book: when is someone going to talk about the comparative statistics for maternal and child deaths in "medicalized childbirth" as opposed to the feminist "Ideal"? Surely, one would think, even feminist ideologues are going to have to talk about the practical consequences of their ideas. How many lives will it cost if we are going to preserve female dignity (as defined by feminists) by dumping doctors and letting women go it alone? Amazingly, this obvious question is left by the wayside. Birthing systems are being compared without regard to what for any sane person will be the very first point of comparison—the respective rates of live births and maternal deaths.

Buried in the footnotes, however, though never related to the main drift of the book, is a brief reference to the statistics on maternal deaths from birth complications: "A woman in Africa has a 1 in 21 lifetime risk of dying from birth complications; in Asia, 1 in 54; in Northern Europe 1 in 10,000." And: "The rate of maternal mortality in the developing world has not improved in the past 50 years." Curiously, the footnote goes on: "Obstetric emergencies account for up to 75% of all deaths. When midwives or TBAs [traditional birth attendants] transport a woman to a health care facility for treatment of these conditions, the essential equipment and staff are often lacking."

Now I am confused. I thought I had read that "experts and machines" were to be despised—but "essential equipment and staff" sounds like the same thing. The context of the footnote clarifies the confusion. It turns out that the weight of this comment is a complaint about the discrepancy between the rich and the poor countries. The greedy West, it seems, has the lion's share of all the machines and the experts. But wait: if experts and machines are despicable anyway, isn't the third world better off without them? I am still confused after all.

Back to those statistics. As Barbie Lamonts: "Math is hard." That may be why these authors keep trying to reassure us that "most" or "many" women can have intervention-free births. Quite right. On a lifetime basis, 20 out of 21—why, that's a whole three and a half times better than playing Russian roulette! Let's do some quick arithmetic: if the West has a 1 in 10,000 rate of maternal deaths, and Africa 1 in 21, that suggests that of the present US population perhaps 15 mil-

lion women will be kept alive by "medicalized" birthing and thus by the hated "techno-medical establishment" which subjects them to it. That's also well over 15 million grieving parents who would have lost their daughters, a very large number of young children that would have been deprived of the love of their mothers, and a lot of bereaved husbands too. Still, they could all console themselves with the thought that their daughters/mothers/wives had been brave, and had fallen in a just gender war. Sacrifices have to be made to combat the patriarchy.

To say this book is wrong-headed would not do it justice; many wrong-headed books are serious contributions to their field. Judgments of books must be nuanced, and precise. Mindful of this exacting standard, we must make a measured judgment: this book is idiocy on the grandest scale. If its ideas were really taken seriously the result would be death and misery to an extent unmatched in the bloodiest wars in history.

Why then should we even bother with such an absurdity? But this is just where the book becomes interesting after all. As criticism of the race-gender-class establishment on college campuses becomes more threatening to it, an all-purpose apologia is emerging. There is good and bad in any situation, we are told, and we should concentrate on the best work, and stop talking about the worst. Using this defense you can dismiss any criticism of campus feminism whatsoever. By definition, criticism can never be important, for whatever it hits must be an atypical aberration. The achievement of this book is that it makes that ingenious defense unusable.

What is it after all that makes this book so foolish? The answer is beyond doubt: it is the application to the subject of childbirth of the most common, most standard feminist ideas—ideas so routine that had the writer stopped in mid-paragraph anyone could have finished it for her. The problem of the book is not that it is an aberration but precisely that it is not an aberration—that it was strictly faithful to feminist ideology. But that's not all. This is not the work of a single author: it contains essays by no fewer than twenty-three writers, almost all of them with academic appointments in prestigious universities. This is a cross-section of work done in many different institutions. But worse still is to come. A large bibliography of related work at the end of the editors' introduction lists some 200 names, many with multiple publications. There is much, much more like this book, which is only the tip of an iceberg: it represents a major subfield within Women's Studies, a whole cottage industry of craziness. It is even claimed to be the "definitive volume in a rapidly expanding field."

Despite the official feminist denigration of the male world of rational thought and knowledge, all of the trappings of a real research field have been grafted on to this one, and the result is a ghastly parody of the real thing. There is the vocabulary of "studies" and "data," together with reports of funding from agencies and dates of research; there are copious footnotes and reference to other such studies, together with acknowledgment of seminal work, deference to authorities in the field, and pious pronouncements about the importance of the field and its accomplishments. But the authorities, like the field, are spurious—they have neither readership nor validity outside the little circle of those who make up the field.

But how, one might ask, is it possible to do research, and get "data" to support these bizarre attitudes—attitudes that fly in the face of all known facts? Let's turn to the ultimate authority in this field, Brigitte Jordan, to whom deference is paid by all. Jordan's essay indeed starts off with the kind of language found in real research: "The data come from a large research project on the dynamics of care during the second stage of labor. . . ." But any notion of collecting and abstracting from a controlled body of data is soon left behind and replaced by an extensive commentary on a single videotape of one particular delivery: "As the labor progresses, there is a palpable buildup of tension, not, as one might expect, foreshadowing the moment the

## REVIEW

woman gives birth, but rather leading up to the entrance of the physician without whom the delivery literally cannot proceed . . . he sweeps in with his entourage, a male medical student holding his white coat. Without a glance at the woman he walks over to the fetal monitor, cursorily checks the output and then confers briefly with the nurse and the female medical student. . . . During the entire process, we are told, the "participants work hard to maintain the definition of the situation as one in which the woman's knowledge counts for nothing." And: "The physician's unquestioned status and authority rests, in the last analysis, on a social contract that accords him that authority . . . ritual deference [is] paid to the superior status of medical knowledge. . . ."

Neither this writer nor others in the volume seem to have any idea how goofy this sounds. Why do they think doctors train for so many years if not to have the results of that training put to good use? And can they really not grasp the difference between a woman's knowledge of her own body and the completely different kind of knowledge that a doctor or scientist has? But let's look more closely at this narrative as research, and as reporting of data. Why did Jordan pick this particular tape of this particular doctor? Because, she tells us, "I have especially good video data on it." Surely a novel view of how and why a particular case becomes central in a research study. (Were all the other tapes too blurred to use? Or were the "good video data" simply data that were good for the conclusion she wanted to draw?) But Jordan senses that her selection of one doctor (maybe just an arrogant one?) needs justification, and so she tells us that this case is "not atypical" but then immediately retreats even from this, admitting that she is not

claiming that "births in American hospitals are always or typically conducted in this way." She only wants to show "what happens when technology-dependent knowledge becomes hierarchically distributed." By which time it becomes clear that none of this has anything to do with data or research—it is instead a projection of radical feminist resentment and paranoia, nothing more. And this from the *fons et origo* of the whole field.

A spurious field with spurious authorities, precedents, seminal work, and so on, presents a serious problem for the academic world. Fields are to some extent self-governing. People in the field are judged by others in it, and get appointments and promotions based on those judgments. But in this alleged field, self-governance produces and perpetuates nonsense. A spurious field is a spurious career vehicle for countless spurious scholars. And so while responsible people throughout the world would like to make Western medical knowledge available to everyone on the globe, these self-styled ethno-obstetricians warn us of the shocking fact that "indigenous systems of birth knowledge are being replaced by, competing with, or acceding to second-tier status" under the threat of "the exportation of the American system of birth." They fear that the sinister "tightening hegemony of techno-obstetrics" will disrupt "viable, healthy, and culturally embedded indigenous systems." Let's not take away from African women that beautiful ecstasy of facing death alone on the veld. . . .

Instead of worrying about this pseudo-problem we should worry instead about the very real problem of the corruption of academic research and massive waste of taxpayer funds that this book demonstrates. The list of presti-

gious institutions that employed the contributors to *Childbirth and Authoritative Knowledge* to pursue this bizarre parody of research includes UCLA, Southern Methodist University, the University of Toronto, the University of Texas, Rice University, Gettysburg College, Michigan State University, the University of Edinburgh, Case Western Reserve University, the World Health Organization, Simon Fraser University, the New School for Social Research, New Mexico State University, and others. And the book is published by the press of the University of California. It takes a great deal of dereliction of duty by a great many people over a long time to get nonsense institutionalized on this scale. How many deans had to let themselves be bullied by feminist militants into abandoning their traditional function of quality control in their institutions? How many oversight committees composed of faculty from other disciplines were just as cowardly? How many times did people who must have known better allow the integrity of their institutions to be compromised rather than risk their personal comfort by taking a stand?

Accountability has to start somewhere, so let's start with the people who were entrusted with the responsibility for protecting the integrity of the press of a great university, yet allowed it to be corrupted and subjected to ridicule by the publication of this book. The director of the University of California press is James Clark. The press's sponsoring editor for the book was Stanley Holwitz. The faculty committee which accepted the book for publication was co-chaired by Stephen Humphreys, professor of history at UC Santa Barbara, and Michael Rogin, professor of politics at UC Berkeley. Shame on all of them.

## Hot Button Topic

### *The Heat Is On: The High Stakes Battle Over Earth's Threatened Climate*

by Ross Gelbspan  
Addison-Wesley, 304 pages, \$23.00

REVIEWED BY JONATHAN H. ADLER

**T**he world is in imminent danger. Modern technology threatens life on earth with Armageddon. Yet "powerful forces are at work" to ensure that the threat remains "buried." Massive corporations with the power to "buy media access . . . access to editorial boards, TV producers, and every relevant reporter in the country" are conspiring to "engineer a policy of denial" lest precipitous political action threaten their profits. This "sinister" campaign "obstructs all meaningful international attempts to address the gathering crisis." As a result, the world risks "political chaos and the spread of totalitarianism," perhaps threatening "the survival of civilization."

This isn't the plot for the latest Tom Clancy tome or an episode of the *X-Files*. It is the tale told by Ross Gelbspan in *The Heat Is On: The High Stakes Battle Over Earth's Threatened Climate*. According to Gelbspan, emissions from the burning of fossil fuels threaten global meltdown, but corporate executives will not allow the globe to be saved if it will prevent them from making an extra buck. It's not a novel, but it could be. *The Heat Is On* has villains and heroes, scientific debate and secret money trails—and much of it is fiction. Gelbspan's tale is engaging, but it's also misleading, a highly distorted picture of the global warming debate.

There is no doubt that emissions of greenhouse gases, chiefly carbon dioxide, have increased over this century. There are also sound theoretical reasons why this could produce a slight warming of the atmosphere. However, it is quite something else to assert that the increased emissions have already produced a warming of the globe, and that

any climatic change inevitably means disaster for human civilization. Indeed, the earth's history of climatic variation suggests quite the opposite. It is no wonder that the prestigious journal *Science* titled a recent summary of climate findings "Greenhouse Forecasting Still Cloudy."

But qualifying his scientific pronouncements on climate change would drain his story of dramatic urgency, so Gelbspan doesn't bother. Beginning with the introduction, *The Heat Is On* is littered with anecdotal tales of extreme weather, melting ice caps, freak storms, and so on, each recounted in breathless prose. According to Gelbspan, the lesson is obvious: "Climate Change Is Here. Now." About this Gelbspan suggests there can be no legitimate debate: "All of these escalating climate extremes share a common source, according to the overwhelming consensus of scientific thought: they are nature's expressions of the early stages of the heating of the atmosphere."

For support Gelbspan repeatedly cites the report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the United Nations' attempt to forge a "consensus" document representing the views of the world's climate experts. Yet the IPCC report comes nowhere near Gelbspan's pronouncements. Instead the report is littered with caveats and discussions of remaining uncertainty. While environmental activists point to the report as evidence of the need to act, skeptical scientists, including those who participated in the IPCC process, are more circumspect.

The most conclusive statement in the entire report reads: "The balance of evidence suggests a discernible human impact on global climate." That's it. No proclamation of warming, just a tepid statement that scientists think they can discern the global impacts of human activity. That's the smoking gun. Yet even that statement was controversial. After the report's editors inserted the line during the final drafting stages so that the scientific discussion would conform to the policymakers summary approved by the participating governments, many respected scientists called foul. It is hardly evidence of an overwhelming scientific consensus.

Undaunted, Gelbspan lists every weather anomaly that he can find as further evidence that human activities are warming the planet, even though neither global satellite nor weather balloon

measurements can find any warming over the past two decades. Computer models, which seek to replicate the interactions of the climate system, suggest the Earth should have warmed from increased greenhouse gas emissions, but the climate has refused to go along. The Earth may not have warmed, but that doesn't stop Gelbspan from blaming each and every weather anomaly on global warming.

Among Gelbspan's more ludicrous arguments is the claim that emissions of greenhouse gases have triggered an increase in catastrophic storms. "Between 1990 and 1995, 16 floods, hurricanes and storms destroyed more than \$130 billion in property—and caused deaths, homelessness, and psychological damage for the many victims of those catastrophes," he writes. He blames these events, and the record-level insurance company payouts that resulted, on the emission of carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels.

Contrary to Gelbspan's outrageous assertions, there is no scientific basis upon which to blame recent hurricane activity or storm damage on human activity or global warming. As the IPCC report acknowledges, scientific reviews of storm data cannot find any correlation between warmer temperatures and increased hurricane activity. If anything, the existing data shows a slight decline.

Increases in insurance company losses have more to do with the unprecedented level of coastal development than the greenhouse effect. Hurricane Andrew was certainly a whopper. It caused an estimated \$30 billion in southern Florida. Yet Andrew was hardly the greatest storm to ever hit the Miami area. The storm that struck in 1926 was significantly worse. Increases in storm-related property losses have more to do with increased development, and the inflation of property values, than significant variations in weather patterns. If Gelbspan wants to blame anybody, he should blame federally subsidized disaster insurance, not the fossil fuel industry.

Gelbspan is similarly off-base in his efforts to link global warming to outbreaks of infectious disease. Gelbspan seizes on the speculation of some scientists that a global warming will allow disease-bearing insects to migrate northward. Malaria, cholera, dengue and yellow fever could all spread, Gelbspan warns. Experts at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) disagree.



REVIEW

They note that economic development and medical treatment are far more important than climate in the spread of disease. While Gelbspan wants to attribute Mexican dengue epidemics to changing climate, the CDC and Pan-American Health Organization blame insufficient mosquito eradication efforts. Gelbspan also attributes a massive outbreak of cholera in Peru to changing climate. Yet the scientific journal *Nature* reported that a reduction of water chlorination was the primary culprit. The outbreak spread throughout South America not because of changes in climate—the satellite and weather balloon data cannot find the warming necessary to support Gelbspan's thesis—but to poor sanitation.

But what if the climate warms? Will disease follow warmer temperatures into North America? Don't bet on it. The CDC's Duane Gubler told *Science* that predictions of the sort relied on by Gelbspan show "probably the most blatant disregard for other factors that influence disease transmission." When dengue rolled through Mexico in 1995, Gubler notes, it stopped at the Rio Grande. There were over 2,000 cases on the Mexican side of the border, but only seven in Texas. This cannot be explained by a stark change in climate at the U.S.-Mexican border. It can, however, be attributed to superior pest control, sanitation, and health care in the wealthier U.S. Thus, even if the world did warm significantly, it is doubtful that disease outbreaks would follow.

Some of Gelbspan's policy prescriptions are "draconian"; others range from fanciful to insane. For Gelbspan, the ultimate policy goal must be the complete abandonment of fossil fuels—oil, coal, even natural gas—over the next decade! In his "ideal" scenario, the government would assemble a Manhattan Project-style "brain trust" composed of "industrial leaders, engineers, government officials, energy specialists, and parents" to "decide which kinds of renewable, climate-friendly energy are appropriate for different uses and different settings." The transition would be guided by an "international enforcement agency" and funded by oil and coal industry profits. "We do not need to cede our sovereignty," Gelbspan insists, for "International governance is far different." Economic central planning failed, but Gelbspan calls upon ecological central planning to save the earth.

Of course, such a plan would be disruptive, and not just for the fossil fuel industry. Even though Gelbspan asserts that the necessary alternative technologies necessary to meet the world's energy needs without fossil fuels are readily available, the rest of us might not be so convinced. (Tried a "water-efficient" toilet recently?)

Therefore, true to the Soviet model he proposes, "the public relations industry would put its extraordinary expertise to positive use to promote the acceptance of renewable energy around the world." Of course, it will also need to feed the sense of urgency, and "put the climate crisis—in all its massive dimensions—at the center of the public stage."

For Gelbspan such dire steps are necessary because the earth is in extreme peril and a powerful anti-environmental cabal is conspiring to wring out a few more years of inflated profits before the onset of Armageddon. Not only will this conspiracy cause the earth to overheat, but that in turn will trigger societal unrest. According to Gelbspan, "the bombings in Oklahoma City and Centennial Park during the Olympics in Atlanta may pale before the violent social upheavals that will be triggered by climate change."

To believe Gelbspan, the oil and coal industries, by funneling a few hundred thousand dollars to a handful of academic scientists and supporting a brief ad campaign on climate science in the early 1990s, have been able to derail a scientific consensus supported by over \$2 billion in research grants from the federal government and the combined efforts of America's multimillion dollar environmental establishment.

Gelbspan is just shocked, shocked that Dr. Patrick Michaels received more than \$165,000 in industry funding over five years to support his research. Michaels, an ardent critic of the greenhouse apocalypse thesis, scoffs at the idea that a little over \$30,000 a year could control the research he conducts with his colleagues at the University of Virginia, particularly when the vast majority of Michaels' funding comes from the government. Gelbspan acknowledges that some skeptics, such as Dr. Richard Lindzen of MIT, have "unassailable" credentials, so he tries to write them off as ideological extremists. In the world according to Gelbspan, the portions of the conspiracy not purchased with industry dollars are the product of a right-wing fanaticism.

Gelbspan himself is no stranger to conspiracy theories, having written about them before. His prior book, *Break-Ins, Death Threats, and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement*, purported to detail a plot by the FBI, CIA, and right-wing think tanks to harass and intimidate the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and other supporters of Marxist revolutionaries in Central America.

Gelbspan's prior work most certainly endeared him to Fenton Communications, which provided PR support for *The Heat Is On* through Environmental Media Services, a Fenton front that

regularly flaks for environmentalist causes. Like Gelbspan, David Fenton has a soft spot for the leftist underdog, having represented various Marxist regimes and revolutionary groups, including the MPLA (Angola), Maurice Bishop (Grenada), the Sandinistas (Nicaragua), and the FMLN (El Salvador). Indeed, it would not be surprising if Fenton had promoted Gelbspan's first book.

Gelbspan's credibility was enhanced by claims that he won a Pulitzer Prize. The dust jacket to *The Heat Is On* states that Gelbspan is a "Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist," and similar claims were made by Fenton, Greenpeace, and others seeking to publicize the book.

The only problem is that Gelbspan never won a Pulitzer. In 1984, Gelbspan helped edit a series at *The Boston Globe* that ended up winning a prize. But the award went to the *Globe* reporters that actually wrote the story, and the Pulitzer Board listed all seven of them by name. According to Columbia University's Seymour Topping, who administers the Pulitzer awards, "Only individuals specifically named in an award citation by the Pulitzer Prize Board are recognized by this office as Pulitzer Prize winners." Gelbspan was not named in the citation, thus he did not win the award.

Gelbspan's penchant for painting a picture of climate catastrophe would be of less concern were it not both influential and symptomatic of a larger problem in the environmental debate. Upon publication of *The Heat Is On*, environmentalists thrust Gelbspan forward as an unbiased expert on global warming and industry disinformation. Unsurprisingly, the media lent him a receptive ear, which further spread his message. "World Is Melting" sells more papers than "Don't worry, the climate's fine."

Gelbspan's take on the climate controversy is similar to that espoused by Vice President Al Gore in *Earth In the Balance*—capitalism is destroying the world and only the Elect can save it. President Clinton seems to be adopting this line too, as he endorsed the United Nations treaty on climate change proposed at the December UN summit in Kyoto, Japan. Last fall, the President was seen carrying a copy of the book in Martha's Vineyard. Somehow, the wacky views of Ross Gelbspan seem to have infected U.S. policy. Now that could be a conspiracy worth getting all hot about.

Jonathan H. Adler is Director of Environmental Studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., and the editor of *The Costs of Kyoto: Climate Change Policy and Its Implications* (1997).

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# Sex-Change Woman Seeks to Bear Child

By Judith Schumann Weizner

**B**obbie Prettyman, a 39-year-old resident of the Women's Section of the Rolling Hills Correctional Facility in the foothills of the Ozarks, has petitioned authorities at the institution for permission to undergo a new procedure, just approved by the FDA, which makes it possible for the first time for female transsexuals to "give birth." Although Ms. Prettyman would be the 84th resident to make use of the facility's birthing room since its establishment in 1996, she would be the first to do so after having been surgically changed from a man to a woman.

Ms. Prettyman is serving a four-year term for a crime she committed while she was still a male. Then known as Bobby, Prettyman was arrested for the sexual harassment of a 22-year-old female parking lot attendant after he said that her choice of occupation was not a fitting one for a woman. Due to the thought-provoking nature of Prettyman's remarks, the attendant subsequently became a male and asked that the charges be dropped. Citing section 12.C of the 1998 Women in the Workplace Protection Act, the prosecution refused: since the victim had been a woman at the time of the crime, the state could not properly be a party to any action that might appear to diminish the seriousness of crimes against women.

In order to get a reduced sentence, Prettyman had pleaded guilty and agreed, as part of his bargain, to undergo psychological counseling with Dr. Henry Montebanque, the chief of psychiatry for the state's corrections system.

Shortly after he began his therapy, he achieved what Dr. Montebanque termed "remarkably penetrating insight" into his actions, realizing that the harassment had been merely an expression of his secret desire to become a woman. Dr. Montebanque agreed that if Bobby were to change his sex it would substantially reduce the likelihood that he would ever repeat his previous behavior.

With Dr. Montebanque's full support, Prettyman petitioned the state to allow him to undergo a sex change operation as part of his rehabilitation. Pointing out that denying him this opportunity could expose the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation to charges of cruel

and unusual punishment, he prevailed upon officials to allow him to set aside time from his daily Self-Exploration Workshop to conduct research into the requirements for a sex change.

After several months of conversations



BOBBY PRETTYMAN

with transsexuals via the Internet, he was satisfied that he understood the ramifications of the procedure, and petitioned the state for permission to begin preparatory hormone injections, but the State Commissioner of Corrections and Rehabilitation refused the request, citing four pending cases brought against his department by Citizens Against Government Lunacy.

Acting *pro se*, Prettyman sued. In a non-jury trial described by court buffs as "over before it began," Judge Francine Sexton noted that Prettyman had been imprisoned for sexual oppression once before. At that time he had asked for, and received, a penile augmentation at state expense, having argued that he had perpetrated the sexual abuse out of a sense of physical inadequacy, and required the operation as a means of enhancing his self-esteem. Remarking that the state appeared to have helped Prettyman to become a more adequate harasser by granting that request, Judge Sexton ruled against him.

Prettyman appealed, arguing that the state's refusal to accommodate him violated his First Amendment right to free expression. When the Court of Appeals agreed with him, the state petitioned the Supreme Court, which refused to hear the case, thus guaranteeing Prettyman's right to a sex change.

Prettyman began a course of hormone therapy, traveling three times a week to Luneville, a town nearly two hundred miles east of Rolling Hills. After a year and a half of hormone injections, Bobby was deemed ready to become Bobbie and, following surgery, she relocated to the women's annex.

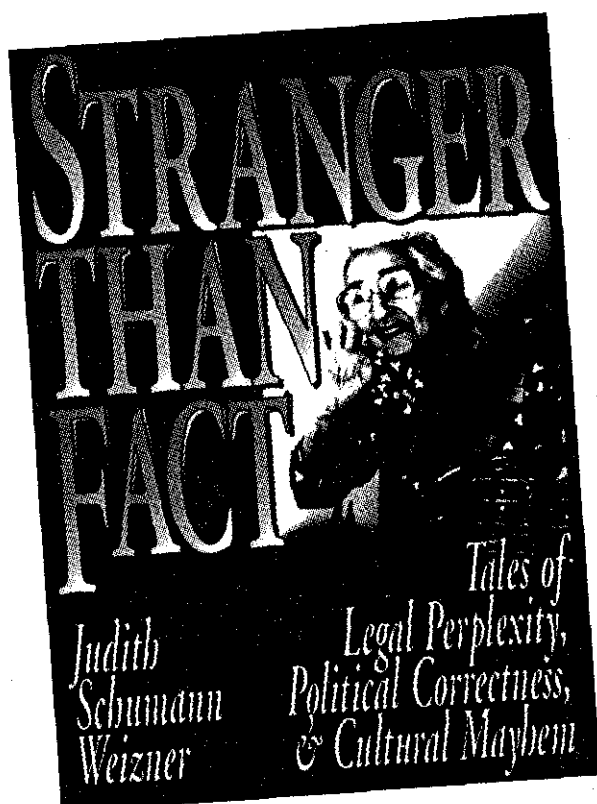
Within a few months, Bobbie sank into a deep depression. She told Dr. Montebanque that now that she was a woman she was gripped by an overwhelming desire to become a mother, that she was tormented by the idea that her record might hinder any attempt at adoption after her release, and that she feared she might find herself unable to resist the temptation to kidnap an infant to satisfy her newly discovered urge. Impressed with the depth of her self-awareness, Dr. Montebanque apprised his client of a new procedure that had been approved by the FDA just one week earlier, and advised her to apply to undergo it.

Called In-Vitro Fertilization and Implantation with Subsequent Re-Implantation and Non-Vaginal Delivery (IVFISRINVD), the procedure

was developed under the aegis of the Federal Fertility Administration following passage of the Equal Rights Act of 1997, which forbids the exclusion of female transsexuals from any experience available to women who acquired their female characteristics by accident of birth. The procedure consists of an in-vitro fertilization with the resulting embryo implanted in a surrogate mother where it develops almost to term. It is then removed from the surrogate womb and reimplanted in the transsexual's artificially created womb for a 20-minute period after which it is delivered by Caesarian section. Because the infant is actually delivered from the transsexual's body, it is not necessary for her to undergo the close pre-adoption scrutiny required for other prospective adoptive parents.

Ms. Prettyman is currently awaiting the final word on her application, but she says she does not anticipate any snags, since Dr. Montebanque has already testified as to the beneficial effect it will have on her psyche and, therefore, on society.

Both the cost of the procedure and subsequent expenses related to rearing the child will be covered under a special program that is specially tailored to the needs of transsexuals in the nation's correctional facilities.



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