# THE SOCIALIST SPECTATOR



# PEEP SHOW

 $\mathbf{Y}$  ou can tell a lot about a group by its enemies, and if this year's annual "Socialist Scholars" conference gave an award, it would have gone to Francis Fukuyama, the much-derided "philosopher from the RAND Corp." who last summer declared that democratic capitalism is the end point of history. Socialism's apologists are still reeling, all the more as Fukuyama's scenario plays out in Eastern Europe. And yet the Orwellian wet dream of the distinguished Daniel Singer of the distinguished Nation magazine still recurs. As he described it at the opening plenary session, "The people were getting rid of one form of tyranny, Stalinism, and exchanging it for the coercion of another, the dazzling tyranny of the market. But the people will bring down the wall of capitalist oppression, too, realizing that the Revolution of 1917 was a heroic step in mankind's struggle for control over his own fate."

Held at New York's City University the first weekend of April, this year's conference was entitled, "Democratic Upheavals and the End of the Cold War," not an unappropriate theme for the world's remaining socialists to ponder. Yet as Singer's contortions suggest, these same socialists are not quite ready to have their political obituaries written. Indeed, despite the "democratic upheavals" of recent months, signs of the socialist left's political relevance were abundant. Milling about were celebs like guerrilla-philosopher Ruben Zamora, an important player in Salvadoran politics, and frumpy feminoid Babs Ehrenreich. CUNY Chancellor Joseph Murphy was also present, a selfdescribed "radical in the real sense of the word." He promised to bring more blacks! more Hispanics! more women! more gays! into the university. As the hallway chatter indicated, these are the sorts of people who still hold "health care" conferences in places like Mozambique. Closer to home, the socialist book fair's main feature was Keep Hope Alive: Jesse Jackson's '88 Campaign (a coffee table book). The chic cause for leafleters this year was "boycott Greyhound and Frank Lorenzo";

David Brock is a John M. Olin fellow at the Heritage Foundation. in fact, at the opening session, a menacing representative of the Greyhound union promised "more violence" if Greyhound management didn't come to the negotiating table. The crowd roared its approval, while I looked around in vain for undercover G-men.

The impressive array of workshop offerings was another sign that the left's fingers remain stuck in many pies: Cross National Perspectives on Work, Welfare, and the Poverty of Women. *Do the Right Thing* Revisited. Pantheon: Publishing and Corporate Censorship. Eco-Feminism. Gay Men's Liberation. Cocaine, Covert Operations, and the Constitution (conducted by-who else?—the Christic Institute). Palestinian Women in the Struggle for Peace and Liberation. Roundtable on Ecology, Economy, and Equality: A Black, Red, and Green Perspective.

skipped all these in favor of a Saturday morning session on Nicaragua: Whither the Revolution? where the fur flew over who is to blame for the Sandinista electoral catastrophe: Did the "moderate" comandantes "betray" the Revolution by not adhering to the Leninist line, or did the very "structure set by the market and U.S. foreign policy" preordain defeat? Some were still too shook to take sides. George Vickers of Brooklyn College weighed in, "Somehow, the Sandinistas are out of power." Panelist Pablo Gonzales Casanova, a Mexican intellectual, stood before the audience, announced his "emotional involvement with Cuba and Nicaragua," and began to cry. In the end, everyone seemed to agree with Jack Hammond of Hunter College: "We'll have a militant form of FSLN opposition, the politics of street battles."

After lunch, I stopped by the workshop on "Teaching Marxism: Activism in the Classroom," where a panel of clever professors explained how they propagate their malignant message to a wholly apathetic or even hostile student audience. Stephen Gold teaches a required business ethics course at the University of Connecticut, which means "students must take Marx." Gold hones in on "racism and sexism in business, the pernicious patriarchal sys-

tem." In his spare time, Gold organizes Gestapo-style sexual harassment committees on campus. "Race and sex are not God-given categories" but configurations of the "white, male, Christian, straight, European" hierarchy: thus the dreary news from Paula Rothenberg's "New Jersey Project on Integrating Scholarship on Gender." Rothenberg sends her students at the state's William Paterson College into the field to perform "class analysis of shopping malls." The methodology is path-breaking: "They go to a boutiquey mall and a mall for the masses. I have them count how many public toilets are in each, and bring back samples of the toilet paper. It makes class distinctions visible." At New Haven's Albertus Magnus College, 80 percent of Gail Presby's students have the appalling habit of voting Republican; so she takes it upon herself to get them to "question their allegiance to the rich." The choice, she tells them, "is rob or be robbed." This induces many of her more promising employed students to "steal from their employer." Professor Presby's integrity extends as well to the realm of intellect: "I give them a text of Marx and a text of an outlandish right-winger like Milton Friedman. I tell them those are their only two choices. Most pick Marx."

n keeping with the weekend's secular L tone, I spent the better part of Palm Sunday at a workshop called Pornography with a Human Face: Toward a Sexual Glasnost. Last year, the pornography panel was dominated by febrile feminist censors; this year it was the socialist pornographers who got their say. The panel far outdrew the others, and with the exception of some nervous snickering, the audience proved quite pro-porn. This came as no surprise, given the limits to which the left is pushing the notions of artistic relativism and free expression these days, insisting that the production and exhibition of homoerotic and pedophiliac images be not only constitutionally protected but federally funded.

"Adult video consultant" Sheldon Ranz warmed up with a comparison of Gorbachev's economic reform program by David Brock

to the masturbatory act: "What do you call a pair of Soviets watching porn under Gorbachev? A pair-of-strokers." Claiming to have viewed more than 10,000 flesh-baring films, the aesthete went on to delineate the "liberating" qualities of porn: "You see things Hollywood won't show, like the Lady Godiva position, which has the woman dominant. They show older women getting it. The Devil and Miss Jones stars a flat-chested woman. Men ejaculate outside the body, eroticizing birth control. Pornography undoes stereotypes. Bull-dykes look like the girl next door. Gay men are not punished for being gay; they're rewarded with orgasms. Debbie Does Dishes is about a Jewish housewife who does it with anybody who comes to the door, with no postcoital regrets." As "People's Libido Exhibit A," Ranz introduced Shades of Ecstasy, a "socialist film about a group of women factory workers who have orgies on their lunch break. They find out their boss is secretly taping them, and they take control of the factory in anger."

Sharing the dais with Ranz were "feminist-socialist" Vivian Forlander, a kind of bubbly, bosomy Susan Sontag, and Ame Gilbert, of the "Carnival Knowledge Collective." A writer of naughty novels, Forlander reveals the complex intellectual history behind her pen name, Katie Nipps. Apparently, it started as a high school nickname, owing to her ample chest size. One salutary result of this adolescent trauma is the ease with which she slips into the point of view of "a repressed man with a breast fetish." After reading a poem about the evils of the male sex organ, (by way of introduction, if you will), Ame Gilbert began to illuminate the world of "alternative porn." It seems that a group of about 100 "feminist artists" of the lesbian persuasion slink, when the urge moves them, into a Greenwich Village basement to produce and watch their own flagellating fantasies on film. Said the grisly Gilbert: "My own fantasy involves tying up two women and a man . . . " No, I better not go on. This is, after all, a family magazine. Besides, today it might ultimately be the decent thing to let the left wallow in its own depravity. 

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# CURRENT WISDOM

## The Great Books Series

Hugh Prather, the Marcel Proust of yuppiedom, in a new introduction to the twentieth-anniversary edition of his *Notes to Myself*, gibbers in the first person singular to his anal-retentive audience:

Notes to Myself was essentially a stack of yellow sheets (which I called my diary) where I went to sort things out, where I put down my pains and problems, and my very deep longing to break through to some truth. In many of the passages I was guessing, but because I was trying hard to be honest with myself, I sometimes guessed right. That is why, aside from some editing and a few additions, I have left the book essentially as it was. In going over each passage, I can remember almost every thought I had when I wrote it-and here's something that is interesting to me-I can remember whether I was being dishonest while telling myself that I wasn't. It's especially these little dishonesties that I have corrected.

Now, as well as talking to [my wife] Gayle and using a diary to sort things out, I sometimes talk to our two boys, Jordan, six, and John, who is ten. Here again is the example that even at a very young age we can all sense the way home. Last week I was putting the six-year-old to bed, and referring to all my burdens I said, "Jordan, *how* can I live a happy life?" Without hesitation he answered, "Do what you say."

[Hugh Prather, Notes to Myself: My Struggle to Become a Person, Bantam Books, \$8.95]

# **Movies USA**

Mr. Alec Baldwin, star of *The Hunt for Red October*, reveals the workings of his marvelous mind; and, surely, you all remember the hordes of right-wing assassins:

Baldwin is more than passionate about his politics. He has stumped for the Democrats at colleges; he journeyed to the Democratic Convention with Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden; and recently he joined a group called the Creative Coalition, formed by actor Ron Silver in New York. Still, he feels guilty.

He sighs, "I talk about these things because I'm committed and when I'm done I feel kind of disgusted with myself. Sitting in a coffee shop and talking about it is not committed. I think once or twice a month I lie in bed at night and think how I'd like to find a militant organization-like some Black Panther or IRA equivalent-that revolved around some important cause and go out and blow up some chemical plant. Really put my ass on the line. One of the most significant differences I see between the right wing and the left wing is that in this country, the right wing's fanatical assassins-they have better aim." Baldwin gestures ruefully. "I must be really babbling.

[March 1990]

### Smart

What urban sophisticates read when their cocaine dealer is unavailable for a commercial transaction or while they are seated in the waiting room prior to electric shock treatment:

So just as Iran-Contra became the Ollie North story, Panama became the Manuel Noriega story. Largely ignored were the facts that without Iran-Contra there would be no Panama and that George Bush, as the former dictator's longtime employer, is just as guilty if not more of some of the things Noriega is guilty of.

# [May 1990]

### Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star More proof of male inferiority, this

time from Miss Marilyn Geewax:

Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., was criticized earlier this year for suggesting that female soldiers be allowed to volunteer for combat. Oh no, some men in Congress said. We can't allow women to face violence. That would be barbaric.

Now Ms. Schroeder is suggesting the United States use trade sanctions against countries that refuse to protect women from violence by husbands and other family members.

Oh no, the men say. We can't interfere with the cultural customs of other countries.

For many, the idea of putting a woman into a violent situation is repugnant only if the woman happens to be holding a gun and has a chance of fighting back. Otherwise, violence against women is just another cultural tradition like doing the polka or eating sushi.

## [April 3, 1990]

### **New York Times**

As the Reagan Administration recedes into history leaving democracy in Central America and in Eastern Europe, a dramatic relaxation of tensions between Washington and Moscow, and steady, uninterrupted economic growth across the great Republic; and as the Bush Administration consolidates the Reagan Revolution, Mr. Anthony Lewis demonstrates in his nationally syndicated column that in American political commentary the maniac can still be gainfully employed:

History is closing in fast on Ronald Reagan. Fifteen months ago he left office in a glow of public affection. Today he is increasingly identified with greed, corruption and conspiracy... Of course there are a good many Americans who are still contented that Ronald Reagan was President. But Warren G. Harding was popular, too. My guess is that history will be not much kinder to Reagan than it has been to Harding. The process of deglamorization has begun.

[April 17, 1990]

# PETA News

From the newsletter of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, evidence that out there in the countryside there are still Carter loyalists ready to follow their man back to Washington, chickens (and who knows what else) on their heads:

Do you know what shams those smiling chicken pictures in supermarkets are? More than four billion chickens in America each year do not have a single happy moment in their lives. They go immediately from shell to hell.

I know chickens are capable of happiness because of a little tan and yellow hen named Butterscotch. When I visit her farm, she runs down the path to meet me and makes little hops up and down at my feet until I pick her up. Then she snuggles into my arms, contented as any cat I've ever held, and looks up at me as if to say, "Isn't this cozy?" Occasionally when I fill in on farm chores Butterscotch leads the way, a perky, knowing little guide.

She has taught me that chickens are sensitive individuals with their own special intelligence.

[March/April 1990]

### Cosmopolitan

A New Age exchange in the pages of *Cosmo*, where lingerie advertisements are to be encouraged:

Q. After fourteen years of marriage, I've made a shocking discovery about my husband. In a box in his dresser, I found a hoard of women's underwear, stockings, high-heeled shoes, a wig, and lots of makeup—all his. I tried to confront him about it, but he won't discuss the matter or get rid of these things! He denies that he's a homosexual. We have a good sex life and two healthy children. I love him as much as ever, but now I'm sickened and confused. What's wrong with him?

A. Your husband is probably telling the truth when he says he isn't homosexual. He is a transvestite, or cross-dresser—that is, a man who may desire women, but who is stimulated by the sensuous feel of women's apparel or the thrill of feminine glamour. Many transvestites are happily married. Some wives actually enjoy their husband's cross-dressing; others merely tolerate it. I suggest you try to do that as well, for your husband's sexual quirk is really quite an innocent one.

He is no different now from the man you married, and the important things about him are as true as they always were. After you understand more, you will be able to talk to your husband calmly and work out what you want to do. Remember, there are many much more terrible things to discover about the people we love than some fantasy in the bottom of a drawer.

[February 1990]

## Chicago

What passes for a pleasant evening at the theater in Chicago:

A Constant State of Desire, the three-part piece Finley brought to Chicago this fall, features a now-notorious passage in which she strips down to panties, slathers raw egg all over her body, showers herself with glitter and paper boas, and launches into a hilarious, dead-serious jeremiad against yuppies and their culture of voyeurism, egotism, and exploitation.

"Ooooh, and then I go into Wall Street," she wails, "Ooooh, I go into all those trader buildings, oooh, and I cut off your balls and you don't even bleed; only dollar signs come out."

[January 1990]

Los Angeles Times Book Review Prof. Jim Finley, a humorist, engages once again in the satire that has made him a living legend on the faculty of the College of the Mainland in Texas City, Texas:

Johnson, however, was no aberration. To the contrary, when one peers through larger lenses from a greater distance, Johnson materializes as America's true native son, embodying not only many of this country's dominant historical values but its pathological traits as well, from narcissism and materialism to unbridled ambition.

The disturbing questions about the relationship between means and ends raised by the life of Lyndon Johnson are similar to those invoked by this nation's rise from 13 weak colonies to the world's most awesome economic and military power—a rise built upon Indian slaughter, black slavery and expansionist wars.

Perhaps in later volumes Caro will recognize Lyndon Baines Johnson as a legitimate descendant of the American experience, as a child of America's cultural hegemony. [March 18, 1990]

### Vanity Fair

Notes on the sublime and the beautiful by a Mr. Kevin Sesums, trapped in Madonna's cave and discoursing on a unique seascape of Frida Kahlo, the Mexican artist and bomb-thrower:

In the entrance foyer is another Kahlo, titled *My Birth*. The small painting depicts Kahlo's mother in bed with the sheets folded back over her head. All that can be seen of the mother are her opened legs, the head of the adult Kahlo painfully emerging from her mother's gaping vagina. There is blood in the painting. There is anger there. Sorrow.

"If somebody doesn't like this painting," Madonna says, "then I know they can't be my friend."

[April 1990]

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR JUNE 1990