

JOURNAL OF HATE STUDIES



Gonzaga University

INSTITUTE FOR ACTION AGAINST HATE

THE SCIENCE OF HATE

Volume 7 2008/09 Number 1

JOURNAL OF HATE STUDIES

GONZAGA UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE FOR
ACTION AGAINST HATE

Volume 7

2008-2009

Number 1

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The *Journal of Hate Studies* is published annually by the Gonzaga University Institute for Action Against Hate. The purpose of the Journal is to promote the sharing of interdisciplinary ideas and research relating to the study of what hate is, where it comes from, and how to combat it. The Gonzaga Institute for Action Against Hate is operated under the auspices of Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. The views expressed in the Journal are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Gonzaga Institute for Action Against Hate, Gonzaga University, the institutions with which the authors are affiliated, or the editors.

The Journal welcomes unsolicited manuscripts (including essays and shorter pieces) and suggestions for improving the Journal. Manuscripts and other communications should be sent to: Director, Gonzaga Institute for Action Against Hate, Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA 99258-0043.

The annual subscription rate is \$25. To order, please send name, mailing address, and check to: Gonzaga Institute for Action Against Hate, Gonzaga University, AD Box 43, Spokane, WA 99258-0043.

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Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines

The Institute for Action Against Hate is soliciting submissions for the eighth volume of the interdisciplinary Journal of Hate Studies.

We are interested in articles from various disciplines that address the topic of “The Other Among Us.” We are particularly interested in articles that focus on immigration, refugees, or second-generation peoples who may have been born in one country but are still seen as being representatives of another, tourists, and others who cross national borders. However, articles are also encouraged from a range of perspectives on engagement or disengagement with “the other” in our society, culture, and lives. A special invitation is extended to scholars from disciplines such as history, psychology, philosophy, women’s studies, cultural studies, anthropology, political science, social psychology, economics, literature, rhetoric, and religious studies.

Submissions are due by February 1, 2010 and should be between 5000-10,000 words. Submissions should include one hard copy and an electronic copy in MS Word format. Please do not submit PDF files. Submissions should be presented in APA format and, if necessary, contain endnotes rather than footnotes.

Address submissions and questions to the Gonzaga University Institute for Action Against Hate, AD Box 43, 502 E. Boone Avenue, Spokane WA 99258-0043; email address: againsthate@gonzaga.edu; phone: (509) 313-3665.

Preface

“I love mankind; it’s people I can’t stand.” This quotation from Charles Schultz’s Linus is brought to mind by the current volume of the *Journal of Hate Studies*. This year’s theme, “The Science of Hate,” has brought forth notions about how, under the auspices of some ideal that is sure to benefit humankind, science is used as a bottom line or a justification for horrendous behavior directed toward individuals or groups of individuals.

Like many other things, science is a tool. We choose the purposes to which it is put. We decide when our intellectual curiosity can, and whether it should, outweigh our humanity. Intellectuals, from Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein* to Oppenheimer in describing his work on the atomic bomb, have often referred to the allure of working out a puzzle that has never before been solved. Often the original purpose for solving the puzzle gets lost in the sheer power and ecstasy of problem-solving, of feeling one’s mind moving quickly and accurately around obstacles in order to find “the answer”—the ethical focus of the question having been lost on the way. These situations result in, as Oppenheimer put it, “the question of whether science is good for man.”

This question is one that can well be asked after reading any of the articles in this year’s *Journal*. We start on a hopeful note, with Edmund Glaser’s “Is There a Neuroscience of Hate?” Glaser, a professor in the Department of Physiology in the University of Maryland School of Medicine, acknowledges that thus far very little research has been done in the neuroscientific world to localize the origin of hate in the brain or to dissect its nature. Nevertheless, he offers excellent questions about how such studies might be conducted and muses about their implications in a way that evokes similar curiosity in the reader.

Science’s ability to answer difficult questions, and people’s use of it to pursue their own agendas, is addressed by James Mohr in the next article, “Oppression by Scientific Method: The Use of Science to ‘Other’ Sexual Minorities.” Mohr, the Interim Director of the Institute for Action Against Hate and Student Achievement Director of the Institute for Extended Learning, argues that various groups and individuals have conducted pseudo-scientific studies, or have distorted data, to present homosexuals as being the “other” and of an entirely different, and lesser, nature than heterosexuals. Mohr argues that this misuse of “science” is a way for heterosexuals to shore up their own identities by defining themselves as different from “inferior” homosexuals. He adds that these studies are based on heterosexist assumptions. “The study of homosexuality,” Mohr concludes, “is used by

organizations and individuals to justify limiting the rights and societal involvement of LGB individuals.”

Homosexuals were also “Othered” by the Nazis, as were Roma, Sinti, criminals, those with developmental disabilities, and, most famously, Jews. Steven Leonard Jacobs, Aaron Aronov, Endowed Chair of Judaic Studies and Associate Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Alabama, contributes to this volume with “Revisiting Hateful Science: The Nazi ‘Contribution’ to the Journey of Antisemitism.” Jacobs presents the Nazis’ scientific rationale and processes for extracting information from helpless and unconsenting victims in the name of the greater good. He does so specifically through an examination of the work of Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, a eugenicist and geneticist who described Jews as being very much a race apart from non-Jewish Germans. The article finishes with three graphic and disturbing photographs from Shamash, which are highly effective in reminding us that, as Jacobs puts it, “the sciences, too, can be perverted by its practitioners in the service of hate itself.”

Having examined the topic of hate, we turn to solutions in “Social Justice Leadership in Action: The Case of Tony Stewart.” Written by Kathy Canfield-Davis, Mary E. Gardiner, and Russell E. Joki, all of whom are professors in the Department of Counseling and School Psychology, Special Education and Educational Leadership at the University of Idaho, the study examines Stewart’s strategies and successes in fighting the impact of a white supremacist group in northern Idaho. The authors conducted interviews with Stewart and those who worked with him in his attempts to minimize the influence of the Aryan Nations. They learned that Stewart, who helped form the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations, achieved positive results through education and through drawing in those who were opposed to racism in theory, but had been reluctant to act upon their beliefs, believing that if they ignored racist behaviors they would go away. The elements Stewart brought to his leadership included a vision of equity within democracy, a willingness to take risks, tenacity, compassion, and inclusiveness—qualities which helped him to be instrumental in disabling a racist group in his community. The article concludes with the finding that educational practices and ongoing work may be vital components in the fight against hate.

Some would argue that rather than fighting against hate, we need to transform it—through transforming ourselves. In our interview with Buddhist monk Thupten Phelgye, who is the representative of the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan parliament-in-exile, Journal editor Joanie Eppinga asks Phelgye how we can counteract hatred. Phelgye answers by offering his view of what goes on inside a person who is consumed by hatred and how we can

best respond to keep ourselves from succumbing to the same destructive state of mind.

Jan Polek, a member of the Institute for Action Against Hate, reviewed Steven Baum's *The Psychology of Genocide: Perpetrators, Bystanders and Rescuers*. Baum is a lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the College of Santa Fe. In discussing each of the three reactions to genocide, Polek explains, Baum reflects the way in which their behaviors during a time of stress reflect their behavior in everyday life. Polek notes that Baum "attempts to identify the common mental and emotional traits of each group and to show how these traits flow out of social and personal identity." She commends the book's overview, concrete suggestions, and scholarly approach, concluding that the volume is a valuable addition to our attempts to reach higher ground in our communal life.

Baum takes a turn as reviewer with Israel Charny's *Fighting Suicide Bombing: A Worldwide Campaign for Life*. Baum reports that Charny describes suicide bombing as pathological, and those who engage in it as mentally ill. According to Baum, Charny decries the politically-correct stance of being unwilling to indict particular aspects of Islamic culture or teachings because of a well-intended but exaggerated respect for other cultures. All honor cultures, Charny notes, have their pockets of pathology, and it does us no good to ignore them. At the same time, Baum heavily disagrees with other reviewers who accuse Charny of being Islamophobic, noting that Charny "bends over backwards. . . to implicate politics rather than religion." Charny simply believes that "normal people want to live," and draws his conclusions from that premise. In summary, Baum thinks that Charny's is both the best book available on the topic and worthy of note.

The question of normality is further addressed in Edmund Glaser's review of two books by Ulf Schmidt, a professor of Modern History at the University of Kent and a Research Associate at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford. Schmidt has written *Justice at Nuremberg: Leo Alexander and the Nazi Doctors' Trial*, and *Karl Brandt—The Nazi Doctor: Medicine and Power in the Third Reich*. Here we revisit the question asked so often: How could seemingly normal doctors commit such heinous acts against humans in the interests of science? Glaser expresses the wish that Schmidt would have gone deeper in his attempts to probe Brandt's thoughts and behaviors, but notes that what Schmidt called Brandt's "idealism" can be seen in the statement Brandt made at his trial: "The demands of society are put above every human being. . . The individual person had no meaning whatsoever." Again, this is the kind of misguided thinking that led to heinous actions being committed against individuals in the name of helping humanity.

Glaser's review of Schmidt's book about Alexander explains that

Alexander was a German-born doctor who immigrated to America and ended up being an expert witness who helped secure guilty verdicts against the Nazi doctors in the Nuremberg Medical Trials. Again Glaser mentions his chagrin at not finding more in-depth information in the book. Glaser, who was a photographer at the Nuremberg Medical Trials, had hoped to find information that would be highly revelatory about those involved, but was disappointed. He does note that the main character in each book is fascinating, but finishes with the assessment that Schmidt does a good job of showing the way and the ease with which an “abominable medical culture” was formed; however, he doesn’t show why people accepted that culture. Yet, as Glaser also acknowledges, the commentary concerning these regular people who chose to behave reprehensibly “will never be complete.”

In a continued exploration of the science of hatred, this volume concludes with Jan Polek’s review of Steven Tosco’s film *The Face of Fear*, which addresses the idea that evil is accompanied by particular physiological components. Polek suggests that the film relies too heavily on one case study, which is not enough to offer significant evidence either to support or refute the hypothesis. She also found the film pedantic and suggests that it is perhaps better suited to graduate students than to a general audience. Ultimately, according to Polek, this film does little to further our understanding of hate.

At the Institute for Action Against Hate, furthering our understanding of hate is one of our primary goals, coupled with a desire to use that understanding to combat and, ideally and eventually, eliminate hate and its disastrous repercussions. Toward that goal, this year we launched our first interdisciplinary course on hate: *Why People Hate: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. The course, which was team-taught by five professors, explored the construct of hate from historical, psychological, sociological, organizational, and criminal justice perspectives. The goal of this course was not just to examine how the phenomenon of hatred is approached differently by various academic disciplines, but also how to tie these disparate approaches together in order to better understand how hatred works, individually and collectively.

Along with offering this class on hate, the Institute is exploring ways of going one step further. We are seeking to establish the first Certificate of Hate Studies offered at any university. This study of hate will involve, as Ken Stern put it in the 2003/04 volume of this journal, “inquiries into the human capacity to define, and then dehumanize or demonize, an ‘other,’ and the processes which inform and give expression to, or can curtail, control or combat, that capacity.” Through the completion of such a certificate, students can bring a deep understanding of hate and how it manifests itself

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PREFACE

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to any career field they choose to enter, including psychology, sociology, criminal justice, education, communication, law, and many others.

We are pleased to introduce the seventh volume of the *Journal of Hate Studies*. It is our hope that you will find this issue a relevant addition to your library and an important resource for studying the topic of hate.

James Mohr, Interim Director

Joanie Eppinga, Editor

Gonzaga University Institute for Action Against Hate

Is There a Neurobiology of Hate?

Edmund M. Glaser

I. INTRODUCTION

Some months ago at a Holocaust conference in Scottsdale, I had the pleasure of hearing a provocative presentation by Kenneth Stern on the sources of antisemitism and how antisemitism might be related to hatred. This occurred shortly after I had talked at the same conference about my experiences in 1946-1947 as a U.S. Army motion picture photographer at the Nuremberg Medical Trials, where I had witnessed and made sound movies of the trial of the 23 defendants, mostly physicians, accused of experimenting on concentration camp victims and causing the deaths of untold numbers of them. So I thought I had some firsthand experience of hatred and the individuals who practiced it. Most of my subsequent career has been centered on performing research in the neurosciences: neurophysiology and neuroanatomy. Stern and I had a brief discussion and I asked whether anyone had given any consideration to studying the role of the brain in order to understand the neurobiological origins and mechanisms of hate. His answer was that little if any attention had been devoted to that question, that the brain was essentially *cerebro incognito*; he urged me then to explore the topic and see what I might come up with. Naively, I agreed. So gradually I found myself sliding into the subject, not knowing where I would wind up. I found out soon enough that despite having had that firsthand, vivid Nuremberg experience, I knew little of hate's nature or explanations about its roots in the brain. I further found out that not many others had that knowledge.

This presentation is the result of my chat with Stern. It is an attempt to survey the kind of knowledge, and speculation as well, that neuroscience has provided about the brain's role in hate. To jump to the answer: there is surprisingly little that neuroscience has to offer on the topic. The reason is that the problem in relating the two is a difficult one for a variety of reasons. In the rest of this presentation I shall try to explain why that is by providing a basic introduction to a neuroscientific approach to hatred.

This presentation is intended as a synopsis of brain neuroscience as it might relate to hatred. I have tried to avoid as much as possible offering explanations of hate behavior that are not directly related to what is known about human brain function.

II. SOME BRAIN BASICS - PHYSIOLOGY, ANATOMY AND CHEMISTRY

However well we think we understand human behavior, we cannot understand it fully without understanding how the brain functions. Much is known, but uncertainty remains about how much of behavior is influenced by factors external to the brain and how much is influenced by the brain's inherited and inherent structure and by inheritance. This remains a puzzle to be solved.

In the years following WWII it was recognized that the nervous system, and the brain in particular, functioned in what was akin to the way electronic computers work, then a new technology. Much of our current way of looking at the brain has been influenced by our knowledge of computers, and much of the jargon of brain science has adopted computer terminology. Many of the terms that I use below have their origins in the analogy between the brain and the computer.

Simply put, in anatomical terms the brain is a vast assembly of neurons, the cells that are responsible for generating the behaviors that encompass physical movement, sensory perception, human emotions, and human intelligence itself. Neurons are not all alike. When seen through the microscope, their shapes, or morphologies, are different; and so are their internal structures, their micro-anatomy. The most obvious differences are in their size and shape, as well as in their slender branch-like extensions, their dendrites and axons by which they send and receive coded electrical messages and which determine how many communication connections (synapses) they make with other neurons both near to them and more distant. This variability in morphology is associated with an axiom of neuroscience: that different form connotes different function. Less visually obvious are the types of coded messages they send one another. The code (it may vary from neuron to neuron) appears simple, but has defied understanding for years. To transmit these messages, a neuron makes use of various types of brain chemicals called neurotransmitters.

Neurons join with one another to form neural networks that exchange information among themselves. Neural networks are best understood as constituting an assembly of neuronal computers that perform different functions in their differently located regions of the brain. But even though they are localized, they are tied together by these neural networks in ways that we do not yet fully understand. In particular, in the brain there is bidirectional communication among the systems, and this makes it difficult to tease out which element of the system is responsible for the expression of emotions or other behavior. Similarly, a malfunction of one of the system's elements will lead to disturbances elsewhere in the brain.

A prominent point of view is that many parts of the brain are "hard-

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wired”: that is, the brain circuitry is fixed and the interneuronal pathways are not changed by rewiring the axons that connect one location to another. However, the strength of these pathways can be altered to affect how much influence a particular pathway has upon the brain center to which it sends signals. (Not all pathways are equal in their influence.) This type of fluctuating influence occurs constantly and is responsible for the magnificent subtleties of thought processes. The alteration in the influence provided by the communicating pathways is controlled in part by the neurotransmitters. A variety of them are active in different parts of the brain. In some parts of the brain, for example those concerned with the sensory information involved in touch, hearing, and sight, the levels of the neurotransmitters are largely invariant. In other parts, as in those regions concerned with emotional activity, the levels of the transmitters are constantly fluctuating and consequently brain activity there fluctuates despite the fact that the brain circuitry there is largely fixed. Some parts of the brain are plastic, that is, they can be modified by increases and decreases in the strengths of the connections between the neurons. Learning and relearning is an example of this plasticity. One can say that in this sense the brain can be, in computer terminology, programmed and reprogrammed.

It is a fundamental tenet of neuroscience that each brain region is associated with a particular function or set of related functions, such as the previously mentioned sensory functions of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. These regions occupy only a fraction of the entire brain. The brain regions in which we are most interested are those that are concerned with emotions and, in particular, fear, anxiety, apprehension, and anger. Emotional behavior originates in a complex network of neuronal nuclei (centers) that are situated both in the hypothalamus and a more diffuse, closely situated region called the limbic system. The functional relationships between these brain regions are quite complex and still not fully understood. But there are two regions included within this complex that are attracting more attention in the understanding of emotion: the amygdala and the hippocampus. We will return to this subject later.

Neuroscientists, perhaps most strongly of all scientists, have long been pursuing an understanding of these emotions and the regions with which they are associated. This current field of investigation is a part of what has been called cognitive neuroscience. The emotions are observable in many animal species, including primates. But it is essential in experimental neuroscience that the emotions be defined in terms that meet objective scientific criteria so that the experimental results can be verified by others performing the same or similar experiments. These experiments range from using microelectrodes to observe the electrical activity of individual neurons; to observing the EEG, the combined electrical activity of large groups

of neurons; to viewing MRI brain images such as the fMRI that give an indication of the metabolic activity of brain regions that respond to experimental stimuli. In the case of the limbic system, these might be pictures or voices that are intended to provoke the subject's emotional response. There are, for example, fMRI studies related to the localization of brain regions associated with anxiety (Etkin & Wager, 2007).

This brief presentation has considered only the normal brain. But as we know, not all brains are normal. They can be afflicted with a variety of pathologies that can occur throughout life. Particularly worth mentioning are those problems that may affect the emotional brain. All of them fall under the classification of neuropathology. They include imbalances in the neurotransmitters that are essential to normal neuronal communication. The imbalances may include a deficit or an excess of neurotransmitters. (I have excluded a discussion of substances of abuse introduced into the brain, that is, drugs. They only broaden the problem.) The result is that people with such imbalances suffer a variety of emotional and behavioral problems. This is an area of study that is now being intensively pursued; so I can observe only that there are ongoing studies about inherent brain abnormalities that affect emotion.

A useful introduction to the neurosciences is Barker, Barasi, and Neal's 2008 work, *Neuroscience at a Glance*.

III. WHAT IS HATE?

Hate is a bewilderingly elusive word in its everyday usage. Dictionary and thesaurus definitions range from a feeling of something that is casually aversive to something that is profoundly so, for example, from "dislike" to "odium." Here are a few common examples of its use in English:

"I hate to bother you."

"Oh, how I hate to get up in the morning. Oh how I hate to get out of bed." [Irving Berlin, 1917 WWI song.]

"I hate niggers" [or Jews, or Muslims, or whomever].

Other languages must surely have similarly ambivalent examples of their own. All that we can deduce from these expressions is that the word seems to cover the range from a mildly negative opinion to a powerful negative emotion that can indicate the speaker's disposition to commit violence. In a sense, *hate* functions here as a placeholder waiting to be replaced by a more specific term. Still, we all seem to know what real hate is, and it is closer to the last expression than the first. How do we get from there to a scientific definition that will permit the formulation of neuros-

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scientific experiments designed to localize a place in the brain that gives rise to hate? At present, most neuroscientists ignore hate because it is too vague a term to work with; its existence is rarely acknowledged in brain research. Perhaps “hatred,” which is a more tightly defined term, should always be used in place of hate to signify that the feeling being addressed is one leaning toward intensity, that is, odium.

But practical difficulties also arise in attempting to deal with localizing hate within the brain. Neuroscience is advanced in terms of experiments on individual subjects, whether they be animals or humans. A single animal at a time can be tested while a microelectrode is situated within his brain to detect and record neuron activity. And a single animal or human can be studied while he is located within an MRI imaging system. This limitation can ultimately constrain how much effect neuroscience can have on understanding hate, which is a phenomenon often implicating more than one individual at a time.

Let’s see where we are, then, as far as a neuroscience of hate is concerned. There is no consensus on a definition of hatred that is scientifically useful to neuroscientists. Without one, it is useless to conduct brain studies on the presence and location of a “hate” region within the brain. Such experiments will produce nothing more than controversy in interpreting results of experiments that try to deal with hatred.

Only a few investigators have claimed the existence of a “hate” region somewhere in the brain (see below), and none has claimed it exists specifically within the limbic system. If a “hate” region exists within the brain, most investigators believe it is likely to be located within a confined brain region of the area that is referred to as the limbic system. A number of regions within the limbic system have been found that can be correlated with the emotions of fear, aggression, and anxiety. That is, these regions exhibit higher levels of brain activity when an experimental subject is exposed to situations designed to evoke such emotions. The amygdala is a principal example of a region exhibiting such an association with hate responsiveness.

Given the sparseness of the findings associated with localized responses that may be associated with hate as an emotion, hate responsiveness may turn out to be diffusely spread throughout a variety of brain centers and not be readily apparent to experimental probing that is performed by fMRI brain imaging. The fMRI is mostly directed toward the detection of highly active concentrated regions of brain activity, which are detected by their increases in local brain blood flow.

I make no claim that this list is exhaustive. What I want to point out is that there is so far a disconnect between current investigations of hate and neuroscientific studies of the emotions.

IV. CONJECTURES ON THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF HATRED

From what I have presented above, it is not clear that anyone has demonstrated any strong link between hatred and an anatomical location within the brain. There are ample reasons to surmise that such a connection exists, but, given the current status of neuroscience, there are few who would claim a strong link between hatred and the function of any particular brain center. Thus, the most suitable thing to do is to follow the leads that exist and make some suggestions and conjectures. The rest of this presentation has that goal.

The most persuasive argument about a brain hatred center is that hate is traditionally referred to as an emotion. If that is so, then the most likely place for a center of neurons that is responsible for generating hate emotions would be the limbic system. That is, there “ought” to be a limbic center of hatred. I could go further and speculate that if that is so, the hate center would have strong connections between centers that are responsible for fear and aggression and with memory, the latter because memory seems to be a vital component of human actions that are identified with hatred. A difficulty with this conjecture is that the only human brain study to date involving fMRI data (Zeki & Romaya, 2008) was performed on presumably normal human subjects and specifically points to structures outside the limbic system as sites for hate-related responses. It localizes the brain’s hate responses to two regions. The first is called the insula. It is a part of the cerebral cortex and is considered to be closely related to the limbic system. The putamen, on the other hand, is part of a structure called the basal ganglia and has at present an unclear role in emotional behavior. It is known to be involved with motor function. Thus, the outcome of this particular investigation is somewhat puzzling, making it hard to draw any conclusion about a hate center, but it does at least point to the likelihood that indeed there are brain sites associated with hatred and that the circuitry may be exceedingly complex. Furthermore, we still have the complication of how to deal with the investigators’ definition of hate, and we still need to consider that hate in its extreme forms may be a pathological phenomenon not occurring in normal humans. The point to be made is that it appears that there is evidence of hate-specific activity in the brain, something that can be localized and measured and that can lead to a better understanding of how to deal with the mechanism of hatred in humans before it erupts disastrously. We could postulate, for example, that if the hate center(s) is(are) inhibited, as by some yet-unknown medication targeting hate neurons, hate would be suppressed or removed, and the brain and the person would continue hate-free until the drug is discontinued. One might also suggest that there are other centers in the brain that connect to the hate center and are

capable of reducing or inhibiting its activity. By modifying the activity of these centers, therefore, one could also increase or decrease the level of hatred. But this kind of speculation goes far beyond simply pointing out that in a neuroscientific context, hate seems to exist in the brain and may be localized in several brain centers that may modulate its “flavor,” that is, the way it manifests itself.

Now that we have touched on some aspects of the link between emotions and the limbic system, we can concentrate a little more on hate. But to do this in an acceptably neuroscientific way, we have first to know exactly what we mean by that word. Is hate by itself a free-standing emotion, or is it much more complex, some combination or assembly of other emotions, functioning together in a comprehensive assembly to produce the vicious actions that we commonly associate with hate? The notion of a hate center is rooted in the idea that hate has a biological foundation, that it arose from evolutionary causes that promote species survival as do emotions of fear and aggression. If hate exists in animals, one would expect it to be reported on for many species. The literature on hate in non-human species is sparse at best—almost nonexistent. There is no reference to hate in Wilson’s pioneering text *Sociobiology* beyond the discussion associated with aggression and competition. From this brief survey it appears that hatred does not exist in animals, that it arises *de novo* in humans. One explanation for this is that hate is a memory-dependent behavior, and to be evoked, it must be as a result of memories of previous experiences that provoke vengeance, fear, anxiety, rage, all emotions that are certainly represented in the limbic system. But vengeance, which seems to be a hallmark of hate, is absent in animals. If this be the case, then hate becomes a more complex behavior that is present only in humans. So animals behave more on a moment-to-moment basis as far as the limbic-based emotions are concerned. At least, that is what I assume to be the case. Then we have to blame hate on humans exclusively. But if we haven’t found the neural correlate of hate in the limbic system, does that mean that it doesn’t exist there, that it exists somewhere else in the brain? Or is it a combination of the two? We can also fall back even further and say that the underlying mechanisms for hate are so diffusely distributed in the brain that we may never pin its source down to one group of neurons or a specific brain circuit.

What about hate as a normally occurring human brain function? A recent article by Seabrook (2008) discusses the topic of psychopathy by reviewing the work of neuroscientists Kent Kiehl, Robert Hare, and several others. Psychopathy is a term used to describe individuals with severe personality disorders. Primary among them is acting without conscience. Kiehl is working with convicted criminals who have been diagnosed as psychopathic. He is attempting to link their problems to specific dysfunctions

of the brain. He has specifically named a brain region he labels the paralimbic system as being implicated in psychopathy, often in criminals convicted of violent, even horrendous crimes. According to accepted descriptions of psychopaths, one of their major behavioral attributes is acting without conscience. They are also said to be charming and intelligent, unreliable, dishonest, irresponsible, self-centered, emotionally shallow, and lacking in empathy and insight. Taken together, these personality characteristics could be applied to many of the major sufferers from and/or invokers of hatred throughout history. I also add the further comment of Kiehl that one of the professions likely to attract a psychopath is medicine (law enforcement, the military, and politics are others).

This comment is not made frivolously. In 1946-1947, when I was present as a U.S. Army motion picture photographer at the Nuremberg Medical Trials, I had the unique opportunity to witness and photograph the trials of the 23 defendants, mostly physicians, accused of horrendous medical experiments on concentration camp inmates. They were accused of actively participating in an array of horrendous medical experiments leading to the death and torture of uncounted inmates. Before the war they gave no outward indication of being anything other than intelligent, respected physicians. They left no surviving written hate-tainted or antisemitic writings or correspondence. During the trial they often expressed offense at the fact that they were on trial for their lives. That they could be sufferers from hate and brain pathology struck me only during the preparation of this paper.

The Appendix contains a more impressive bit of evidence that I encountered at the Nuremberg Medical Trials that suggests a link between psychopathy and hate. It arises from the correspondence of Dr. Sigmund Rascher, one of the more notorious of the concentration camp physicians and a subordinate of Heinrich Himmler. The history of Rascher and his wife at the end of the war is confusing. But Rascher never survived to get to the trials because he was shot at Himmler's order just at the war's end, probably to prevent him from testifying. (Rascher's equally despicable wife was also Himmler's secretary and possibly his part-time mistress. She was also shot by the Nazis before the end of the war.) It does seem clear that Rascher was behaving in some well-thought-out manner. Was it that Rascher was acting in his own best interests, playing a career-oriented game directed to advance his career and satisfy his psychopathy? To what extent might hatred be involved? Only continued research will establish a link between psychopathy and hate.

Let me pause here to emphasize that when I refer to a neuroscience of hate I am speaking about a link within an individual, human or animal, and that the presentation is intended to suggest that hate can be localized within the brain. What I have ignored is hate that goes beyond the individual

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brain. To put it in another way, inter-brain hatred exists. It will come as no surprise to anyone that the communication of hatred between individuals is commonplace and has resulted in incredible violence for thousands of years. There is no shortage of examples. Then, using our brain hatred model as a guide, is it fair to say that there is some sort of inter-brain transmission communication pathway by which one brain's hate center can reach another's brain and evoke (infect?) the same sort of neural activity there? Rather than pursue this diversionary notion further, I might also suggest that the propagation of hatred, mass hatred, to be truly successful in its violent ends, may require the existence of a hate region existing in specialized variations or mutations in different brains. The neuroscience of hatred would then be far more complex than we might now believe. I refer here to Cullen (2004) and his comments on the youths involved in the mass killings at Columbine. Besides referring to psychopathy, his claim is that the two killers behaved in a symbiotic way—that the killings could not have occurred without the two complementing one another. I can speculate here that hate, at least in its stronger manifestations, is a group phenomenon, that is that its evocation requires the cooperation of more than one individual or brain. One can envision experimental studies of several behaving subjects who can communicate with one another and whose electrical brain responses are studied simultaneously while they are permitted to interact in a test paradigm designed to evoke hate reactions. I am not aware that this kind of experiment has ever been attempted. But it certainly seems feasible and might show that several people (or more) acting in concert can generate some form of virulent hate behavior. This would indeed be a difficult hypothesis to prove, of course, and not neuroscience as I have introduced it. I only wish to point out that using a brain-oriented point of view can help broaden the perspective on hatred and perhaps result in new insights, if not scientific results.

We can add here another factor which is a vital ingredient in terms of how the brain as a whole works, not just the limbic system. As we are finding out, the brain does not come to us at birth fully wired, as the term is used, with all its neurons and circuitry and brain chemistry pre-configured. All the structural elements, down to cellular and subcellular elements of the brain, are determined by the DNA that the owner of the brain inherits from his or her forebears. As a result, an individual's debilities arise to an extent not yet fully understood from the genetic factors that are represented in the DNA. Upon these inherited influences are built the factors provided by an individual's culture and environment. This is not the place, nor am I the one, to discuss this in depth, other than to say that the brain works according to its genetic endowment that influences its anatomy as well as by what it learns. To a certain extent the structure of the brain is constant across a

species, but with important differences that are determined by the DNA that is passed from generation to generation. Individual variations in the DNA result in neurons that differ in small but important ways in their structure and in their neurochemistry. Sometimes the variations are large enough to produce debilitating diseases. More commonly, the differences produce differences in individuals that lead to the behavioral variations that we recognize within a normal population. This includes all the emotional problems to which civilization is subject, among them hate.

Emotions are the internal experiences of an individual, although they may be communicated to others by speech and images and by other methods that fall outside the range of neuroscience. While communication is a major aspect of emotion, emotion may be present in an individual without the awareness of others. Central questions are: (a) is hatred hard-wired, like the well known flight-or-fight reaction, or is it learned? (b) where does it originate? Is it in one specific location, or is it spread throughout many brain centers, complicating scientific exploration, or at least making it very difficult to pursue?

At this moment there appears to be only one practical way to detect the existence of hate in the brain: place a human subject inside an fMRI imaging system and run him or her through a gamut of psychological tests. The images resulting will reveal whether there was an increase in cerebral blood flow in a particular area(s) during the time the intentionally (and supposedly) hateful stimulus was applied. The duration of the response will necessarily be limited in time because of all the physical limitations of the experiment. So we can detect the presence of hate somewhere in the brain only for a short period. The response goes away, the subject goes away, but does the subject's evoked hate go away? The most positive result we would have for such a test would be to find a region that is highly active for a brief time in response to what we hope was a hateful stimulus. We would have found what works in one normal person. We would have therefore only opened the door to discovering hate in the brain. Finding one region that is positive for hate would not mean that there are not others. There may be other regions that are subthreshold hate responders that we do not yet know how to activate using all the complex stimuli that we know must exist. There may be hate regions that have more complex responses and involve emotions only as the culminating component of their actions. Other complicating possibilities exist. It could be that we will find hate only in limited (pathological?) populations. And because we are limited to experiments that can examine only one person at a time, we won't have anything to say about hatred that is beyond person-to-person odium.

V. CONCLUSION

Like all science, neuroscience moves cautiously and deliberately, hesitant to make pronouncements and “discoveries” that may later turn out to be rash or wrong. This is particularly true concerning research on the awake, behaving brain, and even more so when it is the human brain. The study of human emotion is particularly vulnerable to this difficulty. There is a hesitance to enter into investigations that can provoke public controversy and outcry. In brain science the emphasis on understanding human emotions has focused on emotions that are associated with mental health and disease. In the United States, as elsewhere, this means the concern is with emotional disorders that are associated with medically identified mental disease. In the lexicon of mental disease entities, there is no syndrome specifically associated with hate. This emotion, or whatever it is, remains outside the realm of medical science. And it remains mainly outside the field of animal biology. This strange situation exists even though everyone knows about hate, its existence and its loathsome history. We as scientists can talk about it, read literature and listen to operas about it, decry its existence, but we don’t know how to handle it as a definable entity that can be probed and examined scientifically. Perhaps it is just too hot a potato for anyone to deal with scientifically or politically. Its definition is controversial at best. Is hatred just a “placeholder” term referring to a single emotion or to a set of emotions? Is it represented in a specific anatomical location within the brain, or is it diffusely distributed, requiring training to become fully developed and mature? Does it exist for genetic reasons more in some individuals and groups than in others? Is it a malfunction of brain structure and chemistry? Or does it have no particular brain correlate whatever—is it strictly a product of cultural upbringing? Not all the speculations can be true. The sobering fact is that without a link between hate as it is commonly recognized and a scientific insight into it as human behavior caused by brain structure, it will be difficult to do more than continue producing speculations as to how to explain it and how to control and eliminate it. I am left with the uncomfortable belief that much of hate springs from genetic factors and that, in the course of time, it is quite possible that the world will be afflicted with another individual whose talents for invoking hatred will be even greater than those of Hitler.

I can only hope that this work will promote further thought and encourage a new point of view in hate studies and in opening new approaches to the understanding of the mechanisms of hate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Ken Stern for persistently encouraging me to pursue this work. Dra, Guillermina Yankelevich provided many useful comments as well as the office facilities I used to prepare this manuscript while at the Instituto de Biomedicas of the UNAM in Mexico City. Frank Hanson, a long time colleague, offered helpful neuroscientific criticism and insightful suggestions that helped me clarify the presentation.

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APPENDIX

HATRED, PSYCHOPATHY, OR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY KILLER?
DR. RASCHER LETTER TO HEINRICH HIMMLER [TRANSLATION]

Dear Mr. Reich Leader:

My humble thanks for your warm congratulations and the flowers on the occasion of the birth of my second son! It is a lusty boy again this time, though he arrived three weeks prematurely. Perhaps you will permit me to send you a snapshot of the children some time.

I would like to have a third child very soon, and I am very grateful to you, dear Mr. Reich Leader, for your help in making the marriage possible. SS Colonel Sollmann told me today by telephone that the 165 marks in question, lacking for a marriage, will be supplied by the "R" account and

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will be included in the Ahnenerbe check. I thank you with all my heart! The Air Force has already seen my passport, but I still need a brief certificate confirming my aryan descent. I shall dictate a draft to Nini D, when I leave tomorrow, and she will then send it to you, dear Mr. Reich Leader.

I also wish to thank you warmly for the generous regular remittance, of special importance to mother and child at this time . . . I therefore ask this question in all seriousness: Cannot two or three professional criminals be made available for these experiments? The experiments will be conducted at the "Air Force Ground-Level Testing Station for High-Altitude Research" in Munich. The experiments, during which, of course, the test persons may die, will proceed with my collaboration. hey are definitely of importance in high-altitude flight research, and cannot be conducted with monkeys, as has been tried, since monkeys react altogether differently. I have talked about this matter in strict confidence with the deputy air surgeon who will conduct these experiments and he shares my view that the problems in question can be clarified only by way of experiments on human beings. (Feebleminded persons might also be used as testing material.)

Oppression by Scientific Method: The Use of Science to “Other” Sexual Minorities

James M. Mohr

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) civil rights have become a major focus of the legislative agenda of a variety of organizations in support of and in opposition to those rights. This growing interest in LGB civil rights can be seen through the increasing news reports and political discussions concerning marriage equality, the addition of sexual orientation as a protected class to hate crime laws and workplace nondiscrimination legislation, the elimination of the military’s “don’t ask don’t tell” policy, and the right of LGB people to adopt children. As these issues move to the forefront, different groups attempt to use scientific reports, studies, and perspectives as one way to promote their viewpoints.

It is important to research the use of science by anti-LGB organizations because scientific and medical theories about homosexuality have been used to create and justify norms and values related to sexual relations and used to support anti-LGB policies (Terry, 1999). These theories are often considered objective and a simple reporting of the facts as they exist. However, science is often political and used to promote specific social agendas (Harding, 1991, p. 10). For example, scientists have spent more than two centuries attempting to prove the superiority of upper-class, white males over all other races and classes (Tucker, 1994).

The use of science to justify prejudice, stereotypes, and hatred has not been limited to this explication of racial essences. Science also has a history of reinforcing anti-LGB biases (Rosario, 2002; Terry, 1999). This paper examines the rooting of science in heterosexist biases, its uses in anti-LGB discourses, and its role in the Othering process of LGB people. The growth of science as an important way of understanding the world, explaining scientific heterosexism, and defining the Othering process is examined in this study. It is important to note that this paper does not focus on the accuracy of the science used by anti-LGB organizations—only on how it is used and misused within an anti-LGB discourse. Many of the studies referred to throughout this paper that claim to demonstrate the problems with LGB people have already been challenged on methodological, ethical, and interpretive grounds by a number of authors (Bohan, 1996; J.C. Gonsiorek, 1982; John C. Gonsiorek & Weinrich, 1991; Hooker, 1957; LeVay, 1997; Richardson, 1993; Schuklenk & Ristow, 1996). In other cases, anti-LGB organizations misuse legitimate studies to Other LGB individuals. The use of science by anti-LGB organizations in these ways is less about deepening

our understanding of homosexuality and more about promoting a specific political agenda, as will be seen in this paper.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the West, the relationship between science and values began to be transformed during the Renaissance (Longino, 1990, p. 162), with the Enlightenment raising science to serve as the epitome of enlightened reason (Hamilton, 1996, p. 37); and in modern American society science became institutionalized as the best way to understand the world (Terry, 1999, p. 11). Science is seen in this manner because it provides a framework for discovering and understanding natural and human phenomena without the use of theological, cultural, or other subjective biases. It acquires knowledge through the use of observation and experimentation. This acceptance of science was supposed to signal a movement away from beliefs based on superstition, religious faith, and subjectivity, and one toward beliefs supported by reason, objectivity, and scientific understanding. However, religious and juridical concepts about homosexuality were incorporated into scientific research, allowing for new justifications of old prejudices and biases (Terry, 1999, p. 11; Wood, 2000). For example, psychoanalytic theories arose from an assumption that homosexuality was pathological and unhealthy, an assumption which then served as the foundation for the construction of psychological models of homosexuality (Rosario, 2002, p. 267). It was also theorized that the gay man had a woman's soul merged in his male body (Bohan, 1996), demonstrating the connection of a religious concept, soul, with psychological concepts of mental illness. Homosexuality quickly became labeled as a disease as part of a scientific movement to medicalize diverse social phenomena such as alcoholism, unconventional sexual behaviors, and insanity (Drescher, 1998). One of the benefits of using science was that people could now claim their biases and assumptions were based on objective criteria as observed in nature, granting a sense of authority to their preconceived views that was not necessarily deserved.

These claims of objectivity were based on the idea that scientists study their topic from an unbiased perspective when their own personal or professional interests are not at stake (Porter, 1995, p. 4). These claims are furthered by the notion that scientific research appeals solely to reason and is untouched by cultural and historical forces (Gaukroger, 2006). This impartial pursuit of knowledge, often based on the scientific method, is considered the way to uncover an understanding of the world. Scientific discourse quickly became a privileged way of speaking about human diversity, including homosexuality (Terry, 1999, p. 29). Though claims of objectivity and impartiality are contested, especially when they are presented in the

absence of historical and cultural context, these ideas have found their way into people's understanding of science (Gaukroger, 2006). In many cases, scientists injected their research on nature into political arguments to justify oppression (Tucker, 1994, p. 6). Just as racist and sexist attitudes guided research into racial hierarchies and the differences between the sexes, heterosexist bias is another of the unstated assumptions that often underlies scientific research. This bias expresses itself as scientific heterosexism.

I use the phrase *scientific heterosexism* to refer to the use of scientific principles, findings, and methods to support the assumption that everyone should be heterosexual but that due to an abnormality, whether psychological, biological, or cultural, some individuals will be homosexual, and that it is possible to uncover these abnormalities and correct them. Heterosexuality is privileged as the preferred sexual orientation and serves as a baseline for research into sex, sexuality, and gender. A further assumption is that heterosexuality and homosexuality are polar opposites and that heterosexuals can serve as a control group for determining what is different about homosexuals (Gagnon, 1987, p. 122). In this binary model, bisexuality is barely considered and is often ignored even though it may be different from homosexuality and heterosexuality (Garnets & Kimmel, 1993, p. 112).

The heterosexist bias of this discourse can be observed as having started in the 1860s when the professional community began studying "sexual perversions," which were considered to be any sexual activity that did not lead to reproduction (Rosario, 2002, p. 14). This perspective caused homosexual sexual activity to be associated with sexual perversity, leading scientists and physicians to connect their research into sexual perversions with the societal discourse concerning what to do with the social problems associated with homosexuality (Terry, 1999, p. 8). The basic premise of this research into and discourse on the origins of homosexuality assumes that there is a deviation from a person's normal growth that causes the individual to develop a homosexual instead of a heterosexual orientation. The research focuses on a search for this difference to explain the existence of homosexuality rather than focusing on what causes the development of a person's sexual orientation in general. These assumptions and this focus are rooted in the prevalent heterosexist assumptions of society in which anyone who deviates from heterosexuality must have a defect. It is this strong cultural bias against homosexuality, rather than unbiased scientific interest, that explains the efforts of scientists to locate this individual abnormality (Gagnon, 1987, p. 121).

The heterosexist assumptions within scientific research into homosexuality can be documented in many of the scientific disciplines. This paper, however, focuses on briefly discussing the role of heterosexism in the areas of biology and psychology, since they are the disciplines most often used in

anti-LGB discourse. There are a number of authors who can be read by readers who are interested in a more detailed analysis of the role of heterosexist biases in the process of how the sciences developed their perspectives on homosexuality (Bohan, 1996; LeVay, 1997; Rosario, 2002; Terry, 1999).

The biological sciences have been used to search for differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals, with these differences providing possible explanations for the causes of homosexuality. Originally, when biological reasons were sought to explain homosexuality, it was considered a medical condition representing a pathology that needed treatment (Bohan, 1996, p. 17). An example of the pathological assumptions related to homosexuality was one theory that became popular in the nineteenth century, which claimed that homosexuality was caused by progressive hereditary degeneration (Rosario, 2002, p. 19). It was claimed that the homosexual's relatives were degenerates and neurotics who passed their defects on to successive generations with cumulative intensity, leading to a person's homosexuality (Terry, 1999, p. 47). The research analysis and conclusions of these biological explanations were driven by heterosexist assumptions. More recently, differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals have been explored in the hypothalamus (LeVay, 1991), suprachiasmatic nucleus (Swaab & Hofman, 1990), anterior commissure (Allen & Gorski, 1992), fingerprints (Hall & Kimura, 1994), finger size (Williams et al., 2000), auditory system (McFadden & Pasanen, 1998), penis size (Bogaert & Hershberger, 1999), hair whorl direction (Rahman, Clarke, & Morera, 2009), birth order (Blanchard, 1997), chromosome Xq28 (Hu, Pattatucci, Patterson, Li, Fulker, Cherny et al., 1995), and twin studies (Bailey & Pillard, 1991).

One fundamental assumption underlying current biological research into homosexuality is that there are only two sexes (Terry, 1999, p. 33), even though until the eighteenth century it was believed that there was one sex and that women represented less developed men (Laqueur, 1992, pp. 150-151). The transformation of this belief was driven not by new discoveries, but by shifting power relations between the sexes (Laqueur, 1992, p. 152), and it allowed for maleness and femaleness to be theorized as representing opposite poles, with homosexuality landing somewhere in the middle. This conceptualization means that male homosexuality is associated with femininity and female homosexuality is linked with masculinity, which leads science to engage in research to determine how gay men are feminized and lesbians are masculinized (De Cecco, 1987, p. 109). This belief convinced doctors that gay men had feminine nervous systems and lesbians had masculine ones (Rosario, 2002, p. 20). Biological research exploring this countersexualization of a person's biology has occurred

through morphological studies of the brain, endocrinological studies of hormone levels, and genomic analysis of the genes (Schuklenk & Ristow, 1996). The problem confronting much of this research is that it is based on assumptions about the existence of two sexes as developed since the eighteenth century. However, there exists an anthropological and historical record of cultures accepting and defining the existence of a third sex, including the Indian Hijras caste, Native American Berdache, eunuchs in the Byzantine palaces, transsexuals in the United States, and other individuals in Melanesia, Indonesia, and the Balkans (Herdt, 1996). Fausto-Sterling has argued that there exist at least five sexes, though she recently suggested there may be more (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, July/August). As an example of how some countries are dealing with these issues, Tamil Nadu, one of India's states, recently recognized a third gender on its official forms (Narayan, 2008, March 16). The evolution from the one-sex model to the two-sex model of understanding sex may not be complete, as becomes apparent as our understanding of human difference continues to expand.

The bias against homosexuality is also revealed through zoological explanations of homosexual acts in animals as sexual perversion, unnatural, aberrant sexual behaviors, and other such negative terms (Bagemihl, 1999, pp. 88-89). Same-sex acts are often described as problematic and demonstrating sexual dysfunction. For example, sexual activity between female gorillas takes longer than heterosexual activity, and this difference has been speculated by zoologists to be a sign of "mechanical difficulties" (Bagemihl, 1999, p. 91). However, there are other and more positive explanations, such as that the females find greater enjoyment in one another or they are developing closer bonds. It is the underlying prejudice against homosexuality that allows for the use of these pejorative terms and explanations.

American psychiatrists in the twentieth century argued against the idea of biological origins for homosexuality and claimed that homosexuality was not hereditary or biologically-based, but developed from environmental conditions that interfered with people's psychosocial maturation (Terry, 1999, p. 103). This belief assisted psychology in developing a disease-based model of homosexuality as a form of mental illness in need of treatment. The original issue of the 1952 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM) listed homosexuality as a sociopathic personality disorder, and then in 1968 it was listed as a sexual deviation (Bohan, 1996, p. 18). Though homosexuality was removed from the DSM listing in 1973, the new version referred to "egodystonic homosexuality," which served as a classification for homosexuals who were distressed about their sexual orientation. This classification continued to allow psychologists to treat a patient's homosexuality as a disorder. Finally, in 1987, reference to egodystonic homosexual-

ity was removed as psychologists began to understand that doubt about one's sexual orientation was related to the internalization of negative societal standards. However, even when therapists accept that homosexuality is not a pathological condition, they often maintain the same model of explaining homosexuality as the end product of immature development (Richardson, 1993, p. 118) that marks homosexuality as less than heterosexuality. Rather than variations in sexual orientation being seen as equal, it is perceived that heterosexuality is normal or the baseline. Along with the continued use of these detrimental models of homosexuality, some psychologists and psychiatrists continue to understand homosexuality as a mental illness that can be corrected through reparative therapy despite its removal from the DSM.

Science, regardless of discipline, has approached the issue of homosexuality as a mystery to be solved and a social problem to be managed (Terry, 1999, p. 35). Based on the bias that homosexuality reflects a deviation from normal heterosexual functioning and is a reflection of an underlying pathology, anti-LGB organizations have focused on using studies containing these prejudices to promote their agenda and assert power over LGB individuals. A number of studies as explained by Bohan (1996, p. 76) have presented the following etiologies as explanations for homosexuality. It has been considered a result of narcissism or autoeroticism, fear of and aversion to the genitals of the other sex, or a developmental arrest. In gay men, it is the result of an overprotective mother and a distant father, a hunger for masculinity which can only be found in other men, or unresolved castration anxieties. In lesbians, it is the product of a girl's anger at her father and her resultant hatred of men, a girl's strong attachment to her father causing her to reject men so as not to realize her incest fears, or an expression of a woman's desire to assume the male role. Since the etiology is assumed to be the result of traumatic environmental stimuli (Drescher, 1998), anti-LGB groups argue that LGB individuals should be treated as if they have a disease or mental illness.

A. *Othering*

Research into homosexuality has led to individual harm in the "form of social sanctions, psychiatrization, and legal discrimination, inflicted by society upon its homosexual members" (Schuklenk & Ristow, 1996, p. 21). This research has negative consequences for LGB people because, through a process of Othering, it turns them into the "Other," or people who are perceived as different from and dangerous to heterosexuals. This Othering process "serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself" (Weis, 1995, p. 17) and banishes them to society's margins, represent-

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ing them as “unworthy, dangerous, immoral, or as pitiable, victimized, and damaged” (Fine, 1998, p. 139). Science has been actively engaged in this process of defining LGB individuals as deviants, perverts, or mentally ill and in need of treatment (Bohan, 1996; Rosario, 2002; Terry, 1999). Power relations are deeply embedded within this defining process (Carabine, 1996), and since psychiatrists have the power to define what is normal, they can impact the identity of in-groups and out-groups (Ussher, 1992, p. 140). These perceptions of a group as the Other then has an impact on public policy as related to them (Stabile, 2008). For example, when the AIDS crisis first appeared in the 1980s it was considered a “gay disease.” Since it was assumed to be a disease that mostly struck the gay community and this community had come to be represented as the Other, few resources were initially mobilized to respond to this tragedy.

By being Othered, people are homogenized into a collective “they” (Pratt, 1985, p. 120) in which they are always peripheral to the mainstream (Gandhi, 1998, p. 126), and stereotypes about the groups can flourish (Perks, 2008). It is assumed that “they” can be identified through their differences from mainstream cultures (Pratt, 1985). To be defined in this manner is “to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one’s own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one’s group and mark it out as the Other” (Young, 1990, p. 59). Marginalized groups are then prevented from engaging in self-definition and self-determination (Collins, 1998). This Othering process can lead to demonizing other cultural groups (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000, p. 30), stereotyping groups as magical, violent, and comical (Perks, Winslow, & Avital, 2008, p. 33), representing others as ignorant, poor, and uneducated (Gandhi, 1998, p. 86), failing to recognize individuals in the group and perceiving them as prey (Olson, 2008), and excluding group members from social power and status (Thomson, 1997). Once these myths about the Other become established as “fact,” they can be circulated repeatedly until their origins are lost and their truth unquestioned (Caramagno, 2002, p. 171).

Part of this Othering process involves a strategy of constructing dualisms such as woman/man, east/west, and madness/sanity (MacCallum, 2002, p. 88) that allows for the co-construction of the Other and Self as existing in opposition to one another. This binary thinking allows for the construction of a hierarchy of values that structures how we understand ourselves and the world (Caramagno, 2002, p. 184). For example, in post-colonial studies, Othering explains how an empire defines itself against those it colonizes (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p. 173; Said, 1978). When colonizers define the people they colonize, they construct themselves as superior and in opposition to those they have conquered. The constructs of hetero-

sexuality and homosexuality when theorized as part of a binary system can also be seen within this dualistic nature of Othering.

The Othering process is not just about defining the Other, but also provides the dominant group with benefits from which they gain privileges (Gandhi, 1998, p. 85), are placed at the top of moral and racial hierarchies (Perks, 2008, p. 74), and have a mechanism to manage their fear of difference and guilt over their oppressive actions (Perks, p. 78). This process is central to identity formation, as we often come to understand ourselves in relation to others based on long-standing narratives regarding specific groups (Weis, 1995). Scientific racism provides an example of how previous narratives can be used to explain the identities of dominant and subordinate groups through the creation of a body of empirical research that “proved” the inferiority of blacks to whites. Most of this research was biased from the very beginning, and interpretation of collected data was designed to support the preconceived notions of white superiority. One example of how this works was described by Tucker (1994, p. 3) in relation to studies on memory. When blacks were found to perform better on tests of memory than whites, the information was used to prove the superiority of whites because, it was claimed, memory decayed as one moved away from primitive conditions, and blacks were closer to these conditions than whites. Whites could then maintain an identity of being more evolved in contrast to the primitive nature of blacks. In this case memory was not related to intelligence. However, when another researcher found that the memories of the sons of the rich were superior to those of the sons of the working class, he claimed that this disciplined memory was proof of the intelligence of the rich. This comparison of research is just one example demonstrating how the interpretation of empirical research always takes place within the social, political, historical, and economic contexts of the person doing the research and how it can be used to fashion identities of subordination and domination.

Scientific heterosexism operates in a very similar fashion to the functioning of scientific racism in that it starts with a priori views, creates a body of empirical evidence that denigrates homosexuality and privileges heterosexuality, interprets the data to fit preconceived notions, and then applies these findings and ideas to claims of power over LGB individuals and their lives. Due to this research, heterosexuals cannot exist as those with a normal sexual orientation without homosexuals, and they cannot perceive themselves as moral and superior without the foil of the homosexual Other. In essence, heterosexuality comes to have meaning in relation to the exclusion, repudiation, and repression of homosexuality (Carabine, 1996). Dominant identities such as heterosexuality become “woven through the assertion of a pure sexual self and . . . ‘others’ are constructed as predators,

sick, diseased, hyper-sexual” (Weis, 1995, p. 31). These assertions are then supported through the use of empirical science.

B. *Why Science?*

Anti-LGB groups often base their opposition to LGB individuals on religious arguments and perspectives. However, they have increased the incorporation of scientific discourse into their discussions. From the literature, four main reasons have been identified as to the reason that anti-LGB organizations seek to use science in their discourse concerning LGB people. First, the West has developed as a scientific culture in which claims about the world are based on objective study rather than subjective pronouncements (Gaukroger, 2006). As science has become the preeminent way of knowing the world, theological claims had to pass the test of consistency with Newtonian physics and modern biology (Longino, 1990, p. 163). To meet this requirement for consistency, anti-LGB organizations and activists combine scientific and religious arguments and language to create powerful messages that can justify homophobic and heterosexist biases and reasons for voting against LGB rights and the supporting of anti-LGB public policies (Wood, 2000). To defend the science they use, anti-LGB organizations deny that subjective biases inform research into homosexuality that has negative connotations, and they charge that changes to the scientific and psychological understandings of homosexuality that present a more positive perspective on it are based on political motives and not objective science, as reflected in Carlson’s (n.d.-a) anti-lesbian article. In essence, the anti-LGB organizations claim their science is objective and that any science that does not comply with their a priori views is politically driven.

Second, there must exist a compelling state interest to prevent people from having their civil rights recognized (Cain, 2000). Religious arguments cannot be used as a justification for limiting civil rights when considered within the context of a secular government as exists in the United States. For this reason, incorporating scientific arguments into anti-LGB discourse is a benefit because the science can be used to argue that there is a compelling state interest in restricting the rights of LGB people. Research claims, as explored by Bohan (1996), Garnets and Kimmel (1993), LeVay (1997), Rosario (2002), and Terry (1999), that homosexuality shortens a person’s lifespan, is a result of degeneracy or mental illness, reflects a narcissistic personality, may be as harmful as drug abuse or smoking, and many other negative assertions, are used to promote the idea of a compelling state interest in regulating the lives of LGB people. For example, the Family Research Institute (FRI) website (“Can anything be done to stop gay rights?,” 2009), after providing some research that purportedly shows that

homosexuals are more likely to be diseased than heterosexuals and that these diseases involve substantial health care costs borne by the state, asserts, "For this reason, and the fact that those who engage in a penile-anal sex encourage others to participate with them, the state has a compelling interest in suppressing this behavior" (§ 107).

Third, anti-LGB organizations seek to demonstrate that their religious claims about gender and sexuality are reflected in the natural world as revealed by science. Focus on the Family, an anti-LGB organization, is committed to the idea, based on their spiritual and moral beliefs, that homosexuality "violates God's intentional design for gender and sexuality" and that people can change their sexual orientation (Focus on the Family Issue Analysts, 2008a, § 3). They then explain that "not only does research confirm permanent change is possible, but numerous testimonies declare the truth of God's healing and redemptive power" (Focus on the Family Issue Analysts, 2008b, § 9). Their appeal to research is an attempt to bring scientific legitimacy to their religious beliefs. If their religious beliefs have scientific validity, then, they believe, their claims cannot be easily dismissed by society and they can impose their religious values on others.

Finally, "scientific claims and ideas have an influence on public (governmental) policies, on the social values informing policy, on informal policies, and on cultural ideals" (Longino, 1990, p. 164). The importance of science leads to a desire to make decisions based on quantitative expertise that involves the use of supposedly objective statistics uncovered through research (Porter, 1995, pp. 7-8). Due to the growth of scientific influence and quantitative expertise on public policy and opinion, it was hoped that scientific theories describing the features and causes of homosexuality could be used to contain and control it (Terry, 1999, p. 73). For example, Wood explained how the Oregon Citizens Alliance blended scientific and religious discourse to support Ballot Measure Nine, which would have defined homosexuality in the Oregon constitution as "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse" (2000, p. 21).

The Family Research Institute also recognizes the influence of science on public policy, as evidenced on its website where it asserts, "Science and scientific reasoning are increasingly the arbiters of public policy. Without scholarship of their own in hand, conservatives have few weapons in their arsenal" ("Stopping gay rights," n.d., § 6). By accepting the importance of science in public policy debates, anti-LGB organizations attempt to infuse their religious arguments with scientific rationale to expand their influence and to contain LGB people within specific social parameters. The policies they seek to influence include, but are not limited to, issues such as marriage equality, LGB people joining the military, and adoption rights.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study focused on two major anti-LGB organizations and their use of science, as expressed on their websites, to Other members of the LGB community. The two organizations selected for analysis, Focus on the Family (FOF) and Family Research Institute (FRI), were chosen due to their active involvement in opposing pro-LGB legislation, supporting anti-LGB legislation, and filing amicus briefs in support of or opposition to, depending on the purpose of the case, legal cases dealing with LGB rights. Their use of science on the web was studied because the Internet integrates audiovisual, oral, and written forms of communication into one system that could influence society on a level comparable to the effect of the alphabet's impact on society (Castells, 2000, pp. 355-356). With the expansion of the Internet and more people accessing it as a means of gaining information, online communication has the potential to lead to the greatest transformation in public opinion on a variety of topics (Pippa, 2001). This potential makes it important to understand how discourse is used on the web to promote a group's ideology and beliefs.

Analyzing discursive structures is one way to uncover how the Othering process is used to define marginalized groups (Perks et al., 2008, p. 34) such as the LGB community. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was selected as a means of interpreting the text on websites because it focuses on the dynamics of power, ideology, and knowledge within discursive processes (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 2). It provides a tool for determining the ways in which social power, dominance, and inequality are produced, reproduced, and resisted within the text and talk of a society (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 72). These texts are assumed to create and shape identities and actions, form cultural capital, and produce and articulate broader ideological interests (Luke, 1997, p. 53).

Language and text operate ideologically and contribute to the domination of some people by others (Fairclough, 2001, p. 6). Discourse "may be used to make asymmetrical relations of power and particular textual portrayals of social and biological worlds appear given, commonsensical and 'natural'" (Luke, 1997, p. 54). Using science to promote a disease-based model of homosexuality is an attempt to explain heterosexuality as the only natural and normal sexual orientation, with all deviations from this norm considered unnatural. It is an attempt to legitimize the marginalization of the LGB community in society and the superiority of heterosexuality. Through the use of CDA, it is possible to disrupt and render problematic the use of science to promote the Othering of LGB people and to uncover how this scientific discourse creates ideologies and relationships of subordination and domination based on sexual orientation, identities, and expressions.

This critical approach to discourse links the texts (micro-level) with the sociocultural practices and power structures (macro-level) that the texts reproduce (Thompson, 2004, p. 5). By understanding how the texts reproduce power relations, it becomes possible to bring forth the voices of the marginalized and to question those in power to reveal their hidden agendas and motives that promote their self-interests and sense of superiority (Henry & Tator, 2002). When texts are not critically analyzed, current power structures and worldview assumptions remain unchallenged, masking oppressive and marginalizing ideologies in discursive interactions. Through these discursive interactions, prejudices are reinforced and shared justifications for discrimination against minority groups are expressed and communicated (van Dijk, 1993).

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The organizations under study use and misuse science to create a sense that LGB people are the “Other” and different from heterosexuals. The sense of Otherness is created by using science to assist in creating five key dimensions of Othering. These areas include using scientific studies to generate fear, create a sense of disgust, provide a rationale for pity, demonstrate the changeable nature of sexual orientation, and create a heterosexual identity based on the superiority of heterosexuality which exists in opposition to a homosexual identity. The same studies under review may be referenced to demonstrate any number of these dimensions.

One of the main ways in which these organizations use science is to create a sense of fear that LGB people intend to destroy the traditional family and the nation, and to harm children. Focus on the Family is opposed to the legalization of same-sex marriage and attempts to provide different rationales for opposing it. According to Dobson (n.d., ¶ 16) of FOF, one reason to oppose same-sex marriage is that children will be harmed by having gay or lesbian parents “because homosexuals are rarely monogamous, often having as many as three hundred or more partners in a lifetime—some studies say it is typically more than one thousand.” Dobson did not cite which studies make these claims, but his reference to “some studies” indicates an attempt to add scientific validity to his assertions that homosexuals are hypersexual and dangerous to children. He also contends that “ten thousand studies have concluded that kids do best when they are raised by loving and committed mothers and fathers” (¶ 17) and that “social scientists have been surprisingly consistent in warning about the impact of fractured families” (¶ 18). Once again, the attempt is to appeal to science to justify prejudice and legal discrimination against LGB individuals.

In promoting their book *The Gay 90s*, by Paul Cameron, the Family

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Research Institute claims that it reviews all of the relevant studies of homosexuality. It further attests, “This work demonstrates the importance of empirical research in current social policy formulation and adoption” (“The Gay 90s,” n.d., ¶ 6). Due to the recognition of the importance of research in developing public policy, the Family Research Institute uses science to condemn homosexuality and to cause people to fear LGB people. They conclude the promotion of their book with the following statement:

The elite of our society seems determined to alter the nature of society itself. Contemptuous of history, devoid of principle, this elite seems determined to destroy the only value system that has actually worked in the past and still works—the one practiced by a majority of my fellow Americans—the Judeo-Christian ethic. What Pitirim Sorokin warned about in the 1956, that Western Civilization was unleashing sexual forces that would topple us from our position of world leadership, is happening before our eyes. (“The Gay 90s,” n.d., ¶ 8)

The destruction described above occurs, according to their claims, due to society’s acceptance of homosexuality. The FRI continues using fear to Other LGB people by citing a variety of studies to claim that LGB individuals are more violent than heterosexuals and are more likely to be serial killers, murderers, and rapists (Cameron, n.d.-d). Along with citing his own work, Cameron refers to reports from the U.S. Department of Justice and studies that appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and the *American Journal of Psychiatry* to make his case that homosexuals are more violent than heterosexuals. Fear of the Other and claims that they are inclined toward violence are not new and have been seen in attempts to denounce people of color and immigrant groups considered socially undesirable (Tucker, 1994, p. 68). These ideas linking violence and homosexuality are given the appearance of objectivity through the citation of negatively oriented research into homosexuality or descriptions of serial killers who happen to be gay as reflective of the general LGB community. This connection between LGB people and a tendency toward violence is meant not only to generate fear in some people, but also to provide a justification for prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory acts against the LGB community.

A second dimension of the Othering process of LGB people involves invoking a sense of disgust for homosexuals by showing how they are diseased, sexually promiscuous, and abnormal. Claiming that other groups are diseased, are more vulnerable to disease, or are the cause of spreading disease has been linked to increasing the disgust factor that one group has for other groups (Navarrete & Fessler, 2006). An article on the FOF website (Carpenter, 2001) discussed the National Education Association’s (NEA)

support for talking positively about LGB people through the curriculum. Carpenter suggested that if the NEA wants to discuss LGB issues then “they ought to talk about the dangerous health risks accompanying homosexuality, including syphilis, damage to the intestinal tract and the mother of all STDs, AIDS” (§ 15). In another article that references reports from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the link between homosexuality and disease is made again and reads, “For instance, data from cities across the U.S. indicate that rates for diseases like syphilis, gonorrhea, hepatitis and human papilloma virus are consistently—and disproportionately—high among gay men” (“Silence v. the truth,” n.d., § 9). By claiming to use information from the CDC, FOF is attempting to show that in addition to religious arguments, there are reasons based in scientific research to oppose homosexuality.

The FRI attempted to increase people’s disgust for homosexuals by connecting disease to homosexuality and explaining in graphic detail how the supposed sexual activities of the LGB population are vile and dangerous (Cameron, n.d.-b). In the pamphlet *Medical Consequences of What Homosexuals Do*, Cameron (n.d.-b) referenced a number of medical and biological studies (Christenson, Brostrum, Buttiger, Hermanson, Weiland, Ryd et al., 1982; Corey & Holmes, 1980; Dritz, 1980; Elford, Tindall, & Sharkey, 1992; Mavligit, Talpaz, Hsia, Wong, Lichtiger, Mansell et al., 1984; McKusick, Horstman, & Coates, 1983) published in journals such as the *New England Journal of Medicine*, *American Journal of Public Health*, and *American Journal of Epidemiology* to make the point that LGB people are diseased or engage in acts that promote disease. Though the authors of these studies may be surprised to learn that their research is used to degrade LGB individuals, their work is an important component of the process of Othering engaged in by FRI. By linking their beliefs to these studies and others, the FRI wants to legitimize its discourse and create a sense that LGB people are the Other, as demonstrated through empirical science. This Otherness is reflected by how disgusting LGB people are perceived as being, especially when compared with heterosexuals.

The third use of science for Othering purposes is to portray LGB people as objects deserving pity. The need to create this sense of pitying the Other allows the group doing the pitying to show themselves as caring and empathetic (Eriksson & Aronsson, 2005). One way to transform LGB people into individuals needing pity is by portraying them as victims of some kind of trauma. Satinover (n.d., § 17) claimed, “Childhood trauma has terrible effects on the emotional well-being of adults. Many studies demonstrate the sadly disproportionate extent of sexual abuse in the childhoods of homosexual men.” Carlson (n.d.-a, § 54) argued that lesbians suffer from physical and emotional trauma when growing up and that in adulthood “the

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underlying theme in a lesbian's life parallels that of a baby. An infant radiates insecurity just as a lesbian harbors insecurity deep within herself." The image of an adult being like an infant engenders pity for a person stuck at such a young developmental stage. How this pity is turned into a faux sense of caring can be seen in Cameron's (n.d.-b, ¶ 24) claim: "Homosexuals are sexually troubled people engaging in dangerous activities. Because we care about them and those tempted to join them, it is important that we neither encourage nor legitimize such a destructive lifestyle." Fryrear, a former lesbian who works as the director of gender issues at FOF, said in her interview with Mesko (n.d., ¶ 7), "The hearts of those who serve at Focus are full of such compassion, grace and love." By making LGB individuals pitiable, anti-LGB people can claim that they really care for and love homosexuals and just want to make them "normal." It is purported that it is this caring and concerned attitude and not hatred or prejudice that explains such people's opposition to recognizing LGB people as legitimate members of the community.

This sense of pity is also developed when LGB individuals are said to be trapped by their sexual desires. Carlson (n.d.-b, ¶ 41) commented, "The [male] homosexual who has not been told the truth that his homosexuality is changeable, unknowingly becomes trapped. The seeming acceptance and rush of excitement that may seem fulfilling at the time, ends up leaving him empty and hopeless." If LGB people are really trapped in their "lifestyle," then, this discourse claims, it is only right for the anti-LGB individual or group to feel sorry for homosexuals and to help free them from their trap.

Another dimension of using science to Other LGB individuals is to demonstrate that people can change their sexual orientation from homosexual to heterosexual. The belief that sexual orientation is biologically formed predicts positive attitudes toward LGB people, and conversely, the belief that sexual orientation is a choice can lead to more negative attitudes toward them (Boysen & Vogel, 2007). If anti-LGB groups can establish the changeability of sexual orientation, they can convince people that LGB individuals do not deserve to receive the same civil rights protections as other groups do based on immutable characteristics such as race, gender, or disability. For example, on the FRI website Cameron (n.d.-e, ¶ 21) commented, "It's a much different story with inherited characteristics. Race and gender are not optional lifestyles. They remain immutable." Price (n.d., ¶ 4) argued on the FOF website, "And since nobody is 'born gay,' it's clear that sexual orientation is, at its core, a matter of *how one defines oneself*—not a matter of biology or genes." The FOF website also provided quotations from scientists who claim that sexual orientation is not biologically determined and is a result of the environment (Fryrear, n.d.).

By describing sexual orientation as changeable, anti-LGB organiza-

tions can Other LGB people by claiming that their sexuality is an abnormal response to the environment that it is a danger to society, and that homosexuals should not have the same rights under the law as heterosexuals. This explanation also provides anti-LGB groups with the argument that LGB people are rebelling against social norms and just need to control their behavior, and that if they don't, this reflects a weakness on their part that cannot be tolerated by society. It is important for anti-LGB groups to portray sexual orientation as controllable behavior because people with this belief are more likely to have negative attitudes toward LGB people (Sakalli, 2002), making them more supportive of anti-LGB policies. For example, after criticizing scientific studies that demonstrate the biological origins or psychological normalcy of homosexuality, Cameron (n.d.-a, ¶ 30) referenced studies that claim sexual orientation can change and concluded, "No matter how such desires come about, members of society are rightly expected to control their behavior and not endanger others." Homosexuality is portrayed as an individual defect that must be controlled and contained—if not by the individual, then by society.

The final dimension in using science to Other LGB individuals is to provide a contrasting heterosexual identity, recognize this identity as the norm, and promote heterosexism, creating a sense of superiority to LGB people. In athletics, by classifying gay men as not real men and as sick and inferior, athletes are able to construct their own identity as a "man" (Weis, 1995, p. 25). Anti-LGB organizations accomplish the same identity construction, but rather than through athletic prowess, they use science to define a heterosexual identity in contrast to the Otherness of LGB individuals. These organizations describe LGB people as being incapable of having deep relationships, being mentally ill, and being unable to control their desires. Cameron (n.d.-c, ¶ 28) argues that LGB people have weaker human bonds with others, and as evidence of this "fact" he claims that compared with heterosexuals, "only about half as many homosexuals had gotten married and, if married, were much less apt to have children." He continues the comparison by asserting that "if married, homosexuals were about 3 times more likely to cheat on their spouse" (¶ 29). Along with claims that LGB people have worse interpersonal relationships with others than heterosexuals, Cameron (n.d.-c) suggests that they also have worse health and are more likely to be criminals than are heterosexuals. Heterosexuals can, therefore, take comfort in the fact that they represent the opposite of all these things and are less likely to be criminal, are more likely to maintain meaningful relationships, and are healthy.

The formation of a superior heterosexual identity can be observed when Mesko (n.d., ¶ 19) explains that when heterosexuals oppose homosexuals, their "standing for righteousness will sometimes bring the hatred of

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those who do not yet understand.” Anti-LGB heterosexuals, through this discourse, are represented as righteous and loving, not hateful. Likewise, Cameron argues that heterosexuals are good citizens and that LGB people are nonproductive and a threat to society. According to his view of history,

Good citizens led productive lives and brought children into the world to replenish the community with virtue.

Those who did not accept these responsibilities—who avoided work or failed to accept the “sweet yoke” of marriage and parenthood—were considered suspect and even vicious. (Cameron, n.d.-c, ¶ 1-2)

He continues, “Productive people will enjoy life, feel good about themselves, earn the respect of friends and co-workers, and feel connected with their families and society” (Cameron, n.d.-c, ¶ 5). He contrasts this state with that of the nonproductive or homosexual by describing the latter as being likely “to feel dissatisfied with life, themselves, be stung from social scorn, and seek excessive distraction” (¶ 5). The clear message from this discourse is that heterosexuality represents everything that is good and normal in society, and is superior to homosexuality. By engaging in the Othering process in this manner, anti-LGB organizations are able to create a heterosexual identity in opposition to the hated and unacceptable identity of the Other.

The concern about getting a disease from another group was explained above as being connected to increasing the disgust factor one group has for another. However, this disgust sensitivity toward others can also help solidify in-group attraction, thereby helping to construct an in-group identity (Navarrete & Fessler, 2006), which in this case is that of heterosexual as healthy. Cameron (n.d.-c) repeatedly compares the health of LGB people with that of heterosexuals in an attempt to demonstrate that heterosexuals are healthier as a group. By designating themselves as the healthier group, heterosexuals can create a superior identity that allows them to see their sexual orientation as the only natural and correct one.

Scientific studies are often used as an integral component of creating these contrasting identities in which heterosexuality is privileged and all other sexualities are devalued. In one example, Stanton (n.d., ¶ 31) explains research connected to the role of mothers and fathers in raising children and concludes, “To be concerned with proper children development is to be concerned about making sure that children have daily access to the different and complementary ways mothers and fathers parent.” This article presents the idea that heterosexuals make good parents, whereas lesbian and gay parents lack the necessary diversity to raise healthy children. FRI uses science to proclaim that adults “who engage in homosexuality are more crimi-

nal, more rebellious, more likely to be drug-users, more apt to molest children, and so on” (“Can anything be done to stop gay rights?,” n.d., ¶ 61). The heterosexual identity formed through this comparison is as follows: adults who engage in heterosexuality are more likely to be law-abiding, sexually restrained, and productive members of society.

IV. CONCLUSION

The rise of belief in scientific interpretations of reality and the decline of the unquestioning acceptance of theological viewpoints as valid, combined with the American belief that one cannot impose religious beliefs on others, has led organizations that perpetuate anti-LGB ideas to use and misuse science to support their beliefs when explaining their views in the public debate on homosexuality. However, this is not the first time that science has been used to promote injustice and oppression. Science’s attempt to understand racial differences quickly entered the political discourse on human rights and freedom, the limitations of democracy, the necessity of racial segregation, the inevitability of socioeconomic disparities between the races, national welfare, and public education (Tucker, 1994, p. 5)—all to the detriment of people of color. Likewise, the study of homosexuality is used by organizations and individuals to justify limiting the rights and societal involvement of LGB individuals.

Similarly to research into racial differences that is used to reject the rights of people of color, the scientific study of homosexuality has also been critiqued. Schmidt explained that every etiological theory of homosexuality—psychoanalytic, learning, sociological, biological, or a combination of them—has been used against LGB individuals (1984, p. 138). These theories and the corresponding research are rooted in extra-scientific normative values (Suppe, 1999, p. 175). The inherent heterosexist biases contained within research on LGB people have been used to suggest that science should focus on the causation of homophobia and its prevention rather than on the etiology of homosexuality (Schuklenk & Ristow, 1996, p. 25). However, science is too valuable a tool for anti-LGB groups to stop their research, as it allows them to Other LGB people and to promote their political, moral, social, and ideological agendas under the guise of empirical science.

This study has demonstrated that science is an important component of the process used by anti-LGB organizations to justify their beliefs, to Other LGB individuals, and to construct a superior heterosexual identity. The process of Othering through scientific discourse serves to privilege the heterosexual “Us” over the homosexual “Them.” The line separating the two is permeated with negative judgments that portray LGB people as danger-

ous, diseased, pitiable, unwilling to change, and inferior to heterosexuals, while heterosexuals are positively judged as pure, sexually restrained, healthy, and moral. These differences are then used to justify the oppression of LGB people, as well as to blame them for the injustices they confront and for the growing problems of society.

The goal of these organizations is not to seek truth about homosexuality, or even sexual orientation, through science. Instead, they seek to justify their beliefs through claims of empirical science and to represent the oppression of LGB individuals as based on the natural order of life. For example, the FRI asserts that it was founded “with one overriding mission: to generate empirical research on issues that threaten the traditional family, particularly homosexuality, AIDS, sexual social policy, and drug abuse” (“Our Mission,” n.d., ¶ 1). The group further claims that it “believes the strength of our society depends on preserving America’s historic moral framework and the traditional family. FRI is working to produce sound, scientific data on pressing social issues—especially *homosexuality*—in an effort to promote traditional policies” (“Our Mission,” ¶ 3). FRI’s research is automatically biased toward its view of what constitutes traditional values and policies. The ideological nature of the research is to Other LGB people in an effort to promote FRI’s political and social values that will ostracize, repress, marginalize, and exclude LGB individuals from society.

This intertwining of the scientific study of homosexuality with pre-conceived ideologies and strong religious and political dimensions has taken place almost from the very beginning. The current state of much of this research can be said to resemble the description of eugenics as described by Raymond Pearl in 1927. He argued that the propaganda and scientific components of the eugenics movement had “become a mingled mess of ill-grounded and uncritical sociology, economics, anthropology, and politics, full of emotional appeals to class and race prejudices as solemnly put forth as science, and unfortunately accepted as such by the general public” (Tucker, 1994, p. 71). Likewise, the research into, politics surrounding, and religious dimensions of homosexuality have become so mixed together that it is impossible to tell where one starts and the other ends. Much of this science is based on heterosexist prejudices that influence the type of research conducted and its interpretation. These findings are then used as impartial and empirical data to Other members of the LGB community as dangerous, different, and inferior, to define heterosexuals as normal, and to defend the use of social, political, religious, and cultural power to marginalize LGB individuals.

In conclusion, scientific judgments formed by anti-LGB groups are rooted in a heterosexist context, eliminating any claims to objectivity and serving only to provide a rationale for promoting anti-LGB prejudices.

Preconceived ideas frame the research into homosexuality, determine the criteria for data analysis, and influence the conclusions drawn from the research. This science provides cover for politicians, religious leaders, and activists who wish to promote discrimination and prejudice against sexual minorities through defining them as the Other. Studies that create statistics “proving” that sexual minorities are at risk for disease, mental illness, or engaging in unhealthy practices ignore the role that factors such as violence and discrimination against LGB individuals may play in these figures. Science does not exist outside the social, cultural, or political contexts within which it is constructed; rather, it is an integral component of these contexts and can often be used within a discourse of Othering to rationalize oppression against and power over the hated Other.

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Revisiting Hateful Science: The Nazi “Contribution” to the Journey of Antisemitism

Steven Leonard Jacobs

ABSTRACT

While this volume of the *Journal of Hate Studies* is devoted to “The Science of Hate”—research and knowledge about hate’s origins and manifestations seen through the lens of the empirical sciences—this contribution is a cautionary reminder that, like all human projects, intellectual and other, the sciences, too, can be perverted by its practitioners in the service of hate itself.¹ The case study is that of the Nazi Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, MD, (1896-1969), eugenicist and geneticist, and, specifically, his (1938) text “Racial Biology of the Jews.” Of particular note is the American “connection,” in supplying both supporting legitimation for the pseudo-science of eugenics and two contemporary examples showing that the ideas of von Verschuer and other members of the German scientific community are far from extinct and continue to play a role in far Right antisemitic movements. The accompanying photographs remind us that this work of hateful science was not confined to intellectual theorizing or laboratory work with lower-order animals, but was made real in the death camps under Nazi hegemony.

I. INTRODUCTION

That the Nazis contributed a *new* element to the journey of antisemitism² after more than 2,000 years of pre-Christian (and post-Christian Enlightenment) social-cultural antisemitism and Christian religious-theological antisemitism should, by the beginning of this 21st century, be both patently and transparently obvious.³ Though the preferred terms now used are either “racial antisemitism” or “biological antisemitism”—equating the Judaism of the Jews with a *physical* manifestation, and what, perhaps, we should, in this context, negatively label “Jewness”—both are grounded in what we may call the “pseudo-science of eugenics”⁴ applied to human communities and overlaying their hatred and annihilatory agenda of extermination with the false patina of scientific rationalism and reason. Thus, I would add yet a third synonymous phrase—that of “pseudo-scientific antisemitism”—and, in contradistinction to the rigorous demands of the scientific method, term such socio-political methodologies “hateful [pseudo]-science.”⁵ For the Nazis, then, the so-called “bottom line” was to intellectually and scientifically legitimate not only their behaviors toward Jews, but also to validate those behaviors in accord with what must have been per-

ceived and understood as the “correct” understanding of the very way sociological groups interacted with each other on the plane of history. That is to say, Social Darwinism—expressed as both the conflict between species (Jews understood as diabolical *übermenschen*/superhumans and physical *üntermenschen* “subhumans”) and the survival of the fittest (a well-nigh “cosmic struggle”)—was made very, very real. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the work of Professor Dr. Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer (1896-1969) and his 1938 text, “Racial Biology of the Jews.”⁶

II. THE CURIOUS CASE OF OTMAR VON VERSCHUER

Born in 1896 in the small town of Richelsdorfer Hütte, von Verschuer served in World War I as an infantry officer and later went on to study medicine at Marburg, Hamburg, Freiburg, and Munich, receiving his medical degree in 1923. (His thesis was on the protein content in blood serum.) That same year he was appointed Assistant Physician at the Tübingen Medical Clinic.

Fascinated by twins, von Verschuer spent the next four years studying them, and received another degree in 1927. That same year, he was appointed Head of the Human Genetics Division of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Genetics, and Eugenics, Berlin, by its founder, anthropologist Eugen Fischer (1874-1967),⁷ at the same time becoming Associate Professor in his fields of specialization—human genetics and eugenics—at the University of Berlin.⁸ In 1934, he became a member of the Germany Academy of Natural Scientists Leopoldina, and the following year Professor and Director of the Institute for Hereditary Biology and Racial Hygiene at the University of Frankfurt-am-Main. In 1942, he succeeded Fischer as Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, Berlin, and in the following year became a member of the Prussian Scientific Academy.

A prolific author, von Verschuer published more than 109 articles and several books between the years 1923 and 1944, including his 1941 medical textbook *Hereditary Pathology*, which alone went into three editions. Between 1934 and 1944, he was the founder and editor of the journal *Der Erbarzt* (The Genetic Doctor). Among the issues fully discussed within that journal was the compulsory sterilization of so-called “racial inferiors” for eugenic purposes.

Although a relative late-comer to the Nazi Party—he did not join until 1940⁹—his aforementioned text affirmed the necessity of solving *der Judenfrage* (the so-called “Jewish Question,” or, alternatively, the “Jewish Problem,” occasioned by the presence of Jews in Germany, as to whether such an “alien” or “foreign” people could ever be successfully integrated

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and assimilated into German society despite their having lived in those lands for more than 1,000 years) as a serious threat to the physical health of the German people. The fullest articulation of his concerns found their expression in his 1938 paper “Rassenbiologie der Juden” (“Racial Biology of the Jews”). The year before, his authoritative status as an “expert” on racial genetics and eugenics saw him accept an appointment from the Jewish Question Research Division of the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, as well as a consultant to the Interior Ministry’s Reich Kinship Office, testifying as to the “racial makeup” of persons having claims before the various courts, for example the so-called “Hereditary Health Courts” (*Erbgesundheitsgerichten*).

In 1944, his former post-doctoral student Josef Mengele (1911-1979; known as the “Angel of Death” at the *Konzentrationslager* [concentration camp] Auschwitz in southeastern Poland for his hideous medical experiments on twins, an interest which he shared with von Verschuer) routinely sent blood samples from his “research” to von Verschuer’s laboratory at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for analysis, as well as eyes from murdered Sinti and internal organs from murdered Jews back to Berlin.

Mengele had already been at Auschwitz since 30 May 1943 when von Verschuer wrote the following to the German Research Society:

My assistant, Dr. Josef Mengele (MD, PhD) joined me in this branch of research. He is presently employed as *Hauptsturmführer* [captain] and camp physician in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Anthropological testing of the most diverse racial groups¹⁰ in his concentration camp is being carried out with permission of the SS *Reichsführer* [Heinrich] Himmler.¹¹

Von Verschuer was never brought to trial as a Nazi war criminal by the Allies after World War II, though his attempt to re-establish the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute after the War, when he had already moved his voluminous files to Frankfurt, was denied. Indeed, at his “denazification” hearings, he was labeled a “fellow traveler”—a rather mild indictment—fined 600 RM (*Reichmark*), and released from custody. On 25 July 1946, for example, von Verschuer received a letter from U.S. Army disease specialist Paul Popenoe (1888-1979)¹² in response to his own communication. Wrote Popenoe, “It was indeed a pleasure to hear from you again. I have been very anxious about my colleagues in Germany. . . I suppose sterilization has been discontinued in Germany?” to which von Verschuer wrote back, “Your very friendly letter of 7/25 gave me a great deal of pleasure and you have my heartfelt thanks for it. The letter builds another bridge between your and my scientific work; I hope that this bridge will never again col-

lapse but rather make possible valuable mutual enrichment and stimulation.”¹³

In 1951, he was appointed Professor of Human Genetics at the University of Münster, where he went on to establish one of the largest genetics research centers in West Germany. He was also accorded membership during that period in the American Society of Human Genetics, the Italian Society of Genetics, the Anthropological Society of Vienna, and the Japanese Society for Human Genetics. He died as the result of an automobile accident in 1969; his many obituaries made no reference to his Nazi past.

III. THE AMERICAN CONNECTION¹⁴

On 13 May 1932, the prestigious Rockefeller Foundation, New York, funded a three-year grant to the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute “for research on twins and effects on later generations of substances toxic for germ plasm.”¹⁵ This was during the time when von Verschuer was actively involved in the work of the Institute before leaving in 1935.

America’s own involvement in the pseudo-science of eugenics (i.e. “selective breeding” to improve the human species) postdates the aftermath of the Civil War (1861-1865) when the influx of former slaves resettled beyond the South. And while racism was decidedly a factor in its early history, concerns about so-called “mental defectives” and “physical defectives” and their propagation and/or elimination attracted both scientists and non-scientists alike. By the time Hitler and his ilk achieved political power in the early 1930s, thirty states already had legislation according them the right to sterilize institutional persons from further reproduction,¹⁶ and journals and societies regularly published articles and held conferences devoted to the topic.¹⁷ For example, in 1904, the Carnegie Institution (later to become the Carnegie Foundation) established The Biological Experiment Station at Cold Springs Harbor, New York, and in 1910, Charles B. Davenport (1866-1944), its director, established the Eugenics Record Office to compile data on millions of Americans regarding their bloodlines in association with the Eugenics Research Society and in conjunction with the American Eugenics Society.¹⁸

Thus, ground was already well-laid for the Nazis and their scientists to build upon this work and pervert it to murder not only Jews, but also Roma, Sinti, gay persons, so-called criminal elements and other “asocials,” and their own institutionalized physically and mentally handicapped as well. Indeed, according to the booklet published by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, entitled *Handicapped: Victims of the Nazi Era, 1933-1945*, somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000 German nationals, both the physically and the mentally handicapped, were murdered

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between the advent of the Second World War (1 September 1939) and its end (1 May 1945) under the euphemistically labeled “T-4 Program” and other such so-called “euthanasia” programs.¹⁹

IV. RACIAL BIOLOGY OF THE JEWS

In his brief “Translator’s Introduction,” Charles E. Weber’s (See note #4) own antisemitism is transparent as he concludes with his own “alphabet of antisemitic woes”:

Finally, let me recommend to Jews themselves that they read and reflect on the *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*, for these studies contain many astute observations and much valuable historical information as seen through the eyes of outstanding non-Jewish scholars. The Jews’ persistence in blind hatred of their host populations, their insensitivity to or even total disregard of the sufferings of their victims, their ruthless use of the media which they now largely control, their insidious but shortsighted attempts to destroy the mores of their host populations, their disregard of the lessons of history and their arrogant presumption of their own moral superiority can only render impossible a constructive, nonviolent solution to the Jewish Problem.²⁰

Ironically and sadly, what Weber has done is list for his readers—all in one paragraph—a catalogue of antisemitic myths all without substantive foundation and worthy of Pharaoh in the Book of Exodus; Haman in the Book of Esther; Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), the “spiritual father of the Third Reich”²¹ and author of the two-volume *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (German, *Die Grundlagen des Neuzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1899); Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), ideologue and philosopher of Nazism and author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (German, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1930); and even Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) himself. That a seemingly learned academic such as Weber could indeed believe such absurdities should remind us that intelligence and prejudice are not mutually exclusive categories, but, rather, given certain psychological and other orientations (e.g. sociological), can be perverted each in the service of the other.

Early on, von Verschuer establishes the tone of his article with the following comment:

The communality of religion, *the special education through the Talmud* [emphasis added] and the idea of being a chosen people have maintained themselves with such force that during the course of history individuals and even groups of people [again unnamed] could be absorbed into Jewry by marriage and conversion without there being any change in the char-

acteristics of Jews. Taken as a whole, the Jews have remained racially isolated within the other nations. (p. 137 in original German article)

What is perniciously obvious behind this comment is the supposed “scientific” notion or idea that “Jewness” is such a dominant and dominating *physical* characteristic that neither individuals nor groups can affect or modify Jewish physicality. Rather, it is the other way around: that both individuals and groups are thus physically absorbed into the Jewish people, and whatever physically distinctive characteristics they bring into their marriages and/or conversions are negated and lost.²²

von Verschuer’s intent in writing the article is further indicated by his comment:

From this position of hereditary biological makeup, which has its foundation in laws of nature that are generally recognized today, it will be easier to arrive at a clear insight into *the racial-biological problem of the Jewish question*. . . Between a group of Germans and a group of Jews the differences can easily be observed because the distributive curve in many characteristics is a clearly different one. . . we are going to discuss the characteristics, one by one, by which the Jews are differentiated from the persons of German extraction. [pp. 138-139; emphasis added]

Indeed, for the remainder of this relatively brief article, von Verschuer will do just that: discuss, primarily in summary fashion—“one by one”—what the German scientific community has determined are the *physical* characteristics of Jews. His appended bibliography, to which Weber attaches great importance, lists thirty-six different sources, and includes among them some by Jewish authors²³ (one assumes to lend credibility to the supposedly objective scientific position of the writer and to disavow any negativity toward Jews),²⁴ the following texts: Fritz Arlt (1912-2004), *Ethnobiological Investigations of the Jews of Leipzig* (1938); Rafael Becker, *Bibliographical Survey of the Literature in the Field of Mental Illnesses in Jews* (1932), *The Mental Illnesses of the Jews of Poland* (1932); Hans Burkhardt, *Study of the Endogenous Psychoses in Jews* (1931); Maurice Fishberg (1872-1934),²⁵ *The Racial Characteristics of Jews* (1913); Ludwig Frigyes, *Concerning Mental and Nervous Diseases and Handicaps Amongst Jews* (1927); M. J. Gutmann, *Concerning the Present Status of the Question of Race and Illness in Jews* (1920), *Mental Diseases in Jews* (1926); J. M. Judt, *The Jews as a Race* (1903); Paul Kaznelson, *Concerning Several “Racial Characteristics” of the Jewish People* (1913); Th. Lang, *The Burdening of the Jewish People with Mentally Abnormal Individuals* (1932); Johannes Lang, *Concerning Manic-Depressive Insanity in Jews* (1921); Sigfried Passarge (1866-1958), *Jewry as a Regional Ethnological*

Problem (1929); Jacob Segall,²⁶ *The Criminality of Jews in Germany During the Years 1915 and 1916 in Comparison with the Pre-War Period* (1924); Max Sichel, *Suicide in Jews—Formerly and Presently* (1924); Felix A. Theilhaber²⁷ (1884-1956), *The Decline of German Jews* (1911); Siegmund Wellisch, *Racial Diagnosis of Jews and Their Ancestors* (1929); Ignaz Zollschan²⁸ (1877-1948), *The Racial Problem with Special References to the Theoretical Bases of the Jewish Racial Question* (1910).²⁹

Summarily, von Vershuer addresses: (1) height; (2) sexual maturity and menstruation; (3) growth ratios of the torso, legs, arms, hands, feet, calf, chest, posture; (4) head; (5) “almond eyes;” (6) lips; (7) “Jewish nose;” (8) ear; (9) skin; (10) hair and eye color; (11) form of head hair; (12) body hair cover and beard growth; (13) arm movement; (14) blood; (15) sensitivity to pain and mortality rates; (16) illnesses, especially tuberculosis and diabetes; (17) Gaucher’s disease³⁰ and Niemann-Pick’s disease;³¹ (18) blindness and deaf-mutism, glaucoma and astigmatism; (19) nervous and mental disorders; (20) schizophrenia and mental disorders, manic depression, insanity, and other manic disorders; (21) congenital feeble-mindedness; (22) addictions to morphine and cocaine; and (23) so-called “racial characteristics.”

The following, in chart form for easier readability, summarizes von Vershuer’s comments regarding Jewish physicality and the various diseases which he addresses in his article “Rassenbiologie der Juden”:

“The racial-biological problem of the Jewish question”

“Disease”	von Vershuer’s Comment
General Sexual Maturity	Rather generally sexual maturity begins earlier in the case of the Jews.
Growth Ratios of the Body	In relation to the length of the torso the length of the legs is not as great, frequently resulting in the impression of a squat build.
Legs	On the legs, which are frequently crooked, a weak calf musculature is often quite noticeable. The musculature and connective tissue exhibit a flabbiness which is caused in part by a lack of use and bodily exercise, but also in part by a hereditary tendency.
Head	The head of the Jew is of medium size.

Eye(s)	The "almond eye" characteristic of the oriental race is found. The inner corner of the eye is inclined to be round, while the outer corner is inclined to be pointed and turned up toward the outside. The upper lid is often described as thickened and of a heavy appearance.
Lips	In most cases the lips are somewhat fleshy, often puffed up, and above all the outward-hanging lower-lip is noticeable, which is in conjunction with the high position of the furrow of the lower chin lip.
Nose	The "Jewish nose" has been described rather often. It is characterized by the fact that the tip of the nose is hook-shaped and bent downward and the sides of the nose are drawn upward. The sides of the nose are characterized by a special fleshiness, the cartilage of the tip of the nose is rather thick and the nasal septum sags downward.
Ear	The ear is often described as especially "fleshy," relatively large and jughandle-like.
Skin	The skin of the Jews is often lacking in a ruddy color and of a light yellow, dull color, which often appears especially light in contrast to the dark color of the hair.
Hair & Eyes	The color of the hair and of the eyes is darker on the average than in our case. Hair colors between brown and black and brown eyes are encountered most frequently.
Head Hair	The form of the head hair in the case of the Jews is less frequently straight and more frequently twisted in a spiral manner than is the case with German ethnic groups. The black head hair, which is twisted in a closely spiral manner and which is still occasionally encountered amongst Jews, is viewed as a result of an earlier Negroid admixture.
Body Hair & Beard Growth	The body hair cover and the beard growth are often especially strong amongst Jews.
Blood Group	The Jews are differentiated from the German population only by a somewhat higher proportion of blood group B.

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Sensitivity to Pain	The special need for physicians and the fear of disease on the part of Jews is confirmed by nearly all observers. The especially strong sensitivity to pain on the part of Jews has also been noted. ³²
Tuberculosis	In the case of Jews, the mortality from tuberculosis is a lower one, the course of the disease is slower and more favorable, less frequently do there come about exsudative decomposition processes and more frequently there are found benign forms contained by the formation of connective tissue.
Diabetes	The frequency of diabetes in Jews is best known. For that reason diabetes has even been designated as the "Jewish disease" [sic]. Having diabetes and dying from it are about four times as frequent in the case of Jews as in non-Jews. The hereditary tendency to diabetes occurs more frequently amongst Jews than amongst non-Jews.
Gaucher's Disease & Niemann-Pick's Disease	Gaucher's disease and Niemann-Pick's disease, in the case of which the metabolism of fatty substances is impaired, occur with greater frequency in Jews. ³³
Blood Vessel Diseases	Diseases of the blood vessels, especially, arteriosclerosis, are said to occur more frequently in Jews. Spontaneous gangrene, a gangrene of the limbs resulting from disturbances of the vessels, is also especially common in Jews.
Cancer	No differences exist in the frequency of cancer.
Eye Diseases	The more frequent occurrence of glaucoma in Jews. Astigmatism is also reputed to be more frequent in Jews.
Nervous & Mental Diseases	All investigators agree on a greater frequency of nervous and mental diseases in the case of the Jews. In the case of the Jews the cheerfully excited, manic conditions occurred more commonly. Most frequent were also sensory delusions, hypochondria, imaginations and symptoms of a sexual-erotic nature.

<p>Schizophrenia & Manic-depression</p>	<p>Schizophrenia is strikingly more frequent among Jews. Since it is a matter of a hereditary disease in the case of schizophrenia which occurs rather independently of external influences, the more frequent occurrence of the disease in Jews must be viewed as a racial characteristic.³⁴ Manic-depressive insanity is also found to be more frequent amongst Jews, but the difference between Jews and non-Jews is not as great as in the case of schizophrenia. In the case of manic disorders, which relatively frequently occur amongst Jews, the disturbance of thinking very often went as far as a case of disintegration.</p>
<p>Epilepsy & Alcoholism</p>	<p>The scarcity of epilepsy amongst the Jews. The likewise seldom occurrence of alcoholism in Jews.</p>
<p>Feeble-mindedness</p>	<p>Various observers assume a greater frequency of congenital feeble-mindedness in the case of the Jews in comparison with non-Jews. In particular, grave forms of feeble-mindedness appear to be more frequent in Jews.</p>
<p>Psychoanalysis</p>	<p>In is certainly no coincidence, but rather a result of a racial characteristic that psychoanalysis originates, in essence, with Jewish authors and that [Sigmund] Freud (1856-1939) has made sexuality and [Alfred] Adler (1870-1937) has made the drive for prestige and power the central aspect of their doctrines on neuroses. Hysterical phenomena are also supposed to be especially common in Jews.</p>
<p>Drug Addiction</p>	<p>Addiction to morphine and cocaine is found more frequently amongst them than in the case of non-Jews.</p>
<p>Criminal Behavior</p>	<p>A considerably lower incidence of crime is found amongst Jews in the case of bodily injury and larceny but they are sentenced far more than average for slander, fraud, and forgery.</p>
<p>Psychological Differences</p>	<p>The psychological differences between Germans and Jews are caused by a different hereditary makeup, i.e., by a different racial origin.</p>

<p>Racial Characteristics</p>	<p>The racial characteristics (physical and mental) of the Jews of the present day are probably explainable to a considerable extent on the basis of the origin of the Jews from the geographical area of the Near Eastern and Oriental races. The profound contrast between Arabs and Jews in Palestine also has a racial root! Jewry possesses a distinct racial nature which is found in no other groups of people and which therefore appears to justify our speaking of Jews as a race.</p>
<p>“Breeding”</p>	<p>The Jews have “bred” their race themselves. In most cases the Jews have reproduced themselves by strong inbreeding.³⁵</p>

From such data and the “scientific” investigations of his fellow scientists, both contemporary and previous (as evidenced by his bibliography), von Vershuer is thus able to make the following observation:

On the whole, from the comparison of physical racial characteristics it is clear that the Jews living in Germany are quite distinct from the German population. Since it is a question of characteristics which are quite essentially genetically determined, the observed difference cannot be caused by external influences of any kind; the difference can only be explained by the different racial origin of the Germans on the one hand and of the Jews on the other hand. The characteristics which are considered typical of the present-day Jew and by which we can recognize him in his outward appearance, point to the Near Eastern and oriental-Mediterranean races. Hence the results of research on racial history and those of the racial-biological examination of the Jews of the present time are in keeping with each other. The racial types of the Near Eastern and oriental races, known as Ashkenazim and Sephardim are still found today amongst the European Jews. The Ashkenazi type is the predominant one amongst Jews in Germany.³⁶ (p. 142)

As is the case with all such prejudicial stereotyping of groups other than the one to which one belongs and to which one remains committed, certain kernels of truth (e.g. preponderances of certain genetic diseases among certain sub-populations, certain occupations more appealing and open to certain groups because of historical and/or political and/or religious circumstances, etc.), taken to their most perverse and twisted ends, and overlaid with the false veneer and patina of so-called “scientific objectivity,” the information or data thus derived is then used by those in power to disadvantage those without access to it, and, taken to the extreme, to prac-

tice genocidal destruction of minority groups as was the reality for the Jews and others between 1939 and 1945.

V. VON VERSCHUER'S CONCLUSIONS

Interestingly enough, von Vershuer concludes with a discussion of so-called "environmental circumstances" (i.e. the ongoing debate of nature vs. nurture) and cites four specifics which "appear to me to be of special importance to the determination of the direction of the selective process:"

1. For over 2,000 years Jews have been living far from the nature attachments to a certain region.³⁷
2. The Jews prefer to be active in the commercial occupations,³⁸ not as a result of an external compulsion but *as a result of an inner nature*; that has frequently been demonstrated. [Emphasis not in original, but obviously von Verschuer elects nature over nurture here.—SLJ]
3. As a result of their Talmud education, the Jews were kept at a purely formal, logical intellectual activity. [A somewhat surprising comment from one scientifically trained and supposedly research-oriented.—SLJ]
4. A specific religious-ethnic idea of being a chosen people has constantly given Jewry an intellectual exclusivity, which reinforced the isolation from other peoples and favored the preservation of their own racial peculiarity.³⁹

von Verschuer finally concludes his article by stating that "the danger which Jewry meant for the German population was a double one":

1. By excessive racially foreign influence the preservation of the character of our people was threatened. The complete racial separation of Germans and Jews was an absolute necessity for that reason.
2. The excessive intellectually Jewish foreign influence sought to introduce principles of living and selection which were favorable for the preservation of Jewry, but would have meant the decline of our people. For that reason the racial separation of Germans and Jews has the national separation as a requisite.

Thus, the antisemitism of the Nazis was given a scientific validation and the excesses which were to follow scientifically legitimated.

VI. TRANSLATING SCIENCE INTO REALITY

The SS (German, *Schutzstaffel*, "Protective Squadron"), created in 1923, were the elite of Nazism, recognized by their black uniforms, skull shield, daggers, and absolute loyalty to *der Führer* Adolf Hitler. In addition

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to fighting alongside the German Army, particularly in the Eastern Front after the invasion of the Soviet Union (“Operation Barbarossa,” 22 June 1941), the SS were primarily responsible for the removal of Jews from their homes, transportation to the death camps, and, ultimately, their extermination. The heinous nature of their brutality and cruelty is legendary.

In a pamphlet entitled *Glauben und Kampfen* (“Faith and Struggle”), and intended to be read (and internalized) by those ethnic Germans coming from southeastern Europe, a subsection entitled “The Jewish Question” reads as follows. The text itself is a classic example of Nazi indoctrination of those most willing to accept its principles and translate them into a violent reality against their enemies.

The destructive influence of race-mixing with the Jews proved especially harmful in our folk⁴⁰ until the rise to power of National Socialism. These parasites of mankind [*sic*] have well understood to the present day how to prevent a complete merger with their host folks. Representing this is the statement of the English Jew [Benjamin] Disraeli (1804-1881; Prime Minister, 1868 & 1874-1880): “Every race must perish which subjects its blood to mixing without care.” If in the year 1928 for every 100 pure Jewish marriages in Germany there were already 53 mixed marriages, then this proves how deeply this slow but steadfastly working poison had crept into our folk. Furthermore there existed the special danger that Jewry BY MEANS OF SPIRITUAL DECAY HAD BEGUN TO SYSTEMATICALLY UNDERMINE THE RACIALLY CONSCIOUS ACTION AND THOUGHT OF OUR FOLK in order to raise itself politically and economically to predominance. Alongside this undermining, miscegenation [i.e. negatively understood as the interbreeding of different races] spread primarily in the intellectually leading groups of our folk. Jews made sincere feeling despicable and their propaganda aimed intentionally at the inner undermining and fragmentation of the folk body. The aftereffects of this destructive, decades-long infection are even today detectable in our folk. It requires intensive effort to eradicate the last traces of this pestilence and lead our entire folk back to the natural and only correct path of life. The solution to the Jewish question has today become a vital task beyond the borders of the Reich for the peoples of Europe. [Emphasis original]⁴¹

The operative key word in this quotation, therefore, is “solution.” The “Final Solution to the Jewish Question” (German, *die Endlösung der Judenfrage*) for the SS was a question to be answered and a problem to be solved. The result: the murder of almost six million Jewish men, women and children, one million of whom were under the age of twelve and an additional one-half million under the age of eighteen. All this was validated by the government of Germany under Nazi leadership and legitimated by the academic and scientific communities. Indeed, the very language of this selec-

tion, even in translation, is a reasonably well-written appeal to the intellect of its reader without the emotional sensationalism and pornographic violence of such publications as Streicher's *Der Stürmer*. (See Note #30.)

VII. A CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN EQUIVALENT

The American antisemite Eustace Mullins (b. 1923), long affiliated with the far Right in American politics, protégé of political activist, Modernist poet and himself overtly antisemitic Ezra Pound (1885-1972), is the author of the 1968 text "'The Biological Jews'" (Stauton: Faith and Service Books of the Aryan League of America).⁴² In that relatively brief text (28 single-spaced pages, small font), Mullins wrote:

The activities of the hagfish, in sucking the blood of the still living fish until it dies, closely corresponds to the ancient Jewish religious rite of ritual murder, in which the healthy gentile victim is strapped down onto a table, ritual cuts made into his flesh, and the flowing blood is drunk by celebrating Jews in one of the most important symbolic acts of their parasitic existence. The ceremony of blood-drinking continues until the gentile victim expires, in a social re-enactment of the physical activities of such parasites as the hagfish.

Further on, Mullins asserted that "diabetes is referred to in many medical dictionaries as 'the Jewish disease'" (Shades of von Vershuer!), but several pages later reiterated his theme of the parasitic physicality of Jews, writing:

We know that the gentile can never expect any mercy from the Jew. The horrible practice of ritual murder is sufficient evidence of this. The ritual murder of gentile children by bleeding them to death and drinking their blood is the highest symbolic revelation of the theory of the *biological parasite*. . . This religious ceremony of drinking the blood of an innocent gentile child is basic to the Jew's entire concept of his existence as a parasite, living off the blood of the host. That is why he refuses to abandon this custom, even though it has brought him close to extinction many times. (Emphasis added)

For Mullins, post-World War II anti-Nazi education on the part of *Jewish* teachers is indefensible and a reaction to what he understands as the positive agenda of National Socialism:

The Jewish teachers recommend pornographic books to the children, discuss sexual perversions in detail, and frequently harangue their classes for hours about the evils of Nazism. . . At home, the gentile child watches television programs which are largely devoted to anti-Nazi

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themes. . . *Nazism is simply this—a proposal that the German people rid themselves of the parasitic Jews.* [Emphasis added]

Thus, here we see quite concretely an American iteration of the Nazi Social Darwinist paradigm: that the *biological* contest in the animal kingdom is played out not only in a German/Nazi context, but in an American one as well.

In a 1993 interview still available on YouTube, in response to the interviewer's question, "Do you believe Jews are parasites?" Mullins responded:

Parasites? No, as I say, this was a theme I developed in 1968 in that one book. I've never referred to it again and in fact there is nothing about Jews in my last five books in the past twenty years simply because I moved into larger spheres, the world order.⁴³

Thus, one is forced to conclude that the Nazi concern and preoccupation with the *physicality* of the Jews as the enemies not only of Germany but of all humankind is alive and well both at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st.

VIII. A SECOND EXAMPLE: THE ANTI-IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT— EUGENICS, ANTISEMITISM, AND FELLOW TRAVELERS

Eugenics remains alive and well in the reinvention of itself organizationally and in the organizations and players associated with the anti-immigrant or "nativist" movement of white Euro-Americans which definitionally excludes Native Americans (whom Canadians refer to as First Americans), its fears for the preservation of the white race and its [distinctive and, therefore, superior] culture, and its inclusion of seemingly respectable academics and their publications, thus giving it the same false patina of intellectual legitimacy as the hateful pseudo-science of Nazi "racial science." That the tangled web of organizations, players and publications adds a more than generous dollop of antisemitism to the mix is far too easily confirmed by even the most cursory of examinations and is briefly outlined in this section.⁴⁴ (The fact that some among the players are Jewish persons and, by and large, disaffected and disaffiliated from the organized American Jewish communities does not diminish this conclusion.)

The premier American funding organization for eugenics-related research in the 1930s, with contacts with Germany, was the Pioneer Fund established in New York in 1937. According to its original charter, it was to pursue "race betterment" for those "deemed to be descended predomi-

nately from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution.” Because such overtly racist language is no longer palatable, its website (www.pioneerfund.org) asserts:

The Pioneer Fund, Inc. is a New York 501(c)(3) not-for-profit foundation established in 1937 to advance the scientific study of heredity and human differences. Named to honor the early pioneers who built America, our mandate is to support pioneering research in those fields.⁴⁵

Among the recipients of their grants are:

Michael Levin: Professor of Philosophy, City University of New York, and author of the 1997 text *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean* (Westport: Praeger Publishers).

Richard Lynn: Irish Professor Emeritus of Psychology, Dublin, and author of the *Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis* (Washington: Summit Publishers, 2006), *The Global Bell Curve: Race, IQ, and Inequality Worldwide* (Washington: Summit Publishers, 2008), *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), *The Science of Human Diversity: A History of the Pioneer Fund* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield), and *Eugenics: A Reassessment* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001). He has publicly opposed immigration to Great Britain, and has been seriously critiqued by others in the scientific community for misrepresentation of their work and methodologically flawed studies based on sample populations that are far too limited.

Roger Pearson: British anthropologist, editor of several pseudo-academic journals (*Mankind Quarterly*; *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*; and the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*). Prior to his founding the Institute for the Study of Man, Pearson was associated with right-wing antisemitic philanthropist Willis Carto (b. 1926) of the Liberty Lobby and was part of the Holocaust denialist Noontide Press in California while filling academic posts in Charlotte, NC; Hattiesburg, MS; and Butte, MT.

J. Philippe Rushton: Professor of Psychology at the University of Western Ontario, Canada, current President of the Pioneer Fund, and author of the text *Race, Evolution, and Behavior* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1995). While having his supporters within the scientific and academic community, he has also had his detractors and has spoken at several racist conferences and has condemned blacks throughout Canada.

William Shockley (1910-1989): British-born American physicist and author of the book (together with Roger Pearson) *Shockley on Eugenics and Race: The Application of Science to the Solution of the Human Problems* (New York: Scott-Townsend, 1992). A strong believer in eugenics, he was

convinced that the supposed higher birth rates among the black population coupled with lower intelligence would lead to a decline of civilization. Prior to his advocacy of eugenics, as a physicist, Shockley was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1956 for his co-invention of the transistor.

With the exception of Pearson, however, none of the above-named who could be classified as anti-black racist eugenicists, could, also, be classified as antisemites. However, almost to a person (aside from Shockley, who died earlier), they have all written for publications that continue to exhibit a blend of racist eugenics and antisemitism (e.g. *American Renaissance* and *Occidental Quarterly*, to name but two).

Shifting gears a bit, the “father” of the anti-immigration movement and recipient of Pioneer Funds is Dr. John Tanton, retired Michigan ophthalmologist and founder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), and NumbersUSA as well as The Social Contract Press, which published the English-language version of Frenchman Jean Raspail’s controversial 1973 doom-and-gloom novel about the overwhelming of Western white civilization by immigrant hordes originating in India, *The Camp of the Saints*. Tanton continues to deny that he is either a racist or an antisemite on his website (www.johntanton.org), but maintains an association with and is fully supportive of both Jared Taylor, founder of *American Renaissance* and author of the book *Paved with Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (New Century Books, 2004), and evolutionary psychologist and professor Kevin B. MacDonald of California State University, Long Beach, CA, whose three volumes—*A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994), *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998), and *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998)—have been almost universally condemned for his arguments that Jewish intelligence is eugenically derived and serves to further competitive agendas and undermine Jews’ host civilizations in the process.⁴⁶ Like numerous others, MacDonald, too, has spoken to racist and Holocaust denialist conferences and published with racist and antisemitic publications.

Turning to such publications themselves, one finds these same individuals who, collectively, continue to advocate an anti-immigration, racist, eugenicist, and antisemitic agenda. Here is a “short list:” *The American Conservative* (founded by American political journalist Pat Buchanan); *American Renaissance*; *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*; *Citizen Informer*; *Frontpagemag.com*; *Journal of Indo-European Studies*;

Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies; Occidental Quarterly;
and *The Social Contract*.

In the summer of 2003, The Southern Poverty Law Center in their periodical *Intelligence Report* published an article by Chip Berlet entitled "Into the Mainstream," which included a listing of organizations identified with the above destructive concerns: The American Cause, American Enterprise Institute, American Immigration Control Foundation, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Castle Rock Foundation, Center for American Unity, Center for the Study of Popular Culture, Federation for American Immigration Reform, Free Congress Foundation, Institute for the Study of Man, Ludwig von Mises Institute, New Century Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, Pioneer Fund, Rockford Institute, Scaife Foundations, and U.S. Inc. While not every organization included in this list is either racist and/or antisemitic, taken as a group but examined individually, their very interconnectedness involves addressing what may be perceived as an anti-Black and/or anti-Jewish agenda.

One cannot complete this catalog without mentioning Peter Brimelow, editor of the website VDARE.com, which regularly features the work of both racists and antisemites and his own 1996 book, *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Harper & Row), wherein he addresses both legal and illegal immigration.

Lastly and newly arrived is the group Preserving Western Civilization, whose statement of purpose from its website (<http://preservingwesternvic.com>) reads:

We believe that America's Judeo-Christian heritage and European identity must be defended. Today, our glorious Western civilization is under assault from many directions. Three such threats will be discussed at this conference (6-8 February 2009, Baltimore, MD). First, the massive influx to the United States and Europe of Third World immigrants who do not share our fundamental political and cultural values. Second, the threat from Islam, a militant ideology that is hostile to our society and, in principle, committed to destroying it. Third, because of the persistent disappointing performance of blacks (which many whites mistakenly blame on themselves) many whites have guilt feelings that undermine Western morale and deter us from dealing sensibly with the other threats.

PWC is the brainchild of astrophysicist Michael H. Hart and author of *Understanding Human History* (Washington: Summit Books, 2007), which J. Philippe Rushton claims provides "an erudite biological explanation of human history."

Among the speakers at that conference were both Brimelow and Rushton.

Serious investigation of these organizations, players, and publications will reveal a wealth of information regarding their common agendas and their interconnectedness. It is simply far too easy to dismiss as not antisemitic those whose seeming concerns are “only” with illegal immigrants—be they Latinos or Asians—or African Americans. Their joining together at conferences and their writing in common publications wherein eugenics is highly touted as addressing the myriad of problems afflicting Western civilization, and antisemitism is held up as a solution for addressing the root causes of these problems, continues to sound far too reminiscent of the Nazi ideology and language associated with Nazi racial science. The work of von Vershuer and others continues to bear poisonous fruit.

IX. CONCLUSION: LESSONS TO BE LEARNED?

A first and most obvious lesson to be learned is that we human beings, most especially, perhaps, we *educated* human beings, have the moral responsibility to remain continually vigilant that our acquired learning not be perverted in unjust causes, and that learning itself be continually subject to review. With regard to the sciences especially, those who are its practitioners, whose work addresses the human community, have an overriding responsibility to insure that their work is subject to oversight, that experiments conducted involving human beings follow established protocols of consent, building, for example, upon those set forth in The Nuremberg Code established in the aftermath of the Second World War after the trials of medical personnel in Nuremberg, Germany, in the same locale where the Nazi leadership itself was brought to justice in 1945-1946.⁴⁷

A second lesson is to recognize that there are, indeed, differences among the various groups of human beings, be they skin pigmentation differences, predominant characteristics of height, hair, and eye color, subjectivity to various diseases, and so forth. But such physical differences in no way equate with moral or other notions of superiority or inferiority. Human physicality is what it is: a vast array of differences that make the human community the umbrella of possibilities that we are. All humanity is one species fully capable of reproduction of its own kind, regardless of our differences. All attempts at interjecting any value system whatsoever with regard to our physicality is an exercise in hate and prejudice and the stereotyping of various groups as “worthy” or “unworthy” of membership in the human species. It is important to remember that the Nazi slogan first applied to the physically and mentally defective and later to those deemed subject to annihilation and extermination (Jews, Sinti, Roma, gays, etc.) was *Lebensunwertes Leben* (“life unworthy of life”).

A third lesson, building upon the second, concerns the moral responsi-

bility the human community must continue to demand of itself with regard to those who are unable to demand such accountability for themselves—children, women in certain contexts and environments, the physically and mentally challenged, and, by extension, those without access to corridors of power, be they political, military, economic, educational, social, or religious. No one person or group is definitionally superior or inferior to any other person or group because fate or energy or talent or skill has accorded them opportunities seemingly denied others. Keeping the planet sustainable for all humanity requires that physical difference no longer be part of any nation-state or international thinking—“groupthink”—in confronting the challenges and the perils to which we are all subject. Equal access inherently possesses the distinct possibility of accepting creative solutions by anyone able to make such a contribution, and of no one being denied such an opportunity because of his or her or their physicality.

The pseudo-science of eugenics and the false valuation by the Nazis of one group of human beings as superior to all other groups—and two groups as distinctly inferior (Jews and Sinti, Roma)—covered over by the seeming respectability of the scientific-academic community remains a stain on modern Western civilization. At this moment in history when articulators of clashing civilizations argue for and against, and the recent United States presidential election saw the vilest discourse directed not only toward the first African-American candidate (now President) but toward both women candidates for high office as well, revisiting this particular nightmare and its accompanying reality might serve all of us well as a cautionary reminder that, in the words of the Annual United Negro College Fund Appeal, “the [human] mind is a terrible thing to waste.”

NOTES

1. Though not directly a focus of this essay, within the world of Holocaust denialism, much continues to be made of the so-called “Leuchter Reports” (4) by American “execution technology expert” Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. (b. 1943) of Malden, MA, who initially presented himself as an engineer but was forced to legally cease and desist regarding this fraudulent credentialing claim. The subtitles of his reports are I. “The End of the Myth?” II. “Dachau, Mauthausen, Hartheim,” III. “A Technical Report on the Execution Gas Chamber,” and IV. “Technical Evaluation of Jean-Claude Pressac’s Book *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chamber*.” Leuchter first came to public attention in 1988 when he was called as an expert witness at a fee of \$35,000 at the Canadian trial of Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel, who remains today in a German prison. Having visited both Auschwitz and Birkenau in preparation for his testimony and, according to his report, conducted experimental research including wall scrapings and chemical analyses, Leuchter concluded:

After reviewing all of the material and inspecting all of the sites at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, your author finds the evidence as overwhelming. There was [*sic*] no execution gas chambers at any of these locations. It is the

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best engineering opinion of this author that the alleged gas chambers at the inspected **sites could not have been, or now, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.** (www.ihr.org. Emphasis in original. Accessed February 18, 2009.)

Since the publication of this first report (and the three following), Leuchter remains something of a “golden boy” among Holocaust denialists, including the recent case of Bishop Robert Williamson who continues to deny the Holocaust and the number of Jewish deaths despite having had to publicly recant under pressure by the Vatican and Pope Benedict, as well as the unsuspecting who continue to find his materials online. However, his research methodologies have been thoroughly discredited within the scientific and engineering communities (e.g. Danny Keren and Jamie McCarthy, “The Leuchter Report” at www.nizkor.org and Richard J. Green and Jamie McCarthy, “Chemistry Is Not the Science: Rudolf, Rhetoric & Reduction,” at www.holocaust-history.org. Both accessed February 19, 2009), and, today, Leuchter maintains himself by lecturing at various Holocaust denial conferences.

The “Leuchter story” is an additional example of the misused and failed attempt of seemingly rational persons with their own hateful agenda to pervert even limited scientific and technical know-how in the cause of antisemitism.

2. More and more, the scholarly community has come to prefer this spelling for the phenomenon of hatred of the Jews and Judaism to that of anti-Semitism, taking a formerly linguistic term—“semitic”—and applying it to a socially-, culturally-, and ethnically-constructed community (i.e. the Semites—in this narrow case, the Jews), and falsely signifying its opposite. More importantly, however, there is no such entity as “Semitism,” in linguistics or any other discipline.

3. Klau Hoedl of Germany, in a lecture before the Central European University in Hungary entitled “Physical Characteristics of the Jews,” strongly suggests that “physical features played an important role in determining Jews well before the closing decades of the nineteenth century,” and thus “well before the appearance of anti-Semitism” (http://cio.ceu.hu/jewishstudies/pdf/01_hoedl.pdf). Accessed December 26, 2008. See, also, Jewish thinking and involvement in Sander L. Gilman (1996), “Smart Jews in Fin-de-siècle Vienna: ‘Hybrids’ and the Anxiety about Jewish Superior Intelligence—Hofmannsthal and Wittgenstein,” *Modernism/Modernity*, 3(2), 45-58, wherein he argues that Jewish scientists accepted the notion of physical differences among the “races,” and suggest that “this projection onto a subgroup of Jews is a classic move on the part of Jewish scientists dealing with the charges of difference in the fin de siècle” (p. 48). See also John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors & Race Scientists in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

4. The word itself, *eugenics*, was coined by British scientist and polymath Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911), and understood by him to mean “the study of all agencies under human control which can improve the racial quality of future generations.” Cited in Edwin Black, *The War Against the Weak*, 2004, p. 18.

5. This is, in fact, the very point made by Eric Ehrenreich in his 2007 article “Otmar von Verschuer and the ‘Scientific’ Legitimization of Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 21(1), 55-72. For an extended discussion of this and other related issues, see also his *The Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

6. The German title of the article was “Rassenbiologie der Juden” and it appeared in Volume III (1938) of the six-volume series (1937-1941) *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* [Studies on the Jewish Question], published by the Hanseatische Verlanganstalt, Hamburg. The translation used here is that of notorious if somewhat less well-known Holocaust-denier Charles E. Weber, Ph.D., retired Head of the Department of Modern Languages of the University of Tulsa, OK (Reedy: Liberty Bell Publications, 1983). Weber himself is the author of the spurious tract *The “Holocaust”: 120 Questions and Answers*, www.codoh.com/

author/weberc.html. Accessed December 8, 2008. In that 38-page text, questions #39 and #40 are insightful in this context:

39. Did the National Socialists consider the Jews an inferior race?

Baron Otmar von Verschuer, M.D., (1886-1969) may be regarded as one of the chief scientific spokesmen for the racial and eugenic policies of National Socialist Germany. He was a professor at the University of Frankfurt am Main and as of 1944 he was Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Genetics and Eugenics. Several of his writings have a bearing on the question posed above. In the second volume of the series *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* (Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937), he published an article on documentary research which can throw light on the biological aspects of the Jewish question (pages 216-222). On page 281 he writes: **“Our national attitude toward the biological aspect of the Jewish question is thus fully independent of all observations which have to do with advantages or disadvantages of Jews and with their favorable or unfavorable characteristics.”** In Volume 3 of the series (1938) he published an article simply titled *Rassenbiologie der Juden* (Racial Biology of the Jews), pages 137-151. In this article he discusses in detail patterns of insanity, criminal behavior, and physical pathology in Jews. (A valuable bibliography is appended to this article.) In his discussion he points out not only weaknesses of Jews, but also their strength, such as lower incidences of epilepsy, alcoholism, cancer of the uterus, and tuberculosis, as well as their greater adaptability to urban life. In a handbook on genetically determined diseases, *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Principles of Eugenics), the second edition of which was published by the Georg Thieme Verlag in Leipzig in 1944, a brief discussion of the Jewish question is given on pages 136-141. He reiterates his position by stating that the goal of preservation and improvement of the national racial heritage is **“not dependent on considerations of superiority or inferiority of a race which is foreign to us”** and that every crossing of a foreign race into a nation **“leads to the alteration of the biological basis of the character of this nation and its civilization.”** We might note, by the way, that laws against miscegenation and laws which provided for eugenic measures are by no means foreign to us Americans, since many of our states had such laws until they were eliminated after World War II, possibly as an overreaction to National Socialism.

40. What was the nature of German scholarly and scientific research on the Jewish question during the National Socialist period?

There is a vast body of research which was published during the National Socialist period. Some of it is of considerable, indeed, well nigh unique value because it is not written with self-serving objectives by Jews themselves and because much of it was written by outstanding scholars and scientists. One of the most important series of scientific studies in this area is the series, *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*, the first annual volume of which was published in 1937. Some of the articles deal with the ethnic history of the Jews, some are biographical sketches of such figures as [Baruch] Spinoza (1632-1677), Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), [Karl] Marx (1818-1883), [Benjamin] Disraeli (1804-1881), [Walter] Rathenau (1867-1922) and [Albert] Einstein (1879-1955), some articles deal with the position of the Jews [*sic*] in European society, while still others deal with biological and cultural characteristics of Jews. On the whole, the tone of the articles in the *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* is restrained and objective; there is even some praise for Jewish abilities. An article on [Johann Wolfgang von] Goethe's (1749-1832) attitudes toward the Jews concludes with the observation that Goethe did not hate the Jews, and an

article on Richard Wagner (1813-1883) concludes that Wagner was a man of the nineteenth century and was no more a National Socialist than [Friedrich] Nietzsche (1844-1900) or [Paul Anton de] Lagarde (1827-1891). Most German research done during the National Socialist period is neglected and by no means readily accessible. Some of it is worthwhile enough to deserve a translation into English. (Bold emphases in original.)

7. Fischer, a physical anthropologist, was born in Karlsruhe, and, together with Erwin Bauer (1975-1933) and Fritz Lenz (1877-1967), was the author of the text *Human Hereditary Teaching and Racial Hygiene* (published by Macmillan in New York as *Human Heredity* in 1931). This text, based in part upon Fischer's own theories and activities, provided support for the extermination of the Jews and Sinti and the sterilization of those deemed racially defective. Appointed Rector of the [now] Humboldt University, Berlin, by Adolf Hitler in 1933, Fischer completed his memoirs after the Second World War, minimizing his own role and importance in the Nazi program of extermination, and died in 1967.

8. Regarding the role of German Nazi anthropologists as well as the American connection, see Gretchen E. Schafft (2002), "Scientific Racism in Service of the Reich: German Anthropologists in the Nazi Era," in Alexander Laban Hinton, ed., *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

9. In their editorial "Medicine and the Holocaust: Learning More of the Lessons," Barron H. Lerner, MD, and David J. Rothman, PhD, citing Michael H. Kater's *Doctors Under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), write, "Fully 45% of German physicians belonged to the Nazi party, a percentage higher than that for any other profession," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 122(10), 793. Hungarian-born American professor of clinical medicine at UCLA, Alfred Pasternak, himself a survivor of Auschwitz, has specifically addressed the role of physicians in a new book, *Inhuman Research: Medical Experiments in German Concentration Camps* (Hungary: Akadémiai Kladó, 2006). In the concluding part of his almost 400-page text, Pasternak provides biographies of almost 200 physicians who worked in those camps. Writing about Pasternak and his book, Thomas Ország-Land expresses that "Pasternak notes that his book is intended to silence the growing chorus of Holocaust revisionists and to warn future generations that *rational people, even doctors, can be swayed by insane arguments.*" Thomas Ország-Land (2007), "Medical Monsters: A look at the most shameful chapter in the history of medicine," *The Jerusalem Report* (October 29), 39. (Emphasis added.) He goes on, "How could these doctors do what they do? Pasternak's explanation is that they had accepted an insane intellectual framework as valid," and argues that "the first fateful collective step taken by the German medical profession towards mass murder in the camps was its enthusiastic embrace of Hitler's racist ideology." *Ibid.*

10. In the euphemistically coded language of the day, most especially under the Nazis, "diverse racial groups" meant Jews, Sinti, Roma, Poles, Russians, and so forth. An excellent discussion of such coded language replete with an alphabetized dictionary of such terms is that authored by Robert Michael and Karin Doerr, *Nazi-Deutsch/Nazi German: An English Lexicon of the Language of the Third Reich* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).

11. Cited by Edwin Black, "The Horrifying American Roots of Nazi Eugenics," <http://hnn.us/articles/1796.htm>. Accessed December 23, 2008.

12. Popenoe was born in Kansas and grew up in California. As a scientist, he was an outspoken eugenicist and a strong advocate for the compulsory sterilization of the mentally ill and disabled. Though his doctoral degree was only an honorary one (Occidental College, Los Angeles, CA, 1929), "Dr." Popenoe, as he referred to himself, co-authored, along with philanthropist Ezra Seymour Gosney (1855-1942) of the Human Betterment Foundation, the book *Sterilization for Human Betterment: A Summary of Results of 6,000 Operations in California, 1909-1929* (New York: Macmillan, 1929). This text was cited by racial theorists in Nazi Germany regularly and translated into German as supportive of their own

efforts. Popenoe and Gosney followed up this text with one in 1938 entitled *Twenty-eight Years of Sterilization in California*, though it was poorly received by the academic community. Popenoe also co-authored with Roswell Johnson the college textbook *Applied Eugenics* (New York: Macmillan, 1918).

13. Cited by Edwin Black, "The Horrifying American Roots of Nazi Eugenics," <http://hnn.us/articles/1796.htm>. Accessed December 23, 2008.

14. One important study is that of Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

15. Black, Edwin (November 9, 2003), "Eugenics and the Nazis—the California Connection," www.sfgate.com. (Also published under the title "The Horrifying American Roots of Nazi Eugenics," by the History News Network, <http://hnn.us/articles/1796.htm>.) Accessed December 23, 2008. Black is also the author of *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York: Basic Books, 2003). While at times grandiose in his language, Black does zero in on the American-Nazi connection.

16. According to Molly Ladd-Taylor, "Many scholars have pointed out that a coercive negative eugenics programme achieved unique legislative success in the United States. By the mid-1930s, forty-one states prohibited marriage among the 'feeble-minded' and insane, thirty prohibited eugenic sterilization, and nearly all provided for the institutionalization of so-called defectives during their childbearing years. Eugenicists also claimed credit for the federal Immigration Act of 1924, which restricted immigration from southern and eastern Europe." Molly Ladd-Taylor (2001), "Eugenics, Sterilization and Modern Marriage in the USA: The Strange Career of Paul Popenoe," *Gender and History* 13(2), 301.

17. A particularly tragic story of American eugenics gone awry is that contained within J. David Smith's *Minds Made Feeble: The Myth and Legacy of the Kallikaks* (New York: Lippincott, Williams & Wilkins, 1985).

18. An excellent history of the American Eugenics Society is that of the PhD dissertation of Barry Alan Mehler entitled "A History of the American Eugenics Society, 1921-1940" (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), and available on the website of the Institute for the Study of Academic Racism (ISAR) at Ferris State University, www.ferris.edu. Particularly noteworthy—and disturbing—is his Chapter Six, "A Comparison of American and Nazi Sterilization Programs," pp. 223-268.

19. The use of the word *euthanasia*, meaning "good death" in the Nazi context, is a perversion of language of the first order. For the victims done to death without their consent or that of their families, and all-too-often not suffering from any terminal illnesses whatsoever, the only "goodness" of these programs was to lessen the psychologically depressing potential of those murderers who put their victims to death by bolstering their spirits through alcohol, cigarettes, and various social interactions. The same bolstering of spirit was practiced by the various *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile killing squads) throughout the Eastern Front. See, for example, Richard Rhodes, *Masters of Death: The SS-Einsatzgruppen and the Invention of the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002). Within Auschwitz, however, the death-work of removing asphyxiated bodies from the gas chambers and transporting them to the crematoria was done by Jewish prisoners, the majority of whom had only a three-month lifespan before themselves becoming victims. See Gideon Grief, *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

20. Charles E. Weber, "Translator's Introduction" to Baron Otmar von Verschuer, M.D., *Racial Biology of the Jews* (Reedy: Liberty Bell Publications, 1983), ii-iii.

21. Phrase taken from the jacket of Geoffrey G. Field's *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

22. An interesting and unscientific reversal of this thinking is the unsubstantiated claim among some persons within the African-American communities who, preoccupied with what

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is called “Afrocentrism,” argue that the darkening skin pigmentation chemical melanin makes black persons superior human beings rather than inferior persons. See Barry Mehler, “African American Racism in the Academic Community,” www.ferris.edu/isar [Institute for the Study of Academic Racism]. Accessed February 16, 2009. (This article was previously published in *The Review of Education*, 15(3/4), Fall 1993, and, somewhat revised, in *Martyrdom and Resistance*, Nov.-Dec. 1993.)

23. Maurice Fishberg, Jacob Segall, Felix Thielhaber, and Ignaz Zollschan.

24. Weber himself notes this also when he writes, “Lest it be thought that von Verschuer was simply summarizing his own subjective observations or was exclusively dependent on materials published after 1933 [the year Hitler became Chancellor of Germany], we need only note that nearly all of the literature cited in the valuable bibliography at the end of the article originated before 1933, and that *many of the authors would seem to be Jewish*” (ii) [Emphasis added.—SLJ]

25. Though born in Russia, Fishberg was both an American physician and a physical anthropologist. Among his most important works was *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* (New York: Charles C. Scribner’s Sons, 1911), in which he argued that the “racial composition of the Jews” was the result of environmental rather than hereditary factors. An analysis of his work, as well as that of Franz Boas (1858-1942), was done by G. M. Morant and Otto Samson (1936) in “An Examination of Investigations by Dr. Maurice Fishberg and Professor Franz Boas,” *Biometrika*, 28(1/2): 1-31.

26. Segall was also the author of the text *German Jews in the 1914/1918 War* (Berlin: Philo-Verlag G.m.b., 1922), later used by Jews to refute the Nazi contention that Jews were both cowardly and non-participants as soldiers in the First World War.

27. Thielhaber was both a physician and pioneering sexologist who died in Israel. In Germany, he founded the Society for Sexual Reform (1913), the Coalition for Reform of the (German) Criminal Law (1925), and the journal *Sexual Hygiene* (1928). After emigrating to pre-state Palestine in 1935, he founded a health insurance company and served as its medical director.

28. Zollschan was a physician and anthropologist and an outspoken critic of antisemitism, as well as a strong advocate in both his speaking and his writing of Zionism (the national liberation movement of the Jewish people for a return to its ancient and historic homeland). After the fall of Czechoslovakia in 1939, Zollschan settled in Great Britain and published his book *Racialism Against Civilization* there in 1942.

29. What is surprising on this list is the omission of Eugen Dühring’s 1880 text *Die Judenfrage als Frage des Rassencharakters und seiner Schädlichkeiten für Existenz und Kultur der Völker* (“The Jewish Question as a Question of Racial Character and Its Harmfulness to the Life and Culture of Nations”), which Wolfgang Benz calls “the programmatic text of modern antisemitism” (Benz, Wolfgang, *A Concise History of the Third Reich* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006], 133). Dühring (1833-1921) was a philosopher, an economist, and a socialist as well as an antisemite and one of Germany’s pioneering expounders of hatred of the Jews.

30. Gaucher’s disease is a storage disease caused by the deficiency of the enzyme glucocerebrosidase, leading to a variety of ailments affecting the spleen, liver, joints, and blood supply. It is named for the French physician Phillipe Gaucher (1854-1918) who originally described it in 1882.

31. Niemann-Pick’s disease is a group of fatal disorders relating to problems associated with the body’s storage of lipids. It is named for German physicians Albert Niemann (1880-1921), who first described it, and Ludwig Pick (1868-1944), who described its pathology.

32. Such unsubstantiated pseudo-scientific thinking, conjectural at best and thoroughly methodologically flawed, is what today ought to be labeled as “urban legend.”

33. According to Yael Rosenberg, RN, in an article entitled “Jewish Genetics Diseases:”

There are nearly 4,000 genetic diseases known that afflict the world’s

population. However, in almost every ethnic, racial, or demographic group, certain genetic diseases occur at higher frequencies among their members than in the general population. Such is the case for the Jewish people.

The genetic diseases described on MazorGuide's to Jewish Genetic Diseases are disorders which occur more frequently in individuals of Jewish ancestry. Most diseases are severely incapacitating and some are tragically debilitating, leading to death in infancy or early childhood. Tay-Sachs may be the most recognized of the lot, but other diseases, just as prevalent and just as devastating, shatter the lives of Jewish families.

Source: www.mazornet.com/genetics. Accessed January 6, 2009. (Note: The "Guide" lists twenty-five such diseases, including Gaucher's and Niemann-Pick's.)

34. While technically correct, schizophrenia is eleven times more likely to be inherited ("Can Schizophrenia Be Inherited?" 17 July 2006); according to Dr. Paul Ballas at www.schizophreniaconnection.com, "From my personal experience working with patients, schizophrenia presents itself in all families from all walks of life" (¶4). Accessed February 26, 2009. Thus, Jews are no more or less likely to be predisposed toward schizophrenia than any other population.

35. The "cartoonish" nature of many of these descriptions, coupled with a sexual-erotic cast, was the subject of many of the cartoons that accompanied the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer* ("The Stormer" or "The Attacker"), published by Julius Streicher (1885-1946), later hanged at Nuremberg, between the years 1923 and 1945. It was known for its lurid antisemitic attacks against Jews, bordering on both the sensational and the pornographic. See Bytwerk, Randall L., *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper Der Sturmer* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001).

Relatedly, between the years 1932 and 1935, Streicher also published a so-called "medical journal" entitled *Deutsche Volksgesundheit aus Blut und Boden!* (German People's Health Through Blood and Soil!). Mixing antisemitism with medical information, natural healing or holistic medicine, and fantastic non-scientific claims (e.g. that vaccinations were part of a Jewish conspiratorial plot to control the German people), Streicher was forced to cease publication by the Nazi leadership.

36. Ashkenzic Jews, historically, are those from "Germanic lands" (Germany, France, Great Britain, Russia, etc.), while Sephardic Jews are those from so-called "Mediterranean lands" (Spain, Greece, etc.).

37. To a certain degree, von Verschuer is correct: Historical circumstances of the last 2,000 years have regularly seen Jews throughout Western Europe clustering in cities for their own safety, security, and survival after continuously being denied land ownership. With the rise of modern political Zionism at the end of the nineteenth century and onward, and the birth of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, Jews have once again returned to their agricultural roots, as was the case when Hebrews/Israelites/Jews predominated in their ancient homeland.

38. Here is a true reflection of the classic antisemitic canard of a Jewish preoccupation with financial matters. The actual reality is not that of a preoccupation, but the exigencies of historical realities during the later Middle Ages and the beginnings of the Age of Mercantilism: Jews were prevented from both joining the various (Christian) crafts guilds and owning land. Thus, throughout Europe, as the need for speculative capital arose, as well as the beginnings of the banking systems, wealthier Jews were sought out as sources of lending, often without recourse to repayment. The Roman Catholic Church, adamant about its prohibition against *usury* (i.e. charging interest), too, would seek out Jewish lenders. Both state and church would, all too often, however, then construct and enact legislation to prevent the repayment of both principal and interest. See, for example, Yaron Brook (2007), "The Morality of Moneylending: A Short History," *The Objective Standard: A Journal of Critique and Politics*, 2(3); Nelson, Benjamin N., *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); and

Krefetz, Gerald, *Jews and Money: The Myths and the Reality* (New Haven & New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1982).

39. Here, too, we see the evidence of centuries-old misreadings of the Hebrew Biblical texts: according to the Jewish religious tradition, God chose the children of Israel to be representatives of a singular divine reality and a higher ethical standard than was normative in the ancient world. Emblematic of the relationship was the concept of the *b'rith* or covenant symbolized by the Ten Commandments. Later generations of Jews understand this concept of chosenness as a dual one of ritual-ceremonial and moral-ethical responsibilities. See Beker, Avi, *The Chosen: The History of an Idea, and the Anatomy of an Obsession* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Firestone, Reuven, *Who Are the Real Chosen People? The Meaning of Chosenness in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Woodstock: Skylights Publishing, 2008); Kaminsky, Joseph, *Yet I Loved Jacob: Reclaiming the Biblical Concept of Election* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007); Levenson, Jon D. (2008), "Chosenness and Its Enemies," *Commentary Magazine*, www.commentarymagazine.com; Novak, David, *The Election of Israel: The Idea of the Chosen People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

40. Though the translation is here rendered as "folk," the actual German word "Volk" communicated to its readers and hearers an almost quasi-mystical understanding of the German/Aryan people as divinely-endowed with a common uniqueness distinct from all other groups of people, and epitomized in the expression *Blud und Boden* (Blood and Soil)—that is, both the people and its land were sacred. Additionally, among the most successful of the Nazis many propagandistic slogans was *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer* (One People, One Nation, One Leader).

41. This translation is taken from the retitled English-language copy "SS Race Theory and Mate Selection Guidelines. Translated from Original SS Publications," published by the Libertarian National Socialist Green Party, www.nazi.org. The LNSGP is, provocatively, an American racist and antisemitic organization. According to the Publisher's Note fronting this document, "There was a public view of the National Socialist view of race, and the truth as expressed by National Socialist writers themselves. In our view it was too valuable as information for National Socialist scholars [*sic*] and detractors alike for this to be anything but a public domain freeware document. While this document was written for people of Germanic descent outside Germany, its principles apply to all races who wish to preserve themselves in an increasingly conformist, monochromatic globalist world."

42. He is, perhaps, better known for his (1952) book *Secrets of the Federal Reserve*, which argues for a conspiracy among American and European bankers to create a privately-owned U.S. central bank. Others of his publications include *Mullins' New History of the Jews* (1978); *The Curse of Canaan: A Demonology of History* (1987); and *The World Order: A Study in the Hegemony of Parasitism* (1985). A prolific pamphleteer, Mullins has also published works with such titles as "Boycott: The Jewish Weapon," "Jewish TV: Sick, Sick, Sick," "Jewish War Against the Western World," "New Israel," "Sigmund Freud: Anti-Christ Devil," "The Celebration of Rosh Hashanah," "Jesse Jackson and the Jews," "New Look at [Theodor] Herzl (1860-1904)," "None Dare Call Him Traitor: Larry Abraham, the Israeli Connect," "The Holocaust Explained," and "The Secret Holocaust." The last two were published by the Christian Defense League, Baton Rouge, LA, in *The CDL Report*, Issue 40 (November-December 1981) and Issue 140 (August 1983).

43. www.youtube.com/watch?v=7PlnFT0ksbQ&NR=1 In that same interview, Mullins also repeats his assertions regarding Jews and the practice of ritual murder and that the Zionists were responsible for the 9/11/2001 attack on the World Trade Center attack in New York City. Also, in light of his other earlier publications, and concerns with Jews and parasitism, his denial of continuing contemporary interest in these themes rings hollow (See previous note.).

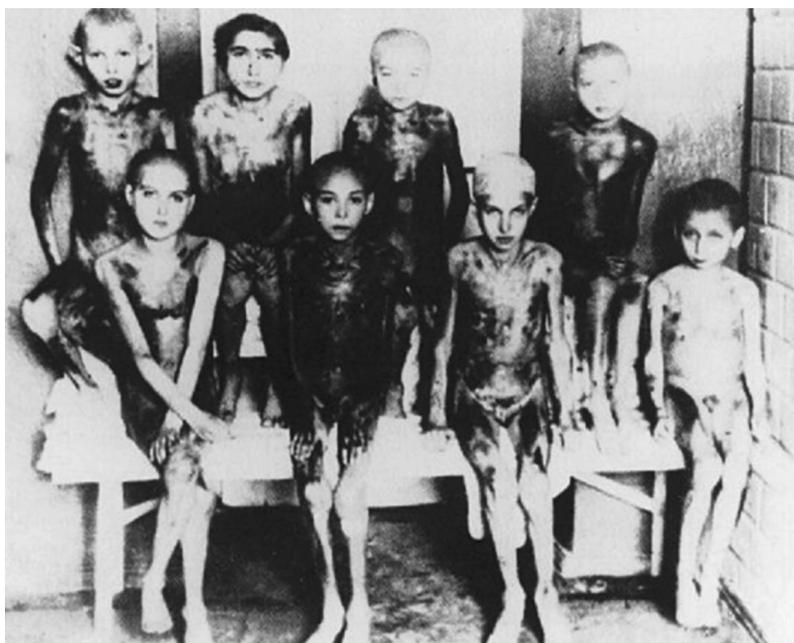
44. An excellent place to begin such an exploration of both organizations and players is the website of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, AL: www.splc.org.

45. Worth closely examining are Paul A. Lombardo (2002), “‘The American Breed’: Nazi Eugenics and the Origins of the Pioneer Fund,” *Albany Law Review*, 65(3), 743-830; Paul A. Lombardo (2002), “Pioneer’s Big Lie,” *Albany Law Review*, 66, 1125-1145; William H. Tucker (2002), “A Closer Look at the Pioneer Fund: Response to Rushton,” *Albany Law Review*, 66, 1145-116; William H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 2007).

46. An excellent summary of Tanton and his organizations is Beirich, Heidi, and Potok, Mark, *The Nativist Lobby: Three Faces of Intolerance* recently published by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Montgomery, AL (February 2009) and available online: www.splcenter.org.

47. The ten points of the Code open with “The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential,” and were first published in *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council Law No. 10*, Volume 2 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949), 181-182. One online source of The Nuremberg Code is www.hhs.gov/ohrp/references/nurcode.htm. See, for example, Marrus, Michael R. (1999), “The Nuremberg Doctors’ Trial in Historical Context,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 73(1), 106-123; and Weindling, Paul (2001), “The Origins of Informed Consent: The International Scientific Commission on Medical War Crimes and the Nuremberg Code,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 75(1), 37-71. Despite, or perhaps because of, such forward thinking, the controversies have not fully abated within the medical and scientific communities with regard to the “value” of such Nazi scientific research upon death camp prisoners. The preponderance of understanding, however, is that the lack of such informed consent negates whatever scientific breakthroughs were to be gained by, for example, both high altitude and underwater experiments.

APPENDIX

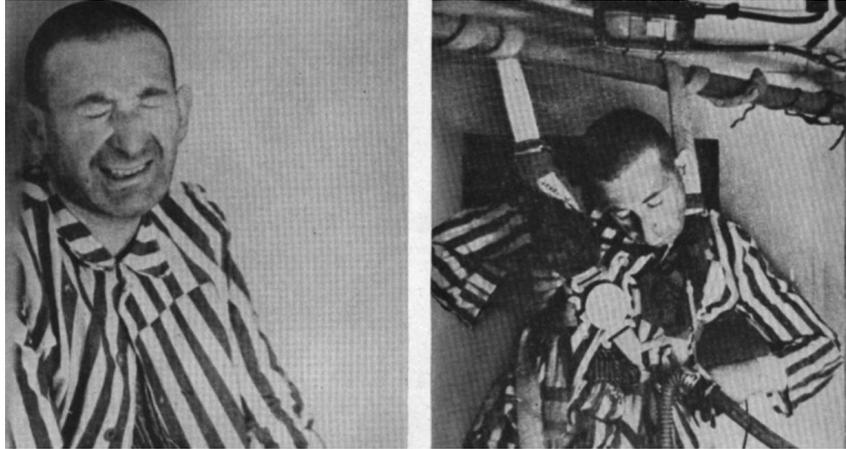


Children subjected to medical experiments in Auschwitz

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High-Altitude medical experiments in Dachau. In order to test how pilots who have to eject from their planes will fare, SS doctors simulated high-altitude conditions in a chamber, and exposed people to these conditions. Many prisoners died during such experiments. In order for the simulation to be as real as possible, the prisoner is hung by parachute straps.



Nazi medical experiments: a prisoner is submerged in a tank filled with cold water. The goal of this type of experiment was to check how long German pilots, who had to parachute into the cold North Sea, would survive. Different types of clothing were tested, as well as different methods for reviving the experimental subjects who survived.

Social Justice Leadership in Action: The Case of Tony Stewart*

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ABSTRACT

Reflecting on the 140th anniversary of the Fourteenth Amendment (ratified July, 1868), this qualitative case study described a response by educator-activist Tony Stewart to the Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi hate group that attempted to intimidate Stewart's community, Coeur d' Alene, Idaho, between 1972-2000. Stewart galvanized community response using a social justice agenda. We interviewed Stewart and essential community members, and examined legal documents, articles, and documentaries. Findings indicated Stewart's leadership of public education and response via an anti-racism task force reduced and then defeated the group's viability. Educational practices included strategic planning and community outreach. The study revealed a social justice response to hate groups that educators and community leaders potentially can replicate in similar situations.

The birth, growth, and defeat of a neo-Nazi hate group in a community that experienced this phenomenon provides opportunity to teach citizens about social justice leadership and underscores the foundation for this study. The purpose was to describe the leadership of an educator-activist, Tony Stewart, who organized the community response to the Aryan Nations in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and who exemplified leadership in social justice. Social justice leadership is defined as a practice of confronting discrimination in communities and striving for democracy, inclusion, liberation, and action for change—rather than inaction preserving inequity (Lee & McKerrrow, 2005). Specifically, the article explores: 1) the leadership of one social justice leader, Tony Stewart, and 2) the policy and leadership lessons relevant to educators and community leaders.

Brown (2006) posed an essential question for further investigation: "What does leadership for social justice actually look like?" (p. 733). The present inquiry provides an exploration toward answering this critical question. In addition, it examines how leadership can emerge from advocacy at

* This article was originally published in the *Journal of Ethnographic and Qualitative Research*, 3(4), pp. 205-217.

an individual level and can coalesce into a community response. Finally, this study describes strategies that permanently integrated social justice leadership into the community's political and cultural conscience.

Tuckman's (1965) situational leadership theory provided a useful way to understand Stewart's work and the evolution of the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations as a response to incidents of hate in the community. Literature about multicultural diversity and social justice leadership (e.g., Banks, 2008; Brown, 2006; Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006; Theoharis, 2007) proved relevant in establishing a foundation for this study. Research about curbing hate also was reviewed since the study's focus was on one civic leader's response to hate (Dozier, 2002).

Administrators at every level must engage in social justice leadership. Doing so serves as an underpinning for their work in schools and universities, all of which serve diverse populations. Administrators guide teachers, staff, community members, and others in affirming diversity, which is necessary for teaching and learning to occur (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2002). Students are not aptly motivated and cannot succeed in achieving their potentials in environments where a lack of safety, intolerance, or hate exists (Nieto & Bode, 2008). Effective administrators bring schools and communities together in ways that strengthen teaching and learning endeavors through the democratic process and the interchange of competing ideas. Oliva, Anderson, and Byng (2010), for example, affirmed the engagement of higher education in social justice leadership: "Educational Administration programs need to attract faculty who have both a strong commitment to social justice and who also either have strong links to school districts or extensive administrative experience" (p. 304).

Administrators are expected to exercise consistency, fairness, dignity, and respect when interacting with all individuals. Knowledge about the case of Tony Stewart has the potential to play a salient role in assisting educators as they become more effective leaders in schools and other organizations that affirm social justice. Furthermore, active engagement with political, economic, social, and environmental issues can lead to stronger, more confident democratic communities (Watson, 2008).

I. METHOD

We utilized an embedded, single-case study strategy (Yin, 2003) as a means to understand the leadership of the individual educator-activist within the context of the community. This case study is about the leadership of one essential individual, Tony Stewart, and his response to the Aryan Nations in his community. Data from other sources included three partici-

pants who worked with Stewart. We also examined documentation to triangulate data and findings (Merriam, 2002). That is, we compared multiple data sources, finding them consistently portraying the same sentiments (Yin, 2003). The accord among the data sources strengthened the internal validity of the findings reported in this study.

A. *Participants*

In addition to Stewart, we selected three other study participants based upon their nearly 30-year experience in the Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, community and their work with Stewart and his anti-racism task force and human rights issues. They included: Mary Lou Reed, a former Idaho state senator; Bob Bennett, Executive Director, Human Rights Education Institute (HREI); and Sandi Bloem, the first female mayor of Coeur d'Alene. The researchers considered these individuals the most likely to help elucidate the phenomena of Stewart's leadership (Maxwell, 2005).

The above-mentioned participants worked closely with Stewart in the fight for democracy and social justice leadership in northern Idaho. They were instrumental in aiding our understanding of his leadership and the collective work of the group he spearheaded. Their comments generated information-rich data that offered insight and understanding of Stewart's social justice leadership (Patton, 2002). The selected individuals continue, to this day, their commitment to social justice advocacy. However, they are not considered representative of social justice leaders, all of whom work in unique social contexts on behalf of particular issues. True to many qualitative research studies, and case studies in particular, the present research is not designed primarily with external validity in mind. Table 1 describes the study participants.

B. *Data Collection*

Following approval from the university's human assurance committee, the first author, who lives in the Coeur d'Alene community, conducted face-to-face interviews with Stewart and the three other informants. Stewart is a former North Idaho College professor of Political Science. With permission, actual names were given for people and places. We determined using real, rather than fictitious, names was appropriate for individuals engaged in public activism, since doing so would enhance the study's internal validity and be useful for future researchers wishing to follow up with research in this area.

Based upon the recommendations of Creswell (2007), we employed several basic procedures in scheduling the interviews. The first author made

Table 1. *Study Participants*

	Age Group	Ethnicity	Gender	Leadership	Role
1 Key participant: Tony Stewart	Over 50	Caucasian	Male	Community College Professor of Political Science	President, Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations
2 Mary Lou Reed	Over 50	Caucasian	Female	Former Idaho State Senator	Past Board President, Human Rights Education Institute
3 Bob Bennett	Over 50	Caucasian	Male	Past President, North Idaho College	Executive Director, Human Rights Education Institute (HREI)
4 Sandi Bloem	Over 50	Caucasian	Female	First female mayor of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho	Human Rights Advocate

personal contacts with the participants, explained the purpose of the study, and scheduled interviews. All interviews were conducted separately, in the participants' work locations, and averaged 60 minutes in length. With permission of the participants, semi-structured, focused interviews were audio recorded.

A predetermined list of questions guided the interviews and created a basic structure and focus. The exact wording and order of the questions remained flexible and allowed participants an opportunity to direct the content. Open-ended questions established some parameters and allowed the participant to elaborate and the interviewer to ask for clarification when needed (Seidman, 1991).

In addition to interviewing Stewart and the participants, we collected documentation in the form of 1) personal records and documents maintained by Stewart, 2) documentaries, including a 10-week PBS television series entitled *The 25 Year History of the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations*, 3) a 64-minute video used in conjunction with an exhibit, *Coming face to face with hate: A search for a world beyond hate*, 4) newspaper articles and editorials, and 5) physical artifacts examined at the Aryan

Nations compound site, which is now a peace park. As previously noted, using multiple sources of data facilitated the corroboration and augmentation of evidence obtained from the interviews (Yin, 2003).

C. *Analysis*

The nature of data collected for this study required a variety of analysis techniques. We viewed the 10-week PBS television series and 64-minute video in their entirety in order to understand the flow and connection of the events that occurred between 1972 and 2000. Next, we viewed each segment of the 10-week program and the 64-minute video a second time. Careful notes were taken about significant events. Data collected from the video productions were organized chronologically. Subsequently, we created a time-ordered matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1994) in order to organize the data. We made a final comparison between the data entered into the matrix and the information presented on the video programs by viewing the tapes one additional time in order to ensure accuracy.

All of the interviews were transcribed and then condensed, and all the extemporaneous, irrelevant comments, phrases, and utterances were removed. We used a pattern-coding analysis (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994) in order to sort the text into categories. Miles and Huberman (1994) maintained that one important function of pattern-coding is to reduce sizable amounts of data into smaller units: "It helps the researcher elaborate a cognitive map, an evolving, more integrated schema for understanding local incidents and interactions" (p. 69). Similar comments were highlighted by hand using different colored pens and placed into labeled file folders (Merriam, 1998). We also reviewed personal records and documents maintained by Stewart and newspaper articles to gain deeper insight. Stake (1995) contended: "Sometimes, we will find significance in a single instance, but usually the important meanings will come from reappearance over and over" (p. 78). Data from the interviews, personal records, documents, newspaper articles, and editorials were compiled into a checklist matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This matrix aided us in presenting the information systematically and in a condensed format so that recurrent themes and patterns could be identified more easily. Next, generalizations were written about the case, being contrasted with the literature. Finally, the case study was written and revised in light of researchers' dialogue and feedback from participants and peer reviewers.

As previously noted, in order to strengthen the credibility, trustworthiness, and dependability of the findings, we used triangulation and member checks (Creswell, 2007). Triangulation strategies in this study were derived from Patton (2002), who recommended data be gathered from more than

one source. In this case study, we collected data from interviews, personal records of Stewart, televised documentaries in the form of videotapes, newspaper articles, editorials, and physical artifacts. Analyzing all of these data sources helped to substantiate similar facts or events that occurred during the rise and downfall of the Aryan Nations and throughout the essence of Stewart's leadership. Member checks revealed all participants appreciated the article and confirmed accuracy of the findings.

II. RESULTS

The following research question was addressed in this study: What does leadership for democracy and social justice look like in a community besieged by a racist hate group? To answer this question, results are reported in two parts. We first present the social and historical context of the formation of the anti-racism task force and then report the formation and work of the task force in the Coeur d'Alene community (1972-2000) using the Tuckman (1965) theory of small group development. Tuckman's situational leadership model of small group development stages provided a framework for understanding the work of social justice leadership. Educational practices included strategic planning and community outreach described in this section. The second part of this article identifies five themes representing how Stewart engaged his community in the fight against hate: 1) vision for equity within democracy, 2) risk taking, 3) tenacity, 4) compassion, and 5) inclusiveness. Stewart's leadership within the context of the community is presented using illustrative and supporting quotes from the leader himself as well as from civic leaders with whom he worked.

A. *Formation of the Human Relations Task Force*

Results from the data indicate that Stewart's leadership of public education and response via an anti-racism task force reduced and then defeated the Aryan Nation hate group's viability. The context for Stewart's leadership was a community which had provided safe haven for racists by its initial reluctance to confront the racists in its midst. Allport (1954) stated that some people believe that if a phenomenon is ignored, then it will go away. This seemed to be the prevailing opinion in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, from the arrival of an Aryan Nations leader, Richard Butler, in 1973 through 1980. Racists lived alongside non-racists and anti-racists until a series of hate crimes initiated by the Aryan Nations disrupted the community.

The historical roots of the Aryan Nations as an organization in the

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United States can be traced to post-Civil War times when individuals assembled in order to protect several hundred years of a culture that embraced slavery based upon racism (Newart, 1999). The federal constitutional amendments that followed the Civil War (Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth) proposed civil rights would not be denied on account of race. The intent of these amendments, especially the Fourteenth, which became known as “the incorporation amendment” because it applied the federal Bill of Rights to state action (Alexander & Alexander, 2009), was theoretically admirable. However, 140 years would have to pass before the manifestation of the ultimate reality—the election in November, 2008, of Senator Barack Obama (D-Illinois) as President of the United States.

Those opposed to the equal rights of the Fourteenth Amendment were powerful groups of citizens with a system of beliefs founded upon a so-called religious doctrine known as “Christian Identity,” which posited that White people were superior as “the only true children of Israel”; all other ethnicities were considered soulless and inferior (Newart, 1999). Vogt (2003) explains that the “Christian Identity” movement continues to have members who are White supremacists. These individuals rely on twisted interpretations of the Bible, rendering basic Christian beliefs unrecognizable. In addition to the Aryan Nations, some of the well-known racist organizations in the United States include the Ku Klux Klan, the Posse Comitatus, the neo Nazis, Identity Movement, The Order, The Order II, the Brotherhood, the Minuteman group, and others.

The 1954 landmark Supreme Court Case *Brown v. Board of Education* and the civil rights movement that followed garnered victories for those who had been racially oppressed. Hatemongers saw a decline in their overall effectiveness in the United States. Some of the more militant members began to look for areas in the nation where they could establish footholds. One of these individuals, Richard Butler, was attracted to Idaho from California. Butler claimed that he had become an admirer of Adolf Hitler while serving in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II (“Aryan Nations Founder Richard Butler Dies at 86,” 2004).

Following a visit to northern Idaho in the early 1970s, Butler purchased 20 acres of forested land with the dream of creating an all-white “Aryan Homeland” (Newart, 1999). The Aryan compound would become part of a greater movement to establish the “Northwest Imperative,” a plan by racists to create an all-White territorial homeland (Vogt, 2003). Idaho, along with Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Wyoming, was identified as a prime location to fulfill their mission.

The land purchased by Butler was situated near Hayden Lake, Idaho, a small community located several miles north of Coeur d’Alene, Idaho. Butler proclaimed the site the “Aryan Nations” and began to preach his intoler-

ant views through his self-proclaimed Church of Jesus Christ Christian. During this time, Butler successfully recruited like-minded individuals, primarily ex-felons, to move into the region and join his cause (Broadbent, DeBarbieri, DeLong, Gissel, Mend, Oliveria et al., 2005). An Aryan Nations recruit was Keith Gilbert, a former member of the Minuteman group. Newart (1999) reported that one of Gilbert's first racist acts in Coeur d'Alene was the distribution of a target shooting practice poster aimed at a human, specifically

a shooting-range style silhouette of a sprinting black man, replete with huge afro and monstrous lips. The highest score listed on the target was on its feet, implying that the figure could take a shot in the head and keep going. (p. 55)

The poster was billboarded in prominent, public places and on community main streets throughout Idaho's panhandle.

Throughout the early 1980s and continuing well into the 1990s, a series of hate crimes was committed. Newart (1999) documented several of these incidents, including: 1) African American families living in Coeur d'Alene receiving notes in the mail saying, "N . . . , don't let the sun set on your head in the Aryan Nations" (p. 60); 2) the spray-painting of Nazi graffiti comprised of the words "Jew swine" (p. 60) and swastikas on a locally owned Jewish restaurant, on a Baptist church, and on a printing business; 3) a young Coeur d'Alene man enduring a series of hate-filled racist threats from a neighbor who attended Aryan Nation meetings. At one point, the boy's mother received a poster warning that "race traitors, those guilty of fratining [*sic*] socially or sexually with blacks, now stand warned that their identities are being catalogued. . . . Miscegenation is race treason, race treason is a capitol [*sic*] offence; it will be by death" (p. 60); 4) the verbal and physical accosting of a young couple near a Coeur d'Alene bowling alley; 5) cross burnings on the lawns of two different Coeur d'Alene families; 6) the 1986 bombing of the home of Father Bill Wassmuth, at the time the leader of the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations; and 7) the bombings of several commercial and governmental properties in and around Coeur d'Alene. The "idyllic" lakeside community of Coeur d'Alene and Hayden Lake, Idaho, had become hostage to a hate group, the Aryan Nations, in its midst.

A small group of citizens formed the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations as a strategic effort to answer the hate messages with anti-racism education. Wassmuth and Bryant (2001) created the working motto, "Saying yes to justice is the best way to say no to racism" (p. 115). The task force was created following a process similar to Tuckman's (1965) classic

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situational leadership model of forming, storming, norming, and performing. Tuckman's model provided a simplistic yet powerful agenda for understanding a social justice response.

Forming. Formation of the task force took place shortly after the spray-painting of graffiti on a Jewish-owned restaurant. Several local citizens—five local members of the Jewish community, two Protestant ministers, the Kootenai County prosecutor, the undersheriff-elect, and the sheriff-elect—met with the restaurant owner. They offered him their unqualified support, an act that initiated the development of a social justice community agenda.

The primary goal of the task force during its infancy was to provide support for individuals who became victims of hate crimes. Four objectives were defined: 1) to be an ally to those who were verbally or physically abused because of race, creed, or ethnic origin; 2) to act as agents to prevent abuse in the community; 3) to educate the community on the effects of racism; and 4) to provide a forum for those who desired to verbalize their concerns regarding racism and its effects on the community (Broadbent et al., 2005). When asked about his social justice leadership and the formation of the task force, Stewart recalled:

I would say at the top of that list would be responding to two incidents in 1980. The first one was when Sid Rosen's restaurant in Hayden Lake was targeted by the Nazis and, in December, 1980, 15 very special people went out that evening to give him great support. And then there was a biracial couple/family; her first son was from a Caucasian marriage, and her second marriage with two children was biracial, and they were targeted. And so a member of the Jewish community called me, and we organized a meeting in the first week of February, 1981, to create the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations.

Although the task force had clear objectives, individual roles and responsibilities remained unclear. The group loosely structured itself with five core members. They agreed to meet every six weeks in order to brainstorm ideas and programs that would motivate, educate, and involve others. Role clarity and responsibilities began to emerge.

Storming. The task force entered the storming stage shortly after its formation. During this period, clarity of purpose increases, but many uncertainties persist (Tuckman, 1965). Broadbent et al. (2005) indicated that members were divided on how noticeable they should be in the community. Some wanted no visibility; others wanted to organize rallies and actively seek anti-malicious harassment legislation. Still others pushed for publicly confronting racists who sought power and control by imposing fear on citizens. Many, including local government officials, still held mistakenly to

the belief that, if a phenomenon was ignored, then it would go away (Broadbent et al., 2005). Stewart explained:

Sometimes there are officials elected to office that are bigoted and advocate prejudice of different types. I particularly think that is true in relation to sexual orientation. We have some individuals elected in Idaho who have played on that issue and even introduced legislation or have tried to use this form of prejudice to win, and that's a real disappointment when they are successful.

Stewart asserted that society should possess an inclusive agenda and pass legislation that promotes pluristic values.

Reed concurred with Broadbent et al. (2005):

Back before the task force was even founded, the existence of the Aryan Nations was one that was distressing to the community; but we would run into that "live and let live" philosophy that seems to be our undoing here in the west. The first approach to the Aryan Nations was, if we ignore them, they will go away; we really don't want to get involved in the confrontation.

Despite the conflicting community views about how best to address the presence of the Aryan Nations, the task force stayed focused on its mission.

Norming. As the task force moved toward the norming stage, it launched into many debates on how best to proceed. A consensus was finally reached: it would go public with a strong social justice message. Roles and responsibilities were more clearly defined and accepted although, during this time period, the task force's approach was often one of trial and error (Broadbent et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the task force agreed that it needed to become more visible and active in the community, and it soon moved into the performing stage. Tuckman (1965) theorized that teams of individuals in this stage become more strategically aware of what they are doing and how to achieve mutual goals. Stewart commented regarding the group's development: "I've always been amazed how many times that we were at a crisis point or we needed to act, and I have been humbled and amazed at how many times we've called people into action and they have turned out." According to Stewart, the media played a major role in the public emergence of the task force:

I can never overemphasize the importance that the media has played in our causes. Both live and printed media have given us so much coverage prior to things happening and then after they happened. If you are going to communicate with the general population, unless you have lots of money, which we do not have, the media was our window to the public.

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In short, Stewart recognized the critical role and willingness of media to cover the work of the task force.

Performing. In addition to the valuable work of providing support to victims of racism, the task force concentrated on passing anti-malicious harassment legislation. In 1983, the task force was successful in shepherding the passage of Idaho's first Anti-Malicious Harassment Act. One other significant achievement in 1983 was the conviction of Keith Gilbert for verbally assaulting a young man from a biracial family.

Following passage of the Malicious Harassment Act (18 Idaho Code § 7901) and the pronouncement of a guilty judgment against Keith Gilbert, the Coeur d'Alene community saw a reduction in graffiti displays, incidents of racial harassment being reported, and the widespread distribution of hate material. Nevertheless, Broadbent et al. (2005) reported a crime spree that engulfed the Pacific Northwest, California, and Colorado, illustrating that extremist hate groups were flourishing in the wider area.

Members of the task force rallied and identified the importance of the *visible* work of its leaders and community members. The first order of business for the task force was to outline the current problems. Among those identified were 1) the community image was being destroyed, 2) minorities were being discouraged from moving into the area, 3) racists were being encouraged to move into the area, 4) the quality of life for area citizens was being adversely affected, and 5) economic and social problems were evident. Six action committees were created: a victim's support committee, community response committee, education committee, legislative committee, legal committee, and public affairs/speakers bureau. Each committee had designated tasks and assignments. This new structure was the foundation upon which all future task force work was built.

The task force's legislative committee shepherded through the Idaho state legislature five pieces of legislation that were designed to promote human rights, including: 1) a domestic terrorist control act (18 Idaho Code § 8101) that limited the paramilitary training practices of hate groups; 2) the proclamation of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a commemorative holiday; 3) a civil remedies amendment to the malicious harassment legislation of 1983 (18 Idaho Code § 7901) that allowed victims to file for civil remedies if they were attacked; 4) a uniform bias crime reporting act in 1989 (67 Idaho Code § 3001); and 5) the establishment of a Hispanic Commission (67 Idaho Code § 7201) to represent the largest minority group in the state.

In the summer of 1998, the Aryan Nations staged a 100-man flag parade down the main street of Coeur d'Alene. In response, the task force, with Stewart's leadership, sponsored an event called Lemons to Lemonade. Community members pledged a certain number of dollars for every minute

the Aryans marched. Therefore, the slower and longer they walked, the more money was raised. The Aryan march lasted 27 minutes and netted nearly \$35,000 for the anti-racism work of the task force. The proceeds were used to purchase a variety of educational programs and materials for local schools.

Task force strategy was always to ensure that leaders from both political parties at every level of government were involved in all anti-racist public events. Elected officials, including governors, mayors, legislators, county commissioners, prosecuting attorneys, city council members, school board members, and others, were given the opportunity to speak. The integrated, comprehensive civic response reached deeply into the community psyche and established a grass roots improvement in the community.

The turn of the century brought an end to the Aryan Nations compound in northern Idaho. The group had tarnished the image of a community, tried to intimidate many, and committed over 100 crimes from 1983 to 2000. Ultimately, the Aryan Nations was named as a defendant in the case *Keenan v. Aryan Nations* (District Court of the First Judicial District, Idaho, Kootenai County [CV-99-441]). In 2000, the jury returned a \$6.2 million judgment against Richard Butler and the Aryan Nations. In order to avoid paying the full damages, Butler declared bankruptcy. His property was confiscated by the federal court and awarded to the Keenans. Today it is used as a public peace park. In 2003, Butler ran for Mayor of Hayden Lake and lost. It represented one of the largest voter turnouts for an election in the city's history. Butler died in 2004.

Although the community's response in creating the task force and the action committees was important in the fight against hate, individuals such as Stewart also were highly instrumental in achieving success. During its nearly 30-year history, eight people served as president of the Kootenai County Task Force on Human Relations. Although no single president can take credit for the overall success, Stewart is considered the emotional and intellectual impetus that has kept the task force active (N. Gissel, personal communication, September 24, 2007).

B. *The Work of Tony Stewart, Social Justice Leader*

Analysis of Stewart's leadership revealed the following dispositions: 1) vision for equity within democracy, 2) risk taking, 3) tenacity, 4) compassion, and 5) inclusiveness. The present article describes these personal dispositions of Stewart in light of his leadership for democracy and social justice.

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1. Vision for Equity Within Democracy

Stewart notes that each individual must look inside at a relatively young age and make decisions about individual core values. Stewart's personal core values include his vision and commitment to equity within democracy. In Mayor Bloem's words:

He knows his vision, sticks to it, and compels other people to be involved because he is so clear where he's going. When he and others started in their quest to shut down the Aryans, they were not fondly looked at by many; but he didn't allow that to stop him.

Stewart was described as a man of strong principles and guided by determined values. When asked what challenges he faced today, Stewart responded:

There are three main challenges. First, a percentage of the population worldwide is still steeped in bigotry and prejudice and, in many cases, hate. Sometimes it is based on race, sometimes religion, and sometimes sexual orientation, age, gender, and disability. A second challenge is economic: the number of people in the world that are in poverty, hunger, disease. It is unacceptable in a rich country to have 40 million people who have no health care, including children. It is unacceptable that corporations are paying their CEOs a hundred, two hundred million a year and yet other workers earn minimum wage and have no health care or retirement. Every child should have a quality education—it changes their life. The third challenge is political ideology. What is dangerous is when a particular group will decide that God speaks only to them. They want to mandate that everyone has to live that way, which is a violation of democracy.

Bennis and Goldsmith (2003) viewed leaders as the kind of people who draw others to them because they have a vision. They are able to critique the status quo and realize a new possibility. Stewart explained his vision:

You have to have a desire to be active in social justice—a commitment to the cause. Because when you are in the public arena of schools you oppose [racism and discrimination] and you have to have a backbone and courage. You absolutely stand up for what you believe in. You just have to have that. It just has to be there. And as you do those first two [vision and courage], you have to continually communicate with others.

Clearly, Stewart's vision guided his actions and communication with others.

2. *Risk Taking*

Risk taking is a foundational characteristic for the formation of any successful initiation. Overcoming obstacles that might potentially lead to failure is a key element for successful leadership. Bob Bennett, former president of both the Human Rights Education Institute and North Idaho College, commented about Stewart's ability to take risks:

Not only will he speak to human rights, but he will take risks. In fact, on more than one occasion when things were real tense between the school and the Aryan Nations, I was concerned not only about Tony, but I was concerned about the school. I urged him on more than one occasion to get a bodyguard or get someone that would be sensitive to his safety. I don't think he was as careful about that as he probably should have been. He is very brave. He's willing to get out there on the end of that stick and take a swing.

Daft (2002) presented courage in the context of leaders who "step through these learned fears to accept responsibility, take risks, make changes, speak their minds, and fight for what they believe" (pp. 219, 220).

Stewart reflected on a time when courage was demonstrated:

[At] the big rally we had on behalf of Bill Wassmuth, he made a very important statement. He said, "I want to live a long life. And I was afraid, but I refuse to live a life of fright and being afraid. I will stand for what I believe in. I just will not, I refuse to give in." I think that's how we have to proceed. ("Leadership Dialogues," 2007)

Similarly, Rapp (2002) noted that social justice leaders must be willing to take risks, to innovate and experiment: "to leave the comforts and confines of professional codes and state mandates for the riskier water of higher moral callings" (p. 233).

3. *Tenacity*

We found it was not necessarily humility, but rather tenacity, that proved to be a defining role of Stewart's leadership. Stewart himself had earlier noted the importance of humility in leadership: "There should be a lot of humility in leadership" ("Leadership Dialogues," 2007). However, leaders close to Tony describe him instead as a tenacious individual. In the words of Reed, a former Idaho Senator, Stewart was like a "Lone Ranger" with tremendous perseverance:

[His leadership is defined by] his incredible tenacity. He says, "If we

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don't do it my way, I'm going to quit." It is probably one of the secrets of his success, his not straying from his position until he feels that justice has been accomplished. His direct approach makes him sort of a Lone Ranger.

It appears that Stewart possessed a set of personal leadership characteristics that he could make work when the crisis of discrimination called him to do so. Staying focused in the midst of diversity was part of the skill set.

Bennett further explained the tenacity and moral certitude of Stewart's leadership:

He's unbelievably tenacious. Once he sets his goal, he doesn't waver; he stays there. He's very nice about asking people, but he never backs away. If he believes in it, he continues to pursue it. He knows clearly what he's about. Once he gets focused, even though he tries to see other people's opinions, if he's successful with what he's doing, he doesn't vary much from what he thinks is correct.

Although humility is an admirable quality for social justice leadership, tenacity appears to be fundamental vis-à-vis seeing the accomplishment of challenging objectives fulfilled.

4. *Compassion*

Stewart noted the importance of compassion as a leadership characteristic for social justice. He discussed three points. First, he stressed:

I think compassion is essential. How can you be supportive of these principles we're talking about, such as equality and dignity to all persons, if you don't have compassion? You have to connect with people and feel warmth.

Stewart asserted that the human dynamic could not be ignored when seeking to accomplish significant social aims. People must implement social policies, so bringing them along in the process is part of achieving success.

Second, he explained:

The other thing that I've tried to do personally is to think of those individuals, particularly young people like racist skinheads, who have been brought into it. A lot of times Aryan Nations are families, might have been in jail, and I think of them as tragic figures; because if they refuse to exchange ideas and experience with different cultures, they're robbed of that richness, and I look at them again as tragic figures.

Part of the secret of Stewart's success may have been his ability to see the world through the lenses of those whom he opposed. By seeking first to understand others, he was better prepared to lead needed social change.

Stewart concluded:

You really focus at the point, make sure you don't allow things to creep in that are destructive of what you really believe in—your compassion—and then you direct your attention toward victims. The hours we spend with victims have been so revealing, and it gives you real determination, because you see that they are permanently oftentimes affected. ("Leadership Dialogues," 2007)

Some readers might question how Stewart could work to defeat racism and at the same time view the racists as redeemable humans. Stewart's approach was to have the courage to stand up publicly against racism and racists. At the same time, Stewart expressed the opinion that a view of all people as humans capable of redemption, salvation, and forgiveness is the only way to overcome hate. Another social justice leader, Nelson Mandela (1995), similarly held a compassionate approach toward his jailers, which included learning their language to communicate with them (Mandela, 1995; Stengel, n.d.).

5. *Inclusiveness*

Stewart demonstrated inclusiveness in his relationships with others. Mayor Bloem commented: "I never saw him angry. The way he came across was bringing people in and not judging them." When asked what dispositions future social justice leaders need, Stewart responded that he had been successful because of his ability to bring others together:

It was a very, very long journey. Part of that journey was converting a lot of people to human rights. A lot of people were on the sidelines, and then they saw the hate; so it was easier to convince them to become part of the solution against the hate throughout the Northwest. There are not many places in this country where there is more sensitivity about prejudice, bigotry, civil rights, and human rights because of all the crimes, and all the doctrines that were taught, and all the events that took place, and the counter-events. And different constituencies have come aboard. The first constituencies were in the area of education, the public schools, North Idaho College, and religious leaders. Over time, other constituencies—the business community, youth groups, senior citizens, labor, and all kinds of groups—have become supportive. The support has broadened to a lot of constituencies, very much like a political campaign.

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Stewart recognized the importance of inclusion; the dangers of complacency, silence, and inaction as insidious forms of racism; and the importance of community engagement.

Similarly, in the 1960s, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s leadership highlighted essential work to be accomplished by Whites, in particular, regarding the issue of racism. King (1963) suggested it was not necessarily the extreme racists who were the primary hindrances in the civil rights movement, but the moderate Whites. Since the moderates were more concerned with achieving a (so-called) "peace" than they were in demanding justice, these individuals tacitly were supporting and perpetuating racism and inequality.

Stewart summarized his views about the demanding urgency of the ongoing work of social justice:

Dr. King gave his life; Gandhi gave his life. If this world is ever going to be what it should be and can be, we must eradicate hatred, bigotry, and prejudice. It's destructive to the individual who hates. It imprisons them [*sic*] in their chains of bigotry and hatred. It also has denied a lot of people [the opportunity] to contribute to society in an incredible way because they were denied the right; women for so long, African Americans, Native Americans, and others. All society is poorer because of the sin of bigotry and prejudice. Dante said it best one time—I'm paraphrasing—that the hottest spots in hell are reserved for those who sit on the sidelines in time of crisis and do not take a stand.

Data from the present research study suggests that in order for a community to be successful in its fight against racism, leadership must be inclusive to be transformative. Transformative social justice leadership goes beyond forming, storming, norming, and performing to the next level of education and engaging community members in social action (Banks, 2007; Capper & Young, 2007). In transformative social justice leadership, all are involved; there are no bystanders, there is no silence. It becomes the community's response, not only the leader's initiative. In this context, Stewart emphasized the role of educators in activism and social justice work by outlining a four-step process:

Faculty should become role models for social justice and activism. Educators can be really helpful, particularly at the high school and college levels, in teaching young people in the four steps. First, sit down with the students and say, "Where at this moment are you in your life on this issue?" What this means is that there are two kinds of inner relationships for each person in social responsibility and citizenship. "How effective are you in one-on-one interpersonal relationships? How effective are you with social responsibility and citizenship with institutions/organiza-

tions?" Step two is to teach people to go out and gather information to broaden that understanding and activism. And it's a lifetime involvement that they need to continue to gather that information. Step number three is you should evolve a very clear philosophy of life; and once that is so well developed, it will determine how you stand on issues in society. Fourth is to become an activist.

Involving students and others in social justice leadership work was central to Stewart's success.

In summary, the findings of this case study indicated that organized forceful opposition to racism produced an effective model in countering the actions of a hate group. When combined with legal action, activism reduced the hate group's viability. These assertions align with Tuckman's (1965) group development theory that culminates with the *performing* stage. Stewart's leadership was characterized by a vision for equity within democracy. His vision of the Coeur d'Alene community being free of bigotry and prejudice propelled him to stand up and forcefully oppose any form of discrimination. For Stewart, the alternative of taking no action was unacceptable, even if it meant taking personal risks that sometimes placed him in harm's way. Stewart's tenacity is evident from his nearly 35-year commitment to human rights. Stewart not only showed compassion for the victims, but also believed racists could be redeemed. Finally, Stewart's desire to involve others in the social justice movement produced powerful results by mobilizing a community in the fight against hate. The study revealed social justice steps of the task force and one leader that can be replicated and transferred by educators and community leaders to similar situations.

III. DISCUSSION

A policy and leadership application from this study is that educational practices, in the form of strategic planning and community outreach as described in this case study, were a powerful response to the Aryan Nations' organization. Stewart was able to successfully provide leadership to defeat the Aryan Nations as a force in the community. Others were involved, including a Catholic priest, Father Bill Wassmuth, the community members interviewed for this study, Norm Gissel, Morris Dees, and the Southern Poverty Law Center. However, an individual with a strong moral cause galvanized the community in the fight against hate. Stewart refused to stay silent in the wake of racism, bigotry, and hate. He also knew the importance of building a constituency such as the task force and all those they worked with because it takes the entire community to fight against hate. Dozier (2002) notes that various social victories can be won; but societies

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should not be lulled into complacency, because hate is extraordinarily difficult and dangerous to overcome.

Another policy and leadership lesson is that the work must be ongoing. Although the Aryan Nations as a viable organization in Coeur d'Alene was defeated, the Southern Poverty Law Center (2007) lists eight current hate groups operating in Idaho. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and local police continue to monitor the Aryan Nations. In 2007, Aryan protesters interrupted a speech given by Stewart at a meeting of the Human Rights Education Institute ("Aryan Protesters Interrupt Speech," 2007). In Moscow, Idaho, near Coeur d'Alene, a gunman linked to the Aryan Nations killed himself, his wife, a police officer, and a Presbyterian church sexton ("Shooter Linked to Aryans," 2007).

Ponterotto and Pederson (1993) argue that a new form of racism is emerging: "The modern racist believes that discrimination no longer exists and that minority groups are violating cherished values and making unwarranted demands for changing the status quo" (p. 18). The current threat to social justice in Idaho and elsewhere may be apathy and a belief that the work has been accomplished. Community engagement, as Lazarus, Erasmus, Hendricks, Nduna and Slamati (2008) noted, is the "integration of service with teaching and research related and applied to identified community development priorities" (p. 61). School administrators and teachers must be educated in anti-racism, civic engagement, and social justice leadership; there is much work still to be done on national and local levels. As university professors in educational leadership, a priority for us is an ongoing need for a social justice agenda through our teaching and outreach efforts. As educators, we must assert leadership.

IV. LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The individuals in this study were unique, and the findings cannot aptly be generalized to other social justice leaders and communities. Additional interviews with a wider range of participants, including victims of racism and those he sought to enlighten through education, would have generated additional depth on the leadership of Stewart. Nevertheless, the educational strategies and the task force actions described in this article, which were analyzed in light of the Tuckman (1965) model, are instructive and could have transferability to other settings.

Philosophical and constitutional considerations regarding American free speech were beyond the scope of the present article. We adopted the position that although hate speech is constitutionally protected, we believe such speech to be vile, and certainly hate crimes are not constitutionally protected. We acknowledge the salience of this fundamental issue and

believe that the matter deserves focused attention in a different journal article.

Recommendations for further study, including a comparative case study of community responses to hate groups in other areas, would add additional knowledge. Stanton (2008) himself argues that new scholarship relevant to communities is needed. Community-wide surveys assessing current perceptions of racism in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, or any other community, also would be useful. Further studies conducting interviews with victims of hate crimes about their experiences would serve to evaluate the effectiveness of the actions taken by the task force.

Finally, we recommend that studies focusing on social justice leaders in other communities be undertaken. The Tuckman (1965) approach to group formation informed by transformational leadership for community engagement needs to be further examined as a possible model for leadership. We desire that the present research article will motivate or inspire others toward social justice leadership and/or provide them with knowledge about successful methods previously used to confront racism. This will increase the chance that educators and community leaders will have in diminishing the destructive effects that hate groups have on humanity.

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INTERVIEW

From Hatred to Compassion: An Interview With
Thupten Phelgye

Joanie Eppinga

Thupten Phelgye was born in Tibet in 1957. He remembers the chaos brought by the Chinese invasion of his country in 1959. After several failed attempts to escape that resulted in their being placed in concentration camps, Phelgye's parents managed to travel with him to India. There Phelgye heard His Holiness the Dalai Lama explicate four lines of a sutra, an experience that changed his life. He became a monk and, after an individual audience with the Dalai Lama at the age of 17, went into isolation for five years. Since rejoining society he has worked hard to better the lot of his people and of animals, encouraging a vegetarian diet. Phelgye founded the Universal Compassion movement and now represents the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. He spoke briefly with our editor about the transcendence of hatred at Gonzaga University on October 15, 2008.

EPPINGA: *The famous British nurse Florence Nightingale, who nursed hundreds of men under filthy conditions during the Crimean War, was asked what motivated her to do so. She replied, "Rage." Do you think hatred or anger can be used to a good purpose?*

PHELGYE: Can anger and rage be used to a good purpose? Yes. It's possible. A simple example; if I happened to encounter a terrorist who was about to bomb a big city, if I tried to convince him not to, it wouldn't work. If I found that the only way to stop the big disaster was to finish him right then, I would do so in order to stop the big disaster. I must choose the killing of one person to stop the killing of many people, even though killing is not good. In order to do this, of course, I could use anger as a tool. So anger can be used for a good purpose.

EPPINGA: *Our Institute is called the Institute for Action Against Hate. Many people object to our name. They don't like the word "hate"; they say, "Why don't you be the Institute for Peace?"*

PHELGYE: I think it's an excellent name. When I came to hear about your Institute I was really very touched. It's very good. Individual words don't always make much sense. Words mean a lot, but you have to take the over-

all sense of the words. I think it's a wonderful name. You cannot make everyone happy. In a community you always have differences of thinking.

EPPINGA: *In Western psychology, the belief is often expressed that if a person is feeling anger, it needs to be expressed in some manner—whether through artwork or a direct confrontation or in some other way—before the person can be rid of it. Do you think this is true?*

PHELGYE: I wouldn't say this is *not* true. It is a way to get a simple relief for that very moment. It could be a technique to get ease at that particular moment. It is not a solution to actually heal the anger.

EPPINGA: *How do we actually heal the anger?*

PHELGYE: Usually in Tibetan Buddhism we always work with antidotes—the opposite emotion. If you want to work on something, you apply the opposite.

EPPINGA: *That takes a great deal of emotional discipline.*

PHELGYE: Yes. Yes.

EPPINGA: *When a person gets angry, there are physical reactions. Muscles get tight, the heart beats faster, blood pressure rises. What should we do with these responses?*

PHELGYE: Physical reactions take place following mental disturbance. If you work with the mental disturbance, the physical disturbance will dissipate. You have to try to find balance. We work with antidotes.

EPPINGA: *Would you suggest replacing a negative thought with a positive thought?*

PHELGYE: Basically, to work with anger and hatred, the antidote would be compassion. Try to generate compassion, forgiveness, toward the cause or the person you have this negative emotion with. Try to find out a way to feel compassion.

EPPINGA: *What if you can't find one?*

PHELGYE: You will. There are techniques.

EPPINGA: *Can you explain what they're like?*

PHELGYE: Let me put it like this: Someone who is expressing anger is making a mistake. Someone who makes a mistake through anger or

hatred—immediately we say, “He did this!” “She did that!” But if you really look into it—it’s not him or her that is doing this. At that very moment he or she is suffering from anger. Ignorance is the real cause. That is the real cause that blinds you from seeing what is right and what is wrong, and that causes you to be angry or hateful, and at that very moment this person, whoever it is, is severely suffering from this anger and hatred. At that very moment this person is really one that you should feel compassion toward. Instead of getting angry against him or her—if you see a boy or a girl, whoever it is—he is really going through a hard time; he is completely disturbed. If you take it that way, from that angle, that attitude, you will start feeling compassion for this person. You may have anger right away, but you will start feeling compassion. This is the real solution.

EPPINGA: *If you are able to generate and feel compassion for this person who is doing the hateful thing, do you see that actually having an effect on that person or in the world?*

PHELGYE: Absolutely. You can feel it. You can feel how it works immediately. Instead of getting angry with this person, you have compassion. You see his lack of patience and his severe suffering; this is how that anger caused him or her to behave this way. This concept completely changes your negative feeling and you feel compassionate. If you are wise, you say maybe, “Okay, this is maybe not the right time for me to be here, to interrupt. Maybe I should give this person some space.” Instead of going against, you try to *heal* him or her. Then it actually heals in a long-lasting way.

EPPINGA: *But sometimes you don’t see it right away.*

PHELGYE: Of course, it’s not easy! This is the hardest practice! It takes time and it takes a lot of effort. It’s not easy. Things *aren’t* easy. We dedicate our entire lives in Buddhdom to practicing. And we find it very hard—not easy! Nevertheless, it does help you tremendously.

EPPINGA: *Do you think the strongest thing we can do to fight against hatred is to develop compassion?*

PHELGYE: Absolutely. Absolutely. Try to think of ways to forgive. Understand that he or she is really under severe suffering from the cause of the anger or hatred. If you are intelligent enough to know that they have this problem ahead of time, you are able to save yourself: you are able to keep yourself from undergoing anger and hatred, and you are able to help heal him or her. Otherwise, normally, if someone tries to hurt you, you try to hurt them back. You cannot tolerate it. And then you have: there’s a fire,

and *there's* a fire, and the fire goes on! When you see a fire there, instead of adding fire on, use the antidote, like water. You cool it down. That means *you* don't catch fire.

BOOK REVIEW

Steven Baum's *The Psychology of Genocide: Perpetrators, Bystanders and Rescuers*
[2008 New York: Cambridge University Press. \$24.99]

Jan Polek

Genocide connotes large numbers of people; rarely do we think in terms of individual actions and characteristics. However, in his latest work, *The Psychology of Genocide: Perpetrators, Bystanders and Rescuers*, Steven K. Baum looks at the panoply of behavior and describes three different groups of people who played a role in the lives and deaths of the 263 million victims of genocide during the past century.

Steven Baum is a lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the University of New Mexico and the author of *When Fairy Tales Kill: Origins and Transmission of Antisemitic Belief*. In his current book, his premise is that people's actions during genocide "actually mirror their behavior in everyday life" (frontispiece).

Building on the work of others in trait theory and key conformity studies, Baum selects three groupings for analysis: perpetrators (those who destroy); rescuers (those who help); and bystanders (those who remain uninvolved, a mid position between the other two groups). He attempts to identify the common mental and emotional traits of each group and to show how these traits flow out of social and personal identity.

Baum's stated purpose in the book is to "examine the psychology of hate and the genocidal mind with regard to maturation" (p. 18) building on a simple premise that the more mature an individual is, the less likely he or she is to hate. Baum uses eyewitness accounts to buttress his own analysis in an attempt to understand how maturation can be achieved and, if it can, how it will manifest itself in individual behavior.

Maturation is discussed in detail in Chapter One, entitled "Charlotte's Question." Based on an incident in a Texas High School, the question was, "Where does all the hate come from?" The intellectual strength of the book lies in Chapter 2, "A Bell Curve of Hate," in which tables and graphs define and expand on the three categories of perpetrators, rescuers, and bystanders. Cutting across all three groups is the identifier of maturation, leading to a discussion of the importance of that characteristic.

The following three chapters are devoted to further amplification of the three categories, and point out that definitive lines are difficult to draw

as the categories may merge as a result of new societal incidents. Each chapter profiles human beings who exemplify the three categories.

The concluding chapter, "Towards an Emotionally Developed World," presents education as the key to eliminating hate by the teaching of defiance, maturation, tolerance, and empathy, all the while targeting perpetrators and involving the community through politics and policy. These solutions reveal a basic optimism about our ability to overcome evil. In service to this notion, the Hotel Rwanda manager, Paul Rusesabaniga, is quoted: "Evil can be frustrated by people you might think are weaklings" cited in Baum, p. 235). But in reality, these "weaklings" are the rescuers and bystanders.

Baum's work raises difficult questions, but he presents concrete solutions for the reader. The book is scholarly in intent without being pedantic. There is a liberal use of endnotes for each chapter, a wide selection of tables and figures, and a comprehensive index. It would be helpful for readers to have a general understanding of key conformity studies, but most readers will be able to follow Baum's review of major genocidal events and his belief in the possibility of an emotionally developed world in which "rescuer qualities" will be esteemed. Certainly this text is a strong addition to the widening field of holocaust and diversity studies, and equally important to those readers committed to improving community life. It is an effective plea for citizens to move toward the "emotional higher road."

BOOK REVIEW

Israel Charny's *Fighting Suicide Bombing:
A Worldwide Campaign for Life*

[2007 Westport, CT: Praeger Security International. \$49.95]

Steven K. Baum

Israel Charny has been busy lately. Between running the Institute of the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem and the International Association of Genocide Scholars, conducting a private practice as a family therapist, and teaching at Open University, he has written two books—and both are noteworthy. After beginning with his indictment of everyday fascistic thinking in his companion book *Fascism and Democracy in the Human Mind*, Charny turned his attention to the psychology of suicide bombers in *Fighting Suicide Bombing*.

Fighting Suicide Bombing is a bold achievement. The boldness comes in fashioning an answer to the question of why suicide bombing takes place. There are other notable endeavors of late (e.g. Bloom, 2005, and Hafez, 2006), but these are efforts, while Charny's book is an achievement. He offers the answers, if only we will listen.

Many of the new books about suicide bombing fall somewhat short, as they were written by nonclinicians offering a variety of tenets including relativism (Asad, 2007), apology ("it's our fault, it's triggered by the occupation") (Pape, 2005), and theories that decry pathology (Kruglanski, Chen, Dechesne, Fishman, & Orehek, 2009; Pedazhur, 2006). They are nice notions but not accurate, suggests Charny. He goes on to defend political incorrectness as well as to point up Muslim-on-Muslim attack and victimization and the ways in which Western psychiatry's silence has failed us.

We begin with the book jacket photo that commands the reader's attention as the horror on a Muslim woman's face reminds us that the terror is not reserved for Infidels only. Then the dedication of the book is "to life," while the volume's last words are a plea for peace—in Charny's words, a "worldwide campaign for life" to be led by religious and secular leaders across the globe. The book concludes with a vignette from Islamic culture that speaks nobly of furthering peace and life, ending with the last word: "inshallah." What is evident in between is Charny's humanistic approach to this most inhumane of all modern phenomena.

So it makes no sense that a reviewer charges Charny with being islamophobic. The New Yorker/Israeli in Charny answers his detractors by

explaining that as a clinician trained to identify psychopathology, he is addressing mental illness in the culture even though it is well entrenched—as was demonstrated by the results of two separate 2007 surveys, which found that 25% of British and American Muslims under age 30 support suicide bombing.¹ In calling a death cult just that, Charny reminds us of Hezbollah's Sheik Nassralla statement: "We love death more than we love life and that is why we will win," and indicts Islamicists and all extremist and fascistic thinking.

Charny takes no prisoners, specifically describing liberals (e.g. witness unfounded statements by London mayor Ken Livingston, who has said, "Muslims are less likely than non-Muslims to support the use of force for political ends") and psychiatry as naïve, co-opted, and so determined to employ postmodern cultural relativism that they have lost the battle before it was waged. He also uses the Egyptian Arab Doctors Association to support his affirmation that politics can distort even sciences in non-democratic nations. He cites Secretary-General Dr. Abd Al-Mun'im Abu Al-Futuh, who advised doctors not to intervene in the Asian tsunami tragedy of December 2004, saying, "This earthquake was divine punishment because of the Muslims' oppression by the infidels, invaders and occupiers headed by the U.S. and . . . therefore we have no interest in what happened" (Preface, p. xx).

Unfair criticism notwithstanding, Charny is on solid clinical ground when he posits the following: If a patient walks into the hospital and says he is suicidal, doctors immediately begin treatment. As well, if a patient walks into a hospital and says he wants to blow up a number of people, clinicians again treat the pathology. Charny's response is that just because the patient has a political rationale, it doesn't mean he merits a mental health pass. He reminds us that mental health is not determined by public opinion or a show of hands. As Charny argues in *Fascism and Democracy in the Human Mind*, if everyone catches the bubonic plague, it doesn't make it less deadly. Charny further invokes this statement of Anatole France: "If fifty million people say a foolish thing, it is still a foolish thing."

The lack of criticism of nonwestern practices is itself problematic, Charny notes. For instance, we know from psychological anthropology that even though a ritual is culturally valued, psychological trauma still persists. To wit, Dutch parliamentarian Ayaan Hirsi Ali's extensively addresses her own Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and the emotional scars that remain. Clearly, within every honor culture are pockets of pathology that hide behind religion or politics (Lindner, 2006), including honor killings, slavery, beatings, child abuse, and sati, that leave only the victims to tell of the psychological damage.

Suicide bombing is no different. Such "hatred has been bred in the

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bone” (Post, 2007) and is pathological. While most non-clinical experts (e.g. Atran and Pape) address the normalcy of such actions, there is a small group of researchers who are compiling data that tell of something quite different. All is not well for those on their way to paradise. Direct interviews of “failed” suicide bombers now jailed in Israeli prisons reveal that social pressure and ostracism were key experiences for many of the shaheeds and shaheedas (male and female martyrs). Having dishonored the family in various ways, many martyrs were recruited and told to make amends by killing as many Jews as possible. “I asked him to find me guys who were desperate and sad,” the dispatchers would say (Berko, 2007, p. 1). This revelation is consistent with psychiatrist Ariel Merari’s data that indicates that a third of the shaheeds had suicidal symptoms, and most possessed rigid and weak (easily influenced) personalities. Surrounding the vulnerability and rigidity is a culture that promises a better life in the hereafter, extolling the virtues of martyrdom, fame, and fortune for the surviving family. In an emotionally impoverished honor culture, this is a good deal. Under such circumstances, only mental health practitioners are in the position of deciding what is and isn’t pathological. The above phenomena are symptoms suggesting that clinicians must begin to conceptualize and study in order to offer new corrective models of health, Charny asserts.

Thousands of people across the planet have been wounded or killed by suicide bombing, and the lone voice to condemn the practice in terms of its psychological effects is that of Israel Charny. He puts the answer in simple and concise terms—*normal people want to live*—and then indicts those people, systems, and institutions that distort and pervert all that is life-enhancing. Charny bends over backwards, sometimes to the point of distraction, to implicate pathology rather than religion. If anything, the book is as pro-Muslim as it is pro-life.

Perhaps the critics of the book picked up on Charny’s outrage. To be sure, he is outraged at the new level of violence against democracies—the “life unworthy of life” campaign of suicide bombers—all too reminiscent of the Nazis, Stalinists, and other political death cults. But make no mistake: Charny’s piercing cry is directed at those Muslims who exploit other Muslims, manipulating their children and their most vulnerable as pawns in this lethal chess game. He screams for sanity in this most insane of political times and pleads for a “worldwide campaign for life.” He knows that when his voice grows hoarse from crying out, all that is left will be tears.

NOTES

1. The Pew Research Center, "Muslim Americans: Middle class and mostly mainstream" (2007, May 22). Retrieved May 20, 2009, from <http://pewresearch.org/assets/pdf/muslim-americans.pdf> and Daniel Pipes, "More survey research from a British Islamist hell" (2007, July 26). Retrieved May 20, 2009, from <http://www.danielpipes.org/blog/2005/07/more-survey-research-from-a-british-islamist.html>

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BOOK REVIEW

Ulf Schmidt's *Karl Brandt – The Nazi Doctor:
Medicine and Power in the Third Reich and
Justice at Nuremberg: Alexander and the
Nazi Doctors' Trial*

[2007, London: Continuum. \$21.95 (paper)]

[2004, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. \$25.95 (paper)]

Edmund Glaser

The Nuremberg Doctors' Trial is now a dimly remembered event, but one of legend and unique importance. It was a military trial, conducted by the United States, of 23 WWII defendants, twenty of them physicians, most of whom were Nazis. One was a woman. The trial was called *The United States of America v. Karl Brandt et al.* It began in December, 1946 and terminated in August, 1947 with the conviction of fifteen of the defendants, of whom seven, all members of the SS, were executed. Nine others received prison sentences of varying durations. The remaining seven defendants were acquitted.

The Trial was a multi-layered story encompassing everything from the way in which it was organized and conducted, to the cast of the personalities involved: the defendants, the prosecutors, the ancillary medical experts, and the witnesses. Its conclusion left us with a significant legal medical heritage that continues to require our attention. It was well documented, and its archives of text, photos, and motion picture film are now universally available to the public. Furthermore, there is no shortage of commentary that tries to explain what it can about the abominable medical crimes and those who committed them. Does that mean that by now we know we know all we need to know about them? I doubt that the answer to that will ever be a positive one; that commentary will never be complete.

We now have two new additions to this literature. The most recent is *Karl Brandt—The Nazi Doctor: Medicine and Power in the Third Reich* (2007), and the other is *Justice at Nuremberg: Leo Alexander and the Nazi Doctors' Trial* (2004). Ulf Schmidt, a German-born professor of history at the University of Kent in England, is the author of both. Professor Schmidt is equally as fluent in German as he is in English. He has the facility to move with ease through the bilingual documentation of the Trials. He thereby can link well the parallel histories and offer a better comprehension of the intertwined relationship of some of the participants in the Trial. The

result is a meticulous recounting of the Trial that portrays the personalities, the strategies, and the tactics of the prosecution and the defense as they presented their cases.

The two volumes present, almost serendipitously, an intertwined relationship between two fascinating participants, Karl Brandt and Leo Alexander, both of whom were physicians and who became major adversaries in the Trials' proceedings. Except in age and involvement in the medical profession, they could hardly have been more different. They were born hardly a year apart, Brandt in 1904 in Germany and Alexander in 1905 in Vienna. Both were from families with physicians in their backgrounds, which greatly influenced their choice to pursue medical careers. They encountered one another at Nuremberg.

First, we have Karl Brandt, an arrogant, dour, and tight-lipped ideologue. He rose to be head of Germany's euthanasia (T4) program. He ruthlessly and steadily ascended from there to assume, among other roles, the job of Reich Commissioner for Health and Sanitation, and to become a member of Hitler's elite inner circle enjoying themselves at Berchtesgaden. He was the model Nazi-organization physician. He strove, year in and year out, to achieve the Nazi goal of racial purity. Brandt was the principal defendant at the Trial. Schmidt calls Brandt an "idealist." His idealism was directed toward establishing a Germany in which "class divisions and social injustice would be overcome" (p. 3), but in a manner that was shaped by German aryan cultural ideals and the Nazis' medical philosophy. Brandt's ideology was in full accord with Hitler's racial ideas. Brandt would achieve his goals by orchestrating the deaths of thousands of victims through his euthanasia program, thereby ridding Germany and Europe of thousands of "useless eaters." Brandt would confidently present his self-justifying remarks at the Trial's closing, insisting that "the demands of society are put above every individual human being . . . who is completely used in the interest of that society. . . . The individual person had no meaning whatsoever" (p. 373). Perhaps this personal declaration serves well for the other defendants in the Trial.

Second, we have Leo Alexander. He was the prosecution's principal medical expert against the accused. During the war he served in the U.S. Army as a conscientious, care-administering, battlefield psychiatrist. Prior to the war he had been devoted to research and clinical psychiatric practice. In the thirties he became an unwilling refugee from Germany because of his being a Jew, although a mostly assimilated one. Alexander interviewed many of the defendants, but principally Brandt, prior to the Trial, and as an expert witness presented the prosecution's most damaging testimony, thereby figuring greatly in securing the defendants' guilty verdicts. But Alexander was to do much more. He was to serve as one of those responsi-

ble for the formulation of the Nuremberg Code of medical ethics that has figured so prominently in the history of medical ethics throughout the remainder of the 20th century.

My initial thought on encountering *Justice at Nuremberg* was that finally I would have the chance to get to know the defendants, whom at age 19 I personally encountered and photographed as a member of the U.S. Army's photo detachment assigned to officially document the Trial with sound movies. (The movies are now in the U.S. National Archives.) For several months I observed the sullen and glum defendants, trying to penetrate what turned out to be their impenetrable visages. In the subsequent years of my continued interest and intermittent searching, I turned up nothing more than bits and pieces of information, such as that convicted defendant Herta Oberhauser was trying to resume medical practice in North Germany in the fifties. Even the arrival of the internet 50 years later did not point me anywhere revealing. Now I would get the answers.

Not so, as it turned out. In terms of the defendants, Schmidt focuses in on Karl Brandt and relegates the others to remaining in the fog, which is probably exactly where they would want to be. The defendants, all willing participants in the Nazi effort to exterminate millions, are to remain ciphers as far as understanding where they came from and the routes they traveled on their way to take on their notorious activities and their reasons for doing so. Only Karl Brandt finally gets the light rightfully shined on him, but not as much as he deserves. It appears that he concealed much that is only to be surmised. Schmidt has not tried to penetrate the wall Brandt left around his persona.

In *Karl Brandt - The Nazi Doctor: Medicine and Power in the Third Reich*, Schmidt gives as full a biography as seems to be possible, one that depends mostly on Trial documentation, the interview reports of Leo Alexander, the archives of the Nazi government, and such information as can be garnered from the surviving Brandt family. Brandt himself had no correspondence that survived the war and probably had very little to start with. What seems clear is that he was close-mouthed, probably the demeanor necessary to survive in the treacherous, mined corridors of Nazi power, where any mistake could lead to severe consequences, including death. In fact, as Schmidt points out, Brandt was caught out in his ultimate scheme of attempting to escape to the West at the end of the war. He narrowly escaped execution as a traitor, only to fall into the hands of the Allies, by whom he was finally dispatched via a hangman instead of a pistol shot to the head. What survives to mark Brandt's odious career is a documentary about how to climb and triumph in a murderous regime, undoing your opposition by whatever means are available.

Karl Brandt was one of the most capable of the politically skilled oper-

ators in the Nazi medical hierarchy, and I do not say this in the surgical sense. Schmidt portrays him rising in his medical career to become first a competent physician and surgeon with an abstract philosophical approach to medical science that Schmidt calls idealistic. Brandt regarded his patients as being equivalent to biological machines. He absorbed into his medical philosophy the German medical principles well described in such other sources as R. J. Lifton's 1986 landmark book, *The Nazi Doctors*. Brandt formulated the German medical policy that established euthanasia as a necessary function to rid the state of "useless feeders." Schmidt relates how Brandt claimed that he cared for his patients and had great sympathy, if not affection, for those who were candidates for euthanasia. In common parlance, he loved them to death. Schmidt shows how he did this by exploiting his political breaks to the limit, one of them being receiving an opportunity to attend Hitler as his traveling or "escort" physician, and then parlaying that into becoming a member of Hitler's inner circle that entertained itself while discussing policy during Hitler's infamous Berchtesgaden weekend retreats. What Brandt must have heard there of Nazi ideas and policies could fill a book, but unfortunately not this one. Brandt was the principal administrator of the euthanasia program known as T4 even though he was responsible for numerous shortcomings in its operation. Nonetheless, he was responsible for the deaths of thousands or more victims: Germans, Poles, Jews, Gypsies, and others. He transformed what was originally a killing program intended to be applied solely to the German population into a universal one that suited the long-range Nazi goal of racial purification.

Brandt accepted all the Nazi views and policies about racial superiority and the cleansing of the nation of its own afflicted people and those of the occupied territories. He went along with it, enthusiastically, even suggesting possible ways to improve the killing system. There were some measures he disagreed with, but they were definitely minor. The unanswered question remains: why? This question applies not only to Brandt, but also to the other convicted defendants, of whom we learn next to nothing, but many of whom certainly exerted significant medical authority in their own right. This was a group of the most powerful in the German medical hierarchy who had survived the war, had been unable to flee, and did not commit suicide. They were all members of the Nazi party. The average age of those convicted was 40, with the youngest being 27 and the oldest being 54. Among them were four generals (of whom Brandt was one), five colonels, a personal aide to Himmler, the President of the German Red Cross, and the Chief Medical Officer at Buchenwald. It is unfortunate that we know so little about them.

Brandt's idealism drove his ambition to ascend to the top of the German medical hierarchy by whatever means available. His career is almost a

“how to” illustration of Nazi-style in-fighting and backstabbing during his more than 10-year ascent from being Hitler’s escort physician to being Lieutenant General in the Waffen SS and Reich Commissioner for Health and Sanitation and chief of the euthanasia program. There were no internal conflicts in Brandt’s psyche; he knew exactly who he was, what he wanted to do, and where he wanted to go. If he had internal conflicts or doubts, they escaped Schmidt’s scrutiny. Schmidt reported to me, in a personal conversation, that there is no evidence in Brandt’s records of anti-Semitism. One then infers that Brandt existed in this Nazi world of blatant racial hatred almost oblivious to it. He truly cultivated in himself, as Lifton so sardonically puts it, the facade of “the decent Nazi.” This is more than difficult to accept. Brandt was a member of the Nazi party since the twenties, a member of the SS since the early thirties, and a member of Hitler’s inner circle since being made his escort physician. He must have participated in or overheard hours of discussion and rants on racism and anti-Semitism. After all, as Schmidt writes in both books, antisemitism and racism were the norm in both Germany and Austria, both before and during Hitler’s dictatorship. This prejudice was also a shaping factor in the career of Alexander. It is hard to believe it was not a factor in Karl Brandt’s career or in those of his co-defendants. This is another example of the cliché of the invisible “elephant in the room.” It would have been so much more revealing if Schmidt had come to direct grips with this issue instead of dodging it with such a comment as, “Brandt may have turned a blind eye to the widespread suffering and emigration” (p. 106). I am not convinced. My own view was that Brandt knew well of all the Nazi policies and was in full sympathy with them.

While Brandt was ascending to power and notoriety in the Nazi heyday, Alexander was fleeing Germany to China, beset by his own life-altering issues, primarily the problem of how best to deal with the rise of Nazism in Germany and Austria. Schmidt offers us a sympathetic though ambivalent portrayal of Alexander, beginning with his childhood. Alexander was a Jew from a mostly assimilated Viennese family that had long thought itself more German than Jewish. Such were the lifestyle and mindset of many German and Austrian Jews, who often referred to themselves as “Germans of Mosaic persuasion.” Alexander’s developing medical career had taken him into Germany and he strove to become a full-fledged member of the German medical establishment, but was rejected because of the stigma associated with his religion. He was confronted with attempting to comprehend the changing German world around him in those prewar years. He wanted to be considered one of them and be a respected member of Germany’s medical community; but that was not to be, and it took a number of personal and professional rejections for that to sink in. German soci-

ety had him stigmatized as a Jew, which greatly limited his career opportunities. Remaining in Germany held life-threatening perils when the Nazis came to power, so he fled to Beijing, China, where fortunately enough by dint of hard work he could get his medical career restarted and arrange to immigrate to the United States. It is interesting that in China he had few if any contacts with the other émigré Jews who had escaped there, most of whom were sojourning in Shanghai, also awaiting the opportunity to leave for the United States or elsewhere. Alexander's ambivalence regarding his Jewishness remained unresolved throughout his life. Finally, he succeeded in getting admitted to the U.S. prior to the war's outbreak there, and then gradually got himself integrated into the U.S. medical establishment. When the U.S. entered WWII, he joined the U.S. Army Medical Corps and served as a psychiatrist in England, treating Air Corps flyers for their air-combat-related psychological ailments. At war's end he entered Germany and came face to face with the concentration camps and all their horrors. That transformed him into a person with a passion to see justice done to the perpetrators for their crimes. He came to a fuller understanding of the antisemitic roots of his rejection in Germany. After WWII, he became an influential medical expert at Nuremberg Medical Trials. After that episode he returned to his intended career in the U.S. as a research and clinical psychiatrist. It was quite a remarkable transformation. Alexander left a substantial impact as one of the principal formulators of the Nuremberg Medical Code, the first post-war attempt to come to grips with the problem of medical ethics in the modern world.

Schmidt does a good job of documenting Alexander's navigation through these life changes and his winning an appointment as a medical expert to the prosecution team of the Doctors' Trial as it was being organized. According to Schmidt, with his medical and linguistic skills, Alexander was able to perform a host of invaluable medical advisory functions that were of inestimable value. Among them was interviewing the physician defendants, one of whom was Brandt. Schmidt was able to extract much useful information from the doctors, and his descriptions of Alexander's conversations with Brandt are particularly fascinating. It appears that Alexander did not tell Brandt or the other defendants of his Jewishness and left no significant explanation of his behavior in this regard. One assumes that he felt that identifying himself would block whatever camaraderie he might establish if the defendants were aware of his background—that Brandt could not cope with being questioned by a Jew and that it would diminish the information Brandt might yield. This is another sad reflection on the depth of the longstanding German-Jewish problem. It is not clear why Alexander found Brandt's case so absorbing. Perhaps Alexander was taken in by Brandt's "decent Nazi" aura, which made Brandt seem like someone

with whom Alexander could relate and communicate at a high level. But Alexander never seems to have quizzed Brandt about his attitude toward Jews generally, or about his beliefs as a physician in particular. Thus Alexander never got from Brandt an explanation for his attitudes, never having asked the questions. Maybe he never would have gotten the true answers.

Alexander's major Trial contribution came when he and the prosecution team realized that the German defense was planning to rely heavily on demonstrating that the medical profession, both in the U.S. and among its allies, had itself conducted numerous medical experiments over a period of years on subjects, including citizen prisoners, who had not volunteered. The defense had gradually turned up a host of such studies performed in the recent past and in previous decades, revealing a sometimes egregious lack of ethical principles. (These examples are by now well known and there is no need to review them here.) If this line of defense was sufficiently persuasive, it was feared that the prosecution would lose its obvious advantage even though it demonstrated the clearly abominable details of the German medical experiments. Schmidt carefully delineates Alexander's role in this phase of the Trial and in convincing the chief prosecutor, General Telford Taylor, of the need to provide a strong base for a medical ethical stand. Alexander, along with Dr. Andrew Ivy, another distinguished American medical consultant, prepared a detailed statement of American medical ethical principles, much of which was based upon Alexander's thinking and his written formulations. It was presented by the prosecution and used to buttress the prosecution's case. The two doctors were also able to convince the panel of trial judges to formalize this so-called Nuremberg Code of medical ethics and incorporate it into the final decision. It is these principles that in subsequent years formed a background basis for the gradual incorporation of the now common protective medical principles that form the basis for research on human subjects. Alexander was indeed a pioneer in this regard.

We are still left wondering why these originally upstanding defendants accepted the myth of racial superiority and the hypothesis that all the "racially impure" were to be regarded as hateful, perpetual, insidious, destructive threats or burdensome underminers of their culture. They themselves became the hated, not the innocent and well meaning. Of course, many of them were recruited members of the Nazi party and also of the SS. But those who were not were still willing participants, so willing that they did not even bother to justify or rationalize what they had done other than by claiming that it was mandated by their superiors and therefore not to be questioned. Fair enough, but what brought them to that point in their thinking? Here I can do nothing more than cite the obvious: the so-long accepted practice of antisemitism and the parallel xenophobic behavior toward others—gypsies and non-Germans in general.

In that sense the defendants were no more than a cross-section of their fellow physicians. But these individuals were perhaps the best documented examples of German medical practitioners in terms of their backgrounds. It is lamentable that so little has been extracted from their trial. Of course theories about them abound, from Lifton's "doubling" to Alexander's coinage of the word "thanatology" to mean the science of killing that they intuitively formulated (p. 160). All sorts of theories have been proposed to explain the events, their abominable medical practices that resulted in the death and torture of so many. It is a glib answer because the history is so clear. But does that mean that now that all that is known, it will be easy to erase? From all that has happened in Europe from then till now, it appears not. But at least we know that the Doctors' Trial has shown where that kind of thinking and behavior can take us. And perhaps we can recognize better how to deal with it earlier in the game. Schmidt has taken us a long way toward revealing how easy it was to create an abominable medical culture and then to get those who should have known better to enthusiastically immerse themselves in all its hateful practices; however, he doesn't show why that culture and its practices were so easily accepted.

FILM REVIEW

David Tosco's *The Face of Evil*
[First Run/Icarus Films, 2006, 51 minutes]

Jan Polek

It is disappointing when a film described as “a study of the physiognomy of evil” fails to deliver much that is new or compelling. There is such a need for films that help us understand the causes and power of evil in our culture.

The Face of Evil by David Tosco has a promising beginning, talking about our fear of the “Other” (those who do not look like us), but it fails to enlarge on that concept. It skims over the controversial fields of phrenology, eugenics, and anthropometrics without analyzing their merits or deficits.

The film draws heavily from the life of Bruno Ludke, a German who was allegedly a serial killer in the 1940s (presumably responsible for the killing of 51 women). Archival footage and comments by criminologists and historians attempt to point out the Nazi theory of “born criminals” with nude photographs of Ludke that supposedly show his degenerate nature. The experts are unconvincing in their testimony and fail to make the case for a hierarchical ranking of the “Other.”

Although the film was made in 2006, it has a dated look with the conventional “talking heads.” There is a scattershot approach to the subject and the film comes alive only when it shows excerpts from the acclaimed 1957 film by Robert Siodmak, *The Devil Strikes at Night*, a dramatization of the Bruno Ludke story. It is easy to become more interested in the Ludke case than in the film’s initial question, which asked whether we create images to match our preconceptions of those we fear.

Overall, the commentators and footage are pedantic, perhaps more suitable for a graduate class than for a commercial, non-academic audience. This is unfortunate because worldwide events in which those in power use techniques to isolate and demonize those who pose a threat are becoming more common. Rwanda, with its “measurement” policies separating tribes according to physical characteristics, is a recent example of the genocide cycle.

It is hoped that this film may encourage other filmmakers and scholars to produce engaging and dramatic films that expose the dangers in manipulating data and judging “Others” by their physical characteristics alone. The “face” of evil, if it exists at all, may well be in the eye of the beholder.