

HETERO DOXY

ARTICLES AND ANIMADVERSIONS ON POLITICAL CORRECTNESS AND OTHER FOLLIES



THE LEFT COLONIZES THE NET

A little over a year ago, Vice President Al Gore made a big show of getting the White House launched as the first prominent political information provider on the Internet. With much fanfare, the vice president demonstrated to the TV cameras the possibilities that the interactive World Wide Web would provide. Since then, the White House site on the Internet has come to provide a wealth of information in a genuinely user-friendly format. It is clear, in fact, that just as John Kennedy became the first president to master the art of the television age, Bill Clinton and his liberal allies want to plant the flag of liberalism in the colony they are establishing in cyberspace. But this colonization effort, which so far has left conservatives behind as roadkill on the information superhighway, does not just include Beltway policy wonks, but also radical feminists, the Communist Party, and commissars of correctness, all of whom agree that cyberspace is the next frontier.

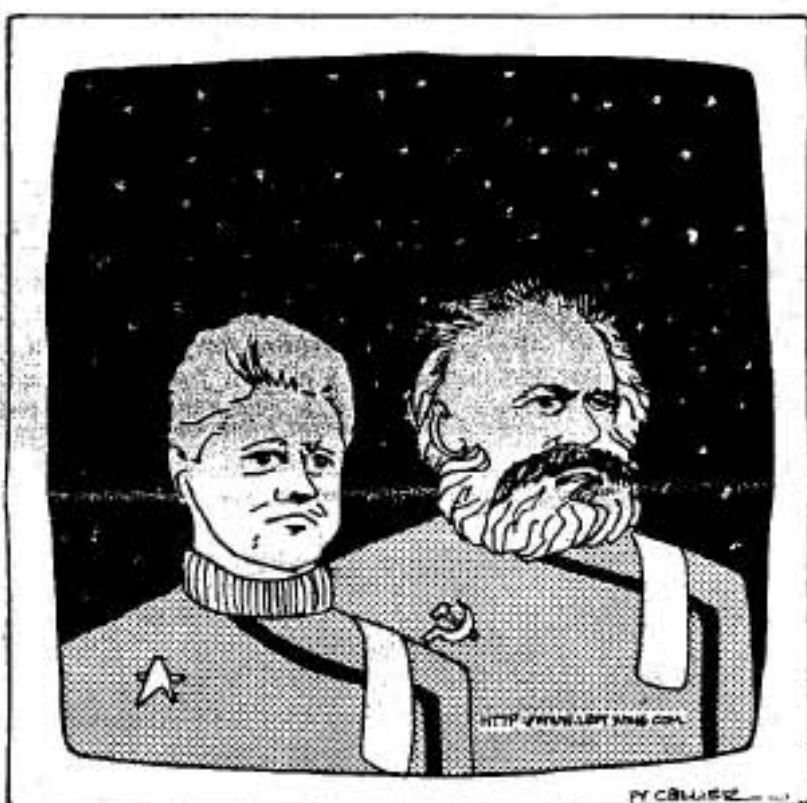
The White House has taken a leadership position on the use of the Internet, and most of Clinton's cabinet secretaries have followed his lead. Throughout the executive branch sites, one is besieged with information about the friendliness of the administration's policies to many special interests, notably minorities. Some agencies, like the Environmental Protection Agency, aggressively market a radical ideology. For example, Carol Browner prominently features documents promoting so-called "environmental justice" programs the agency administers.

Despite the massive presence of agencies such as the EPA on the information superhighway, much of their work is accomplished by left-wing support organizations outside of government. For example, a wealth of information on the Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) that EPA regulations generate is housed not on a government computer, but on the computers of two non-profits (the Unison Institute and OMB Watch) who together operate the Right to Know computer network (RTK Net). Is this a case of outside interests merely attempting to be helpful? Hardly. It turns out the government finances—to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars—the placement of this information with them.

The urge to colonize the Internet can at times be relatively inexpensive for left-wing groups, as in the case of the center-left Brookings Institution, which took a \$25,000 grant from the National Science Foundation to make its connection with the Internet. This same program also funds a significant number of academic institutions in their drive to join the information age, despite the fact that many colleges and universities overtly promote their own left-wing ideology.

Other grant programs, like the Commerce Department's Telecom-munications and Information Infra-structure Assistance Program (TIAP), go even further to push the presence of left-wing politics on the Internet. Recently, TIAP provided \$200,000 to an organization called HandsNet to promote the use of its Internet site for human services

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WEIRD SCIENCE AT THE JET PROPULSION LAB LOST IN SPACE

By K.L. Billingsley

Galileo's odyssey was long and lonely. Since its launch in 1989 the orbiter had been drifting through space for six years, covering 2.3 billion miles. In 1991 its main antennae had failed to open and there had been problems with the recording system. But this past December 7, exactly as planned, Galileo drew within 160,000 miles of Jupiter and cut loose a 745-lb., cone-shaped probe which parachuted into the exotic gasses of the Jovian atmosphere, sending a stream of data back to the famed Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California, where the probe and the 2.5-ton orbiter had been equipped with, as their press pack explained, "the most capable load of experiments ever sent to another planet."

"It's been a perfect day," project manager William O'Neil told a battery of reporters on his day of triumph. "We're ecstatic."

O'Neil and the rest of the star fleet command had every right to spike the ball and whoop it up. Guiding an orbiter over 2.3 billion miles and having it arrive on time, in spite of difficulties, is not something that most people can do, even with a college degree and a computer. It takes a rocket scientist, which of course is exactly what the men at JPL are.

The place is packed with Ph.D.s from its parent organization, the California Institute of Technology (Caltech), MIT, and other illustrious institutions worldwide. For most of these individuals, working at JPL is the fulfillment of a life's dream—balancing on the cutting edge with the brightest and best, backed by the seemingly fathomless vaults of public funding. The JPL Strategic Plan is based on a vision of "expanding the

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COMMUNIQUE

The Game's Afoot

I have read and appreciated *Heterodoxy* for more than two years now. You are performing yeoman's picket duty on the campus front of the culture wars. And your feature stories raise many new questions about important issues that extend well beyond political correctness. In fact, the essays and stories you publish merit sho' nuff proofreading (the kind that catches mistakes overlooked by the spell-checker). As a mentor once told me about my own work, typos are like scratches in a recording of fine music: they distract the reader from your thoughts. You should make a better effort to correct them before publication (especially as you rightfully criticize the decline of educational standards in the nation's universities).

Regarding the story, "Putting Vince Foster Back Together Again" (HT, 11/95), Mr. Sprunt has identified some very interesting discrepancies and inconsistencies (Lisa Foster and the gun, Vince's weight). However, the idea of both Vince's sister and wife unwittingly or even wittingly playing a role in painting Vince's murder as a suicide simply is hard to accept. (Though we should remember Sherlock Holmes' dictum that if one has eliminated every other possibility, the one that remains must be true, no matter how incredible.)

The issue of Vince's weight is a good example of group-think; but what of Lisa's memory about the gun? How could she have been induced to "remember" it? Sprunt is stretching logic in his analysis of whether Vince would have consulted a psychiatrist. The incredible blunders which took place early in the Clinton administration easily could have plunged anyone into new levels of stress and guilt, but especially Vince, because he was a close and longtime friend who felt personally responsible for some of the worst mistakes. White House work, when it goes awry, can be brutally unforgiving, more so than tough cases at Rose. Also, Vince very plausibly could have feared creating more problems for Clinton if his trips to a psychiatrist became public. Despite these stretches and speculation (especially about the phone calls to the psychiatrist), Sprunt has served up new food for thought. Keep him on the story!

Dennis James McIntosh
Alexandria, VA

Bad Words

I was offended by the bad language used in an article written by UCLA student government vice president, John Du in the *Daily Bruin*.

This was titled "A Totally Bad Epiphany" on page 3 of your October 1995 issue ("The Race Card"). The filthy words used should have been "bleached" out before you let it be published in your paper. I donate my paper to our public library and I cut out the offending words before I did this. Please edit out any future filthy words before publishing.

Hope Bisbing
Brigham City, UT

The Race Card

I'm sorry to note that you have joined the pious preachers for O.J. Simpson ("The Race Card," October 1995). It seems everyone is "piling on" him. This gnashing of largely white teeth, just like the cheers of blacks, demonstrates widespread ignorance.

Both legal teams pandered to the gods of political correctness. The defense played the race card, and the prosecution—to borrow from attorney Shapiro—not only played the "battered woman" card but dealt it from the bottom of the deck.

How so? There is an abundance of well-documented evidence that death and injuries inflicted upon husbands and male partners by wives and female partners are as common and serious as vio-

lence in the opposite direction. To focus on violence against women, in defiance of reality, requires a perverse form of sophistry, as well as misandry. While discrimination against O.J. did exist, it was a matter of sex—not race.

Despite the circus of misperceptions, assuming O.J. did the deed, we believe this classic case of "jury nullification" served justice—in a convoluted way. It was the wrong path to the right verdict.

He has already served 15 months in prison, more time than most women who murder a husband, or even two husbands. Some years ago actress Claudine Longet murdered her live-in lover Spider Sabich in Colorado because he had jilted her. She got off with a 30-day sentence—not unusual for women.

Using the popular ploy of "gender norming," and considering Ron Goldman's death "accidental," O.J. served about the right amount of time. As they tearfully say about women criminals, "He's suffered enough."

Richard Doyle
President, Men's Defense Assoc.
Forest Lake, MN

The lead article in the October *Heterodoxy*, "The Race Card," is without doubt the best-verbalized study of racial-political madness in which we all live that I've encountered. I want to clap *Heterodoxy's* editors on the back!

Special commendation for your dry tone and methodical development throughout the article. It takes *real* effort to be mad as hell and still preserve a level perspective.

For myself, I stepped aside some years ago when I realized that not only is this a "Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World," in the comedic and dismissible sense, but a *truly* mad world in the personal sense. It isn't just the Forrest Gumps of the earth suckered-in by relentless propagandizing, it's also my friends. Trying to find friends who still "call a spade a spade" is increasingly difficult. Many of my friends seem to think equivocation makes them intellectuals! (My God help me! Maybe it does, as things stand!)

Speaking generally, people I see daily have lost whatever ability they may have started with—to *evaluate what they SEE*. The real nightmare is the thought that one of us might someday have to submit to a jury decision from such mental catatonics. Don't people know when they are being manipulated?

This is just a letter of thanks for being sane. It seems to be a rare commodity.

Kay Gunn
Dallas, TX

Stranger Than "Stranger Than Fact"

Dear Ms. Clave,

I was absolutely astounded to read of the absurd lawsuits you have endured as a private piano teacher! ("Olfactory Correctness," November 1995) In the first case of Maria La Sorda, it is clear that you took all the precautions necessary when taking on new students—in fact, I've never even heard of OSHA Regulation G, but it sounds like a wise thing to have adult students sign before they begin music study. Nevertheless, La Sorda was not coerced by you in any way—she came to you of her own free will and could have quit, even asked for a refund, since she was obviously unhappy with her music lessons and her life in general. I'm sorry that she had to make life miserable for you as well. In fact, you were doing her a favor by telling her to cease music lessons and invest her money somewhere else. So much for favors.

In the second case of the student with carpal

tunnel syndrome, I think it's fair to say that his ailment could have been caused by his job or even by other factors, such as computer use—it's almost a given that most homes and places of business have computers, and CTS touches many people in modern society, thanks to the everyday, innocuous tasks we must perform (my mother, who is a secretary, has had surgery three times for this). Again, this student was wrong in suing you—I think the issue at hand is also one of free will, since if one notices that a particular leisure activity, such as piano playing, causes undue pain, one should stop and not blame others for the pain. If the pain originates from one's place of employment, that is, of course, another matter.

In the case of the young boy who was hit by a car, for heaven's sakes, wasn't it the car driver's fault for hitting him? Wasn't it the boy's fault for not looking when crossing the street? Since he is a minor, wasn't it ultimately his parents' fault for neglecting to supervise his after-school activities and his transportation to them? Since when are you at fault for his tardiness?

Your situation makes me wonder about mine, since I am a private tutor of German. What can I expect next? Will my students soon be suing me for psychological damage if I correct their grammatically incorrect, mispronounced German? Will I be sued if their performance in their regular German courses at Indiana University does not improve? If they slip on the ice on their way to our meeting, is it my fault that they don't bother to look where they're going? I've often thought of making my students sign some sort of agreement that they will not fault me if they don't bother to study for their exams, etc. Your story has forced me to seriously reconsider this, and in fact, I now plan to draft an agreement in preparation for next semester.

I am utterly dumbfounded to think that our legal system no longer protects the innocent, but rather rewards those with absurd, exaggerated claims for picking out easy targets, like you. Why has this country come to the point that students sue their well-meaning teachers for their own deficiencies and disinterested parents refuse to take responsibility for their children's actions? I think back to my piano teacher, a French woman who would slap my hands, and my ballet teacher, who wielded a big stick and beat my legs and my classmates' black and blue. I was so ashamed of myself that I couldn't even bring myself to tell my parents what went on in my lessons, since my six-year-old mind told me that this abuse was somehow my fault. Today, these teachers could hardly get away with beating children. While they seriously damaged my attitude, they did teach me, albeit through dubious pedagogical methods, that responsibility for the consequences of my actions lies ultimately with me. I think this is the underlying message in any sort of instruction, and your students obviously don't realize this. I'm sorry to hear that none of these cases were ruled in your favor, but I'd like you to know that I and teachers everywhere support you. I'm happy to hear that a few fools haven't spoiled the passion for your art, and I send you best wishes for your future teaching.

Karen Newman
Bloomington, IN

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Due to the holidays *Heterodoxy* is a joint December/January issue. This will count only as a single issue on your subscription, however. We will be back on a regular schedule in February.

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REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

PC NITWIT OF THE MONTH: The award for December/January goes jointly to Professor Harriet Spiegel and affirmative action director Zaida Giraldo, both of California's Chico State University. When Spiegel saw the text of an ad for a new faculty position in philosophy, she objected to the requirement that applicants should be "dynamic teachers." Sensing sinister sexist and racist overtones in "dynamic" that would load the dice in favor of white males, Spiegel alerted Giraldo, who agreed that the word would discriminate against women, "particularly 'lady-like' women," and also against minority groups who "are not associated with this style." As chief PC enforcer at Chico, Giraldo ordered the word stricken from the ad.

GELDING THE COMMON MAN: Early in November, the Bay Area's stuffy classical music station, KKHI, was about to play Aaron Copland's "Fanfare for the Common Man." The announcer introducing the piece said that it should really be titled, "Fanfare for the Common Person." What's next, lectures on the rape themes in Beethoven?

MORE MAD METHODISM: In mid-November, a Homosexuality Symposium at Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, home church to Bill and Hillary Clinton, featured a keynote address by Episcopal Bishop John Spong. Spong, whose theology is as goofy as his name, ridiculed the Christmas Nativity story, speculated about whether or not Jesus was a "drag queen," praised homosexual marriage, and declared that the Ten Commandments are "immoral" because "they define women as property." In his speech, Spong claimed that St. Paul was a repressed homosexual. ("Our primary understanding of God's grace came from a self-hating gay man.") He noted that he has 15 "out-of-the-closet" Episcopal priests in his own New Jersey diocese and recalled with pride that the first woman he ordained in 1977 later declared that she was a lesbian. "I have given my all to this life and death struggle within the Episcopal Church," Spong declared melodramatically. "I will sacrifice my career if I must." It seems more likely that he will sacrifice his church, Episcopalianism in America having joined the Methodists in a sad enterprise of competitive decadence.

BLIND LEADING THE BLIND: Students at Arizona State University decided to try to draw attention to the homeless by spending a chilly night on the lawn near ASU's main library. They got a dose of reality when several people calling themselves "addressless" shoed up to join their encampment. One of them was a middle-aged man wearing a sneaker on one foot and a sandal on the other. He claimed he was a member of royalty and a presidential candidate who had donated \$250,000 to the university. He said he wasn't homeless but "sleeps among the homeless once in a while." Andy Hall, who heads the ASU urban studies center, said of the students: "It's wonderful that the homeless came to them....Often the best learning comes through relaxed conversation."

QUEER AND FEMINIST FUN: They're "seeing queer" at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. At least, that's what a few lucky students will be doing this spring. English 380 ("Media and Society: Seeing Queer") promises

to be "Fun, Innovative, Informative...even Sexy." The course will explore ways in which film can "empower viewers to see our world 'queerly,'" and "to articulate 'other' subjects and desires." What might these be? Check the catalog for other fun queer courses. Lesbian vampirism, for example. In English 350-247, "Vampires, Sexuality, and AIDS," students will embark on an academic investigation going from Bram Stoker to "feminist appropriations of [the vampire] myth; from African-American renditions [i.e., 'Blackula'], to contemporary gay and les-

of addressing social and political issues." Now that's funny!

LIGHTS, CAMERA, WELFARE: According to a Washington TV reporter, when multi-millionaire Hollywood comedienne Whoopi Goldberg recently appeared with a rainbow coalition of welfare moms to testify before a Senate committee as the special guest of multi-millionaire politician and socialite Ted Kennedy, everything was ready to go when Whoopi suddenly told the members of the press that they had to clear the room. As it worked out, Whoopi wanted "another walk-through" to make sure that she and her supporting cast delivered the requisite praise of welfare programs with the proper enthusiasm. News cameras captured the final take, but no credits ran at the end.

PC 101: Bowling Green State University is big on innovative courses and professors are encouraged to come up with new offerings. And so BGSU Sociology Professor Richard Zeller decided to architect a course that his students assured him would have a wide appeal. It was Sociology 470: "Political Correctness—The Debate About Policing Thought in Science, Education, and Culture." The course description was as follows: "...To provide a survey of the concept of political correctness... The advocates of multiculturalism [succeed because of] a 'bait and switch' operation, in which an illiberal and highly political agenda hides behind appealing pluralistic rhetoric." The texts Zeller selected for this course were those which he had noted were systematically excluded from the rest of the curriculum—Lynne Cheney's *Telling the Truth*, Thomas Sowell's *Inside American Education*, Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*, Christina Hoff Sommers' *Who Stole Feminism?*, Camille Paglia's *Vamps and Tramps*, Richard Bernstein's *Dictatorship of Virtue*, Charles Sykes' *A Nation of Victims*, and, indeed, *The Heterodoxy Handbook*. As Zeller later said, "The ideas contained in these more than 2,500 pages of material range across the political spectrum....These ideas met my definition of the proper curriculum for a Sociology class....There was

substantial ethnic and gender diversity among the authors." But when Zeller formally proposed the creation of this course, there was a firestorm of opposition. Faculty colleagues and administrators stormed out of the meetings, slammed doors, cursed him, and hung up on phone conversations when the course was under discussion. Undaunted, Zeller decided to offer the course as "readings" outside the general curriculum and to teach it over and beyond his usual teaching load without compensation. He posted the course on the Internet, and there were more than 50 indications of interest from students in the first week. Then Zeller was told that because of protest, especially from the women's studies department, applications to take this readings course were to be denied. So for now anyhow, BGSU students are required for graduation to read *Hues: Hear Us Emerging Sisters: A Woman's Guide to Power and Attitude*, but are prohibited from reading *Who Stole Feminism?*. They must read *Blaming the Victim*, but are prevented from reading *A Nation of Victims*. They have to read *Racism and Sexism*, but may not read *Vamps and Tramps*.

LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



bian interpretations that specifically address the issue of AIDS." According to the course description, "from the sexually voracious lesbian vampire to the 'willfully murderous' bisexual spreader of AIDS, both the vampire myth and contemporary discourses of AIDS have expressed and mobilized a wide range of fears about (In)Human Sexuality. Whether it be the fear of women's desire, of homosexuality, impotence, castration, disease, contagion, or simply death, the creation of myths about both vampires and AIDS frequently expresses a widespread phobia about those beings and practices which seem to threaten the security of nation, family, or sexual identity." That's fun, we guess, but probably not nearly as much fun as another new offering from the English and women's studies departments: English 243, improbably titled "Feminism and Humor: What's So Funny?" Not much, if the course description is any indication: "In this course, we will address the ways in which humor serves as both a productive and revolutionary form of feminist critique....We'll read a variety of contemporary feminist novels to examine how humor is used by some feminist writers as a way

GUIDELINES FOR BIAS-FREE WRITING

Anthropomorphic Pronouns

By Barbara Rhoades Ellis

But these terms cannot always substitute for generic *man*, and *people* carries an indefinite connotation unsatisfactory in some contexts.

Man had not yet learned to reason.
A person had not yet learned to reason.
People had not yet learned to reason.

In such cases, other revisions may be preferable:

Humans had not yet learned to reason.
We had not yet learned to reason.

Writers and editors occasionally object to compounds

of the women under a gender-marked masculine term. *Gay* is now a widely accepted term to describe men with same-sex orientation. In writing about contemporary subjects many authors prefer the word to *homosexual* because it avoids the negative connotations of the latter and because it conveys not just sexual orientation but also the cultural and social aspects of homosexuality.

Some style manuals advise restricting *gay* to adjectival use (e.g., *gay man/gay men*, not *a gay/gays*). Although many gay and lesbian publications do not strictly follow this recommendation, writers should be aware that, like other social groups derived from adjectives, the noun

Until today, this restaurant has been the Peccable Kingdom of fast food, its staff a congenial mix of Anglos and Hispanics. But suddenly the peace is shattered. A black diner is loudly berating the manager (a white male) because of something an employee has said to her. In a hushed voice, the manager apologizes effusively.

What affront caused this raucous disturbance? We learn that several times the employee has called the customer and her friends... "gals." As in "Where would you gals like to sit?" or "What can I get you gals to drink?"

My lunch partner is something of a language maven, so I ask him what exactly is wrong with "gal." He mauls and finally speculates that it might be thought to be the partner of "boy," a proscribed word when applied to an adult black male. This is crazy (I reply). I've been called "gal" hundreds of times. It's not an insult and has nothing to do with race.

There is much to make one shudder about this woman's outburst: her threatening tone—she must know that the ghost of the Denny's lawsuit haunts restaurant managers everywhere; her swift recovery (she is soon laughing heartily with her companions); but what is most unsettling is the sense that for most within earshot, her self-indulgence has driven the wedge of distrust between the sexes and the races a little deeper than it was before.

Not long ago, she would have been laughed out the door, but today the mere say-so of any crank can transform an innocent remark into an insult—provided that the crank can claim victim status. Ironically, this license to bully has been granted by the Cult of Sensitivity that flourishes in many American institutions, especially on college campuses. Even the venerable American Association of University Presses (est. 1937) has now joined the war to end hurt feelings, with the publication of a short volume called *Guidelines for Bias-Free Writing*. The *Library Journal* calls it a "consciousness-raising...style sheet for politically correct writing."

In 1992, persuaded that it was time to get into the sensitivity-biz, the AAUP's board of directors adopted a position statement: "Books that are on the cutting edge of scholarship should also be at the forefront in recognizing how language encodes prejudice. They should also be agents of change and the redress of past mistakes." Even scholars in the most recalcitrant of fields were apparently now all expected to become social activists and to advance the agenda of campus radicals. Thus the board gave its blessing to a group of press employees calling themselves the "Task Force on Bias-Free Language," which has now produced *Guidelines*.

The "inclusiveness" celebrated in *Guidelines* was evidently not required of the authors themselves. Chaired by Marilyn Schwartz (managing editor of the University of California Press), the task force is made up of 19 women and two guys named John. Their full disclosure in the preface carries a hint of narcissism: "[W]e realize...that there is no such thing as truly bias free language and our advice is inevitably shaped by our own point of view—that of white, North American (specifically U.S.), feminist publishing professionals."

It's no surprise that nearly half of the 89-page text is devoted to features of our language that irk radical feminists: the generic "he" (this fills 20-plus pages), feminine suffixes (-ess, -trix, -ette), compound forms surplusing "man" ("craftsman," "manmade," "manhole cover"), and so on. The authors provide writing samples that are supposed to be offensive, and some are said to be culled from manuscripts submitted to a university press, but they often seem contrived, even confabulated, and remote from serious writing. Many are so badly written that any sexism they might display is eclipsed by their general doginess.

- "She's a very craftsmanlike sort of person."
- "Everyone should be able to decide for himself or herself whether to have an abortion." (This is meant to demonstrate the perils of hyper-correction of the generic male pronoun.)
- "Like many midwives, Mrs. Ballard was also a renowned nurse and doctoress..." (Doctoress? Does such a word crop up in academic manuscripts? Or anywhere? Likewise "formerette," also proscribed.)

Even when the writing samples are not inept, their purported sexism is often so subtle that only the fevered sensitivity of the zealot would detect it. But the feminist bias so coyly confessed to in the preface ensures that that kind of sensitivity is ever-present. For example, in a section titled "Anthropomorphic Pronouns," they advise using "it," not the generic "he," when writing about animals of unspecified sex: "Observations of (presumed) males of a species may in addition characterize animals in gender stereotyped human terms." Their sample sentence:

- "A stallion guards his brood of mares."

Here in the horse pasture, the task force folks have stepped in something and tracked it into their book. For, in fact, this sentence portrays with admirable precision the sexual behavior of a stallion—it's about male horses, nothing else. Yet the authors imagine that they see a parallel with the behavior of men and blithely assume others will see it as well.

Guidelines tries its best to sound judicious and sensible, but animus toward male academics simmers away beneath the surface. The subject of acknowledgments brings it to a rolling boil: "The author's thanks, however personal and heartfelt, should not stereotype or trivialize the contributions of women to the finished work. Most readers are familiar with the rounds of applause for the diligent (sometimes female) typist, the nurturing or fanatically tidy (sometimes female) editor, and, in books by male authors, the supportive spouse."

Time-out for some subtext analysis. Who is doing the trivializing? Why the task forceers diagnose, by suggesting that neatness, organizational skills, hard work, and a helpful nature are not traits in which everyone (even feminists) can take pride—or that to acknowledge them is demeaning. Would they prefer something like this? "Special thanks are owed to my editor Ms. Schwartz, a free spirit. I've grown to appreciate her relaxed work habits and whimsical spelling, which provided a constant and welcome reminder that this is, after all, only a book, and I should get a life." It's a long slog through this chapter, and it feels like being forced to hear the minutiae—every hurt, every mean-spirited stratagem—of someone's divorce.

In a book ostensibly written for publishing academics, what is one to make of this list of forbidden expressions: "Chinaman's chance"; "Dutch treat"; "to jew"; "to gyp"; "to get one's Irish up"; "to Shanghaï"? These expressions range from the innocuous ("Dutch treat") to the odious ("to jew"), but colloquialisms like these must be rare indeed in scholarly writing. In any case, can the authors really believe that academics need to be told not to use "Jew" as a verb? Can't they be trusted to know when and when not to use "Okie," "lillilly," "hick," "wetback," and "retard" (that's a noun, favored by schoolboys)? What professor isn't aware that "not all immigrants are refugees" or that the word "Israeli" is "not interchangeable with Jew" or that not all organized crime is the Mafia? Or that "Russian" is not interchangeable with "Soviet" or that heterosexuals can get AIDS?

For all their sweetie-pie advice about "sensitivity" and avoiding "needless offensiveness," the task forceers cheerfully patronize and insult the intelligence of the intended users of the book. Respect for the reader evidently mattered less than the need to pad, for had the authors confined themselves to advice that professors can actually use in their academic writing, this slim volume would have wasted away to a pamphlet—not much to show for eight years of earnest Task-Forcing.

Tough *Guidelines'* bizarre and scatter-shot advice is largely irrelevant to serious academic writing. It tells us much about its authors. Their real purpose is not to tell people how to write, but how to think about a few issues on which they have their own rigid views. But to do this they need

credibility: they mustn't appear to cater only to the currently fashionable victim groups. So the padding sometimes serves as camouflage, allowing the authors to pose as disinterested handwringers worrying about everyone's wounded egos, including "hillbillies," "Moonies," "Evangelicals," "Okies," Italian-Americans, the Welsh.

But even when indulging in these perfunctory gestures, the authors are always looking for a chance to mold minds. The writing sample that illustrates a gratuitous slur against the Welsh just happens to contain an even more gratuitous slur against some politicians they don't like:

• "Reagan and Weinberg tried to welsh on the defense cuts."

In this way, the samples do double duty as public-service announcements for the authors' political prejudices. We are told that writers "need to be sensitive to the inappropriate and trivial use of metaphorical language referring to sexual experience and sexual violation" and the sample quote is:

• "The already weakened Environmental Protection Agency was raped by the Reagan administration."

When we push aside the padding and the camouflage, *Guidelines* amounts to little more than indoctrination into the PC World View. In fact, it's not so much a style manual as a tableau of virtue starring the authors, who posture as caring, sensitive, altogether splendid human specimens. Typically, useful distinctions are blurred for fear of causing offense: "Designating countries as undeveloped or underdeveloped implies an evolutionary hierarchy of nations based on wealth, type of economy, and degree of industrialization. Developing nations is more widely accepted." But the task forcers still fret because all these expressions "connote 'backwardness' as well as 'progress.'" For countries changing rapidly, they finally settle on "newly industrialized country."

But, curiously, the authors show a fleeting glimmer of understanding: they notice that the "derogatory meanings" of these words have been "absorbed through use." Precisely—it's reality that gives them their meaning! But the task forcers seem to think that as words are employed to describe an imperfect world, they simply become soiled and corrupted by that imperfection. Used-up words need to be tossed out like so much paper-toweling, to be replaced by fresh, politically correct ones pulled off the roll—but these too will soon need to be discarded as they rub up against the world as it is.

Inevitably, any faintly archaic word is first in line for the incinerator. Writers are instructed "to be specific about national origin or ethnicity," yet the task forcers warn them off precise and useful words like Eurasian, "considered derogatory by many individuals." Likewise mulatto, "often considered offensive," is out. Both are to be subsumed into "person of mixed ancestry," a prissy, cumbersome coinage which would seem to describe nearly everyone in the U.S.

The task forcers often take their cues from the loopy minority group activists. Thus, we're told that it's "highly offensive" to use "mas-sacre...to refer to a successful American Indian raid or battle victory against white colonizers and invaders." And "illegal alien" is also offensive—we should use the "less pejorative... 'undocumented resident' or 'undocumented worker'" (after all, these are just persons "in the United States without a visa"—an innocent mistake, like leaving your driver's license in your other jacket).

Don't use "Far East"—it's Eurocentric. And don't get sucked in by the discovery myth, the "implicit assumption that lands, peoples, and cultures did not exist (in the Western Hemisphere) prior to the arrival of the Europeans." Thus, expressions such as Old World, New World, "Columbus discovered America," "the first settlers came in covered wagons" are oafish.

Picking one's way through the minefield of "disabilities and medical conditions" can cause an anxiety attack. The authors warn us off "able-bodied"—it can carry "an invidious distinction between persons so designated and those with dis-

abilities." "Normal" may be "similarly invidious."

"Birth defect" is out; "congenital disability" is in. So is "speech impairment" (don't use "stutter," "stammer," or "lisp"—they have "emotional connotations that are often inappropriate or misleading.") Mustn't use "the handicapped" because "converting adjectival forms into nouns reduces individuals to conditions or attaches disparaging labels to groups." "Disabled," we're told, is the most widely accepted adjective, but "some people" object to that as well. However "others accept it as a useful self-identifier similar to such words as blacks or gays (though some object to those words as well)." Are your palms getting sweaty? Any palpitations?

"Disabilities serve as metaphors in some stock phrases. Such expressions as deaf to our wishes or blind to the truth...may be inappropriate or unintentionally offensive." This time the authors offer no sample sentence, so I've provided one:

• "We recommended a hearing aid to Professor Post, who served in the Reagan cabinet before he was indicted, but our suggestion fell on deaf ears."

"Dwarf" is used in medical literature, but don't you try it. Its "pejorative connotations" make it "objectionable to many individuals, who recommend little person...person of short stature, or short-statured person." The term midget, once used to describe a "little person" with proportionate body growth, "is now considered derogatory."

Who besides the tin-eared task forcers can hear the phrase "person of short stature" without Randy Newman's jaunty tune starting up in the back of their brains? Doubtless the authors would defend themselves as honest brokers, merely communicating the wishes of dwarf activists. But that won't wash. Having hung out a shingle claiming expertise in word choice, they are obliged to exercise judgment. The Hippocratic oath of sensitivity doctors should be: First, make no one laugh.

Which brings us to "sexual orientation." Here laughs come less easily because the task forcers' bossiness takes on a harder edge and begins to feel like real coercion. Again it appears that only the views of radical activists found their way into *Guidelines*. We learn that there is "little agreement concerning clear, acceptable, non-derogatory terms" for homosexuality and bisexuality. Should "gay" be used to refer to both male and female homosexuality (as in "gays celebrate," "gay pride," etc.)? The authors bristle: "These usages are ambiguous and also objectionable because they subsume women under a gender-marked masculine term."

After four pages of in-house talk, we're finally led to the heart of the matter, maybe even the *raison d'être* of *Guidelines*: what to do about that rampant heterosexism out there. "[S]ensitive writers seek to avoid terms and statements implying or assuming that heterosexuality is the norm for sexual attraction (and hence homosexual attraction is 'deviant') and that all domestic arrangements are founded on a heterosexual union of two people." The task force's sample sentence

• "When a mother is employed, her husband may discover that his share of the childcare has increased."

Aside from another gratuitous PSA, did you catch that barefaced heterosexism, the benighted assumption that mothers have husbands? "Instead of husband, wife, or spouse, writers are encouraged to use...more inclusive terms [e.g., companion, partner]...; instead of marriage, they may employ terms such as committed relationship or primary relationship; and for marriage counseling, they may substitute couples therapy or relationship counseling."

Here is another sample sentence illustrating the general principle that writers "should likewise avoid phrasing that marginalizes individuals with a same-sex orientation"

• "AIDS education must extend beyond the gay male population to the general population."

To help us appreciate the insensitivity here, we're told to imagine the sentence with "black" substituting for "gay male." Note the sleight of hand, for where is the consensus that the minority status of blacks is in any important way comparable to that of gays? The question is begged; the authors have decided for us. (In fact, the status of the two groups is starkly different: Blacks look superficially different from the majority U.S. population but are fundamentally like them. Homosexuals look the same as the majority [heterosexual] population but are different in a way that is not superficial.)

The task forcers' strategy is to pretend that we're all in agreement on these matters, that only our language lags behind. So they sneak past unsettled and difficult questions that most of us are still pondering: What determines one's sexuality? Assuming (as many experts do) that sexual orientation for most people is immutable, what about the others, who seem to be sexually ambivalent, capable when young of going either way? For these, can environment and early experience be crucial determinants? If so, and given the advantages of being heterosexual, is it wise to treat gays and straights as equal in every way, thus denying children the cues that would lead them to heterosexuality?

With all the earnest talk about role models these days, why in any case are fathers so casually dispensed with? Knowing of the tragic effects of fatherlessness on inner-city kids, shouldn't we take a closer look at the importance of both parents in raising families? Do we dare dismantle—or even tinker with—the family structure that's been in place for thousands of years without fully understanding the consequences?

The task forcers' vaunted sensitivity does not extend to these widely-held concerns; and, of course, anyone whose religious beliefs are at odds with their orthodoxy is out of luck.

Guidelines is about far more than telling everyone how to be nice. It is an attempt to leapfrog the gradual give-and-take by which public opinion and language normally evolve in a free society. The authors think that by hounding and haranguing us into using words their way, we'll eventually think their way as well.

The puzzle about *Guidelines* is this: how can the AAUP board have associated itself with fringe PC foolishness, such as the ban on the words marriage, husband, etc.? The question is important because so many other prestigious educational organizations have gone the same way, including AAUW, ACE, AAC&U, and the other AAUP. The familiar first step down the slippery slope is the attempt to buy off the radicals by giving them a fiefdom of their own, in this case a "Task Force"—(but not a committee, for that would too obviously have to represent sentiment within the larger organization, which would then be held accountable for the committee's actions).

Alas, radicals are never so easily side-tracked. The AAUP task forcers produce *Guidelines* and want to go public, so now the board is forced to choose between endorsing its PC excesses and confronting the harpies who man the task force. The board tries to escape the choice by letting *Guidelines* be published as the work of the task force, ducking the question of AAUP board endorsement. (Inquiries about this are met with comments that put some distance between the board and *Guidelines*.) And they decline to publish it themselves, but instead invite their member presses to do so (Indiana University Press, less easily embarrassed, accepts the offer).

If the board imagines that by such maneuvering they are off the hook, let us introduce them to reality. A book with "AAUP" on its cover and dotted throughout its preface is the responsibility of the AAUP. By allowing *Guidelines* to be issued in their name, they disgrace themselves and the respected scholarly organization they claim to serve. The board members should ask themselves: was buying a quiet life really worth this national humiliation?

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THE VERY MODEL OF A MODERN COLLEGE ADMINISTRATOR

Chancellor Chuck

By Ben Boychuk

At the University of California in Los Angeles, more than 2,000 students celebrated "Indigenous People's Day" (Columbus Day to everyone else) last October 12 by rallying in support of affirmative action. The presence of 2,000 angry young people chanting "Pete Wilson, you liar, we'll set your ass on fire," got the attention of the press, but what got the attention of the UCLA community was the fact that UCLA Chancellor Charles Young not only did not attend the event but criticized the protest. Earlier that week, Young distributed a memorandum through the university's computer network calling the student action "counter-productive, causing people to harden their positions, not change them."

Joe Nevins, president of the Student Association of Graduate Employees, implored the assembled multitudes to continue the struggle for affirmative action and to oppose "Chuck Young and his country club cronies." Nevins declared: "Young may be our ally on [affirmative action], but he is not our friend."

It was a cruel cut. Among the University of California's nine chancellors, Young has been a better friend than most to student radicals. His bona fides within the politically correct university are unquestioned. As a young assistant chancellor in the 1960s, Young helped draft the totems and taboos of UCLA's current admission policies. He has been a vocal defender of affirmative action ever since.

In his 26 years as a representative of the radicalized academic establishment, Young has earned a reputation as the very model of the modern college administrator. He has also gained a reputation for personal arrogance, which, along with his obdurate liberalism, has alienated him from the UC Board of Regents, whose policies, especially in the recent about face on affirmative action, Young has criticized with biting sarcasm. (But not to *Heterodoxy*. He declined several requests to be interviewed for this story.)

When the Board of Regents began to discuss seriously the idea of phasing out race-based admission schemes early in 1995, Young furiously denounced the board in the press.

Last March, the *Los Angeles Times* published a story in which Young called Regent Ward Connerly, who is black, "a mouthpiece" for Governor Pete Wilson and compared Connerly to Jesse Helms.

Young apologized almost immediately for the remark, but his missile had left the silo. "Likening me to Jesse Helms, whose philosophy on most things is repugnant to me, is probably one of the greatest insults he could afford me," Connerly told the *Times*. Other observers saw the gaffe as yet more proof of the arrogance of academic power at the Westwood campus.

Charles Young was formally inaugurated as UCLA's chancellor on May 23, 1969. At 36, he was the youngest man to head a major American university.

Young's association with the University of California actually goes back much farther. In 1953, he transferred from San Bernardino Valley College to the newly-opened UC-Riverside, where he was very active in campus politics and was elected as the first student body president.

Political Science Professor Emeritus Arthur Campbell Turner, one of Riverside's found-

ing faculty, remembers Young as "a big man on campus," someone who had "a real gift for public relations."

Young enrolled at UCLA in 1955, where he earned his Ph.D in political science. Young hadn't even finished his dissertation before he joined the staff of legendary UC President Clark Kerr, where he distinguished himself early on as a highly competent bureaucrat—ambitious, capable, eager to please.



UCLA Chancellor Charles Young

His reputation preceded him. Young caught the attention of UCLA's renowned chancellor Franklin Murphy, who hired him on as an assistant to the chancellor in 1960. He soon became Murphy's protégé and rose through the ranks fairly quickly, never bothering to establish a teaching career, and was promoted to assistant chancellor in 1962 and, again a year later, to the number-two spot, vice chancellor for administration.

"He was basically Franklin Murphy's office boy," said one emeritus professor well-acquainted with university history. "But Murphy was so powerful and respected, that the regents didn't really question him when he chose Young as his successor." Young was rushed through the tenure track, without publishing a word and barely setting foot inside a classroom. (Years later, "just for kicks," a junior faculty member went scouting around for Young's personnel file. It was missing.) "I guess in a way I was groomed by my predecessor," Young told the student-run *Daily Bruin* in 1994. "I think he thought that's what he was doing, and I think he managed to pull it off. I don't think that would be possible today."

The years of Young's reign have given him plenty of time to establish a legacy. UCLA has grown into a top-10 research university. Its budget has expanded nearly tenfold, from \$170 million when he took office to \$1.6 billion today. Young also helped boost UCLA's world-class medical center, expand its library, and widen its private donation base to nearly \$400 million. Young's place in the pantheon of UCLA's chancellors is secure.

But because of his quick elevation, Young's immaturity and power mixed to provide a potent politically-outspoken narcissism. His conflicts with the UC Regents began almost as soon as he took office and his nearly three decades in office have

given him his share of scandals.

Beginning in the Seventies, he had to fend off charges of financial misconduct—a charge that would come again and again. He was cleared of alleged involvement in an embezzlement scheme by one of his associates who tried to pocket \$100,000 in private donations. Young also allowed alumni to pay for the rental of a summer beach house one year, his yacht club membership, and a Tahitian vacation. He was roundly criticized, but eventually exonerated of any wrongdoing.

And in 1975, Young ran into direct trouble with the law. His marriage was on the rocks—there were widespread rumors of infidelity—and he was drinking heavily. Finally, on June 18, 1975, Young wrapped his car around a tree near campus in the pre-dawn hours on the way home from a party. He was arrested on misdemeanor drunk driving and pleaded no contest. For his trouble, he got 10 days in the hospital with a broken jaw, 18 months probation, and a \$250 fine.

He survived it all because of his uncanny bureaucratic savvy.

He has avoided a personal rise and fall, but he has presided in his 26 years over UCLA's.

While he has helped build up the university materially, he has also presided over its academic degeneration. He came to power when UCLA was a hotbed of radicalism. One of the reasons for Young's perhaps premature appointment to the chancellorship, in fact, was his relative youth and the assumption that he could relate to the cultural revolution snake dancing through the Westwood campus.

When student radicals occupied his office in 1969, the sympathetic chancellor tried to establish a peaceful coexistence by appeasing the protestors. Some of his colleagues believe that in the Cold War between students and the academic status quo, Young opted for unilateral disarmament. "Nineteen-seventy-one to 1974 was pretty dumbfounding," Young once told the *Daily Bruin*. "Sixty-eight and '69 were pretty dumbfounding. As a matter of fact, my inauguration, May 23, 1969, and the period a week or two leading up to that and a week or two after was, I think, one of the three worst periods in the history of the student activist. The campus was in turmoil during the People's Park demonstrations at Berkeley. The next year was Angela Davis and Penn State, Laos, Cambodia...it was tough. Let me tell you, it was tough."

But Young, an avatar of the new breed of university administrator who resembled a cross between Saul Alinsky and Neville Chamberlain, could not bring himself to allow police to disperse demonstrators who had occupied the administration building at the height of the Vietnam War protests. He denounced the use of National Guard troops against student rioters at UC-Berkeley when things got out of control at People's Park. "He was pretty much a standard-issue liberal," says Alan Bock. Now an editorial writer at the *Orange County Register*, Bock was active in the UCLA College Republicans in the 1960s. He remembers how he and his buddies tried to block demonstrators from taking over the administrative building yet again. "They [the administration] didn't seem too happy that we were there," Bock chuckles.

Young had been chancellor for a little less than a year when he was thrust into a controversy that threatened to derail his career for good.

At issue was the appointment of communist and black militant Angela Davis to UCLA's philosophy department. "There was hardly a day I was free from the Angela Davis issue from July 1969 to June 1970," the chancellor recently recalled. "It was very stressful, personally and institutionally."

In the summer of 1969, a faculty hiring committee in the department of philosophy voted seven-to-six to recommend Davis for a one-year appointment as an assistant professor. Despite the marginal recommendation, Young granted her appointment and Davis was assigned courses on Immanuel Kant and dialectical materialism.

In response, the UC Regents, following the lead of Governor Ronald Reagan to try to bring order to the academic chaos consuming California's universities, reacted with fury. Only a few months earlier, the board had tried and failed to strong arm another UC chancellor, San Diego's William McGill, into rejecting the extension of another year-long lectureship to radical Marxist Herbert Marcuse, who was Davis' mentor. This made the Davis appointment even more symbolic. On September 19, 1969, the Regents voted to terminate Davis.

The ensuing academic furor attracted national attention. Faculty senates throughout the university system were nearly unanimous in their condemnation of the regents' action. UCLA philosophy department Chairman Donald Kalish overrode the regents' decision and assigned Davis to substitute for another professor who received a last-minute research grant. The regents, in turn, voted in emergency session to allow Davis to lecture for no class credit and then fired her again.

Some Regents wanted to get rid of Young along with Davis. "The reason he didn't get fired at that time was very simple," says Regent Glenn Campbell. "We thought it would probably hurt Ronald Reagan's chances for re-election as governor."

The Angela Davis affair earned Young a reputation as a stalwart defender of academic freedom. But less than a year before Young went to the mat for Davis, he sold out another faculty member, who just happened to be on the other side of the political spectrum. From 1968 to 1969, Economics Department Chairman William R. Allen found himself under fire from the Black Student Union, which demanded he hire some black professors. Allen was vilified in the campus press by student radicals, and at one point, a bomb was placed in front of his office door. The fuse had been lit, but went out.

Allen could find no solace with his colleagues in the academic senate, who actually sought to have him censured, or with the chancellor. "He was a tower of Jello, no use at all," Allen recalls of Young.

Addressing the academic senate after the bomb was discovered by Allen's door, Young weakly denounced the scare tactics employed by the BSU, but offered no remedy.

Seeing that his bread was buttered on the left side was what made Young an avatar for the coming age.

Young's vision of the university is typical of most college presidents today in that he sees multiculturalism as the wave of the future and the mission of a campus like UCLA as educating leaders for a multicultural society. Ward Connerly says that some of the chancellors have approached him privately and expressed their support for the regents' decision. But not Young. He's a true believer, and diversity is his mantra.

"Chancellor Young has based his whole professional life on affirmative action," says local attorney Allan Favish. "Now he's seeing a majority of the state move away from this position he has been advocating all these years, and he is still doing what he has always done. He just doesn't get it." Favish sued the University of California in June for fraudulent advertising after he discovered, through painstaking statistical analysis, that the university reserved 20-25 percent of its incoming law and medical school classes for racial minorities. As a result, the admissions officers often have to dip into the B- and C-student pool to meet their "quota."

Favish's interest in the UC's race-based

admissions policies began two years ago, when he sued the UCLA law school under California's public information law for its admissions data, specifically the grade-point average, LSAT scores, and race of its 1993 freshman class. He sent his findings to Young, but never heard back from him.

According to Young, in 1980, California high school graduating class was 69 percent white, 15 percent Latino, five percent Asian, and nine percent black. That same year, UCLA's freshman class was 67 percent white, six percent Latino, 21 percent Asian, and five percent black. This year, Young reported to the faculty, the high school graduating class is about 46 percent white, 31 percent Latino, 14 percent Asian, and seven percent black. UCLA's 1994 freshman class was 29 percent white, 19 percent Latino, 44 percent Asian, and seven percent black.



UCLA Students protest Affirmative Actions Cuts

Young attributes the changes over the last 15 years to the university's diversity efforts.

In their interview with Young in 1994, the *Daily Bruin's* editors took Young to task for failing to walk the walk on diversity when it came to filling administrative positions. Young became defensive. "While it has not been as diverse as I would like to see it, there's quite a bit of diversity. I look around, right around here there's [a woman] next door and there's one over there. So that the two top, one might argue of the four top people in the campus administrative structure at the moment, two are women. That's fairly good if you look around at the [upper administration], again, one of those women is black. There's another member down the hall who is black."

So devoted is Young to diversifying his administrative staff that he has often plucked candidates from academic positions long before they are ripe. Some of Young's top administrators, including departing Executive Vice-Chancellor Andrea Rich, and Graduate Dean Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, did not have tenure when they were appointed.

Young thinks he is standing on the highest principal in his support of affirmative action.

In the heat of the moment, Young sometimes pushes the rhetoric further suggesting a long, hot semester if affirmative action is dismantled. "I can tell you if we hadn't [established affirmative action]," Young told the *Los Angeles Times*, "it wouldn't [just] be an occasional uprising in South Central Los Angeles or midtown Detroit. If we had not been doing what we have been doing for the last 25 years, this place would be a shambles."

Regent Ward Connerly feels that this sort of talk is irresponsible as well as puerile. "I told Chuck that I think that kind of statement legitimizes the people who riot. And I think he is flat

out wrong. The fact is, the people who are benefiting from affirmative action aren't the ones who riot. They are the sons and daughters of the privileged—the middle class. The people who riot don't even know what affirmative action is. Chuck Young is living in another era. The dynamics have changed considerably in the last 30 years. He is stuck with the notion that diversity and excellence can co-exist. Well, the primary role of the university is to educate. Diversity should be allowed to flourish naturally, not artificially."

Young's reputation for having a sharp tongue, along with allegations of womanizing, may have cost him the UC presidency three years ago. Young was considered a top candidate for the \$243,500-a-year job when David Gardner stepped down in 1992. (That actually would have represented a pay cut for Young. He made \$260,026 in 1994—not including a \$162,920 payout from a special deferred compensation program that was discontinued after public outcry over ex-UC President David Gardner's \$2 million golden parachute.)

Behind the scenes, California Governor Pete Wilson reportedly made it known to the board early on that Young was not an acceptable candidate for the presidency. Wilson considered Young, "a career suck-up, a lifer," according to a former aide to the governor who asks not to be identified. "In light of the way [Young] acted in public, his career of public displays, there was no way [Wilson] was going to let him be president."

According to an university official close to the selection process, many of the regents simply didn't like Young.

The regents shocked the state and the university by selecting UC Riverside Chancellor Jack W. Peltason instead. Peltason, who stepped down this past summer, was considered by many observers as a transitional president and dismissed by many students as a tool of the regents.

Young was said to be bitterly disappointed by the whole affair, however graciously he tried to seem in public. But his real feelings came to the fore in March 1995. "I did want [to be president]. I think I should have been," he told the *Los Angeles Times*. "But now there are too many bridges—too many bad feelings."

Young likes to boast of the fact that he is opposed by "the nuts of the left and the nuts of the right." But his posture as a centrist is possible only because the center of gravity of the university has dramatically shifted, in part because of his own efforts, during the last quarter century and what seems centrist on the campus today is actually far left by a prior era's definition. Twenty-six years after Young's ascension to power, the anti-intellectual forces which disrupted the university in the sixties and seventies have settled comfortably into the university establishment. Young did nothing to stop those forces. If anything, he left the door open to them. Only now, as the tide turns against those forces (and against affirmative action, in particular) does Young raise his voice.

Glenn Campbell, a fixture among the regents for as long as Young has been chancellor, figures that Young's days are numbered at UCLA. "What needs to be done, other than pensioning Chuck off?...Replacing him," Campbell says. "It'll happen in due course...He's getting too big for his britches." Campbell says that he hopes Young will "gracefully retire" sometime soon.

Until that happens, Charles Young will continue to milk his position as the elder statesman of American university officials. He was once considered the first of a new breed of administrator, but because of his opposition to attempts to reform the radical atmosphere he helped to nourish, he might eventually be better compared to the apparatchiks who held on to the bitter end during the final days of the Soviet Union—stubborn, myopic, unable to acknowledge the failure of the old ways.

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Left Colonizes the NET, continued from page 1

non-profits. HandsNet members include many prominent liberal interests: Families USA (the driving force behind Hillary's Clinton Care); the Alliance for Justice (the Bork bashers); the First Lady's old haunt, the Children's Defense Fund; the Child Welfare League of America; and the guardians of political corruption, OMB Watch, which was founded in 1983 to oppose the Reagan administration's efforts to end taxpayer-subsidized lobbying.

HandsNet itself is a member of a larger left-wing structure on the Internet. The Institute for Global Communications (IGC), an arm of the radical Tides Foundation, works in partnership with HandsNet to deliver the liberal message on the information superhighway. IGC is perhaps the central figure in the radical organizing of the World Wide Web. Under its auspices, the Web has been infiltrated by some of the most radical groups in the nation. Members include *People's Weekly World* (the official publication of the Communist Party USA), the Democratic Socialists of America, Essential Information (Ralph Nader's online activism arm), and Pacifica Radio (the hard-left arm of National Public Radio).

IGC organizes itself into five separate divisions: LaborNet, PeaceNet, EcoNet, WomensNet, and ConflictNet. EcoNet represents the radical environmentalists and is one of the more thoroughly developed portions of the network. The Sierra Club aggressively markets its material and operates a large electronic mailing list. Often the Sierra Club will put out three or more mailings a week with up-to-the-minute legislative information, accompanied by clear action items. The Natural Resources Defense Council also provides electronic updates to those who join their list, but their information is less frequent, less timely, and less direct.

Other content on the EcoNet at IGC slides much farther to the extreme left. For example, one of the members is the EcoJustice Network, a group that screams about what it calls "environmental racism" and the need to achieve "environmental justice." Another member that promotes that same agenda is Environmental Action, a child of the original Earth Day movement. The EA site demonstrates the partnership among disparate interests on the Left, as they tout their success in "thwarting" the Clinton administration's attempts to reduce welfare spending on the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program. (Ironically, the funds from this program may fund what the environmental movement might consider "dirty" fuels.)

For the feminists, IGC offers WomensNet, a collection of liberal groups and resources, including an IGC-maintained site dedicated to the recent women's conference in Beijing. Here one can find a wide array of information, including news, documents, and names of participants, related to this controversial gathering. Another facet of WomensNet is a group called Virtual Sisterhood. Its proclaimed mission is to promote the use of electronic communications to facilitate aggressive feminist activism.

IGC serves as the nucleus of action for liberal interests on the Internet because it provides a forum for communication. More than any other conservative or liberal site on the web, IGC

provides the direct services needed to launch a successful activism campaign on the Internet. They have managed to pull together under their banner most of the prominent left-wing groups in the nation, and virtually all of the ones located in cyberspace.

One of the most potent tools the liberals have learned to use on the Internet is electronic

Moreover, left-wing groups often seem to be inextricably tied to the university cyber-culture. The Democratic Socialists of America, for example, maintain their World Wide Web site on computers provided by the University of Chicago and operate a mailing list out of San Diego State University. While the universities no doubt would deny editorial control of the information, there is clearly a strong relationship that caused DSA (among many others) to work through the academic community to communicate their message online.

The most troubling aspect of the involvement of the university community in the online activism environment is that the cost of cyberspeech for groups like the Democratic Socialists may be subsidized. The Left has a habit of funding its radical activities through the use of coerced dollars—union dues, taxpayers' money, student activity fees—that suggests parents may be subsidizing radical causes when they pay Johnny's tuition.

The Democrats, Social Democrats, Democratic Socialists, and Communists in the United States all maintain active Internet sites. As if by some immutable law, as the sites move further to the Left, their quality suffers a noticeable decline. The Democratic National Committee, for instance, maintains a regularly-updated site that promotes the DNC's agenda and lashes out aggressively at Republicans, particularly House Speaker Newt Gingrich. The DNC has taken advantage of the interactive nature of the World Wide Web by developing an online game whereby the user plays a mock Hangman-style game. It results in the user spelling the word "hypocrite" and a stick figure with a photo of the Speaker's face being hanged. This sort of "humor" is accompanied by active mar-

keting of the Democratic agenda with special attention to the Republican efforts to reform Medicare.

At the site of the Democratic Socialists of America, one can find a wealth of information about DSA, including summaries of their beliefs, newsletter articles on major recent events, and left-wing resources online. The volume of data available from DSA makes clear their commitment to using information-age resources to deliver their radical message to current and potential party members. The Communist Party of the USA, on the other hand, provides only a smattering of resources, including the principles of their party, the radical changes they propose for the American economy, and articles from *People's Weekly World*.

Union activists can turn to LaborNet on IGC as a locator for extreme views. One prominent featured member is New Vision. According to this site, the National Association of Letter Carriers was "once militant" but now has developed an unhealthy relationship with the Postal Service. The mission of New Vision is to aggressively fight the NALC leadership and drag it further to the activist Left. Other hard-left activism is featured on the LaborNet calendar of events, where activists can find out where the next picket line will be set up or when the next Washington protest will be held.

Among the left-wing media online, *Mother Jones* magazine has begun to blaze trails about how to marry the printed version with the cyberspace edition. To increase the value of the



mailing lists. They understand that this is a low- or no-cost way of communicating quickly with a large number of people. While many conservatives still rely on slow, costly fax alerts (or worse—regular mail), the liberals aggressively market their message through e-mail. Two of the largest (and most radical) lists are based at Berkeley and the University of Missouri. These two universities operate LEFTNEWS and the Activist List, respectively, which serve as forums for radical groups to get their message out.

Although the university computers provide the means for communication, the messages are far from academic. A range of information, from the latest articles in the communist *People's Weekly World* to the latest Children's Defense Fund action alerts, flows in regularly to subscribers. Just a few months ago, a significant portion of the traffic related to the aggressive online campaign to "Free Mumia" (the Philadelphia cop-killer who claims to be a political prisoner). The value of this information flow cannot be underestimated. Communications with the grassroots is critical to the success of the Left's agenda.

Universities play a larger role than simply providing a forum for electronic messaging, however. Many of the on-campus projects initiated by students, faculties, or other affiliated groups and operated on the Internet reflect the traditional liberal stereotype of academia. Virtually every campus supplies information about student and/or faculty gay and lesbian societies, while finding, say, a College Republican chapter on the Internet is indeed a challenge.

site, the magazine's Web page (called the MoJo Wire) combines text from the printed articles as well as other information and discussion forums. In light of the year-old Republican takeover of Capitol Hill, much of the publication's vitriol (online and off) is directed at Congress.

One feature offered by the MoJo Wire is the Coin-Op Congress, which provides breakdowns of the campaign financing of members of Congress. *Mother Jones* has essentially taken the FEC database of donors and classified donations from political action committees (PACs) based on broad industry categories. The Coin-Op Congress also examines the financing of GOPAC, Speaker Gingrich's old platform for developing grassroots Republican candidates. A recent addition to Coin-Op is an examination of stock ownership by members of Congress and the relationship between these holdings and their votes on related issues.

While the Left aggressively promotes its agenda in cyberspace, conservatives are left largely on the sidelines. The Right has no driving financial force, no major organizer, and no serious plan for entering the information superhighway. Despite the public attention to the World Wide Web and Newt's romance with the Next

Wave, conservatives have not mastered the art of the Internet. Unlike the Left, conservatives have no extensive mailing lists dedicated to promoting an ideological agenda. The only major electronic mailing service on the Right is maintained by one young man who has taken it upon himself to help get the word out through a list called C-NEWS.

At the national party level, this same inadequacy is displayed. The Republican National Committee finally jumped on the Internet a few months ago, but their site is poorly organized and lacks the solid content and message development that characterizes the Democratic alternative.

On the Right, the closest thing to the Institute for Global Communications is Town Hall, a group of conservative think tanks, advocacy groups, and publications. Headlining this site are *National Review* magazine and the Heritage Foundation. Other participants include Jack Kemp's Empower America, Americans for Tax Reform, and Newt Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation. While many of these sites are more aesthetically pleasing and they begin to form the nucleus of a conservative alternative on the Internet, they do not match the sophistication and understanding of liberal interests on the Web. Even the congressional information cen-

ter on the Internet, the Library of Congress' "Thomas" system, falls behind the White House. While Thomas serves both parties on the Hill, the non-partisan provision of information does not match what Clinton and Gore put out. Although Speaker Newt Gingrich has repeatedly stressed his support for an active role for the Congress on the Internet as an information provider, the crush of work associated with the Contract With America and the drive for a balanced budget has forced the information age to take a back seat to the age of politics as usual.

Conservatives could face serious consequences if they fall too far behind in the drive to master new technology. The critical moment for the impact of the Internet in politics may be a few years off, but if the Right does not generate a strong cadre of experts today, while the technology is young, it cannot be sure of staying competitive down the road.

Conservatives may one day catch up, but for now Bill Clinton and Karl Marx are the Captain Kirk and Mister Spock of cyberspace, boldly going where no one has gone before.

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Wiring the World of Media Studies

By Laurence Jarvik

Late last year, I attended an international conference to chart the future of media studies in the age of the Internet and the World Wide Web. The site of the event, MIT, was appropriate. Originally founded as a land-grant college in the aftermath of the Civil War, and later a close collaborator with America's largest corporations in developing technology used in computing, including Norbert Wiener's concept of "cybernetics," MIT became the center of what was called, in the 1960s, "the military-industrial complex."

Today, however, MIT is best known among many academics for being home to the ultra-left Noam Chomsky, publisher of a variety of post-structuralist works through MIT Press, including the crypto-Marxist journal *October*. The university is also celebrated as the location of the left-wing Media Lab, headed by Nicholas Negroponte.

Although in fact it was largely funded by defense department and corporate grants, the Media Lab is now ironically the darling of what remains of the counterculture—thanks to puffery by Stewart Brand, founder of the original Whole Earth Catalog and left-leaning online offshoot called the WELL (Whole Earth 'Electronic Link). Brand wrote a book about the Media Lab. In it he took the view that the Media Lab would bring the reality of Virtual Reality to America in short order.

Indeed, the online cyberspace universe of Virtual Reality has become for 90s hipsters what psychedelic drugs were to their 60s predecessors. Many of the same people who were involved then are involved now: John Perry Barlow, Timothy Leary, and Stewart Brand himself, to name just a few. (As any connoisseur of 60s arcana knows, LSD was developed and tested as a possible weapon in the Cold War by the CIA, just as the Defense Advanced Projects Research Agency helped develop and test the Internet.)

While Cambridge was one pole for the acid-trippers of the Sixties, the other pole was San Francisco. So just as the Bay Area maga-

zine *Rolling Stone* was the Bible to the turned-on generation, the turned-on, dropped-out, plugged-in hipsters, so the Bay Area magazine *Wired* would be for their successors in cyberspace. Instead of profiles of rock stars, *Wired* features interviews with software and hardware developers, portraying them with the awe that Jann Wenner used to portray Jerry Garcia and Mick Jagger. Among the founders of *Wired* was Nicholas Negroponte of MIT's Media Lab, who can safely be said to be the Timothy Leary of cyberspace: promoter, developer, professor, and prophet.

The cultivated hipness of *Wired* is what gives it a cult following among cybernauts everywhere of all political stripes. Although many of its articles are extremely technical reviews of interest only to a small audience, the journal has the look and feel of a fashion magazine. It's not just a matter of gigabytes and circuitry to *Wired* readers; it is a way of life.

One of the attitudes being promoted by *Wired* is the Sixties view of the world as an adversarial us/them culture. The bad police, who used to bust kids for drugs and protest, are now depicted as menacing the freedom of the Internet, busting kids for hacking, pornography, and spying. The magazine maintains the Sixties double standard intact for "privacy" of obscene and possibly seditious material while against "censorship" of proprietary documents used by business and government.

The new cyber counterculture, like its predecessor, is backed by millionaire capitalists. What film, record, and concert producers were to the Sixties, multimedia software developers are to the Nineties. And like *Rolling Stone* of yesteryear, *Wired* sees itself as a gatekeeper of hipness. In a recent feature it stigmatized what was "tired" (*60 Minutes*, etc.) and boosted what was truly "wired" (*TV Nation*, etc.)

Readers who remember *The Greening of America* can decipher the agenda here. In the 1960s DuPont, Dow Chemical, martinis, and Richard Nixon were "tired," while Capitol Records, Levi Strauss, dope, and George McGovern were "wired." Thus is a developing technology and the natural interest in the field hijacked for political purposes, through the seemingly harmless pastime of making "in"

and "out" lists.

Because of such posturing, many conservatives have responded by blaming the new technology rather than its users. (A recent issue of *The Standard* even argued a neo-Luddite position of "Smash the Internet" in a cover story.) Thus, because the excitement is clearly on the left side of the spectrum, among *Wired*'s fans are many of the more up-to-date Newt-onians on Capitol Hill. Lee Atwater's "rock-and-roll Republicans"—who might have once been jamming with B.B. King—are now more likely to be cybernauts surfing the World Wide Web. For example, the Progress and Freedom Foundation, Newt Gingrich's favorite think tank, hosted a "Cyberspace Summit" in Aspen, Colorado, which brought together Beltway pundits, executives from the computer industry, and members of the public. Mike Vlahos, a scholar at the Progress and Freedom Foundation, wrote a brilliant study of the "virtual city" of the future and what it means for politics and society, which was widely circulated in Washington. Among those who were speaking about the cultural consequences of the Internet at the event were *Wired* contributors John Perry Barlow and Esther Dyson, alongside conservative futurists like George Gilder.

The influence of *Wired* could also be seen at this MIT conference, whose formal title was "The Future of Media Studies." The conference was held near the beginning of the academic year, to plan for the academic study of cyberspace. But while the Progress and Freedom Foundation had placed plenty of leftist thinkers on its Aspen program, the organizers of the MIT event—perhaps a defining moment in the creation of a new academic discipline of "Internet Studies"—found room on its list of 26 panelists for only a single representative of the computer industry: Robert Metcalfe, developer of the Ethernet, founder of 3Com Corporation, and columnist for *Infoworld*, a computer trade publication. (Apparently, MIT was seeking money from computer companies to support its new "media studies" program.)

Metcalfe was treated with extreme politeness and respect—unlike Newt Gingrich, who in absentia was the butt of jokes from the

panelists. One speaker even tried to insult traditional academics by saying that they were guilty "of scholarly complicity with Gingrich and Limbaugh." (Yet, of course, the Speaker of the House is perhaps as big a champion of cyberspace as any other public figure today, and Limbaugh has his own CompuServe site).

For the most part, the pitches made by professors during the two-day pow-wow were filled with advocacy of the "post-colonial," "feminist," "multiculturalist," and "queer studies" approaches considered chic in the contemporary academy. The opening shot was delivered by MIT professor Henry Jenkins, author of a study of Groucho Marx, who declared to the assembled that "PBS is going down the tubes." He then asked rhetorically, "Where were we?" And answered, "I found myself locked out of a hearing room on Capitol Hill." Jenkins felt that one problem was that the Society for Cinema Studies wasn't involved in the congressional hearings. The absence of film professors from the congressional debate was an occasion to rethink the field, he felt, and begin to understand the importance of the Internet and the World Wide Web. That episode was a reason to face the "challenging prospect for graduate instruction in media studies at MIT."

After that opening shot, the conference became a parade of academic fashions. First on the runway were the "tired" fashions, a nostalgia collection of yesteryear. Reminiscing about the early days of the Society for Cinema Studies in the 1950s were Leo Braudy of USC, Robert Sklar of NYU, and Janet Staiger of the University of Texas. This opening session captured—in microcosm—the essence of the field of media studies as it grappled with the Internet. Namely, the challenge was how to continue the recent neo-Marxist agenda of film and television studies—unchallenged until the 1994 elections—in relation to the World Wide Web and the Internet.

Leo Braudy remembered growing up in Philadelphia and fondly recalled attending "Communist Party showings of *Potemkin*" among other highlights of his youth. At Yale, Braudy remembered, the field of film studies developed informally as "part of the 60s counterculture," combining an interest in "autobiography, politics, and emotion" antagonistic to New Criticism and Logical Positivism. According to Braudy, film studies were part of an anti-establishment posture which included marching against American involvement in Vietnam, putting comic books into traditional course curricula, and promoting other "cutting edge" and "experimental" work.

The growth of film studies as an academic discipline in the 1970s, Braudy argued, was due to "conferences supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities," which gave an official "imprimatur to what was not yet a discipline." Consolidation took place because of "NEH Summer Seminars" and the 1973 conference at Northwestern University on "Film in the University." These gatherings impressed university administrators of the seriousness of the field and spawned the many programs found today, programs which grew out of the "Society of Cinematologists" and now needed to confront the contemporary situation.

Robert Sklar followed Braudy with an explication of the relevance of Michel Foucault to the field of media studies and the importance of his method to the politics and studies of "discourse." Using Foucaultian terminology for the description of power relations in the field, Sklar called on the assembled to embrace Noam Chomsky as a theoretician of media

held that popular culture was a form of resistance to dominant ideological hegemony. Therefore, studying popular culture was a form of studying "resistance" and strengthening such resistance at the same time. This explains the current emphasis on "gay-lesbian-bisexual-transgendered studies."

On the second day of the conference, Robert Stam, another professor from NYU, pulled the themes of the conference together by making the case for the incorporation of the Internet into media studies. Cyberspace was an important site for the "multiculturalist project." Paraphrasing Italian Communist boss Antonio Gramsci, he said he had "pessimism of the hardware, optimism of the software." Presently, the academic world of film studies was "Eurocentric" and "Hollywood-centric." The development of the Internet would provide an opportunity for "de-ghettoization of Third World Cinema" and allow scholars to combat the "neoconservative" by showing the "multiculturalism in Shakespeare."

With the help of technological developments, teachers of media studies can "shuttle constantly between the mainstream and oppositional." In addition, "media teachers become activist programmers" who "use media jiu jitsu" to "turn the dominant media against themselves."

Will the "computer-stylo" replace the "camera-stylo" as a tool for revolution, Stam wondered aloud, referring to Communist propaganda techniques used during the Russian Revolution. The "constructed...virtual gaze...of morphing cyborgs" could be "harnessed for multicultural pedagogy" to

expose "race/class/gender stratification."

What all this was about, according to Stam, was not merely descriptions of the world. The point, rather, is "to promote change" and activate the "progressive potential" of an "electronic text galvanizing dead white males." Through "morphing," one could take classic films and "switch the race and gender" of the characters. For example, "substitute Dorothy Dandridge for Elizabeth Taylor in *Cleopatra*." In addition to recasting films, the technology gives the opportunity to film scholars for "re-scripting and re-editing" pictures. Here Stam suggested that a classic Western "be rewritten from the Hopi perspective."

However, he warned, despite his rosy predictions for the cyberspace future of media scholarship, "nothing guarantees a progressive outcome." Therefore great attention must be paid in pedagogy and scholarship. An example would be a case where a scholar interacted with a classic film in order to "interrupt a character to better respond to socially generated oppression." That is, scholars should insert themselves in films (no doubt in Brechtian fashion) to prevent counterrevolutionary messages from getting through.

Such is the future media scholars are planning for cyberspace as outlined at the MIT Conference on Media Studies: brainwashing students, vandalizing classic Hollywood films, and promoting multiculturalism through the latest in cyberspace technology.

O, Brave New World!



MIT

studies. Sklar declared that there had been a "blockage" of Chomsky's ideas by academics loyal to de Saussure, educated at the International Center for Film Studies in Paris, but that after May 1968 and the acceptance of Lacan and Althusser that surely Chomsky as a prominent scholar of the New Left was one whose "displacement" deserved "scrutiny" in the newly emerging media scholarship.

What occurred after May 1968, according to Sklar, was the use of state power to block "any progressive movement for change." Instead of a unified progressive movement, what followed was a series of smaller movements against "Vietnam... imperialism... racism..." and concentrating on issues such as "feminism" and "gay and lesbian studies." The "radical caucuses" were fighting battles against what Sklar called "the entrenched conservative-liberal establishment." And so cinema studies, which was struggling to become accepted at universities, toned down the radical nature of the task which had been present at the outset.

Janet Staiger rounded out the session with references to Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*, Frederic Jameson, post-modernism, Christian Metz's "voyeuristic sadism," and "epistimophilis." She actually said *Psycho*'s Norman Bates ended up in a cell because the rest of society could not understand him, and she drew an analogy to putting "intellectuals" into categories "in order to control them."

Staiger said that the original argument for the study of mass culture was that such pedagogy would help inoculate youth against its effects. Further, he said that radical politics



Lost in Space, continued from page 1

frontiers of space to enrich knowledge and benefit humanity." It states proudly, "We pursue our vision and carry out our mission with a commitment to excellence in both what we do and how we do it."

Not content to rest on its considerable laurels, the Jet Propulsion Lab is planning, in a rough paraphrase of the Star Trek mission statement, to "focus our talents and resources in science, technology, and engineering on achieving that which no one has done before." One of those projects is a mission to Pluto, on the outermost reaches of the solar system, which the lab holds a mandate to explore. The Pluto Express Project, which will surely involve the most exacting science in the history of human thought, will also "inspire the public with the wonder of space."

To that end, JPL has been devoting more emphasis to educational projects that promote both the lab's various space probes and space science in general.

Given these exacting themes, it would seem that JPL would be immune to the culture wars which wrack the non-rocket-scientist part of America. And yet, in a bizarre development, the educational outreach section of the Pluto Project has recruited an all-star squad of anti-science ideologues, including one who calls Newton's Principles of Mathematics a "rape manual," and a Marxist "socialist feminist" who espouses violent revolution and believes that men should both lactate and bear children. One expects the average faculty lounge to resonate with such talk, but piping such rhetoric into Jet Propulsion Lab is like the Delta Force suddenly being given a lecture by Quakers in the middle of a mission.

In fact, besides bringing anti-science feminists into the Pluto Project, JPL has also become a quagmire of political correctness equal to anything on the most radical campus, doing its best to make science and technology conform to racial quotas and preferences. How this happened to an institution such as this one is part of the larger story, the assault on standards now challenging our intellectual life as a nation.

The JPL has its origins in the late 1930s when professor Theodore Von Karman and some of his whiz-bang students from the California Institute of Technology began experiments in rocket propulsion in the arroyo north of Pasadena. Those humble beginnings grew into Caltech's Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory (GAL), which in 1944 contracted with the U.S. Army to develop long-range missiles. The GAL became the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in 1958, and shortly after Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, JPL slipped from under the military's wing to NASA's well-feathered nest. There JPL became a magnet for the nation's brightest and best as the U.S. scrambled to overtake and surpass the Soviets after the embarrassment over Sputnik. The lab proved more than up to the task, serving as a major player in the Ranger and Surveyor missions to the moon and virtually every space project.

Still a part of Caltech, JPL now employs 7,300 people with an annual budget of \$1 billion to pursue its mandate of solar system exploration, earth observation, astrophysical research, and technology development. Strictly speaking, the American people do not receive much practical payoff for the massive investment in space science. To be sure, some advanced materials and circuitry from the space program find some consumer and industrial applications, but the pickings are thin when judged by the massive investment. The section of the NASA press kit dealing with "technological benefits derived from Galileo" is a single paragraph touting camera devices and radiation resistant components. NASA's vaunted space station has already consumed \$11 billion in the design stage and has been denounced as a fiscal black hole by Republicans and Democrats alike. The multi-billion, over-budget Hubble Space Telescope, which required additional repairs in space, practically defines the term boondoggle. Shuttle flights are now so common that the space program has even lost much of its power as a propaganda tool to convince the public that the gov-

ernment possesses superior wisdom.

But the threats NASA faces from without are equalled by those it faces from within. For reasons yet unknown, scientific ability is not distributed according to the ethnic breakdown of the population. But since it is part of the government, NASA must reckon with the PC agenda, and current management, hungry for approval, appears happy to oblige by transforming the agency and its subsidiaries into a social and education program with standard brand "diversity" and "multicultural" emphases. The organization's managers are as willing as university administrators to go with the PC flow.

After a 25-year career in the space division of TRW, Dan Goldin became the ninth administrator of NASA in 1992. His official bio notes that Goldin "identified the environmental monitoring to be done through NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, as one of the agency's most important programs." This has been a favorite theme of Al Gore, an ecological fundamentalist who wants to convert the nation's spy satellites into environmental monitors.

The bio also cites Goldin for having expanded opportunities for poor and disadvantaged businesses, a euphemism for the race-and-gender-based preference policies he has put in place. Under his quota system, "disadvantaged"—that is, minority status—has become a positive advantage at NASA.

Goldin began his career at NASA's Lewis Research Center in Cleveland in 1962, which gives him some common ground with Ohio Democratic Congressman Louis Stokes, the 24-year veteran of the House who has pushed for minority scholarships at the CIA and NSA and chaired the VA-HUD appropriations subcommittee that includes NASA. A congressional staffer who asks not to be identified says that Stokes, in return for supporting the big-ticket space station, insisted that Goldin push minority set-asides and racial emphases in the space program. JPL administrators told this staffer that Goldin had demanded that they increase set-aside programs because they were vital in securing funds.

At teachers' conferences around the country, NASA has distributed thousands of copies of a poster titled, NASA Superstars of Science. Though NASA claims to be a champion of diversity, every person in the poster is black, including the teacher and students pictured below the supposed superstars. To be sure, some of those depicted boast impressive credentials. Every student would do well to emulate chemist James King, for instance, who holds a Ph.D. from Caltech and is in charge of 4,000 scientists, engineers, and technicians at JPL, or astrophysicist George Carruthers who holds a Ph.D. in aeronautical and astronautical engineering. But the poster also includes Lonnie Reid, a mechanical engineer, physician Irene Long, and even a psychologist, Patricia Cowlings. Though they may be competent professionals, it is something of a stretch to call these latter three choices "superstars of science."

Ed Stone, now director of JPL, was project scientist for Voyager and other missions. But by new NASA standards, in which there are already too many white males, Stone lacks the ethnic standards for scientific superstardom. The brilliant Moustafa Chahine, JPL's chief scientist since 1984, also fails to make the grade. The same was true for Caltech's Olga Taussky-Todd, a world-renowned math professor specializing in algebraic number and matrix theories, who was the first to point out the connection between abstract algebra and topology. Though a walking refutation of the notion that women can't do math, she too failed to qualify as a superstar.

The recent Supreme Court *Adarand* decision expresses severe doubt about the legitimacy of race-conscious programs, not merely the mechanisms that government uses to implement them. But NASA tendered its own minority dissent. "The *Adarand* decision is a far cry from ruling that any federal program assisting small disadvantaged businesses is unconstitutional," said a NASA statement. "It merely makes the justification more difficult."

Shortly after the decision, JPL held a workshop supporting its disadvantaged business

program. In late October, the Department of Justice ordered the Department of Defense to cease its "rule of two," a measure which sets aside a contract for a minority business whenever two or more such firms are available and qualified to bid. (The minority business may gain the contract even if its bid is 10 percent higher than its competitor's.) But on October 24, the day after the Department of Justice ruling, JPL decided to re-bid, on a similar set-aside basis, the contracts of Trend Western Corporation, which has been doing business with JPL for 35 years. Trend Western has won all its contracts in competitive, unrestricted bidding and also won praise for its performance, but because it was not owned by a woman or a minority, the company is not classed as a Small Disadvantaged Business and was therefore precluded from continuing its relationship with the lab.

Daniel Goldin punctiliously gives a Kwanzaa greeting and recognizes those who celebrate El Dia de los Reyes. JPL celebrated National Hispanic Heritage Month. Shortly before California's Proposition 187 vote in November 1994, Amigos Unidos, JPL's official hispanic group, brought in anti-187 MALDEF attorney Irma Rodriguez to instruct employees in correct thought on immigration. Another JPL favorite is Raul Villa of Occidental College, who speaks on the tendency of "anglos" to stereotype. Meanwhile, JPL's Women's Advisory Council also brings in speakers from the National Womens Political Caucus. JPL also maintains a gay, lesbian, and bisexual support group and extends generous company benefits to homosexual partners. However, when a group of JPL employees wanted to form a group to listen to Dennis Prager, the conservative Jewish radio host, the company refused to allow them to meet or to publish a notice in *Universe*, the company magazine. The reason? Such a group might dabble in politics and religion.

Money is the true flywheel of such activity. Caltech earns a hefty \$16.5-million fee for "outreach" work designed to "increase cultural and gender diversity in senior management," with attempts to fulfill racial quotas ostensibly making the funding of big-ticket items more palatable to professional ethnics like Louis Stokes who sit on congressional appropriations committees. JPL is the collaborating agency for the NASA Center for Autonomous Control Engineering (CACE) at the University of New Mexico. CACE's mission is to "significantly increase the number of minority engineering M.S. and Ph.D. recipients" and provide "advanced education and training for minority students." More NASA money will flow to JPL from this new project.

But while federal money flows from PC hiring and sensitivity training maneuvers, the true believers are also zealously conducting their missionary work inside the organization.

JPL's educational outreach coordinator for the Pluto Express Project, for instance, is Jackie A. Giuliano, currently a Ph.D. candidate in "Environmental Studies Curriculum Development." Giuliano's colleague in curriculum development is Richard Shope III, billed as a specialist in "gifted education using kinesthetic instructional strategies." This means, as the official description states, that he is a professional mime artist who "incorporates mime into his teaching."

This pair heads up a JPL educational program which Giuliano says will be national in scope. Their curriculum guides have already been distributed to thousands of educators, science teachers and students, and JPL is currently seeking a firm to distribute their materials coast to coast.

JPL's "Teaching That is Out of This World" booklet for the Pluto Project speaks of "incorporating education and public education components into the planning" and says "we must show diversity in people, plans and ideas." The section on "underrepresented" groups says that females are "are not sufficiently encouraged to enter the sciences. There is still a tremendous resistance to welcoming women into science and engineering."

"Disadvantaged," according to the curriculum guide, means those who have "tradition-

ally been overlooked in the educational strategies of the past thirty years. Limited or no access to information, indirect exclusion due to cultural biases or stereotyping, the use of language, or the use of techniques responsive only to the needs of the 'dominant culture' [i.e. white male]. It is necessary, therefore, to "develop curriculum support materials that encourage an experience that is lived in the body as well as the mind." In explaining this statement, especially peculiar in the brainy context of the JPL, Giuliano cites Richard S. Heckler to the effect that "true learning, receiving the transmission of experience, happens at a level much deeper than cognition. It is in the experience of the lived body that we have the opportunity to contact and learn from the process of being alive."

Thirteen key references on gender and science include Ruth Bleier, author of *Feminist Approaches to Science* (a book favorably cited by Hunter Havelin Adams in the Portland Baseline Essays, a broadly used Afrocentric curriculum). Also there are Mary Field Belenky, Blyth McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule, authors of *Women's Ways of Knowing*. Sandra Harding, famed for her theory that getting right answers in math is less important than the caring way in which one goes about problem solving, gets three entries for *The Science Question in Feminism*, *Whose Science, Whose Knowledge* and, with Jean F. O'Barr, *Sex and Scientific Inquiry*. Nancy Tuana's book *Feminism and Science* is present, as is Sue Rosser's *Female Friendly Science*. Also cited are Alison M. Jagger and Susan Bordo, *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowledge*.

Here JPL has reached the outer limits.

Jagger's idea is that the family structure is a cornerstone of women's oppression; it enforces women's dependence on men, it enforces heterosexuality and it imposes the prevailing masculine and feminine character structure on the next generations, and worst of all, it is a bulwark of the capitalist system. Further, in a more "scientific" vein: "The sexual division of labor must be eliminated in every area of life....Men must participate fully in childrearing and, so far as possible, in childbearing....This transformation might even include the capacities for insemination, for lactation and for gestation so that, for instance, one woman could inseminate another, so that men and nonparturitive women could lactate and so that fertilized ova could get transplanted into women's or even into men's bodies."

While digesting the idea of lactating men, readers of JPL literature can also contemplate the ideas of Sandra Harding, known for her assertion that Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principals* is a "rape manual." She writes, "The new sciences of the 17th century incorporated powerful democratic and bourgeois tendencies," including "patriarchal rape [with] the husband as scientist forcing nature to his wishes."

"This megalomania would be disturbing in a Newton or Darwin; in the present context it is merely embarrassing," say Paul Gross and Norman Levitt, authors of *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels With Science*. Levitt is a professor of math at Rutgers, and Gross is former director of the Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory and now professor of life sciences and head of the Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Virginia.

When I read to Gross the names of those Caltech's Jet Propulsion Lab has enlisted for the Pluto Project, his initial response was disbelief. Then, when he realized it wasn't a joke, he said a number of colorful things, including the statement that "none of the women on that list knows anything about science," and that *Women's Ways of Knowing*, recommended for the Pluto project, was "a terrible, disgraceful book." In his own book, Gross writes that the only historical parallel for those who lament "male physics" are politicized types such as Nazi physicist Philip Lenard, who spoke of "Aryan physics."

Robert Park of the American Physical Society in Washington agrees. "I find it all kind of scary," he says. "It is the argument [of these women] that science is all culturally based and there is no such thing as objective truth. That's a scary view for a laboratory dedicated to science."

I tried to secure an interview with JPL boss Ed Stone to ask what he thought about the scientific credentials of someone who calls Newton's work a rape manual and believes men should be surgically altered to lactate and bear children. I was told that such concerns were too low-level to occupy Mr. Stone. But JPL educator Jackie Giuliano admits to being amazed that anyone can find fault with his gender roster. "I totally disagree with Gross," he says, describing Harding and Jagger as "more pro-science than anything I've read in a long time." Giuliano does say, however, that he intends to read *Higher Superstition* and claims that those critical of figures such as Harding and Jagger will be added to the list at a later date.

Some doubt is cast on this promise by Giuliano's endorsement of a book by Chellis Glendinning called *My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization*.

Giuliano believes that the feminists are simply saying our way of science needs reexamination. "Patriarchal thinking has resulted in a way of investigation that is very linear," Glendinning says, adding that "the literature of feminism in science is young, exciting work."

And if anyone in NASA or at JPL disagrees with all this science and male bashing, they haven't said so. The books on his Pluto roster were presented to NASA at the highest level—and not just the titles; Giuliano brought the actual books themselves: "We've been heralded as being very innovative. They thought we were right on the

money and doing a wonderful job. We make things more active and dynamic."

Like Jagger and Harding, Giuliano talks giddily about "redefining" the science that got the Galileo probe into deep space. But as some feminist scholars point out, under such redefined science, the probe might not arrive at all, or even get off the ground.

Noretta Koertge teaches history and philosophy of science at Indiana University and is co-author with Daphne Patai of *Professing Feminism: Cautionary Tales from the Strange World of Women's Studies*. Koertge has learned by first-hand experience "how strong the anti-science element in feminism had become" and is alarmed that women are being taught that logic is a tool of male domination. As an illustration of this delusion, she tells of encountering a woman who wanted to be an astronomer but decided not to because she was put off by what she felt was the sexual innuendo of the term "big bang."

In an article entitled "How Feminism is Now Alienating Women From Science," Koertge notes that instead of teaching about the struggles and triumphs of great women scientists such as Marie and Irene Curie, "feminist accounts of the history of science now emphasize the contributions of midwives and the allegedly forgotten healing arts of herbalists and witches."

The notion of Alison Jagger and Sandra Harding being enlisted by JPL to broaden the definition of science causes Koertge to laugh. "Sandra Harding is not a bad person to cite as someone who says there should be diversity and more women in science," she says, "but it is ludicrous for someone to cite her on how science works. The analogy is Farrakhan. Kind of scary stuff."

Particularly so when one is sending rockets to distant planets at taxpayer expense. Grass and Levitt compare the dynamic in play here to the "cargo cults" that flourished on Pacific Islands. Primitive tribesmen believed that the airplanes and their loads of supplies could be induced to return by magic, and in some places tribesmen built their own airplanes with the view that ritual might transform them into the real thing. In the authors' view, the model of "science" offered by the gender theorists is a lot like the cargo cultists' wicker-and-mud mock-up of a C-4: "It bears only a vague and superficial resemblance to the real thing, and its internal logic is laughably different. Still, those who build it hope, with the aid of their theoretical magic rituals, to gain control over the real thing."

Had the Galileo probe relied on feminist superstition masquerading as "science," it would have wound up in Cucamonga rather than on Jupiter. The question now is whether the Jet Propulsion Lab will have to become lost in space to learn that, while a useful ploy for gaining grants and placating extremists, in the end PC science just won't fly.



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Cybersex in Inner Space

I Hear America Typing

By Michael Long

God knows I'm the last person to run away from a good look at perversion, depravity, or the occasional guilty pleasure. Especially if I can maintain a safe distance. Perhaps it is no more than the voyeur in me—we all have a touch of that, I believe. Like the time I saw a car take a corner too fast and then use the guard rail as a ramp for a mid-air flip. It was awesome. And convenient—happened right next to my front yard. Oh, sure, the car was smashed up pretty good, but the guy walked away from it. Once they cut him out of the front end with those Jaws of Life. And that part was pretty cool, too.

I think what's most fun, though, is watching what people do when they are completely anonymous or utterly alone. When moral accountability takes a powder (and this speaks volumes on why Hayek could have been a psychiatrist if he had wanted), inhibitions fly away. If this were not so, SpectraVision would have gone out of business years back. And that you even know what SpectraVision is just proves my point. (How long does that free preview of *Jailbait Babes in Heat Part III* last before the film appears my hotel bill?)

So the latest entry is this: "chat rooms" in online computer services like America OnLine, CompuServe, and several other outfits with randomly capitalized letters skipping through their names. Here's the deal: You dial in with your computer and look down a list of topics for discussion. Then you join one and add your own typed comments to the rolling transcribed conversation. Here's a sample:

Online Host: You are in GOP Budget Issues.

Karen W: HR 371 is bound to pass.

Fred S: Easily!

Bill F: But don't you think welfare should be gradually cut off?

Karen W: No!

Fred S: No way!

Jim J: A gradual decrease in funding leaves a program intact. We must cut at the root. Return it to the private sector.

And so on. Now I personally do get a bit lathered up about pending House resolutions, but I gotta tell you that the example I've given you is not exactly, well, representative of what takes place in chat rooms. In fact, I just made it up. I've never seen an online conversation even close to that modest level of discourse.

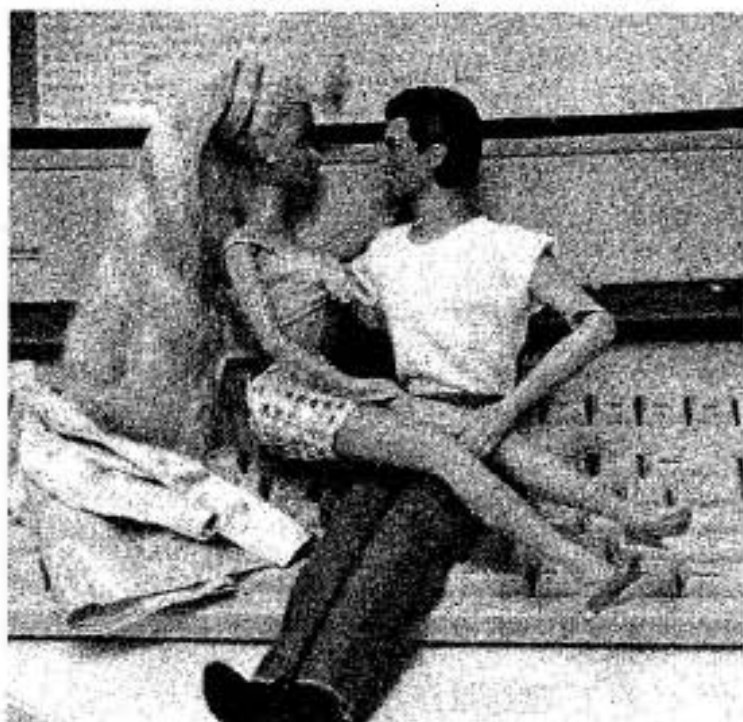
Computer collectives such as bulletin boards and the Internet started out as convenient places for geographically distant professionals to exchange information. Now, though, anybody with fingers and libido can talk about any topic they like. And it turns out that model railroading and Hummel figurine collecting aren't nearly as attractive gab topics as they once seemed, especially when stacked against such heavy-hitter pastimes as yammering on about sex in total anonymity.

Online sex is pretty much of a cesspool with a diving board. It is chat room after chat room of every perversion on the perversity map. You can stand up with Al Gore and talk about dirty pictures on the Internet and get all worried about what The Children might see on the information superhighway, but if I were inclined to worry about cyber-anything, it would be these sweet talkers with their interactive sex chats in search of an all-day sucker. If the highway analogy is indeed accurate, the real

action remains in the rest stops.

I have spent hours cruising the chat rooms. I've learned a lot about human nature, a lot about what sort of people engage in various sexual activities, and a lot about what people will pay \$2.95 an hour plus \$9.95 a month for the privilege of typing. Let me tell you about it.

I think I knew this was not Disneyland when Luv2luv said she liked to drink urine. Not just taste it, drink it. This woman wasn't thinking "wine sampling," where you swirl it around for effect, then spit it out and clear the palate with a cracker for the next yellow river of chablis. This woman wanted a big mug o'pee. Her husband liked it, too,



she told me. Both their tastes dribbled to women's urine, she typed, warm and slightly bitter.

I found Luv2luv in a chat room called PeeFun. There she was, just waiting for someone to inquire after her specific interest in the world of the urogenital. But there are plenty of other rooms, most of whose names must be deciphered like so many oversized, state-rejected vanity car tags:

mfm just woke up
NE OHIO COUPLES
nCeOeCdK
bif4bifhomealone
wf4bf4chat
nurse Cindy dungeon
shavemom
NUDEnHARDnSanJose
milk f4f
up the butt

This last one shows that we are not dealing here with the most imaginative of people.

The urine sample notwithstanding, most people are looking for simple cybersex. That's where I describe how I'm undressing you and you describe how you're undressing me and how we are kissing each other and touching each other in intimate ways while stopping every so often to ask a question to stoke our imaginations. ("What are you wearing?" is probably the most popular inquiry; "Nothing," the most popular response.) Then the participants describe how they are licking or fondling or noodling whatever the body part is, and the other person answers with well-thought-out and adjective-dripping answers such as "mmmmm" or "ohhhhh" or "yesssss." (Repeated consonants are exceptionally popular.)

This goes on for several minutes while the lovebirds excuse fingers from keyboards with ever-increasing frequency to, uh, dispatch the heat they have worked up in their lonely loins.

Gradually, the person on the other end takes real shape and form. Nobody is ugly, imperfect, fat, or bald—unless, of course, that's your fetish. I myself have gone incognito, if you will, representing myself as a younger man, an older man, a guy in a wheelchair, a straight woman, and a les-

bian. Especially as a lesbian. If you want "hot cyber action" fast, say you're gay. Whether these fine folks are just so pent up from keeping quiet all day about their proclivities or they're just big fans of sex, I can't say. But I do know that lesbians who bother to get online are the horniest folks on the planet. (Gay men may completely trump lesbians in this department, but the editors don't pay enough to writing this stuff for me to mess around in those rooms.) If these women could turn their sexual energy toward the adolescent male population of North America, printed pornography would cease to possess any economic viability whatsoever.

I can dial in and call myself "Marie" with a brief online profile of "age 24, bi-female" and I will have offers to "go private"—that is, to go to a one-on-one room—faster than Doc Martens leaving the rack at a Stonewall Memorial footwear sale. I don't even have to be in a sex room. I can plunk reliable young Marie down in the "Decent Chat" or "Philippine Politics" or "Let's Talk About The Koran" room and she can have her cyber-panties down around her cyber-ankles before you can say "hygiene."

If you really want to roll around in the muck, visit a "picture" room. The technology that sent us to the moon and back has led to devices that can scan in high-resolution color images for transmission. Online party people trade pictures with abandon. I've seen Maureen McCormick (you remember, Marcia from *The Brady Bunch*) with her head quite seamlessly grafted onto the body of some other rather compromised young lady. I have seen standard issue "money shots" scanned out of video porn. And once I saw a couple of hesitant-looking, obviously intimidated (and obviously too young) girls sitting topless on a sailboat. (This is the stuff that is illegal, and America OnLine ran a sting over the summer to help arrest people trafficking in kiddie porn. It didn't stop it, by the way.)

But the pornography that is obviously the most prized is the homemade kind. How many woeful wives have I seen with their husbands' ejaculate drooling off their faces! How many ludicrous photos from the bestiality chat room of men with vacant smiles in congress with sheep! Auto-porn is democratic enough, but sad and somewhat boring as well.

Alfred Kinsey (or some other indecent clown/scholar who found a way to get paid to think about pants parties) observed that when specific gender references were removed from descriptions of orgasm, both women and men ended up sounding an awful lot alike. Out there in the world of hot chat and cybersex, gender is entirely a matter of one's declaration for the evening. Cybersex is remote-control masturbation, making homo- and heterosexuality as interchangeable as Ford motor parts. You may think you're cyber-nailing a lonely, misunderstood, willowy blond New York model who just flew in from a grueling shoot in Morocco. But it's probably just that pimply-faced kid who works down at Blockbuster. What's interesting is that this scarcely seems to matter. The world of cyber-sex is oddly democratic. People use each other without regard for race, gender, or sexual orientation. They use each other the same way that young male dogs use the legs of visitors who have come into their owners' homes.

The world, we are told, is going to hell, and I am inclined to believe it. I just never thought we'd each be shut off alone in a room with our collective pants around our collective knees when it happened. On the smug "told ya so" side, however, we now know just how wrong that wiseheimer T. S. Eliot was. The world will not end with a whimper. It will, as we originally thought, go out with a great big anonymous bang.

If you know what I mean.

Michael Long is a free-lance writer living in Nashville, TN

REVIEWS

Damning PC With Faint Praise

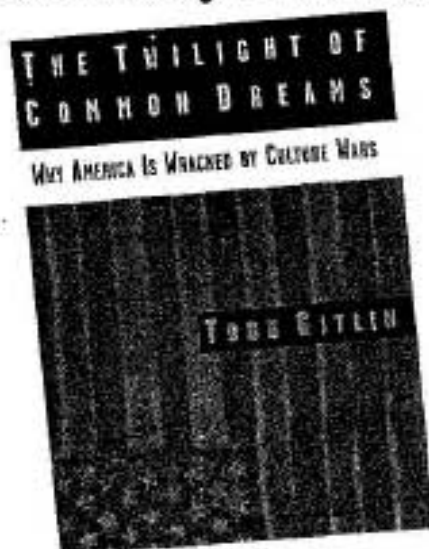
The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America Is Wracked by the Culture Wars

by Todd Gitlin, Holt/Metropolitan, 1995, 294 pp., \$25.00

The Myth of Political Correctness: The Conservative Attack on Higher Education

by John K. Wilson, Duke University Press, 1995, 210 pp., \$44.95

Reviewed by John Ellis



Readers of Todd Gitlin's *The Twilight of Common Dreams* may be reminded of his 1989 book *The Sixties*, which attempted to shore up the deteriorating reputation of the era in which Gitlin himself had been prominent as president of Students for a Democratic Society. His new book is concerned with repairing a situation in which the Left is losing public support through its complicity in "political correctness"—the well-documented obsession with race and gender perspectives that characterizes the modern college campus, with its intolerance, denigration of objectivity, and denunciation of Western thought and literature as sexist and racist.

But though still unambiguously left-wing, Gitlin does not defend the campus Left's works. He is realistic enough to know that the triumph of identity politics really has damaged college campuses and that an outright defense is no longer credible. Gitlin wants, in effect, to rescue the Left from itself by bringing it back to the universal human values and focus on commonality that he thinks is its more natural position. Indeed, the obsession with separate identities is in Gitlin's view a "tragedy" for the Left and for the country.

Gitlin's arguments against multiculturalism and its reduction of truth to different perspectives may have been heard before, but their expression here by a prominent and still largely unrepentant Sixties figure is intriguing, especially since he can be brutally frank with his colleagues. He does not mince his words when diagnosing their "flagrant disregard for the truth and flagrant contempt of the common enterprise." He is similarly cutting when he comments on the claim that there is no truth, but only stories: the partisans of fundamental group difference, he points out, always rank their own stories much higher than those of others. And he positively ridicules the shallow and ignorant self-congratulation of the claim to have uniquely "problematized" reality and truth: "So many difficult matters, so crudely brushed over by the perspectivist ad hominem."

So far, so good; but beyond this point there is little progress. The trouble is that moderates and conservatives have made these same arguments for some time, and Gitlin knows it, but he detests conservatives and it pains him to make any concession to them. And so the book degenerates into an attempt to show that the Right is correct about the culture wars for the wrong reasons,

and that the Left is wrong for reasons that are at least humane. It becomes an exercise in alibi construction.

Gitlin's frustration at being forced to sound like the other side boils over at every turn, and the anger that it generates always distorts his argument and falsifies the issues. Thus, for Gitlin, those who speak out against political correctness are simply "hypersensitive to every slight directed against white men," or they want their students to be "worshippers in the pantheon, not critics and historians" and thus celebration instead of argument. Conservatives only oppose multiculturalism because they don't care about the rights of minorities; and they are exercised about political correctness because they need to find an enemy to hate, having lost one with the end of the cold war.

This pattern of question-begging, of intellectual crudity, of inability to frame serious questions in a realistic way is so persistent that it precludes any possibility of real analysis. There are genuine issues between the two sides. Gitlin's task was to deal squarely with a rival analysis of those issues, but he never gets to that task because he cannot control his need to sneer at his adversaries. If he calmed down and thought about the matter quietly, he surely could not believe for a moment that conservatives would have felt any happier about PC had the cold war still been going on, or that there is nothing more to non-leftist concerns about denigration of the Western canon than white males feeling slighted. When he is addressing his comrades on the Left, Gitlin can seem sharp and precise, but with conservatives he (forgive the expression) just sees red, his intellect switches off, and his Strangelovian tic takes over. He complains constantly that conservatives polarize issues, but one has only to look at the sheer nastiness of anything he says about them to see that his own animus is the unique source of polarization in this book.

Gitlin likes to see himself in the sensible middle ground between the (temporarily erring) Left, and the (by definition extremist) Right. The invocation of the "golden mean" is the most overworked substitute for real thought in history, and Gitlin's case is no exception. (My own rule of thumb is that this rhetorical device is always a sure sign that anxiety and self-protection have paralyzed thought.) The reality is that he borrows arguments from both sides—arguments which cannot coexist without contradiction.

Take the matter of the horror stories of PC. One side says that they are fabricated or unrepresentative anecdotes, the other that they are widespread and typical. What is Gitlin's view? He admits that they are neither invented nor unrepresentative: these tales are legion, he tells us, whatever the politics of those who report them, and by now almost nobody denies it. But he also wants to complain about "recycled anecdotes." Or, take instead the question just how serious all of this is. One minute, Gitlin is saying it's a tragedy for the country and the Left, but the next that the Right exaggerates and is in a panic about it. This is not standing between two opposed sides; it's talking out of both sides of your mouth.

Because Gitlin wants to object to criticisms of PC made by non-leftists, he is always looking for superfluous explanations. "One reason why the campaign against PC had legs," he says, "is that identity politics and attendant censoriousness were real." (The other reasons are, as usual, that conservatives are panicking, missing the cold war, etc.) This is very odd logic. A one-to-one correlation between any non-trivial complaint and what is being complained of needs no other explanation. If I complain about the thought police, isn't the fact that it really exists enough? Only someone who is trying not to agree with his detested ideological enemies could think that a further reason is required.

Similarly, Gitlin looks for peripheral—and benign—reasons for the Left's recent embrace of identity politics. He finds one in the influence of Erik Erikson: this, he says, is why Americans are now obsessed with racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual identities. But I doubt that many people on campus today have ever heard of Erikson. Gitlin can't face the simple explanation: it is affirmative action that has encouraged and made profitable this recent obsession with identity. Most of his book is in fact, a rambling walk through 20th-century history in search of additional reasons for things that don't need them. Gitlin obviously wants to give the impression that he is now an older and wiser man who has outgrown his adolescent leftism, but the book shows that in most significant respects he has not. He still talks of his country's "cultural fatuousness" (how elitist the Left can be!), still thinks that Americanism needs an enemy, still rails

against capitalism, still pours out hatred for the Right while indignantly castigating critics of Bill Clinton as Clinton-haters, still suffers from that stifling assumption that only the Left is decent and humane, and still has no idea why these are such hard times for Left intellectuals like himself, or how the chickens of the social engineering of the last 30 years have finally come home to roost. He thinks that the Left's current travails are due to its born-to-lose habit of accidentally shooting itself in the foot, not to real policy problems, and so still has no idea how its identity politics is connected to the rest of its agenda.

John K. Wilson's *The Myth of Political Correctness: The Conservative Attack on Higher Education* reminds me of the scene in that hilarious movie *Guide for a Married Man* in which the experienced philanderer (played by Robert Morse) is coaching his married friend (Walter Matthau) on what to do if found out by his wife: deny, deny, deny! There follows a vignette in which Joey Bishop's wife bursts into a motel room where he is in bed with a girlfriend. The woman calmly dresses and leaves, and Bishop then turns to his distraught wife and says, "What woman?"

In a similar way, Wilson revisits even such PC absurdities as the Smith College pamphlet on correct speech ("lookism," "differently abled," etc.) or the Antioch College sex code ("the request for consent must be specific to each act") and says: What political correctness?

Wilson retells a number of PC horror stories with commentary designed to show that they are bogus or misinterpreted, but anyone familiar with the events he describes easily sees that he always omits inconvenient facts. One simple example: the furor over UC-Berkeley's admissions is an example of "the Myth of Reverse Discrimination," according to Wilson. Yet in 1989, while 61% of all high school graduates and 67.7% of high school graduates eligible for UC admission were white, they constituted only 32.6% of the freshmen admitted to Berkeley. Meanwhile, Hispanics admittees were three times their proportion of eligible high school graduates. To grasp the enormity of what was being done here, one should remember that in most cases, complaints about reverse discrimination concern the use of racial quotas to reject applicants who would have been admitted on the basis of superior test scores in order that minorities can be admitted in numbers corresponding to their demographic percentages. But the figures show that Berkeley had gone way beyond this—it was giving whites only about half what even their population share would require.

Even in this truly outrageous case, Wilson denies that there is any reverse discrimination, and he actually argues that the whole fuss arose because "preferences were given to whites," which provokes the thought that perhaps Joey Bishop's character missed something: he should have accused his wife of having been in that bed with someone else...

The thought that Wilson—still a graduate student—is out of his depth and has neither the knowledge nor the analytical skill to write this book occurred to me rather often, but especially when he evidently has no idea that he is supplying one bit of evidence after another to make nonsense of his thesis that PC is all a right-wing plot. Page Smith, for example, is one of his right-wing villains, and another is Karen Lehrman. This will doubtless amuse Page's friends who remember his left-wing populism and his support of Jesse Jackson for president. Equally amusing is the notion that *Mother Jones* (the journal that published Lehrman's article) is part of the Right's attack apparatus. And now Wilson will have to include among his right-wing conspirators Todd Gitlin, who will not be amused at all.

It would be more charitable to pass over a disastrously incompetent first book by a young person in silence, but for one important fact: though Gerald Graff and Martin Jay founded Teachers for a Democratic Culture (an organization formed to defend PC against its critics), Wilson is now its major spokesman. He edits its newsletter, writes most of the articles that appear in it, and the substance of his book is therefore much the same as the TDC newsletter, and thus the TDC itself. The only significant question raised by the appearance of Wilson's book is this: have Gerald Graff and Martin Jay so little sense of their responsibility to their TDC colleagues, and so little real interest in the organization that they founded, that they can leave minding the store to a graduate student who is obviously in over his head?

STRANGER THAN FACT

President Honors First Welfare Reform Act College Grad

By Judith Schumann Weizner

The first graduate of the Federal Welfare Reform Act Training College received her diploma today in a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House.

As the Marine Corps band played a medley of inspirational songs ending with "Movin' on Up," President Clinton signed and presented the first diploma, along with a Certificate of Heroic Achievement, to Ms. Louise Gryphter, a 25-year-old single mother of six, who, tomorrow morning, will begin the job for which the Federal Office of Job Training has prepared her.

After presenting the diploma to Ms. Gryphter, President Clinton briefly addressed the assembled dignitaries and reporters, reminding them of his pledge to "end welfare as we know it." He went on to heap praise on Ms. Gryphter, who completed the training program in a mere 17 months instead of the 18 months the program is designed to take.

"Less than two years ago, Louise Gryphter was living on welfare with her six children in one room on the West Side of Manhattan, paying for their food with food stamps," said the President. "She had no telephone, no job, no health insurance, and poor self-esteem. As of nine o'clock tomorrow morning, she will become my first Special Advisor on Welfare Reform and the Director of the Office of Welfare Normalization and Universal Security. Thanks to the Omnibus Job Training and Placement Provision of the Welfare Reform Act, which is dear to the heart of both Hillary and myself, Ms. Gryphter now has a good job that will enable her to earn both her living and her self-respect."

Following the president's remarks, Ms. Gryphter, demonstrating her newly acquired self-confidence, fielded questions from reporters. She spoke of her early life: "I represent the fourth generation in my family to be on welfare. I had five sisters younger than me, and it was my responsibility to help them with their homework while my mother was researching ways to increase our income. It was hard, because I couldn't read and my sisters used to call me stupid. They made me feel different. I didn't like feeling different. When you're different, people discriminate against you, and that doesn't feel good. But I

was able to use this experience in a positive way. They give you credit for life experience in this College, and I've had lots of life experience."

As she finished speaking, several members of the audience were seen dabbing their eyes with handkerchiefs.

Until President Clinton signed the

an actual former employer. Similarly, OWNUS will establish credit backgrounds for welfare recipients, enabling them to get loans, buy automobiles, get mortgages, and have credit cards to cover their non-food purchases exactly as the rest of us do. For those who do not wish to purchase their own homes, the government will guarantee ninety-

eight percent of their rent. The other two percent must be made up by the tenant, because it is a proven fact that people who make an active investment in their housing take better care of it. Those unable to meet this requirement will have their circumstances considered on a case-by-case basis by the Welfare Rent Enhancement Corporation (WREC).

Under the Higher Education for Children on Welfare (HECOW) provision of the new law, children of welfare recipients will receive full scholarships to the colleges of their choice and, upon graduation, will be guaranteed government jobs if they elect not to attend graduate school.

When asked what other reforms were being planned, Ms. Gryphter explained, "The President feels that the Welfare Reform Act

addresses the basics of physical existence pretty adequately, and I agree at this time. But there is much to be done in the spiritual and cultural realms. To address these issues we will create an Office of Cultural Affairs, which I expect will ultimately be raised to cabinet status. When I was growing up, there were some kids who took lessons, and the ones that didn't really felt deprived. The OCA will have the power to require teachers of such activities as music, ice skating, dance, art, and creative writing to devote at least six hours a week to teaching people on welfare."

Ms. Gryphter said that OWNUS would be doing even more to improve the inner life of the country's 90 million welfare recipients. "Among other things, we'll be looking into the possibility of mandatory summer camp for the kids. I understand that camp is some people's fondest memory, and I'd like to see it extended to everybody."

As he was leaving the podium, President Clinton once more shook hands with Ms. Gryphter. Then, with the crowd applauding, he embraced her. With his arm around her shoulders, he said, "Ms. Gryphter—Louise—I just can't tell you how glad I am that I signed that bill. You are the perfect example of what I meant when I said we would end welfare as we know it."



Ms. Louise Gryphter

Welfare Reform Act of 1995, welfare recipients were stigmatized by various indignities and were often discriminated against in subtle and not so subtle ways. Under the new law, it is illegal to discriminate in any way whatsoever against a person receiving welfare.

The Welfare Reform Act creates the Office of Welfare Normalization and Universal Security (OWNUS), of which Ms. Gryphter will be the director. Its function will be to study all aspects of life on welfare and to recommend ways to make welfare clients indistinguishable from other citizens. One reform, introduced late in 1994, has already begun to improve the self-image of welfare clients: Instead of food stamps, they now receive magnetically encoded cards, resembling credit cards, that enable them to pay for their purchases exactly like other shoppers and eliminate the stigma of presenting food stamps at the checkout counter.

Other reforms included in the bill will make it possible for people who have never been employed to list job references on their applications. These will be backed up by OWNUS (using computer software modeled on that developed for the Federal Witness Relocation Program), so that a prospective employer will assume he is talking to

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