

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



FASHIONABLY LEFT

Open the pages of *Harper's Bazaar* for September, 1997, and you will find, on page 348, not the latest word on gracious living, but an impassioned attack on the welfare reform act; on the president who signed it, the Congress that voted for it, and the people who urged that it pass. Stridently assailing the 'mean season' in national politics, and the 'thinly veiled racial and moral overtones' of the case made in its favor, it ignores the arguments made for it by rational people, and the growing body of evidence that an entitlement culture, as opposed to aid for short-term and specific emergencies, tends to do nobody good. Extreme to a fault, ardently partisan, it is far to the left of the *New Republic* and other respected liberal voices, the sort of a piece likely to run in the *Nation*; thin, plain-paper sheets for the post-Stalinist faithful; or in the other fat, toney, life-style glossies, the only ones capable of folding impassioned appeals for the poor and downtrodden into 400 pages of ads and copy urging the most spoiled people on earth to spend \$450 on a plain cotton t-shirt, \$750 on a fun pair of sandals, \$20,000 on a new sable jacket, or ten times that amount on a diamond, ruby, and emerald hummingbird brooch.

The left-wing slant of the



women's magazines has been copiously documented, with their constant support of big government programs; and their breathless recitals of terrible dangers—from power lines, toxic fumes, and bad food and bad water—that can only be solved by big government programs. But these are service books, dealing with everyday problems, so the message, while slanted, is not out of sync. It is in high fashion books like *Harper's Bazaar* that the schism gets vivid: the sybarite image is far more dramatic, and the ideology far more intense. Thus, one sees grim feminist screeds against rape and harassment next to clothes that appear designed to provoke it; whey-faced reformers bent on changing the system next to fist-faced tycoons who know how to exploit it; trophy wives enjoying their ill-gotten gains next to weedy environmental crusaders; the worst examples of capitalist excess next to ghetto activists, who spell America with a 'k.'

There is a place for magazines that write about style, and there is surely a place for the partisan journal, which one reads to get a political viewpoint. It is when a fashion magazine becomes a partisan journal—and from a viewpoint that seems to be hostile to fashion—that it starts to give readers

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INSIDE

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Math*

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Policy*

*Lesbian
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NASTINESS OVER I-200 IN THE REPUBLIC OF NICE BATTLE IN SEATTLE

by Michelle Malkin

It's starting to get nasty here in the Republic of Nice. Open the "Sunday Scene" section of the *Seattle Times*, to the friendly page where "Dear Abby" appears, and you'll find a smiling local columnist likening opponents of racial preferences to murderous nationalists, hooded Klansmen, and, yes, clitorectomists:

"The Afrikaners hide from their terrible deeds; they don't want to pay for the past. The Muslims who mutilate women's genitals say it's always been their way. Protestant Orangemen in Ireland march through Catholic neighborhoods because they have for 300 years. Many Israelis believe that it's OK to continue to be unfair to the Palestinians because they have gotten away with it for 50 years," lectures *Times* columnist Jennifer James (a cultural anthropologist and self-described "futurist" whose latest book is subtitled *A Workout for the Mind*.) "Those who support Initiative

200 use similar logic," James writes, as she plunges her rhetorical brush into a bubbling pot of rhetorical tar. "They may have a new line—it's definitely slicker rhetoric than the KKK—but underneath is the same old narrow, gut-level need to maintain control and hold onto the territory."

What's curdling the milk in the lattes of Seattle's liberal elite is the looming possibility of a yes vote in November on the Washington State Civil Rights Initiative (known as I-200). It's the second ballot measure in the nation asking citizens to outlaw government race and gender preferences. Like California's Proposition 209, the initiative mirrors the language of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and is restricted to state hiring, contracting, and college admissions. Polls since the spring show solid—and unbudging—support for the measure, even as gobs of cash pour into the No!200 campaign's coffers and civic leaders wheeze collectively about the social catastrophes to come.

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Richard Cummings
Bridgehampton, NY

THE MEANING OF RACISM

ideas of the KKK? My greatest fear about the anti-PC crowd—in which I have always proudly include myself as a member—has been that our anti-PC ideas might one day degenerate into bigotry without our notice. I worry that mocking ridiculous instances of “discrimination” may make us callous and aloof toward justified claims of discrimination and ultimately tend to verify the PC crowd’s depiction of us as racist, sexist homophobes who enjoy a good hanging. If that’s what’s now happening, please let me know so that I may cancel my subscription. I want no part of any publication that cannot see the difference between a noose and a nuisance.

Mike Barkey
Grand Rapids, MI

In his review of *The Unmaking of Americans* by John J. Miller, I was surprised to discover that Benjamin Kepple referred to Samuel Francis as a paranoid “whose racist view of American society is similar to that of the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.” I have read much of what Dr. Francis has written and have nowhere seen indications of his view of American society is “racialist.” I have missed the paranoia as well.

inimitable Helen Caldicott: “ . . . if tens of thousands of people just sat down in front of Russian tanks, what could they do?” In a 1983 TV special Cronkite transformed George Orwell’s satire, unmistakably of Soviet totalitarianism, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, into an allegory solely about America’s threats to the privacy of its own citizens. There’s more of the same, stuff making seem almost reasonable his 1986 comment: “I think most newspapermen by definition have to be liberal.” Cronkite conned? It’s the American booboisie who’ve been conned.

John D. King
Austin, TX

REPUBLICAN ACADEMICS

Laura Freberg's account of the prospects of Republicans in academia (May-June) is entirely consistent with my experience of 35 years as a college teacher. In my case, however, it is my libertarianism that has stood in the way of several possible advances in my career. Admittedly, libertarians are a bit more palatable to leftists because on some social issues they pose no serious objection to the left's occasional agenda. (Libertarians have no objection to gays and others as per their political thinking.) But because the libertarian is even more principled in his or her defense of capitalism, on some other fronts the hostility is even greater than against conservatives or Republicans. There are many stories one could tell but two will suffice: Once I was being considered for a chair in business ethics, having published a good deal in that branch of applied philosophy. But I was never called for an interview (by the chair at the University of Florida). I called and talked with her and was told, flat out, that "you aren't liberal enough to serve in that capacity." At Auburn University, Alabama, I have been considered several times for one of five Alumni Professorships but each time failed to be appointed. The last time I learned that a retired English Professor on the committee said: "I will never vote for that right-wing ideologue."

In philosophy, my field, it is not easy to exclude people, since the profession is so filled with adversarial discourse. Nearly anyone has to be given a hearing, provided he or she is bright, articulate and clear enough. But even in such a field the standards of hiring and promotion often involve outright bias, prejudice, power plays and such. Admittedly, in a field that deals with everything fundamental, settling on common standards is problematic. But there seems to be little official effort to exclude clearly irrelevant factors, such as one's color, "class," political opinions, etc. Instead, PC is more and more that rule rather than the sad exception.

Tabor R. Machan
Auburn University, AL (on leave)

What group comes to mind when the story of “Nitwit Feminism” appears in the same issue with the story of Professor Laura Freiburg, *Confessions of a Republican Academic*? The answer is the American Association of Liberal University Women, a.k.a. American Association of University Women. I would love to read something about the inside workings of the AAUW, and how, I presume, it will not come to the defense of Prof Freiburg.

E Roberts Horner
St. Paul, MN

Whether Samuel Francis is your particular cup of tea or not, his accomplishments are many and varied. I'd like to know if the same can be said of Mr. Kepple.

Dan Hanes
San Diego, CA

CRONKITISM REVEALED

“Interfaith Lefties” in the May/June issue was edifying, but mostly in an all-too-familiar way. One minor flaw was its partly exculpatory depiction of Walter Cronkite as “perhaps a dupe,” “conned” by leftist pastors. Sorry, but it is much more likely that WC was a self-starter and not at all dependent on the Religious Left to direct his politics hard-aport. Space here doesn’t suffice for an adequate recital of Cronkitisms, but permit me a modest offering. In 1979 to a Soviet journalist: “I will never believe in a Soviet threat,” adding the prediction that the USSR would never attack a neighboring country, that less than a year before the invasion of Afghanistan. In 1974 to a Gannett reporter: “There are always groups in Washington expressing views of alarm over the state of our defenses. We don’t carry those stories. The story is that there are those who want to cut defense spending.” Ted Kennedy once asserted that “Cronkite recently told me that for years he had been in favor of unilateral disarmament.” Quoted admiringly by the

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

DR. DEMENTO TAKES SOME HEAT: Among the heroes of the loony left, Noam Chomsky is pre-eminent. Chomsky claims to pursue simultaneously both anarchism and socialism, which is the intellectual's equivalent of a dieter pursuing simultaneously both anorexia and obesity. It may also be the reason that he was cited as a hero by the lead character in last year's dopiest and most schizophrenic movie, *Good Will Hunting*. But now, Chomsky is getting criticized for, of all things, being rational. Strange but true. Chomsky spends as much time these days defending himself from the deconstructionists and postmodernists as he does attacking the evil capitalists. A typical Chomsky critic is a self-proclaimed "eco-feminist" by the name of Val Plumwood. In an essay titled "Noam Chomsky and Liberation Politics," Plumwood skewers Chomsky for what she considers his obsession with rational thought. "Chomsky offers a reason-based explanatory framework to account for contemporary oppression," Plumwood writes, as if this were the worst thing he had ever done. Instead of reason, Plumwood suggests an attack on "the rationalist dualisms which naturalize and support rational meritocracy and the resulting hierarchies of race, class, gender and nature as well as the mind/body dualism which sustains the central liberal duality between political and economic citizenship." Her punch line: "In short, to understand properly the failure of the democracy Chomsky deplores, we need the critique of rationality Chomsky refuses." Indeed we do. And the academic left is only too willing to embody it.

THE CLASSICS CAN GET YOU FIRED: Jared Sakren, a professor of Drama at Arizona State University, has filed a lawsuit against the university for violating his federal and state civil rights. Sakren claims the university discriminated against him because of his European descent and his use of male-authored European works in his teachings. In other words, Sakren taught Shakespeare, Aeschylus, and Ibsen the way they should be taught. For doing this, the intellectual satraps in ASU's theatre department promptly sacked Sakren when he came up for his two-year review. The department's chair claimed that his teaching of the classics "[did] not match the explicit goals of the department," while "the feminists are offended by the selection of works from a sexist European canon that is approached traditionally." While the classics were being expunged from ASU's Theatre Department, plays such as "Betty the Yeti," a nifty little thing about a logger who becomes an environmentalist after sex with a Sasquatch in the Pacific Northwest, were approved by the department.

REVENGE OF THE ADA: Dwayne Richardson, a janitor working for the New York Metropolitan Transport Authority, wasn't cut out to drive a subway. This was evident after the 6'3", 450 pound Richardson failed to pass his TA-required physical—in fact, he was so out of shape that he was exhausted after a three-minute walk on a treadmill. However, thanks to the provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act, a federal court declared Richardson disabled. The judge also agreed with Richardson's claim that the physical examination was discriminatory—and since September, he has been, as writer Ed Mazza noted, "in control of a vehicle slightly larger than his body, the D train."

DEEEEMONS OUT!: The University of Texas at Austin's School of Nursing has come under scrutiny medical practices that waver between New Age and medieval in its Continuing Education (CE) program. According to *Contumacy*, an independent, student-run journal at UT-Austin, "the program has been teaching homeopathy, an eighteenth century farce based on [the] magical properties of water, and 'Energy Therapy,' where we learn how mystical organs called 'Chakras' are related to sound and light." *Contumacy* also reported that the program was

called the Quechua Chibcha. Wonder how he would do if he was forced to go back to the Amazon.

Gore for UNPRESIDENT, III: Al Gore, in yet another attempt to desperately raise funds for the Democratic party, displayed his vast knowledge of geography at a fundraiser in Minneapolis by proclaiming that the two Democratic congressmen he was stumping for were "the education team that Missouri needs to move into the 21st Century." This is not the first time Gore has screwed up—he referred to a great Chicago Bulls guard as "Michael Jackson" in yet another attempt to desperately show the young people he was cool and hip and with it. Now that we've seen this isn't an isolated incident, let's just hope that the Vice President is kept away from the government's chain of command: otherwise, our forces will be bombing Kazakhstan instead of Kosovo in order to punish Saddam Milosevic.

BARBARA GETS BOXED: Calling her the "Chief Prostitute," Jill Stewart, star writer of the LA weekly *New Times*, laid into Sen. Barbara Boxer early in October. "I am sorry to predict that when the dust settles, feminists will be judged as the worst liars, the leading moral midgets, and the most passive political prostitutes in Washington's perjury and sex scandal. Indeed, the damage to feminists will far exceed the harm to bumbling, creepy Clinton or his bumbling, creepy accusers. The title of Chief Prostitute of the Beltway will go, of course, to Barbara Boxer—a woman I hesitate to identify as "senator" because she clearly has not developed, intellectually or emotionally, beyond girlhood. Boxer spent the past month equivocating and dodging over her views on Clinton's treatment of his wife, his marriage, his sex toy, and, most importantly, the truth. Her kid-glove handling of Clinton was a stunning and nauseating departure from her fiery, horrified speechmaking in 1991 and 1995, when Boxer spent months trying

to bring down the evil Sen. Bob Packwood and the devil himself, Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. . . . [In late September] Boxer gave a warm hug to her good buddy and co-enabler, Hillary Clinton, at a posh fundraiser for Boxer at the San Francisco Hilton. Hillary helped the beleaguered Boxer raise tens of thousands of dollars, but probably not enough to beat back Matt Fong. . . . Watching Hillary and Boxer in action, I was reminded of the repressed Ice Wives of the '50s, who, when their husbands found lovers and stopped pestering them for sex, commented: "Better her than me."

CRITICAL LEGAL STUPIDS: Two professors from Harvard Law bought an ad in the *Harvard Crimson* congratulating Clinton for his grand jury testimony. The two profs are Charles Nesson and Charles Ogletree (he's the one who defended Anita Hill during the Anita Hill hearings and represented Frank Carter, Lewinsky's first lawyer). The ad read: "Congratulations, Mr. President. Far from a low point, your grand jury testimony was masterful—winning—not perjury—without a lawyer there to do your dueling for you—explaining why the grand jury is not place to spill your guts out. Congratulations, Hillary, for insisting that Bill tape it."



instructing students in aromatherapy, along with offering a herbal medicine class that the magazine claimed was nothing more than a vitamin scam to the tune of \$55 per month. While defenders of the program insist that detractors are merely small-minded bigots unwilling to accept that alternative medicine can help people, outside observers in the medical field have begun to wonder what herbal remedy the CE program directors have been smoking.

COLUMBUS DAZE: *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Chip Johnson reports that student protestors at Berkeley have demanded that the university administration "Go Back to Europe." Some 25 students—the figure has declined considerably since the halcyon year of 1992, the 500th anniversary of Columbus—celebrated "Indigenous Peoples Day" this year, first by inverting the American flag on campus, and then by placing a large eviction notice on the main administration building. The notice read, "You have overextended your stay for 506 years. You are hereby notified that you have 0 days to evacuate yourself from indigenous territory, or you will be physically removed from sovereign land." One of the protestors proclaimed he was a member of a South American indigenous people



How A Compromised President Embraced A Dictatorship **Bill In A China Shop**

by Steven W. Mosher

In the end, after hand wringing by Republicans, outrage by followers of the Dalai Lama, and charges that he was cottoning to the tyrants of Tiananmen Square, Bill Clinton went to China. Some said he simply ignored all those who predicted compromise and disaster. But this President did not reach the pinnacle of American politics by ignoring his political opponents, but by out-thinking, out-flanking, and out-maneuvering them. The trip to China went forward, I am convinced, precisely because of (not in spite of) the chorus of criticism that greeted it. The more Clinton was slammed for China-related scandals, the more determined he became to go to China, to the extent of scheduling an entire speech to justify his trip.

Only by actually going to China could Clinton personally enlist the help of senior Chinese leaders to deflate the Chinagate scandal that threatened his administration. He needed Chinese President Jiang Zemin to publicly deny that the Chinese government had funneled contributions to his 1996 campaign, and thus help forestall the appointment of an independent prosecutor. He also needed him to agree not to target China's newly improved ICBMs at the continental United States. Moreover, from Chinese soil Clinton would be in a position to project a more moderate, less confrontational image of the PRC back to the U.S. The reasoning, it is clear in retrospect, was that as the "China threat" dropped off the radar screen, the China-related political scandals would recede in importance as well.

But Clinton could hardly have failed to realize that, in return for helping to solve his domestic political problems, China's president would demand some policy concessions, perhaps on the key issue of Taiwan. And that to be justified, such appeasement would have to appear to serve some larger strategic purpose.

Of course, these political calculations were not for popular consumption. It would not do for the American people to realize that Clinton's China scandals were driving his China policy. Instead, our compromised president attempted to sell us on a bold geostrategic vision of a "strategic partnership" with China that would, as he vaguely explained, ensure peace in Asia during the 21st century. Like Nixon before him, Clinton was trying to play the China card. But against whom in this post-cold war world? Who was the opponent? What was the game?

Well before President Clinton and his truly China-sized entourage of 1,200 landed in China in late June, the Chinese authorities were making extensive preparations for his visit. Chinese cities were spruced up, Clinton was given a new image in the Chinese press, publications were told to toe the line, meetings with carefully selected "ordinary" citizens were arranged, and democracy advocates were either arrested or warned not to do anything that would spoil the first visit of an American president to set foot on Chinese soil since Bush nearly ten years earlier.

Democracy advocates in Beijing were placed under heavy surveillance, while those in Xian—Clinton's first stop—were detained or told to take a "vacation." Leaders of house churches and the underground Catholic Church were warned to keep a low profile, and Catholic Bishop Julius Jia Zhiguo, whose diocese is in northern Hebei province near Beijing, was arrested. Three democracy campaigners from Hangzhou who braved the repression by attempt-

ing to register a new political party, the Chinese Democracy Party, were quickly taken into custody.

Clinton arrived in Xian to find that the city's leading democracy advocates had been detained or sent into temporary exile the day before. How many dissidents were hustled out of sight is not known, but enough reports reached the American press for *The New York Times* to call the arrests a "serious embarrass[ment]" for the President, to which he must "respond personally, publicly, and bluntly." Yet the normally loquacious Clinton had little to say. The detentions were "disturbing," he remarked mildly, but such behavior "makes it all the more important that we continue to work with the Chinese and engage them."

However deferentially polite Clinton's public demeanor, privately he must have been fuming. He was looking to use his visit to project back to the U.S. a new image of a modernizing China ruled by leaders of moderate political views. With the arrest of dissidents, all the old images of authoritarian, ideological China came crashing through, like tanks crushing the student barricades on Tiananmen Square.

Still, Clinton was not about to offend his hosts. He was in China as a supplicant, in need of not one but several political favors. Unlike President Reagan, who in 1988 had met with 100 Soviet dissidents at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, or even President Bush, who in 1989 had invited China's leading dissident, Fang Lizhi, to a state dinner, Clinton had made no advance plans to meet with dissidents. He made none now, despite the in-your-face arrests by the Chinese authorities. Pressing Jiang to release whole groups of political prisoners, his aides assured reporters privately, would be more effective than "theatrical" encounters with dissidents.

The only hint of a rebuke in Clinton's brief opening remarks was directed not at Beijing but his domestic critics "who wonder whether closer ties and deeper friendship between America and China are good." His answer was unequivocal: "Clearly, the answer is yes." But it is not at all obvious that we should unconditionally embrace dictators who arrest their critics, or that true friendship is possible with those who do not share our fundamental values. The U.S. and Japan, Korea and Taiwan share democratic values and a common civic culture. The U.S. and China do not. Proper diplomatic relations and burgeoning commercial ties between our two countries do not mean we are, or should be, allies.

The summit meeting between President Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin took place two days later in Beijing, after the controversial welcoming ceremony on Tiananmen Square. The two presidents met for 90 minutes, approving a series of agreements, most of them minor, that had been negotiated in advance. These included a joint commitment not to provide assistance to ballistic missile programs in South Asia, an agreement "on the importance" of China's long-pending entry into the World Trade Organization, and that China would "actively study" joining the missile technology control regime.

More significant was a pledge by both sides to retarget their ballistic missiles so that neither side is aiming nuclear weapons at the other. This meant little in military terms, both because it was not subject to verification and because the missiles can be retargeted in minutes. (Retargeting is actually the least time consuming of China's war preparations, since China's strategic rockets are stored without their liquid fuel or their warheads.) Nor was it a priority for the Chinese side. For the Clinton administration, involved in an ongoing controversy over the possible transfer of missile technology to China, the

agreement was an important way of defusing critics.

Another concession to Clinton was Jiang's last-minute decision to carry the 70-minute press conference that followed live on nationwide Chinese television, though without the prior announcement that would have guaranteed a large audience. This allowed Clinton to speak directly to the Chinese people on such questions as personal freedom, the nature of government, Tiananmen Square, and the Dalai Lama. The president's men afterwards declared this a great victory for free speech, but in general Clinton was flabby where he should have been firm.

On human rights, for example, Clinton said "We Americans firmly believe that individual rights, including the freedom of speech, association and religion, are very important not only to those who exercise them, but also to nations, whose success in the 21st century depends upon widespread individual knowledge, creativity, free exchange and enterprise." Rather than insisting that there are fundamental freedoms that no government has the right to suppress, Clinton was relying here on the utilitarian argument that freedom is necessary for economic success.

On Tiananmen, Clinton told Jiang that the use of force to end peaceful demonstrations was "wrong," but this seeming rebuke was delivered in vague, relativistic terms that robbed it of much of its force. "[N]ine years ago, Chinese citizens of all ages raised their voices for democracy," Clinton began. "For all of our agreements, we still disagree about the meaning of what happened then. I believe and the American people believe that the use of force and the tragic loss of life was wrong."

"What happened then" was, of course, a cold-blooded massacre of several thousand people, whose indisputable meaning was that the government was willing to resort to deadly force to keep itself in power. Clinton's phrase "tragic loss of life" makes "what happened" sound more like a plane crash.

The impact of this modest departure from the party line was further blunted when Clinton assured Jiang that "there are legitimate and honest differences in the way we look at this." No, there aren't. Some things, like the shooting down of unarmed demonstrators in the streets of one's capital city, are simply wrong.

It got worse. To "deepen our friendship and our sense of mutual respect" with China, Clinton suggested that our first priority as "Americans" is to acknowledge the painful moments in our own history when fundamental human rights were denied." Are we talking here about slavery? If so, that came to an end in 1865. The forced encampment of American Indians on reservations? That, too, is a 19th-century affair. The shortcomings of America's past cannot be used to anachronistically exculpate China's present. Tens of millions of Chinese have lost their lives since the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949. Tiananmen happened a mere nine years ago, and many of its participants are still in jail.

Clinton frequently dwells on America's shortcomings in his stump speeches in the U.S., so perhaps we shouldn't be surprised. But to have an American president traveling abroad reduce the United States to the moral equivalent of the brutal one-party dictatorship he happens to be visiting is an insult to the people who elected him and to the democratic system he represents.

The Chinese president, for his part, stoutly defended his government's long-standing positions.

Tiananmen was not a mistake: "Had the Chinese government not taken the resolute measures we did then we could not have enjoyed the

stability that we are enjoying today (Translation: “Had we not used deadly force we might not be in power”). Tibet is a part of China: “[t]he door to dialogue and negotiation is open . . . [only if] “the Dalai Lama can publicly make a statement and a commitment that Tibet is an inalienable part of China.” China enjoys the rule of law: “[C]oncerning 2,000 dissidents [in jail], I think in China we have our laws. And in China’s constitution, it is clearly stipulated that the Chinese citizens have the freedom of speech. But any law-breaking activities must be dealt with according to law.” (Isn’t putting dissidents behind bars what the “rule of law” is all about? he seemed to say.)

On the matter of illegal campaign contributions to the Democratic Party, however, the two saw eye to eye. With Clinton soberly looking on, Jiang spontaneously launched into a criticism of “reports from the media and newspapers saying—alleging China had been involved in the so-called political contributions in the United States. I really think it’s very absurd and ridiculous, and I think they are sheer fabrications.” Clinton had raised the issue during their private meeting, Jiang went on to reveal, and “I told him that . . . we conducted very earnest investigation into the matter. And the result of the investigation shows that there is never such a thing.”

Jiang invited Clinton to speak at this point, providing him with a perfect opportunity to press for Chinese cooperation in producing some of the 50 witnesses in the Chinagate scandal who have all, curiously enough, fled to China to avoid testifying. China’s state security apparatus presumably knows their whereabouts, if for no other reason than Jiang’s “very earnest investigation.” But not a peep issued from Clinton. He had already gotten what he wanted, and it was not witnesses whose testimony would breath new life into a smoldering scandal.

By the time the two presidents finished their remarks, it was clear that Jiang had taken little risk in allowing the press conference to air live.

What did Jiang get in return for the missile targeting agreement, his denial that he had contributed to Clinton’s party coffers, and the “Clinton Live” broadcast? His broad objective in hosting a summit meeting with the American president was to legitimize his government in the eyes of the world and consolidate his own power at home. Clinton helped him to achieve this just by going to Beijing.

But Clinton may have paid an even higher price for Jiang’s services: Helping to deliver democratic Taiwan into the despotic “embrace of the motherland.” At a meeting with intellectuals in Shanghai, Clinton responded to a planted question by mouthing Beijing’s “three no’s” formula: “We don’t support independence for Taiwan; or two Chinas; or one Taiwan, one China. And we don’t believe that Taiwan should be a member in any organization for which statehood is a requirement.” With these words Clinton became the first American president to side with China’s dictators and publicly oppose self-determination for the 21 million people of Taiwan.

Clinton explained that “our country recognized China and embraced a ‘one-China’ policy almost 20 years ago.” Not quite. While the U.S. extended diplomatic recognition to the PRC as the sole, legitimate government of China in 1979, it merely “acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but *one* China and Taiwan is part of China.” [Italics added] This careful ambiguity left open the possibility, now foreclosed by Clinton, that it might one day no longer be true.

By putting the U.S. squarely against “independence for Taiwan” and “membership in any organization for which statehood is a requirement,” the president capitulated on two further points. The official U.S. position, dating from 1982, had simply been that the U.S. had no intention of pursuing a policy of “two Chinas” or “one China and one Taiwan.” Anyone who reads English can see the difference between saying “We have no intention to perpetuate the existence of two states” and the Clinton compromise, which all but calls upon Taiwan to surrender. Further agreeing to help Beijing keep Taipei out

of international organizations makes no economic sense. Why should Taiwan, with the 14th largest economy in the world and monetary reserves second only to Japan, be excluded from the World Bank and the IMF if it chooses to join?

Following Clinton’s kowtow, a host of Administration officials, led by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, were quick to suggest that Clinton was only stating what had long been implicit in U.S. policy. But much was lost in this policy lurch, beginning with the artful ambiguity that enabled four separate presidential administrations to maintain a careful balance between China and Taiwan for over two decades.

Clinton’s new tilt toward China was certainly obvious enough to Taipei and Beijing. “The United States and the Chinese Communists have no right and are in no position to conduct bilateral negotiations on anything related to our affairs,” declared Taiwan government spokesman Roy Wu. “It’s wrong, morally and politically, for Clinton to collude with the Communist dictatorship to restrict the future of a democratic country, Taiwan,” insisted Parris Chang, a leader of the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party.

Beijing immediately moved to capitalize on Clinton’s comments that the U.S. would not support an independent Taiwan, which PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Tang Guoqiang praised as having “positive implications for the resolution of the Taiwan question.” He went on to urge the “Taiwan authorities” to “face reality” and submit to holding talks on eventual reunification with China. “It doesn’t take a rocket scientist from Loral to realize that reunification will take place on China’s terms,” comments Parris Chang, “with Taiwan kicking and screaming all the way.”

A little more than two years ago, the PLA was bracketing Taiwan with missiles, one of which flew directly over Taipei to land in the sea a mere 19 miles away. Then President Clinton ordered two aircraft carrier battle groups to the area, signaling that the U.S. would not stand idly by while China tried to reunify Taiwan by force.

But in June, a Clinton beset by scandal sent a very different message by reciting China’s “three no’s,” creating the impression that the U.S. was strong-arming Taiwan to the negotiating table, and might even step aside if China invades, especially following a Taiwan declaration of independence. By siding with the dictators against the democrats, Clinton rattled our allies, destabilized the Taiwan Straits, and made future conflict there more likely.

The trade-off our president made, selling off America’s long-term national interests to gain short-term political advantage, is a familiar one for students of Bill. In return for making concessions on Taiwan, which may one day involve us in a war, Clinton got Jiang’s help in debunking two of the many scandals plaguing his administration, and the opportunity to speak directly to the Chinese people. This in turn became his major claim of success in China—that he had, by the sheer force of his rhetoric, advanced democracy and human rights.

Clinton was upbeat at his final press conference in Hong Kong, especially where Jiang Zemin was concerned. He surprised reporters by calling Jiang, hitherto viewed as a rather colorless Communist party boss, a leader of “vision” who was “clearly committed to reform.” Answering a question about China’s democratic prospects, he went even further. Not only would China evolve into a pluralistic democracy, Clinton predicted, but it would be President Jiang himself who would dismantle the existing one-party dictatorship and lead China into the 21st century. Why such exuberance? Was Clinton still beaver-ing away at new image of a modernizing China ruled by leaders of moderate views, or had a seemingly open Mr. Jiang convinced him that China in truth desired “strategic partnership” and not ideological or military competition? Or was he just grateful for the TV time?

Did Clinton’s broadcast comments (or private remonstrations) produce any real change in China? As of this writing, months later, a hun-

dred flowers have not bloomed. Despite Clinton’s encouragement, there has been no olive branch extended to the Dalai Lama. Despite Clinton’s prediction that dissidents would be released in droves (actually he said “groups”), they continue to be arrested. Despite “Clinton Live,” there have been no more real-time broadcasts of politically sensitive events on China’s state television network. Things in China remain much as they were before.

America, on the other hand, will have to live with the fallout from the visit. Clinton sold out Taiwan, was anemic on human rights, bolstered a dictator, abandoned our allies, and announced a “strategic partnership” that undermines, rather than strengthens, our national security. His pre-visit critics were right: he should have remained in Washington.

Clinton’s visit to China was in some ways reminiscent of President Richard Nixon’s 1972 trip. As the first U.S. president ever to visit the PRC, Nixon understood that the success of his trip hinged on moderating the popular perception of China as a warlike, bloodthirsty dictatorship. As the first sitting president to journey to China since Tiananmen, Clinton faced similar public skepticism. In the popular mind, China remained the Communist dictatorship that had shot down unarmed demonstrators in the streets of its capital city, fired missiles within a few miles of neighboring Taiwan, and continued to force women into late-term abortions in the name of population control. Unless these horrific images could be replaced with more congenial ones, popular support for a closer relationship with China would not be forthcoming. Nixon used his visit to successfully project an image back to the United States of a New China ready to cooperate with the U.S. containment of the Soviet Union. Clinton sought to choreograph his trip to underline his call for America to forge a new strategic partnership with a prosperous, modernizing, nonideological China.

But the world has not stood still since the Seventies. Nixon’s China gambit against an aggressive and hostile Soviet Union played to bipartisan support and a universally admiring press. During his week-long visit to China, the media, so often at loggerheads with the Nixon presidency, proved a willing partner in a largely successful effort to gild China’s image. They did so because they understood that there were compelling geostrategic reasons for the U.S. to end its ideological confrontation with China. It was time to play the China card, and if that meant cozying up to the communist dictators who ruled China, so be it.

Clinton’s proposed “strategic partnership” with China, on the other hand, is a free-floating construct without any discernible geostrategic value to the United States. Clinton’s aides are eager to explain what this “strategic partnership” is not, but are hard pressed to explain exactly what it is. Asked what countries the U.S. and China are “strategizing” against (a weak and struggling Russia? populous but poor India? an increasingly isolated Taiwan?), his aides explain that the new partnership is not a military alliance. Asked how it can be in America’s national interest to tilt Asia’s balance of power away from long-time, democratic allies like Japan, Korea, and Taiwan in favor of a communist regime repugnant to American values, his aides retreat into denial. (Tilt? What tilt?)

The reason that Clinton’s “strategic partnership” with China makes no geostrategic sense is because it is not really about geopolitics at all. It is about domestic politics. Nixon played the China card for the large and important purpose of containing the Soviet Union. Clinton played the China card for the pettiest of motives: to contain his own China scandals.

In the end, this trip was all about Bill. But isn’t that what we’ve come to expect?

Steven Mosher is the author of *China Misperceived*, *Broken Earth* and *Journey to the Forbidden China*.



The Crime That Dare Not Speak Its Name

Lesbian Rape

by Benjamin Kepple

It was such a nightmare!" Sara says about the abuse she had suffered. Even though six years had passed, the pain was still evident in her voice as she described the horrors she experienced in her six month relationship: the constant screaming, the public humiliation, and finally the sexual assault. It was familiar to people who read the newspaper or ladies' magazines, except for one fact: Sara's tormentor was not an abusive boyfriend that terrorized her in a drunken rage; it was another woman.

The problem of same-sex sexual assault and domestic violence may seem new, but it isn't. In fact, it happens about as much in homosexual relationships as it does in heterosexual relationships. But it is an issue that has been largely ignored by the mainstream media, and only recently has the homosexual community begun to openly discuss the issue—finally overcoming fears that doing so would air the homosexual community's "dirty laundry," giving ammunition to an overwhelmingly "heterosexist" and "homophobic" society. There has been a conspiracy of silence in which homosexual political leadership has insisted that same-sex sexual assault and domestic violence is for all practical purposes nonexistent—a vice of the heterosexual world that doesn't infect the more utopian gay and lesbian world. Hence, gays and lesbians who do come forward not only face many of the problems those heterosexual victims of rape also have, but face ostracism and criticism from within the gay community as well. It's part of the reason why, as experts estimate, domestic violence and same-sex sexual assault is widely un- and under-reported.

"People are afraid to tell their friends," according to Dawn Rudd, community organizer at Community United Against Violence (CUAV), a non-profit support agency for victims of same-sex domestic violence and anti-homosexual hate crimes based in San Francisco.

Rudd is one of the creators of an advertising campaign designed to promote public knowledge about domestic violence and sexual assault in lesbian relationships. Located in a nondescript security building on San Francisco's Market Street, CUAV spreads its message from a neighborhood that seems to be losing the urban blight battle to the welfare hotels, porn shops, and check-cashing joints around Mission Street, just a block to the south.

The copy for the advertisements, which have been appearing around San Francisco for the last couple of months, was spread out on the large table in CUAV's spacious, but spartanly furnished conference room. The ads were graphic and provocative—the copy for a sexual assault ad shows two women kissing, while below a message reads: "I never thought a woman could rape another woman."

And the advertisements provoked discussion about the problem within the homosexual community. Rudd says: "I can tell you that a few individuals in the community, people I've known for a while, said 'Are you sure you want to do this?' . . . there are definitely women in the community who did have a problem with [the sexual assault ads], and part of the problem was questioning whether that really did happen." Sima Shakhshari, Director of the Adult Education and Prevention Program at San Francisco Women Against Rape, a co-sponsor of the advertising campaign, said she's received a similar response: "We have had actual responses from

people who consider themselves to be progressive and activist and have said that, 'well, don't make a bit deal of it.'"

Even the victims feel some of this hesitancy. Sara, for instance, (she is reluctant to give her last name) kept telling herself that she was imagining what was happening even in the middle of her abusive relationship: "I was in the mindset that men were violent and I couldn't imagine this was happening from a feminine partner."

It was the possibility of escape from

asleep on the couch yelling at me and four hours later woke up yelling at me." The physical abuse intensified.

Even though her co-workers knew what was going on, Sara said, they blamed her for the abuse—which became so bad that she had to quit her job. "People knew she wasn't a great partner—they blamed me for being with her. They were wondering what I was doing." Ultimately she began to wonder the same thing.

Feelings of isolation, fear, and shame are normal for any victim of sexual assault and domestic violence. But homosexual victims face additional burdens in their attempt to get help. Some gays and lesbians will refuse to believe them—or blame them for it—when they say they have been involved in a relationship that included domestic violence or sexual assault. That's a major factor in why cases of same-sex sexual assault and domestic violence are rarely, if ever, reported to the police (but when they are, they are rarely prosecuted.) And advocates say victims must deal with support providers who aren't willing or capable of dealing with homosexual victims of rape or domestic violence.

Again, according to Dawn Rudd: "I think there are a lot of lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women who aren't really quite sure that that happens, or find it very difficult to believe that that happens, because we believe the myth that women aren't capable of that level of violence, or if they are, there must have been extenuating circumstances. They must have been provoked in some way, or it must be an acting out of some earlier trauma."

Kate Kendell, Executive Director for the National Center on Lesbian Rights, said that "many lesbians and gay men who have never been victims of same-sex domestic violence or sexual assault don't think it exists," or if it does, not nearly at the level that it does in heterosexual relationships.

A number of studies have shown (see sidebar) that heterosexual female victims of rape and domestic violence go to the police, women's shelters, and physicians far more often than their lesbian counterparts, who generally seek out friends, counselors, or relatives for help. This is believed to be a major factor influencing the under-reporting of same-sex sexual assault and domestic violence. As researcher Barclay Kauer noted in her unpublished "Domestic Violence in Lesbian Relationships," "lesbian battering has remained almost completely invisible."

Sara left and went back to her abusive partner half-a-dozen times in the six months they were together, and in those times of crisis, she turned to her friends and later, a counselor for help. Once, her partner trapped her in their apartment. Sara called her counselor, who asked if she wanted to have the police called so that she could leave. Sara says she thought about it for a moment and realized that she didn't want to compound her nightmare by getting involved in a criminal justice system that might treat her and her partner as freaks.

Dawn Rudd understands the reaction: "It takes a lot to step up and reach out to someone like the police department to talk about, you know, 'I had a date with this woman and she sexually assaulted me.' That is a huge chance that you take."

But Jeff Sheehy, same-sex advocate for victims of same-gender violence at the San Francisco District Attorney's office, feels that "there's a high level of comfort with the criminal justice system" in San Francisco as opposed to other cities. Yet he admits that same-sex domes-



ONE OF MANY ADS CUAV RAN REGARDING DOMESTIC SAME-SEX DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

denial that caused victims like Sara, as well as people who have known victims of same-sex sexual assault and domestic violence, to respond overwhelmingly to the advertisements highlighting the problem. As Dawn Rudd says, "The positive response far outweighs the negative response that we've gotten, and that's because a lot of women who have known friends or family members or people in the community that this has happened to feel like, 'it's about time.'" Sima Shakhshari agrees: "There are survivors who have been really happy—this is the first time that they have seen something specifically on lesbian rape."

Ironically, Sara's abuser was her superior at a Midwestern service agency that helped gay and lesbian victims of domestic violence and hate crimes. "We worked together . . . she had 24 hour access to me," Sara says. She admits that "there were warning signals early in the relationship," and describes a heated argument in which her partner's vehemence surprised and frightened her. They had been arguing while driving home and her partner had repeatedly struck the steering wheel of the car with her fist while driving. They smoothed out this argument, but things went quickly downhill from there.

"She would kick the wall and she would scream at me until the veins were popping out of her head," Sara said, as she described abuse that involved constant arguing, emotional storms, and ultimately sexual abuse. "The sexual assault involved her, without my permission, two or three times a week, touching me when I was sleeping . . ." she says, recalling how her partner would regularly fondle her against her will, probing in and around the most intimate areas of her body with her fingers and hands. Sara repeatedly begged her to stop, but the nighttime visits and abuse grew worse throughout their relationship.

She recalls the worst moments as vividly as any heterosexual victim of abuse and molestation. "Somehow I had displeased her on her birthday. She spent three days yelling at me, three days of non-stop punishment. She fell

tic violence and rape also poses problems for the police.

One problem is that it is difficult to determine the batterer, as it is more likely for the victim to fight back. “It can be really difficult to identify the aggressor,” Sheehy says. This can be especially true if two men have been involved in a physical confrontation. “Police officers will go to the scene, and it’s noted that there is mutual fighting. It makes it hard to pursue a case . . . [and] there are cases when everyone gets it wrong,” he said. And many hesitate to file charges because “people really don’t want to see their partner prosecuted.”

Among both male and female homosexuals, many victims of same-sex sexual assault or domestic violence will continue to stay with their partner because either the victim or the aggressor has AIDS or is infected with the HIV virus. “It adds a layer of complexity,” Sheehy argues, noting that for some victims, the relative problems that stem from domestic violence or sexual assault is a smaller threat to them than the loss of their caregiver.

The distrust many gays and lesbians have of mainstream American society—and especially of the political Right—is a prime reason why many gays and lesbians won’t report what happened to them, as they will be accused of “betraying the community.” The responses, advocates say, range from fear to anger.

Dawn Rudd says, “I think when you live in a marginalized community . . . when you’re part of a community that is frequently under attack from all sides, the tendency is to pull in. Let’s not put it out there. Let’s not feed the ignorance. We need to believe so thoroughly in our goodness and in our ability to be a good, safe, strong community because we have nothing supporting that except ourselves. So to step out of that and to draw attention to the flaws and weaknesses in the community is a huge risk, and it’s a risk I think some people think we shouldn’t take. And I understand why—why give more ammunition to the religious fundamentalist Right?”

“I don’t think it would make one bit of difference,” according to Wayne Besen, spokesman for the Human Rights Campaign, a national gay and lesbian lobbying group. “Would the right-wing distort that? Sure. Most reasonable people would realize abuse is common.”

Sara actually finished my question for me, but some time later in my interview she focused on it with pragmatism: “Domestic violence . . . is certainly interrupting our ability to respond to the ways we are attacked by the outside world.”

It is unlikely that today Sara’s abuser could adequately be prosecuted in a court of law. Seven states explicitly refuse to classify same-sex domestic violence as such, instead treating it as assault and battery. In many other cases, such as California’s, the law is ambiguous as how to deal with the situation—which may prevent the offender from receiving a penalty as harsh as a heterosexual batterer receives. This is because marriage, along with a series of other factors, may determine whether the law treats two individuals as “cohabitants” in a relationship.

In California, one count of assault and one count of battery would subject the offender to up to 12 months in prison and a total of \$3,000 in fines. But the State Penal Code allows for the authorities to throw domestic batterers in prison for up to four years and be fined \$6,000—or, barring that, to order the offender to make large monetary payments to a battered women’s shelter, and to the victim for counseling or other problems.

Many states treat instances of same-sex sexual assault as sodomy or oral copulation, or sometimes penetration with a foreign object. While sentencing guidelines are different for each state, California’s laws send rapists to prison for three, six, or eight years. These are generally equivalent to the sentencing guidelines for sodomy and oral copulation.

While California’s Department of Corrections does not note the sexual orientation of parolees, men are far more likely than women to be prosecuted for crimes that would occur in a same-sex sexual assault. In 1997, 849 men that had committed rape were paroled from California prisons, along with 78 that had committed sodomy and 292 that had committed oral copulation. On the other hand, two—two—women were paroled in 1997 for committing rape. Three were paroled for committing oral copulation. This, then, is a rather striking example that women, on the whole, are only very rarely being prosecuted for these acts—despite research that has shown that a nearly equal number of gay men and lesbians reported being in an abusive same-sex relationship, and seven percent of lesbian domestic violence victims have been victims of sexual assault.

There is also a general distrust of battered women’s shelters among lesbians, although Jeff Sheehy of the San Francisco DA’s office claims that these “women’s shelters are lesbian-friendly,” and that they are attempting to reach out to homosexual women. Sheehy’s view is exactly the opposite of agencies like San Francisco Women Against Rape, which argues

in a brochure that “when we talk about our experiences of same-sex rape . . . service providers may be ignorant and insensitive to our experience.”

Sima Shakhsari agrees: “When you’re talking about sexual assault between two women . . . [victims] don’t get the support they need . . . from some service providers [who say] ‘how could this happen? What do you mean a woman raped you?’”

A spokeswoman for Advocates for Abused and Battered Lesbians, a Washington state-based lesbian support group, said that victims will often drive three to four hours in order to reach their support meetings. AABL, which is in the process of compiling a national database of shelters for lesbians, has found 23 states with no support groups whatsoever, whereas others have only a few. California, a state with approximately 32 million people, has only nine shelters or agencies specifically devoted to the needs of abused lesbians. The states lacking facilities are not in remote or unpopulated sections of the country—even populous states, such as Michigan, Illinois, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Maryland, according to the database, have none—despite research that estimates domestic violence taints between 25 and 33 percent of gay and lesbian relationships. But what is most surprising about this fact is that there are hundreds of gay and lesbian groups for seemingly everything else but domestic violence. Looking at Yahoo!—which only provides a look at services that have gone on-line—there are 230 sites for news and media organizations, 181 sites for religious issues, and 239 for various other organizations. There are even eight on-line shopping malls specifically devoted to gays and lesbians. How many sites are there for same-sex domestic violence? Seven.

But despite the pressure that is placed on them, advocates like Dawn Rudd and victims like Sara continue to speak out. “I think a lot of women . . . that I’ve talked to, that I’ve gotten from the feedback from about the campaign have been glad that it’s here, and felt that it was long overdue,” Rudd says. It was a sentiment that was repeated by every advocate that I spoke with.

And Sara agreed. “The relationship cost me my job—[and] I’ve watched it cost the community other vital leaders. People need to listen very carefully to what survivors need. . . . We need to talk about this issue.”

But to begin solving the problem, one thing is clear: more people from the homosexual community will need to join in the conversation.



Percentages of women involved in abusive relationships

Percentage of women who have experienced physical abuse in relationships

Heterosexual 25% Homosexual 27%

Percentage of women who have experienced rape in relationships

Heterosexual 9.7% Homosexual 2.7%

Percentage of people involved in abusive relationships

Heterosexual 25-33% Homosexual 25-33%

Where Battered Women Turn for Help
HETEROSEXUAL

Police	53%
Counseling/Social Service Agencies	50%
Private Lawyers	43%
Physicians	39%
Women’s Shelters	26%
District Attorney	13%

HOMOSEXUAL

Friends	69%
Counselor	58%
Relatives	35%
Police	19%
Religious Advisors	15%
Hotlines	14%
Women’s Shelters	14%
Physicians	9%

Source: "Domestic Violence in Lesbian Relationships," Barclay Kauer, 1998.

Source: Renzetti and Bowker, *Violent betrayal: partner abuse in lesbian relationships* (1992) (in Kauer, 1998.)

Fashionably Left, Continued from page 1

pause.

What sealed this odd marriage of high left and high living, of the politics of the guillotine and the tumbrel with the life style of Marie Antoinette? A peculiar new kind of consumer compassion, in which conscience itself becomes an accessory, and inconsistencies are ironed out without sacrifice. "Awareness" rules; "concern" becomes painless. And the consumer is always indulged. By rational standards, fashion and feminism would appear to be oceans apart. Feminism says that women's looks should mean nothing. Fashion insists they are everything. Feminism stresses androgyny. Fashion emphasizes the specifically female. Fashion stresses the useless and passing; feminism wants its mind on higher things.

"The nature of feminine dressing is superficial in essence," says radical Susan Brownmiller. "Frivolous issues . . . trivial concerns," scolds Naomi Wolf, who herself makes an effort to look terrific, and who accused the beauty-industrial complex of working hand-in-hand with the worst male oppressors to depress and de-nature newly roused women by obsessing them with unrealizable ideals of perfection, forcing them to spend all their money on clothes and on facials, weakening them with cruel and unnatural diets, and of trying to starve them to death. "The more legal and material hindrances women have broken through, the more strictly and heavily images of female beauty have come to weigh on us," she says darkly, warning of "a violent backlash against feminism, that uses images of female beauty as a political weapon against women's advancement . . . the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact."

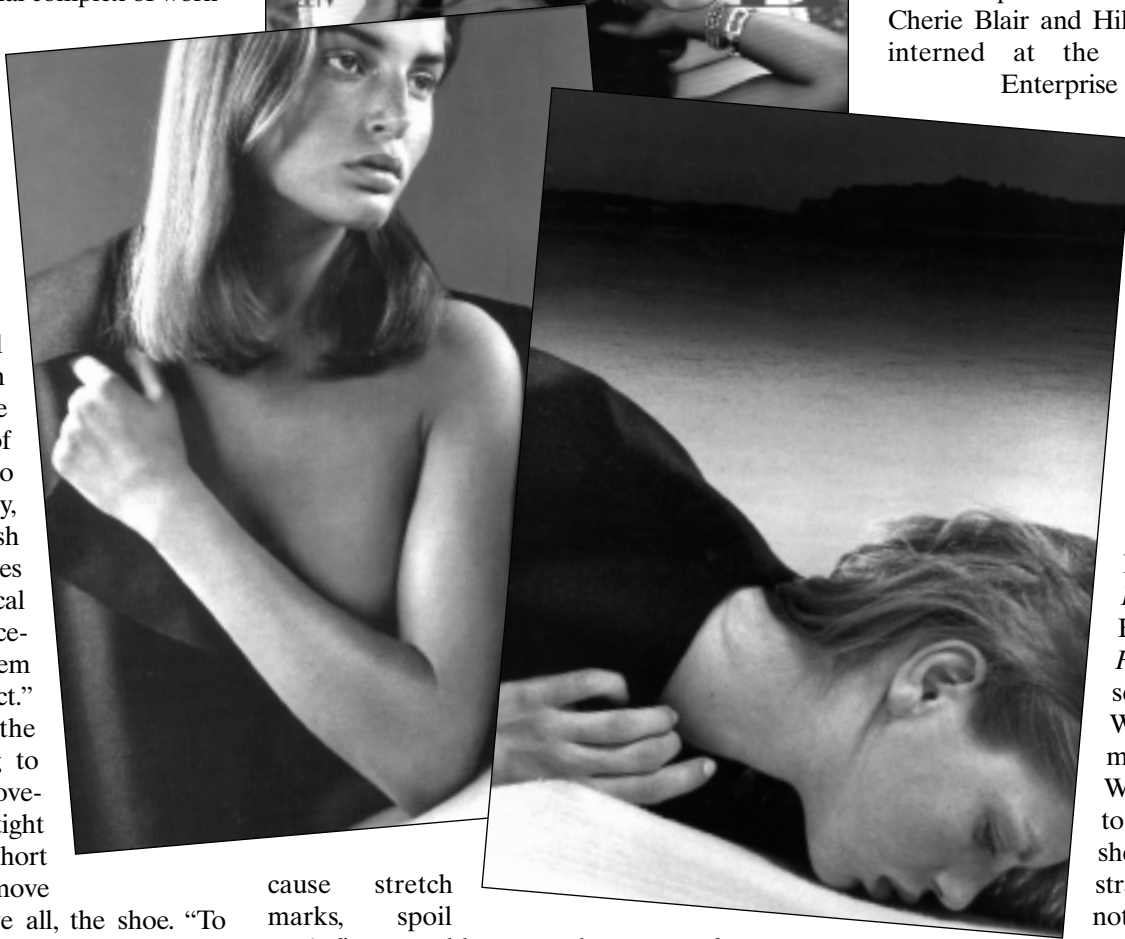
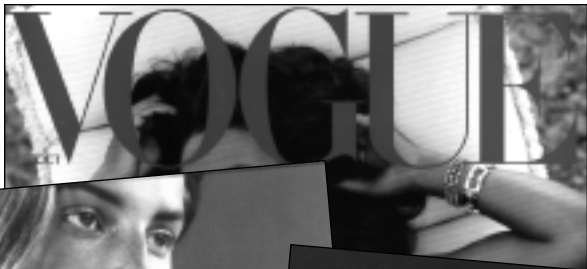
Brownmiller notes the tendency of feminine clothing to impede and restrict female movement: the cinched waist, the tight girdle, the hobble skirt, the short skirt (which forces women to move with great caution), and, above all, the shoe. "To qualify as passably feminine, a shoe does not absolutely require a high heel," she writes correctly. "All it demands is some ingenious handicap to walking more than half a mile on a country road . . . or street." Brownmiller says she has foresworn skirts forever; for others—Jane Fonda, or Gloria Steinem—a change to a serious feminist politics means a (perhaps temporary) switch from a previous glamorous image into plain, or androgynous, clothes.

But all this appears minor, next to more sobering trends. At the precise time the editorial content of these magazines began to celebrate empowered womanhood—CEOs, senators, cabinet officers—their fashion pages broke out in a contagion of subjugation and violence. As Wolf notes, "In an ad for Obsession perfume, a well-muscled man drapes the naked, lifeless body of a woman over his shoulder. In an ad for Hermes perfume, a blond woman trussed in black leather is hanging upside down, screaming . . . in an ad for Erno Laslo skin care products, a woman sits up and begs, her wrists clasped together with a leather leash." Columnist John Leo picks up the refrain: "I first noticed the porn-fashion connection in 1975, when *Vogue* magazine ran a seven-page fashion spread featuring a man in bathrobe battering a screaming woman . . . possibly because he just hated her plaited silk crepe de chine separates (about \$1,050 from Geoffrey Beene.) Some photographers rode to glory on shots debasing women, including the late Chris von Wagenheim, with his dogs-and-women shots, and Helmut Newton, who injected the leather and bondage themes of male porn directly into the high fashion world. . . . Guess jeans ads . . . are re-workings of familiar male porn, from the image of the docile young woman on her knees gazing submissively up at the dominant male." (Shades of Bill Clinton.) As

Leo continues, "The psychologist Louise Kaplan argues that pornographers once groped for style among the fashion magazines . . . but now the fashion world and the porn world use each other quite openly as resource materials . . . Kaplan notes, 'Nobody knows quite how it happened, but there came a day when no one could tell who was emulating whom.'"

What could link the left to a culture so steeped in debasement? Things of still greater concern.

Ironically, it is violence itself that binds them together, for, whatever else there is on which they may differ, abortion is the bloody crossroads at which the superficiality and self-interest of fashion and the feminist war upon nature converge. Babies interfere with a woman's autonomy, and with her demand for sex without consequence. They also



cause stretch marks, spoil one's figure, and leave one less money for clothes. Thus, for many years, the one staple feature on the issue side of these magazines has been stories by and praising brave abortionists, brave people who work in abortion clinics, and brave lawyers who defend abortion rights. No indication is ever given that this is a complex issue, with a moral dimension, about which most people have most complex feelings: instead, it is a civil right, which all civilized people accept absolutely, or a medical matter, to which no objection should ever be raised. In these pages, there are only two sides to the issue (as opposed to the innumerable in real life): that of the brave people who defend abortion, and the crazed fold who oppose it; who picket clinics, and now and then even bomb them; who read the Bible, and sometimes quote from it; and who always wear all the wrong clothes.

The pickets are dismissed as extreme, which they are. What is never said is that the abortionists are also an extreme (and a minority); that their view—of an absolute civil right, that cannot be diluted—is held by less than three women in ten. The most recent of these was a story in January *Vogue*, which had two sidebars by editors: one praising Clinton for vetoing the ban on partial-birth abortion (which is backed by most women), and blasting Congress for its 'legislative assault on women's right to choose,' through bans on abortions paid for by tax-payer money, also backed by most women. The other attacked Norma McCorvey, the original Roe of *Roe v. Wade*, who dramatically renounced her prior position, dismissed here as the unstable tool of nefarious interests. (When on the other side, she was a working class heroine.) The idea of a true conversion, based on real doubts, was never considered. What is there to have doubts about? Abortion anchors the fashion-and-feminist axis, for it is here

that their interests entwine: in a culture assault on the mores of the masses, where one man and one woman make one singular unit; and baby, once started, makes three. As the editorial copy makes war on the bond between mother and fetus, editorials and ads alike hack away at sex roles and distinctions. (The gay male influence in the world of fashion matching the lesbian faction in NOW.) Thus, one sees ads that feature two women embracing; one model playing herself as a male and a female; ads that suggest same-sex-sex; multiple-partner sex; or orgies in general. *Harper's Bazaar* runs features that urge women to discover pornography, and gives advice on what to do when one discovers one's husband likes men.

Now and then, a conservative voice—genuine Republican person—appears in these pages, but always in a more personal feature, and not to explain her ideas. When Susan Molinari left the House last year, there was a story in *Harper's Bazaar*, but about career choices, and leaving old friends. The very conservative Barbara Amiel wrote for *Vogue*, but a harmless piece about the bland personal styles of Cherie Blair and Hillary Clinton. Julia Reed, who interned at the neo-conservative American

Enterprise Institute (and wrote fondly of

George W. Bush for the *Weekly Standard*), broke ranks in *Vogue* last summer when she took a conservative line on women in the armed forces, stating that women were physically smaller and weaker than men are, and that dumbing standards down to pretend that they weren't is silly and dangerous. But her next ideological piece was a plea against capital punishment. In February, 1998, *Harper's Bazaar* ran an excerpt from Elinor Burkett's book *The Right Women*, about young conservative women in Washington, with photos that made them look stunning. Written by a liberal, who set out to explore the enemy, and found she liked some of them, it was a straight-forward piece that did not pass judgment. But it was reportorial—a "here they are" as

opposed to an "aren't they wonderful," which is the tonality granted welfare mothers and abortionists. (The article mentions that most of these stunning women are economic conservatives. It does not mention that they are also pro-life.) Accompanying an article in *Harper's Bazaar* about brave lawyers who defend abortion, the writer said in a side note that she wished she could volunteer to go to work for these people. But of course, she already had.

Fashion and feminism have some legitimate points of contact, but fashion and "fairness"—the word of choice for liberals for redistributive group politics—"social justice," "racial justice," etc—have none. Fashion in fact depends on unfairness: the kind of gross inequity in distribution of income that allows one woman to spend more on one dress for one evening than some families have to live on for years. It also depends upon greed, self-absorption, and other incorrect attitudes. It is shallow, concerned with externals, and frivolous in the extreme. "To care about fashion, and to do it well, is to be obsessively involved in trivial things on a serious basis," says Susan Brownmiller. Or, as Naomi Wolf huffs, "Things that do not matter." It is also regressive, as Brownmiller tells us: "Like the religious moralists before them, the New Left radicals of the Sixties used the expensively dressed woman as a hated symbol of selfish disregard for the ills of the world." Over years, however, this idea has been changed, not only denied completely by the fashion industry, but transformed completely into a situation in which a fervent concern for the ills of the world—poverty, pollution, disease, discrimination, you name it—has become in itself an accessory, something without which no fashionable ensemble can be considered complete. Since 1968, when the fashionable world discovered

Eugene McCarthy; through 1972, when it found George McGovern, through 1998, when the trendies hang tough for Bill Clinton—no liberal campaign has been complete without rallies for film stars, concerts by rock stars, and fund-raisers at the homes of zillionaire media figures. Film stars sleep on grates to show support for the homeless, and then fly home to one of their many palazzos. They berate the greedy, as they buy their third house and their fourth Maserati; speak movingly of the dignity of all human beings, as they treat those in their employ like serfs.

Following their lead, the yuppies behind them, at once the most over-indulged and most self-righteous generation in memory, engage in these acts of consumer compassion, the art of never letting a fleeting want go unsatisfied, while maintaining one's high opinion of oneself. The things that they read are the give-away: the papers and magazines that carry the ads for Barney's and Bloomingdale's; for estate jewelry and spas, for perfume at \$250 the bottle and skin cream at \$90 per jar; that promote the moderate restaurant, where one can dine for \$100; the gourmet food, the fun fur, the fun blouse at \$450, editorialize the most against greed and selfishness.

The more ads for Rolex and for pave diamonds, the more predictably left the editorial content. The more pictures are shown of women as objects—posed, primed, literally coated with makeup—the more grimly feminist the line will be. AIDS is a crisis. So is homelessness. So is the plight of the migrant, the minorities, the inner city young people. So too is that wrinkle, just above the left cheekbone, that one is called on to battle, to spend \$40 to prevent, \$90 to minimize, and \$5,000 to correct with surgery, when worst comes to worst.

This sanctimonious self-absorption was captured perfectly by Tom Wolf back in the late sixties, at a fund-raiser on Long Island for the grape pickers' union, at which the concerned and social were asked to see themselves as migrant workers, rising before dawn for long days in the fields: "... They all stood there, in their Puce dresses, Gucci shoes. Capucci scarves, either imagining they were grape pickers' wives, or wondering if the wind would ever stop. The wind had come up off the ocean, and was wrecking everyone's hair ... Andrew Stein's hair was long, full, and at the outset had been especially well-coifed in the Roger's of 58th Street manner, and now it was ... a wreck."

Roger of 58th Street equates to Christophe of Hollywood, recommended to the man from Hope by his liberal backers, who thought \$200 for twenty minutes pretty much the going price. (They had gone to his inauguration a few months earlier, jetting cross-country with their personal trainers, to celebrate the election of a man of the people, and the liberation of the country from twelve years of greed.) Fittingly, Clinton went off to fundraise this summer at the Hamptons, where houses cost \$200,000 to rent for the season. These are his most fervent defenders as scandals surround him. They will stay faithful, no matter what happens, because they know larger things matter. He is their defense against a Republican Congress. He is their defense against ... greed.

Some months after Clinton's tarmac diversion, studio heads in Hollywood gave five Mercedes Benz convertibles, worth over \$100,000 each, to the principals of a hit movie, among them at least two vocal spokesmen for liberal causes, who stood to make between \$5 and \$12 million apiece from the film. (The producer, abashed, gave the car's cost to charity. The liberal spokesmen did not.) The studio head defended this in language that lifted it to the spiritual level: "It's not about the cars, it's the relationships ... the attempt is to make this a warmer, and more human place, where people feel part of a family." The affect of his New Age, caring Libspeak is to sanitize the whole gross gesture and wipe clean the casual acceptance of the gift. This is the point of

consumer compassion: to negate the concern that goes along with possessions, and allow you to go and get more. Please note that the story about welfare mothers had no address listed as to where to send money; to let these women buy a little more food for their children, or perhaps some new shoes, or a coat. This is not what they want you to do with your money. They want you to cluck, curse the Congress, remember the evils of Reaganism, and then turn the page to the ads about clothing and makeup, secure in the faith that you are a good person, and spend more of your money on that. Compassion then serves a true marketing purpose: the more that you feel, the better you are; and the better you are, the more you deserve things. And the more you should spend on yourself.

And the more you have, the further left you



have to be, to reassure yourself that you deserve it. So the great beating heart of cause liberalism is no longer in the working or the middle classes, but in the entertainment and the fashion industries, where people make more money for less work doing sillier things than anyplace else in the universe. So *Harper's Bazaar* highlights welfare mothers, the Hollywood left tends to back Jesse Jackson, and the millionaire divas of the now-defunct Hollywood Women's Political Caucus used to hold soirees where they would berate the likes of Ted Kennedy for moving too far to the right. Another such conscience of the modern-day Democrats is Warren Beatty, the prototype Sybarite Liberal, profiled here in *The Washington Post*: "Beatty's passion comes through most clearly when he discusses his dyed in the wool liberalism. When he talks about President Clinton and the centrist DLC (Democratic Leadership Council) ... he labors visibly to disguise his contempt. 'Personal responsibility'-can you fill me in on that?" he smirks when a DLC tenet is mentioned ... 'I don't say that the DLC is corrupt ... but has it done anything with its victory?' ... I feel that it isn't fulfilling what I consider to be the mission of the Democratic Party—which is opposition to the rich."

So Beatty must be working hard at the important task of giving away his money, the interviewer prods. "'There's a political answer to that—a very good political answer,' he says. 'But I'm not going to give it to you.' Pressed further, Beatty explains with a pained expression that in order to make Bulworth for less than his usual compensation, he felt compelled to turn down four extremely lucrative acting jobs."

And Beatty is hardly alone in his feelings. As Hollywood producer Rob Long wrote in *National Review* this past April, "Only a few years ago, the personal assistant of a major Hollywood

actor was fired while driving his boss to a Democratic party fundraiser for mentioning that—since his boss was going to be introducing the president with a speech extolling his health care proposal—perhaps now would be a good time to extend health-care coverage to his employee." As Long continues, "Clinton's slack-jawed disregard for reality and his monumental ability to deafen himself to the dissonance between his words and his actions are straight out of a Hollywood shrink's notebook. Hollywood is filled with health addicts and hypochondriacs, environmental drivers of gas guzzlers, anorexic gourmands, and tyrannical socialists. 'It's a question of style,' he tells us. 'We understand Clinton out here.'"

And style it is. Open *Harper's Bazaar* for October, 1997, and you will find, on page 221, a full page picture of a striking woman, all sleek dark hair, elaborate makeup, fetchingly dressed in a little black number, whose plunging V neckline and very thin straps show off acres of well-tended skin. Is it an ad for the dress, or the makeup, or for hair or skin products? Not exactly. It is not a model. It is ... Anita Hill. Anita Hill, the law professor and one-time government policy wonk, whose testimony at the Congressional hearings on the nomination of then

Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court of the United States set the country on its startled ear in 1991. The shot accompanies a devotional piece about Hill since the hearings written by Patricia Williams, who actually is a columnist for the *Nation*, and a law professor (at Columbia) of the class-race-and-gender school. As is usual with pieces like these in these magazines, this takes it as a given that Hill's case is proven, and never indicates that there could be another side. Hers is taken as a clear instance of race-gender bias. Her critics are dismissed as bigots and lunatics. The many women—the many black women—who testified on behalf of Clarence Thomas are dismissed. Hill is praised here for her "lucidity and balance," her "courage ... and her sense of justice," her "patient intelligence," her "sense of luminous resolve." Alas, this "resolve" is not evident in another shot that accompanies the article, in which Hill, in a v-necked, tight-fitting black jumpsuit, a kitten-with-a-whip if ever there was one, seems almost audibly purring as she curls provocatively at the edges of what looks like a bed. Anita Hill, sex kitten. (Like Miss Hill, the welfare mothers shown in the fashion glossies all look like models, with big eyes, great cheekbones, good hair.)

What are we to do, after reading this feature? Hate Orrin Hatch? Hate Clarence Thomas? Buy Miss Hill's book? Look up her hairdresser? Copy her dress? And what is the point, in a magazine about fashion? That this point of view goes with all the new styles? That you can't be well-dressed, if you like Clarence Thomas? That it's dowdy to be too right wing? Anita Hill, sex kitten, has become just a mannequin, as her cause has become just another accessory, the finishing touch to the up-to-date outfit, without which no dress is complete.

But by now, this has become an old story. In his book, *Money and Class in America*, *Harper's* editor Lewis H. Lapham records this party exchange between two blonde, pretty women, way back in 1968:

First Girl: 'You're working for Givenchy?'
Second Girl: 'No, McCarthy'
First Girl: 'Well, it's the same thing, isn't it?'"

And so it is.

Noemie Emery wrote "Nitwit Feminism" in the May/June 1998 issue. She has written for The Weekly Standard and other magazines.



Seattle Battle, Continued from page 1

Opponents and supporters agree that passage of I-200 would galvanize stalled grass-roots anti-preference initiative campaigns across the country and perhaps rouse timid Republican leaders in Congress who have stymied efforts to eliminate federal government preferences. A resounding victory here would demonstrate that the victory in California was not an isolated aberration. Of course, the racial spoils-sports will never fight as hard as they did in the Golden State's revolutionary preference war of 1996. But they won't go down quietly in the Pacific Northwest. The bad news is that academia, editorial writers, big business, big government, and the full-time grievance industry are united against I-200 in Washington state.

The good news is that they're united in repeating all the same mistakes their compatriots in California made: dishonorable smear tactics, stubborn political linguicide, and overwrought predictions of doom.

SLIME UND DRANG

The city of Seattle prides itself on donning a warm, outer layer of civility. The inventor of the "Have a nice day" smiley face is a native son; ubiquitous pastel-colored bumper stickers on Soccer Mom-mobiles urge fellow citizens to "Commit random acts of kindness." Bare-knuckle political brawls are gauche. City council meetings begin with poetry readings. If the collective decibel level of public debate in Los Angeles or New York is a raucous 10, this town where Muzak was born maintains a soft and steady 5.

As the Nov. 3 election grows closer, however, Seattle's preference machine has abandoned its superficial politeness for unabashed smear tactics reminiscent of the anti-209 campaign in California. The mud-slinging is a bit kinder and gentler—no one has hired David Duke to make an opportune appearance just yet—but it is desperately-slung mud nonetheless.

Earlier this year, for example, over 2,000 university students and traditional civil-rights mouthpieces marched to the offices of KVI, the city's lone conservative talk-radio station, with signs decrying "KKKVI" and "John Karlson" (sic). The latter is a purposeful mis-spelling to suggest fascism on the part of popular political personality and drive-time host John Carlson, now chair of the I-200 campaign. To add insult to invective, a local black activist handed Carlson an ax handle recalling the one former Georgia governor Lester Maddox, a staunch segregationist, wielded in the 1960s to chase black people away from his Atlanta restaurant. The affable Carlson instead opened his doors.

Before and during the Martin Luther King Day protest, Carlson graciously invited his opponents on the air for lengthy interviews. But barely two weeks after the demonstration, KVI management caved into intense peer pressure and refused to renew Carlson's contract amid controversy over his outspoken role in the I-200 campaign.

At a state Senate hearing on the initiative 24 hours later, anti-200 leaders snickered about getting Carlson, who had just recently celebrated the birth of a new son, fired.

One prominent adversary, Democratic state Senator Dawn Mason, told the press she had contacted a KVI advertiser to complain about Carlson's

support of I-200. The businessman—Sen. Mason's Mercedes-Benz dealer—pulled his commercials after she used her political clout and public office to clamp down on the debate. To date, Sen. Mason's generous work has not been reported on the No!200 campaign's in-kind contribution records. More recently, the No!200 campaign has resorted to bullying top I-200 donors with love letters that would make Don Corleone proud. State campaign finance law requires initiative campaigns to disclose the names and addresses of every contributor who gives over \$100. A coalition of anti-200 activists combed their opponents' public disclosure forms and sent menacing missives to every individual and business who donated \$5,000 or more to the I-200 campaign. "It has come to our attention," the letter reads, "that you were



JOHN CARLSON

a prominent financial contributor to the Washington Civil Rights Initiative campaign." The letter-writers offer their "assistance" to I-200 donors who they believe have been "misled" by "this retrograde measure."

After extending a kind invitation to a press conference "to denounce Initiative 200 publicly," the anti-200 activists sealed the letter with this threatening kiss: "Please be informed that we intend to publicize, in various ways, the support or the opposition of businesses on this vitally important issue confronting our community." The stiff smiles of the preference mafia have dissolved into unfettered snarls. But like the David Duke debacle in California, where desperate anti-209 operatives paid Duke to speak in favor of abolishing preferences, the slime und drang of the No!200 campaign promises to backfire at the ballot box. Soon after published news reports of the anti-200 coalition's letter-writing ploy, small businessman John Alberti whipped out his checkbook: "I am proud to offer the enclosed donation of \$5,000.00," he wrote in a letter to the I-200 headquarters. "It reflects my passionate belief that government has no business discriminating among its citizens by race, gender or ethnicity. This practice is a moral abomination, a sellout of the basic principles of civil rights and a slur against those it claims to 'help.'" "I am not surprised that preferences have powerful constituents who will

lie, smear and attempt to buy this election," Alberti continued. "What else can they do? To protect their pork, they must influence citizens to vote against what every American knows to be right. We shall defeat them!"

THE WAR ON WORDS

The tightly-written text of I-200 totals a mere 426 words. Its language is plain and clear. The measure would prohibit the use of race and gender preferences in government contracting, hiring and admissions. Nothing more, nothing less. But like their counterparts in California, Washington's defenders of preferential treatment insist on shrieking about two little words that never appear in the measure's text: "affirmative action."

The omission is not only by design—to avoid confusion, not to foment it—but also by court ruling.

Last April, the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington led a challenge to the ballot title and summary of I-200. A Thurston County Superior Court refused to add the words "affirmative action" because unlike that vague and prejudicial phrase, the existing language was impartial and accurate. The state attorney general's office—held not by a Klansman, but by Democrat Christine Gregoire—sided with I-200's drafters. "Our motivation was to try to give the voters the clearest possible choice without using what we considered loaded words," James Pharris, senior assistant state attorney general, told the *Seattle Times*. "It's possible there are affirmative-action programs that do not amount to preferential treatment," he said after the ruling, but then added that the state decided to trust voters to make an informed choice.

But the cogs in the preference machine would rather commit political linguicide—falling on their swords in a losing battle over words—than trust voters. Every time opponents have battled the careful, narrow ballot language of anti-preference measures—in California, Washington and most recently, Houston, they have failed. In courts of law, "affirmative action" is partial and ambiguous; "preferential treatment" is clear and precise. The same holds true in courts of public opinion. The National Election Study's biennial survey of Americans from 1986 to 1994 shows that about 80 percent consistently oppose racial preferences.

The only consistent result in polls asking Americans their views on "affirmative action," however, is inconsistency. It means wildly different things to different people. Even college professors can't agree whether "affirmative action" means granting preferences to women and certain racial groups or promoting equal opportunity for all individuals without regard to their race or sex. The term's positive connotation stems in large part from its original intent—that is, to take affirmative race- and gender-neutral steps that help level the playing field for disadvantaged Americans. This common-sense understanding explains why half of Washington voters say they favor affirmative action—and more than half also say they'll vote for I-200. "It's clear that some voters don't know exactly what this initiative is going to do," said a polling official for Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research when the firm's results showed 53 percent would vote for I-200; 34 percent would vote

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Sex and Affirmative Action

The term “affirmative action” usually makes you think of differential treatment of blacks and whites and court cases to integrate white schools. And that’s been the subject of a lot of media attention recently.

But did you know that women are the most prevalent and potentially costly example of affirmative action in America today? Affirmative action programs for other groups—blacks, Hispanics, native Americans, and Pacific Islanders, for example—affect millions, but still a minority. In the case of women, affirmative action programs are targeting a majority—51 percent—of Americans, with significant consequences for American society.

Last year the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, or EEOC, required employers to pay a total of \$72 million to plaintiffs in sex discrimination cases, an amount far greater than those awarded in other classes of suits. Adding together awards for sex and pregnancy discrimination and sexual harassment nets \$127 million. These costs are a fraction of the total costs of sex-based affirmative action, but they do give some indication of the relative magnitude of affirmative action costs for different groups.

Many eminent public policy figures argue about the pros and cons of affirmative action for underprivileged minorities. But it’s vital to make the point that, just as women aren’t a minority of the population, they’re also not an underprivileged group. Since the early 1980s women have earned more B.A. and M.A. degrees than men. In 1970 women earned few business, law, or medical degrees, but now they earn about 40 percent of degrees in these fields. Until the 1960s there were very real barriers to entry in colleges and graduate institutions, and cultural barriers to entry in many workplaces. But, when these crumbled, women moved in and competed successfully against men.

And as women move into previously male-dominated fields, their wages have been steadily rising relative to men’s. According to studies by Congressional Budget Office director June O’Neill and others, women earn almost as much as men when accounting for education and experience. Outstanding gains have also been made by women in the small business world, not usually seen as a mecca for affirmative action enforcement. In 1972 there were only 400,000 women-owned small businesses—today there are over 8 million.

Feminists are right. Women are smart and successful. They belong in the House and in the Senate. So why the affirmative action programs?

Explaining Wage Gaps and Glass Ceilings

Affirmative action supporters ask why, with women’s increased education and work experience, women allegedly face a “glass ceiling” and a “wage gap,” earning only 74 cents of a man’s dollar. At one end of the income spectrum, why are there not more women in construction and in oil drilling? At the other end, why are there not more women executives? Some people are convinced that the answer lies in pervasive sex discrimination—which can only be countered with affirmative action. But there are more reasonable explanations.

First, few recipients of graduate degrees in the 1960s and 1970s, who today would be in their 50s, at the top of their professions, were women. Women received about 4 percent of all MBAs awarded in 1970, and it’s these 1970 graduates who are now in their 50s, at the age to form

the core group of CEOs. The more recent graduates haven’t been around long enough to produce a large pool of candidates for those kinds of positions.

Second, although women are rapidly moving into fields of law, medicine, and business, many still choose to major in specialties which pay less.

Department of Education data show that women receive about three quarters of B.A.s in public administration (which includes social work) and over half of B.A.s in communications. In contrast, women receive fewer than 50 percent of undergraduate degrees in math and only 15 percent of those engineering, which would lead to higher paying jobs.

New educational achievements have resulted in women’s advancement into different occupa-

tions over the past quarter century. This table shows the percent of women in various professions in 1970 and 1997. To cite just a few numbers from this table, women represented about 16 percent of economists in 1970, and over half in 1997. Law, medicine, psychology—all these professions have been major growth areas.

Still, affirmative action supporters such as Eleanor Smeal of the National Organization of Women and Mary Becker of the University of Chicago note that some occupations still have fewer than 10 percent of female workers, and they cite this as evidence that discrimination persists and that affirmative action is still needed. But many of these jobs call for substantial amounts of physical strength and are risky and dirty, such as mining, timber logging, construction, firefighting, and welding and cutting. Some jobs also call for odd hours of work, such as truck driving.

Railroad transportation, as well as having unusual hours, is also a declining industry. Women have broken barriers to entry into so many more competitive and high-paying fields. A good case can be made that women have not gone into these lower-paying, dirty trades by choice, rather than due to discrimination. After all, which would you rather do?

Motherhood and Earnings

This story would not be complete without some mention of the role of childbearing. Census data show that approximately 80 percent of women bear children at some point in their lives. With this expectation, many choose fields of study and then jobs that enable them to better combine work and family, thereby sacrificing higher wages. Even in higher-paying professions such as medicine, many women choose to go into pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology, psychiatry, and family practice, all lower-paying fields than surgery--still a rare field for women.

Many studies document the link between increased numbers of children and decreased earnings. Professor Jane Waldfogel of Columbia University, in a study published last year, compared the gap in wages between men and women with the same experience and education for mothers and women without children. She found that in 1991 women without children made 95 percent of men’s wages, all other factors accounted for, but mothers made 75 percent of men’s wages. This finding appears again and again in economic studies.

Naturally, there are different explanations for these data. One is that children take time away from women’s careers, both in terms of time out of the workforce to bear the children and in terms of time put into work effort afterwards.

A second explanation is that women who invest in education to qualify for high-paying jobs—who major in business or math, or who go to the trouble of getting professional training, for example—choose to work and reap the returns from that education. They may delay having children, and have fewer of them, or none at all.

Of course, many people would say that there is a third explanation: employers discriminate against women who have children. So mothers are paid less for the same work or forced into positions of lower responsibility and pay. But if there were systematic discrimination of this type, then some astute employer would be able to step forward and take advantage of it.

Firms hiring only mothers would make larger profits than others. In the same way, if women were paid only 74 cents on a man’s dollar, then a firm could fire all its men, replace them with women, and have a cost advantage over rivals.

But why stop at 74 cents on a man’s dollar? If an employer were to have that much power, why not pay women only 50 or even 25 cents on a man’s dollar? We just don’t see this happening, because employment is a willing agreement between two parties, and because employers need workers as much as workers need jobs.

A preference for more time at home with less pay and less job advancement over more time at work with more pay and advancement is a legitimate individual choice for women. Similarly, the choice of some men to retire early and forego additional earnings, a continuing trend, doesn’t prove inequality between young and old. Neither of these phenomena is a policy crisis calling for government interference. One of the greatest harms that feminists have inflicted on American women is to send the message that women are only fulfilled if their salaries are equal to men’s, and that a preference for more time at home is somehow flawed.

With a well-educated majority such as women getting affirmative action, there’s only one step further step to go. That’s for men—a lesser-educated minority, with a higher proportion in jail and on hard drugs, and a lower life expectancy—to get affirmative action too.

—Diana Furchtgott-Roth

Diana Furchtgott-Roth is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a National Advisory Board member of the Independent Women’s Forum.

Percent of Women in Selected Occupations, 1970-1997			
Occupation		1970	1997
Architects		4	18
Chemists (except biochemists)		12	26
Clergy		3	14
Computer systems analysts & scientists		14	29
Dentists		4	17
Dieticians		92	89
Economists		16	52
Editors & reporters		42	51
Engineers		2	10
Lawyers		5	27
Librarians		82	81
Operations & systems researchers & analysts		11	41
Pharmacists		12	46
Physicians		10	26
Psychologists		39	59
Public relations specialists		27	66
Registered nurses		97	94
Social Workers		63	69
Teachers	Elementary	84	84
	Secondary	50	58
	Pre- & kindergarten	98	98
Teachers, college & university		29	43

Source: Marianne Ferber and Francine Blau, *The Economics of Men, Women, and Work*, 2nd Edition, Table 5.3; U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment and Earnings*, Table 11, January 1998.



Battle in Seattle, Continued from page 10

against it; 13 percent were undecided; and 50 favored “affirmative action” programs. The No!200 campaign chimed in that “confusion” explained the numbers.

Given the clear and common distinction that most Americans have made over time between affirmative action and preferences, confusion rests only with semantically-challenged liberals and befuddled pollsters. “If the opposition can make the argument that this will wipe out affirmative action completely, they win,” notes a local pollster. But to prevail on the argument, they must base their panic on the assumption that all state-sponsored affirmative action programs involve race and gender preferences. Dimmer bulbs in the anti-200 ranks parrot the line that “quotas are illegal” while at the same time urging their brethren to “Keep affirmative action quotas in place,” as the *Northwest Asian Weekly*, a Seattle-based newspaper, urged. Anti-209 forces have already tried playing futile word games—and lost. But the anti-200 team has no other playbook. One I-200 supporter reports that in an apparent push poll, a telephone surveyor asked if he supported affirmative action. After answering yes, the supporter was asked if he supported I-200. Yes again. Then the pollster asked if the supporter knew I-200 would repeal affirmative action, would it changed his support? When the I-200 supporter responded angrily that I-200 had nothing to do with

affirmative action, the sly caller pulled out his trump card: If the I-200 supporter knew that the ACLU said I-200 would repeal affirmative action, would he still support it?

No confusion, misunderstanding, or obfuscation about the question to this final, hopeless query: A dial tone is a worth a thousand words.

THE SKY IS FALLING

Knowing they can’t win if voters believe they are voting on set-asides and quotas, anti-200 acolytes are framing the Nov. 3 referendum as an all-or-nothing gambit. The goal, they say, is not to end preferences (which, according to I-200 opponents, are already illegal) but all affirmative action programs. Some I-200 opponents take it a step further, implying that I-200 would eliminate anti-discrimination laws. Vice President Al Gore, for example, claimed that the measure “will turn the clock back to the old reactionary ways of the past.”

Moreover, I-200 is “brutal to communities of color” and “you may lose your rights,” warn Asian-American activists. Over the summer, Democrat mayor Paul Schell even speculated recklessly that racial violence might erupt in anticipation of I-200’s passage. It didn’t happen—and one gets the eerie sense that Schell and the Seattle City Council, which unanimously condemned the initiative—were a little disappointed. The No!200 campaign points

hysterically to California for evidence of the apocalyptic damage of eliminating race and gender preferences. Yet California’s experience provides nothing but comfort to those who support race- and gender-neutral affirmative action in state hiring, contracting, and admissions. For better or worse, a front-page article in the *Los Angeles Times* in April makes clear that aggressive outreach efforts—including telephone campaigns, open houses and campus receptions—continue in California despite the passage Proposition 209. Indeed, such programs are thriving. This spring, thousands of University of California students, faculty, admissions officers, and even the chancellors of UC Berkeley and UCLA, made phone calls and home visits to top qualified black and Latino high-school seniors.

Robbed of moral, legal, and logical ammunition, the Pacific Northwest preference machine will continue to crank out smears and distortions and verbal smoke-screens right up to election day, painting I-200 supporters as bigots, liars, and radical menaces intent on performing the legal equivalent of a clitorrectomy on the Washington electorate. Yes, it will be brutal and bloody painful. Relinquishing the “need to maintain control and hold onto the territory,” to quote a local cultural anthropologist, always is.

Michelle Malkin is an editorial writer and columnist for the *Seattle Times*.



Katuria’s Bravura

Nineteen months ago, a brief fax found its way onto the highest pile atop my cluttered desk. It introduced a woman named Katuria Smith who, “assisted by the Washington, D.C. based Center for Individual Rights, filed a lawsuit [in March 1997] claiming that the University of Washington School of Law discriminated against her on the basis of her race in the operation of its admission system.”

Few paid attention to the federal civil-rights suit at the time. But now Katuria (the name actually does rhyme with bravura) Smith is a familiar name to legal, political, and media establishments across the country. When award-winning columnist and civil libertarian Nat Hentoff recounted her story in the Washington Post this spring, it ruffled the tassels of UW’s legal eagles and caused a firestorm that brought both sides of the Initiative 200 debate to court. Katuria has also been featured in the National Law Journal and on National Public Radio. In early October, the Sacramento-based American Civil Rights Institute began airing educational radio ads that give Washington state voters a condensed version of her life story and fight against racial preferences.

Just who is this gusty 32-year-old attorney from rural Marysville, Washington?

As I first reported last March, Katuria has had to climb a long way from where she began. Her mom was a high-school dropout who gave birth to Katuria at 17. Her parents divorced when Katuria was 11. “My mom was a single mom struggling to raise four kids. We lived hand to mouth,” Katuria told me last spring. “It’s not a sob story. But it was hard and I was determined to get out of poverty.”

After graduating from high school, Katuria worked in a number of low-wage jobs around the Seattle area. “I detailed cars, mixed auto paint, was employed at a cattle auction, and worked as a janitor and a construction worker. Anything to pay the bills.” Then she discovered the paralegal program at Edmonds Community College. At 21, she enrolled in night classes and continued to work full-time during the days. She gained admission to the University of Washington in 1992, continued to work part-time, and graduated cum laude in 1994 with a degree in business.

Katuria next set her sights on law school. She applied to only one: UW’s Law School. “I felt like I was exactly the kind of person they’d want. Most kids in my hometown expected me to end up in jail. Instead, I really did something with my life.” With a 3.65 grade-point average, a score of 165 on her LSATs (which put her in the 94th percentile), a compelling personal history, and an inexhaustible work ethic, Katuria seemed like an ideal candidate.

There was just one catch: The admissions officers at the UW Law School, just as most admissions officers across the country, grade on a racial curve. And Katuria is white. She was rejected and given no chance to appeal. University officials stonewalled when she requested comparative data on admitted students. In the meantime,

she hastily assembled an application to the less-prestigious and more-expensive law program at Seattle University, where she graduated last year.

After much soul-searching, she filed a racial discrimination suit in federal court against UW. Two other plaintiffs have joined her. Trial is scheduled for February 1999, but Katuria’s lawsuit is already shedding light on the secretive and cowardly process by which UW boosted minority enrollment. Under former UW law school dean Wallace Loh’s tenure, minority enrollment skyrocketed from 14 percent to nearly 40 percent. Loh calls the contention that racial preferences displace qualified students a “myth.”

Yet the UW law school admitted in court papers last January that “in 1994 no resident applicant identified or treated as an African American with an index score equal to or above that of Katuria Smith’s was denied an offer of admission to the University of Washington law school.”

Admissions officials claim that race is “just one of many factors.” But when race is used as a “plus” factor, it inevitably becomes the determining one. According to CIR, university documents indicate that applicants were separated into pools by race—and judged by separate standards. Far from being an equal “plus factor,” applicants seen as contributing to non-racial diversity were put through a much more rigorous screening process.

Nat Hentoff’s fresh spotlight on the case this spring sent the law school faculty scurrying like cockroaches in search of a safe, dark crevice.

During a visit with faculty, he noted that Katuria was not required to check the “white” racial box on her application and that she had a difficult-to-categorize first name. “With Katuria’s high scores, and also the proof of her determination to overcome poverty,” Hentoff asked, “would she have been accepted if the admissions committee had believed her to be black?” After Hentoff reported that UW Law School Dean Roland Hjorth had nodded affirmatively and gave a soft “Yes,” I-200 chairman John Carlson decided to use the account in the state Voter’s Pamphlet.

Hjorth and a dozen faculty members denied the veracity of Hentoff’s reporting. But never, as Hentoff notes, did the dean say “Nat, you’re wrong.” A judge resolved the matter with a footnote informing voters that “The Dean disputes [Hentoff’s] account.” Years from now, this historical footnote will seem overly generous - if not tragicomic. Another last-ditch maneuver by the preference machine to spin discrimination into equality and yes into no.

“People will say I’m a racist or a publicity-seeker,” Katuria reflected soon after filing the lawsuit. “But what the school does is wrong.” Like the proponents of I-200, she has no tolerance for the wriggling and rationalizing and moral bankruptcy of state-sanctioned racial discrimination. She says simply, bravely,





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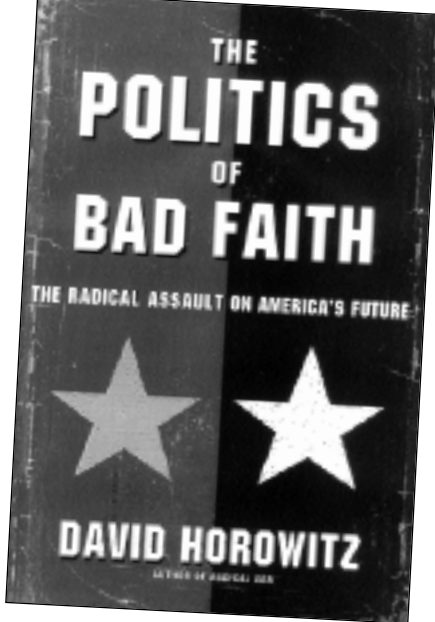
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Pessimism Examined

Enemies of Hope. A Critique of Contemporary Pessimism. Irrationalism, Anti- Humanism and the Counter-Enlightenment
by Raymond Tallis
(St. Martin’s Press, 499 pp. \$39.95)

REVIEW BY BRUCE S. THORNTON

The validity of postmodernism’s ideas rests on nothing more than their mantric assertion by semi-literate college professors uncritically repeating the zany exaggerations of Continental philosophers and their epigones. Radical linguistic indeterminacy; epistemological nihilism; the self as mere construct of language or culture; the totalizing reach of “power” in determining human relations, social institutions, and cultural activities; history as a self-serving fable, and science as a localized social construct no more true than MTV videos—all of these incoherent “theories” comprise the chants and dances of an academic cargo cult, the magical rituals of an intellectually backwards professoriate trying to conjure up the Big Explanation of Everything their European masters promised before flying back to Paris.

In several books over the years, Raymond Tallis has patiently and thoroughly demolished most of these ideas. Like Sir Thomas Browne, who exploded the false knowledge of a petrified medieval scholasticism, Tallis is a doctor and a scientist, and so someone whose work daily displays the practical power of reason to improve human life, and whose habits of thought are rigorously empirical—and hence distrustful of appeals to authority or woolly a priori abstractions. In *Enemies of Hope*, Tallis brings together into one coherent critique the arguments of those previous books, refuting one-by-one the postmodern positions enumerat-

ed above, and ultimately seeing in postmodernism merely the latest version of a dangerously anti-Enlightenment (and anti-humanist) irrationalism.

Tallis begins with a definition of the Enlightenment ideal—“critical individualism hostile to an authority,” toleration of differences, and faith in reason and observation. He then surveys the eighteenth-century attacks on the Enlightenment’s epistemology, universalism, presumed faith in the goodness of mankind, and disdain for local cultures, discussing as well the demonization of reason that characterizes all anti-Enlightenment thought. He links these old critiques—many of whose ideas resurfaced in reactionary Christianity, fascism or hysterical nationalism, as Alain Finkeilkraut has shown—to contemporary postmodern philosophers.

In addition to exposing the weakness of the postmodernist assertion that reason is no better than magic and that the conscious agent is an illusion. Tallis’s valuable contribution, to my mind, is the laying bare of the hypocrisy vitiating postmodern philosophy. All the professors who espouse the postmodern credo live lives in which those principles play absolutely no part: “Post-modernists still expect a pay cheque every month. . . have a very robust, unpost-modernist sense of their civic rights. . . [and expect] to be flown between their international symposia in planes designed on sound scientific principles. . . and piloted by individuals with a conventional sense of personal responsibility.” No postmodern feminist decrying the oppression of patriarchal medicine has the lump in her breast examined by a shaman rather than a mammogram.

Throughout *Enemies of Hope*, Tallis refutes the fashionable pessimism that sees the twentieth-century as the worst of times, a refutation whose greatest force comes from the freedom, material prosperity, security, and comfort created by science and enjoyed by these same pessimistic “Global Village Explainers,” as Tallis calls them, who romanticize primitive hunter-gatherers, American Indians, third-world tribes, and other “organic” pre-modern cultures: “I think that few critics of modernity would prefer untreatable cystitis to anomie, chronic malnutrition to alienation; few would find being under the thrall of the priest, the local squire, an unac-

countable government or an unchallengeable workplace bully in an organic community better than living in an atomic society.” In short, our psychic dissatisfactions are the luxuries of a people liberated from a destructive natural world and the casual violence and cruelty that has stained most human cultures before the present.

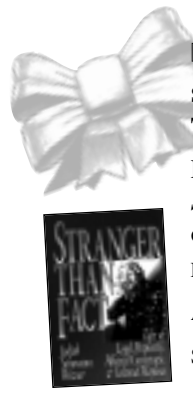
Tallis, however, should not be dismissed as a mere cheerleader for science and progress. His aim is to “separate what is good in Enlightenment thought, what is feasible in the Enlightenment dream, from what is bad, dangerous and unacceptable,” while acknowledging what is valid in the anti-Enlightenment critique. This Tallis does in his Epilogue, “The Hope of Progress,” a hope based on the possibilities of improving human life through the application of reason by conscious agents driven by the recognition that all humans deserve equal treatment. He locates this possibility for improvement in a “benign universalism” that respects the variety of human life, a vision of utopia that does not necessarily suffer from boredom or authoritarian repression, and a view of man as a natural creature, but one “unnatural” in its ability to be explicit about itself and its situation.

Tallis will not satisfy the religious believer, who would argue that human meaning resides somewhere other than in our material bodies. But then, Tallis is not speaking to the believer, and he explicitly states that issues of Ultimate Ends are not the purview of the rationalist. Furthermore, given that in the West our social problems are unlikely to be solved on the basis of religious assumptions, Tallis’s prescriptions demand serious consideration. As he reminds us, not only has the legacy of the Enlightenment led to unarguable improvement in the material life of millions of ordinary human beings, but the assumptions of Enlightenment rationalism and political ideals are the only game in town. No matter what they say, in their daily lives, the religious fanatic and postmodern pessimist alike have both voted for the Enlightenment with their feet.

Bruce S. Thornton’s *Plagues of the Mind: The New Epidemic of False Knowledge* is coming out next fall.



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The End of Affirmative Action



The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action
by Lydia Chavez

REVIEW BY GAIL HERIOT

Back in 1996, when Ward Connerly asked me to co-chair the Proposition 209 campaign in California, I didn't have any trouble deciding what to do. I regarded Proposition 209 as the best hope for ending state-sponsored racial and gender discrimination—euphemistically called 'affirmative action' by its partisans.

While polls indicated that the overwhelming majority of Californians opposed such preferential treatment, politicians had been paralyzed for decades by a fairly small cadre of preference-supporters who lobbed accusations of racism or sexism toward preference opponents. A popular initiative was needed to put an end to that paralysis. I figured that if a tenured law professor couldn't stand up publicly on such an issue, I couldn't expect anyone else to. So I said yes.

It was always a bit of an awkward fit. Although I had never opposed voter initiatives on principle, I surely harbored no warm spot in my heart for them. The image of the ill-informed, unruly crowd—short on rationality, long on passion—was always lurking in the back of my mind. Believing that, on the whole, the quality of political discourse one finds in the legislature is superior to that found outside the legislature (however slightly), I had adopted a rule of thumb: When in doubt, vote no. But Proposition 209 was different.

Political correctness had so derailed serious discourse on the issue that a popular initiative was necessary to get anyone to talk about it at all. That was part of the real triumph of Proposition 209. California voters rejected the opposition's shrill accusations of racism and sexism and the baseless claims of Proposition 209's hidden agenda and quietly approved the initiative. In doing so, they didn't just approve an amendment to their state constitution, they forced the nation to start thinking about and acting on an issue that had been festering without resolution for decades.

That is why Lydia Chavez's history of the Proposition 209 campaign, *The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action*, seems so strange. "There are . . . already many books that argue for or against affirmative action," she writes. "This is not one of them." Indeed, the book is not about racial and gender preferences at all. Instead, Chavez, a Berkeley journalism professor, gives us an inside look at campaign tactics and who said what to whom behind closed doors. At a time when so much of substance remains to be said about this political event, her book is largely about style.

Chavez is earnest and well-meaning. Although her facts are not always accurate, she attempts to be even-handed. But her notion that the

initiative campaign is best understood as a battle of the pitchmen seems absurd.

If Proposition 209's success had been dependent upon cleverly conceived packaging, it surely would have failed. Its two co-authors, Tom Wood and Glynn Custred, are unlikely to be confused with political hucksters. Wood, a philosopher by training and Custred, a Cal State-Hayward anthropologist, were thoroughly lacking in political experience when they began work on Proposition 209. They were naive enough to think that if you want to ban state-sponsored preferential treatment on the basis of race or sex, you should draft an initiative that does just that.

The man they chose to lead the campaign, Ward Connerly, a successful Sacramento businessman and member of the University of California Board of Regents, was similarly unaccustomed to the political limelight. But when he spoke, Californians found that they wanted to listen. And it wasn't slick packaging that made people want to do so. To the contrary, Connerly's appeal lay in his willingness to talk forthrightly about moral principles and issues that almost everyone else tried to run away from.

Chavez misses this entirely. Instead, she attributes Proposition 209's success to a "semantic game" foisted upon an unsuspecting and unsophisticated electorate. She doesn't blame Proposition 209's supporters for this; she acknowledges that such games are regarded as "smart politics" these days. But she does evidently believe that the voters were misled into voting for something they did not understand. To her, Proposition 209 is a study in deception. What makes her think so? Well, that's what 209 opponents told her—over and over again.

The controversy revolves around the term "affirmative action." It's a term that doesn't appear in the text of Proposition 209—and for good reason. "Affirmative action" has no fixed meaning. As the American Heritage Dictionary defines it, it refers to any "action taken to provide equal opportunity, as in admissions or employment, for minority groups or women." Hence it describes not only preferential treatment for women and minorities, but also a wide variety of benign, non-discriminatory programs. Such a term is wholly inappropriate for use in an initiative aimed solely at prohibiting preferences. When Proposition 209 passed, the initiative's text became part of the California Constitution—not a place to make word-choice errors.

The term has an interesting history, beginning in the early 1960s when President Kennedy used it in Executive Order 10925. That order required federal contractors to take "affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Kennedy could not have intended to require contractors to grant special preferences. To grant a preference on the basis of race or sex in order to ensure that "employees are treated . . . without regard to their race . . . [or] sex" is self-contradictory.

During the early 1960s, preferential treatment for women and minorities was a specter raised by opponents of civil rights legislation, not proponents. Congressional leaders of the drive to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 repeatedly assured the public that their legislation would in fact prohibit an employer from giving preferential treatment to minorities as means of achieving racial balance. To think that Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 and the identically-worded Executive Order 11246 by President Johnson were intended to require the opposite is insupportable. Instead, Kennedy and Johnson are requiring contractors to take responsibility for ensuring that their hiring officers and managers are not illegally discriminating. Employers could discharge this responsibility in a wide variety of benign, non-discriminatory ways, including requiring that all job openings be advertised so that the most qualified persons are likely to receive notice, regardless of their race, color, religion, sex or national origin; impressing upon all hiring officers and managers that illegal discrimination will not be tolerated; reviewing the job descriptions and requirements to ensure that nothing is being required that would stand in the way of hiring the best available applicants; asking employees to

attend seminars where they can learn to communicate better with applicants and colleagues from other backgrounds.

Only in later years did the term "affirmative action" also come to refer to bald-faced racial and gender preferences. For example, by the time of Proposition 209, the University of California at San Diego was giving an extra 300 points to the application score of any applicant who happened to be African American or Mexican American. These points were the equivalent of an extra 300 points on the applicant's combined SAT score. It didn't matter if he was rich or poor. An African-American son of a brain surgeon would get the points; the Vietnamese daughter of a dishwasher would not.

In the minds of some, this interpretation of the term "affirmative action" came to dominate its earlier meaning. A poll conducted by the respected Roper Organization of University of California faculty members—ordinarily considered a sophisticated group—showed them evenly split (43% to 37%) over whether the term primarily refers to programs designed to ensure equal opportunity for all or to preferential treatment for women and minorities. Consequently, when Wood and Custred drafted the initiative, they chose to avoid the term "affirmative action" altogether—not to evade, but to be clear. Their intention was to outlaw preferences, including programs like the one at Cal State-Hayward's nursing school, where men were given preferential treatment in order to have a more gender-balanced school. After consulting constitutional scholars across the country (not focus groups as their opponents claim), they settled upon the final language of the initiative's operative clause: "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." This language, based on the language of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, accomplished their aims in a way that language using the term "affirmative action" could not.

As Chavez indicates—and tries to validate—opponents of Proposition 209 immediately seized upon it as a deliberate effort to mislead. Affirmative action, they claimed, was actually very popular; only when its opponents mischaracterize it as involving racial preferences does its support evaporate. They sued (unsuccessfully) to require the term "affirmative action" to be substituted for "preferential treatment" in the Ballot Pamphlet's description of what the initiative prohibits. But, as Judge Robert Puglia of the Third District California Court of Appeals ruled, "any statement to the effect that Proposition 209 repeals affirmative action programs would be over inclusive and hence 'false and misleading.'" He refused to require changes.

It's a strange world that opponents of race preferences live in. They saw an essentially irrational electorate—wholly at the mercy of the spin doctors. If they are right, we have a whole lot more than Proposition 209 to worry about.

In fact, the voters are smarter than Chavez and others give them credit for. In fact, they support both affirmative action and oppose race preferences and don't contradict themselves. These voters support the non-discriminatory varieties of affirmative action, while abhorring the quotas that inevitably arise from racial and gender preferences. In the year since Proposition 209 has gone into effect, the actions of the University of California system have reflected that distinction. The UC—one of the most preference-driven parts of state government—has stepped up its outreach efforts as it is being forced to abandon preferential treatment.

Chavez's book is an interesting read for political junkies who want to know what George Stephanopoulos and Harold Ickes thought about Proposition 209, or how David Duke came to California. But, for those who plan to read only one book on racial and gender preferences, this one should not be it. A better bet would be Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom's *America in Black and White: One Nation Indivisible*. The Thernstrom's book accomplishes what Chavez's does not: It makes a real contribution to the debate.

Gail Heriot is a professor at University of San Diego Law School.

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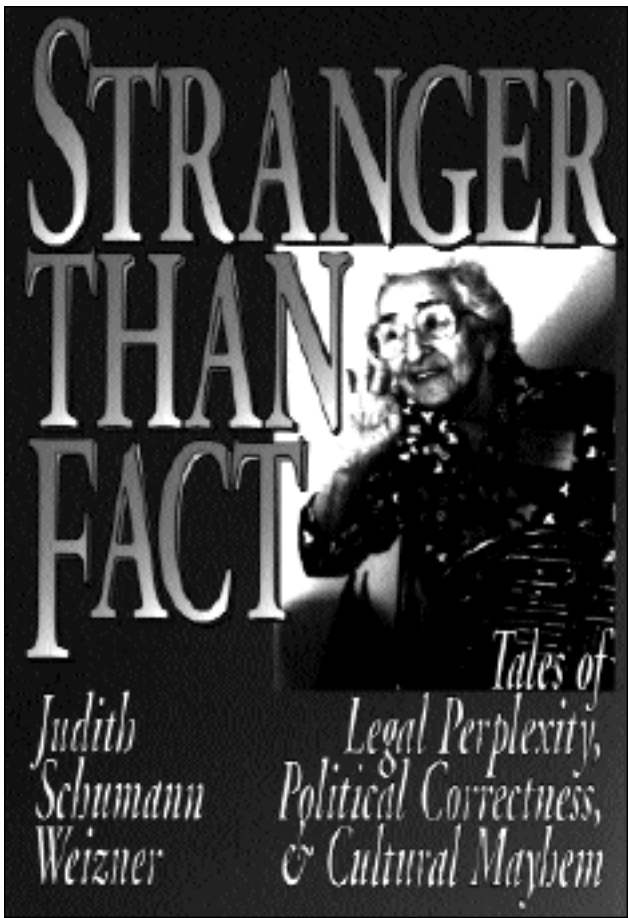
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