

DISCOVERY INSTITUTE VIEWS

Summer 2005

New Discoveries

Discovery is Blogging.

We plan to provide new ways to bring the professional expertise and personal charms of Discovery fellows to institute members and friends, as well as the public. Since Discovery was the first think tank to see the public policy potential of the Internet (thanks to George Gilder) some ten years ago, we also should be among the first to “blog” with profligate abandon.

Fellows **James Na** (“Guns and Butter Blog”: <http://gunsandbutter.blogspot.com/>) and **Wesley J. Smith** (www.wesleyjsmith.com/blog/) already have blogs. The Center for Science and Culture has a blog on the media and evolution (www.evolutionnews.org/), as well as a blog on Intelligent Design (www.idthefuture.org/). **John Wohlstetter** recently launched a Discovery-based blog (www.letterfromthecapital.com/) with his seasonal take on the day’s news, and young **Yuri Mamchur** is producing the exciting new “RussiaBlog” (www.russiablog.org/). Others are in preparation. The bloggers speak for themselves, not each other or “us.” We are a boisterous family.

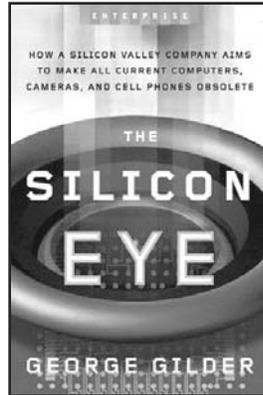


Tom Till (right) on the Jim Lehrer NewsHour

Tom Till, Co-Director of Discovery’s Cascadia Center, was a recent guest on the Jim Lehrer *NewsHour*. Till (pictured above), former Executive Director of the Amtrak Reform Council, made the case for reforming Amtrak.

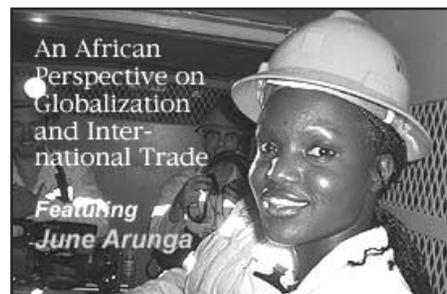
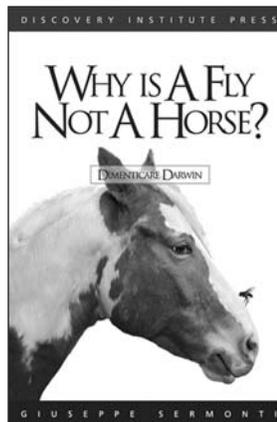
In May, Discovery welcomed renowned Italian geneticist **Giuseppe Sermonti** (pictured on page 3) and his wife to Seattle to celebrate the publication of Dr. Sermonti’s new book, *Why Is a Fly not a Horse?* Dr. Sermonti is a retired Professor of Genetics

Discovery News, continued on page 3



George Gilder’s new book goes behind the scenes at a technology company poised to change the way computers see

Discovery Institute publishes new book by renowned Italian geneticist Giuseppe Sermonti



Is globalization good?
Kenyan journalist and law student June Arunga spoke to Discovery audience



Almost Banned in Washington

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Cascadia Center and Microsoft explore nexus between transportation and technology

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A Brief Lament for the Mainstream Media



President's Letter

I grew up on newspapers and, secondarily, network news. I edited my high school paper and, with George Gilder, started a national political magazine in college. Later I was the youngest editorial writer for the *New York Herald Tribune*. I did lots of radio and TV appearances and eventually helped write and produce a couple of documentary films.

Early on I discovered that it was much harder to write an interesting positive article than an interesting negative one. I am afraid that many current writers and broadcast "personalities" have found the same. The difference is that I tried, and so did many others.

Have you noticed how many news program items now end with a slightly sneering question from the reporter? Have you noticed how good news is reported as bad? ("Unemployment went down again this month, fueling fears that inflation is about to take hold.") Huge good news stories, such as the end of certain diseases, have been ignored or downplayed over the years while trivial fears fanned into flaming controversies ("Coffee Linked to Cancer," then, later, "Coffee May Help Prevent Cancer"). The percentage of world population in poverty is steadily dropping, but you wouldn't know it from the mainstream media.

There is hardly anything more annoying than that seeming oxymoron, the naïve cynic. He's the fellow who consistently predicts the worst, then is quietly disappointed when things turn out well. In Iraq last fall I met an NBC TV reporter who assured me that the efforts of the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties' international foundations to promote democracy in that country were not worth reporting. "The seeds of democracy, I'm afraid, are falling on barren ground," he assured me with a snide smile. He missed a real news story—and so did nearly all the mainstream media. They just couldn't see a story in how the two U.S. political parties, even then battling ferociously here at home, were busy helping Iraqis prepare for the elections that took place, with great success, in January.

No civilization has been as dynamic, prosperous and free as ours. From any perspective, these should be times of great excitement and plans in one field after another. Discovery is futuristic—on issues such as transportation, science, technology, economics, foreign policy—because we are realistically hopeful that we can "Discover the truth and put it to work." But these hopeful times are blighted by the unrealistic pessimism and naysaying of much of the media. Eventually, people see the difference between their own warranted happy outlook and the snarling gloom that afflicts the press and TV.

The networks are losing viewers and newspaper circulation is bleeding unstaunched. This phenomenon can be attributed to new technologies—including cable TV, Internet, "blogs", talk radio, specialty magazines, and even free newspapers. But perhaps these technologies are cutting into the mainstream media so rapidly because ordinary people are fed up with the political and cultural bias and the smarmy tone and sheer negativism that now infects much of TV and the press. Who needs the mainstream media?

"When the media pack now decides what is fashionable on an issue, the side it doesn't like simply is not allowed to make its own case, define its own terms or present facts in its favor."

Well, I admit that in a way I do. That is, I miss and need the square journalism of old, where a reporter thought his job was to inform, not to influence, and assignment editors felt it was their responsibility to help the country improve, not merely to find ways to tear down leaders and institutions. You don't win journalism awards the painfully objective way, but you just might increase your audience. Done right, mainstream journalism provides a channel for a common culture, an awareness that as one watches a program on TV or reads a newspaper, millions of others are joining in and that the media are truly mediating.

Instead, journalists too often now write and produce for each other, the way (as Michael Medved points out) many Hollywood directors make pictures largely to impress their friends—the critics whose judgment really matters to them. Given the confined, self-referential makeup of media, that orientation provides a culture that is out of sympathy with most of America. It is a culture whose

attitude toward people with ideas the media "mainstream" doesn't like can be expressed in one word: contempt. What is so disturbing is that the contempt is often so ignorant.

When the media pack now decides what is fashionable on an issue, the side it doesn't like simply is not allowed to make its own case, define its own terms or present facts in its favor. It cannot speak in its own voice, but is spoken about. I am seeing this lately on the evolution "debate," but also on Social Security privatization, judicial filibusters, the war in Iraq (where things get better while the news is always bad), supply side tax cuts, embryonic stem cell research, and on and on.

Even where the smug assumptions of a left-leaning newsroom are not engaged, a philistine lack of interest in fresh ideas and actual "news" from abroad is manifest. America is overwhelmingly the leading world power, with a reach and sway unprecedented, yet our citizens get less overseas news and opinion than do people in, say, Holland or Israel or Singapore. The mainstream outlets apparently think that dumbing down their products and biasing their stories toward sensation, as well as biasing them to the political left, is a strategy for growth. Never mind that the strategy is failing.

When Discovery fellows are treated fairly by news and opinion outlets these days, I am surprised as well as delighted. At such times I remember how pleasant it is to be understood by someone who wants to understand, rather than ignored by someone who pretends not to hear well, can't quite get the quotes right, and just doesn't think people would be interested in a different point of view.

Perhaps under pressure the media will reform themselves. How wonderful it would be to be a part of that. Meanwhile, however, rather than complain further or pine for the good old days, we will relish the mainstream media friends we have on editorial and oped pages, radio and TV shows. Beyond that, we will move our personnel and modest financial resources as fast as possible into the expanding realm of new media. Welcome to the New Counter Culture, tomorrow's mainstream.

More New Discoveries

Discovery News, *continued from front*



at the University of Perugia who discovered genetic recombination in antibiotic-producing Penicillium and Streptomyces. He is Chief Editor of *Rivista di Biologia/Biology*

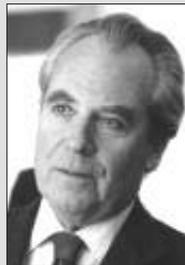
Forum, one of the oldest biology journals in the world. After the book party in Seattle, Dr. and Mrs. Sermonti traveled to Kansas to testify at the State Board of Education hearings and meet for lunch with US Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS).

Mark Ryland (pictured below on a recent C-SPAN appearance), is a Discovery Vice President and former Microsoft executive, who now directs the institute's new Washington, DC office co-located with the Ethics and Public Policy Center (1015 15th St. NW; Washington, DC 20005; phone: (202) 558-7085). Logan Gage coordinates research activities at the new office, which also houses Discovery's Technology and Democracy Project. Down the hall at EPPC is Discovery adjunct fellow George Weigel and an old friend, Michael Cromartie. We like the new neighborhood.



Discovery recently hosted a conference on the future of the EU. The conference brought together government leaders such

as **Lord Malcolm Pearson** (pictured right) and Vaclav Havel, scholars, journalists, and international business leaders to discuss the Atlantic alliance, national security, legal and other issues. Titled "Is the European Union in the Interests of the US?," the conference was held June 28th in Washington, DC.



Bad news, good news on Discovery's Internet website. In early May our server crashed for two days and had to be replaced with a much more powerful (and costly) server. The good news is the reason: **traffic to Discovery.org has grown exponentially** because of the popularity of our programs, news and articles. During the publicity over the evolution hearings in Kansas it spiked to 70,000 hits a day, but now has settled down to about 20 to 25,000 a day—still more than a **six-fold rise in traffic from a year ago**. We can now sustain a very large runup of "hits"—including a couple of particularly determined hackers who regularly try, without success, to crash our server on their own.

The upsurge in website traffic follows an unprecedented amount of media attention, and the increasing presence of Discovery fellows on television. These include: Center for Science and Culture Director **Steve Meyer** debated Eugenie Scott, Executive Director of the National Center for Science Education, on Fox News (pictured above). A rematch with Michael Behe on our



side and Darwinist Ken Miller on theirs is scheduled for the Charlie Rose Show. Senior Fellow Jonathan Wells appeared on Fox. Mark Ryland appeared on C-SPAN's Washington Journal, and Senior Fellow **Bill Dembski** was featured on ABC's *Nightline* (pictured here).

A special screening of *The Privileged Planet* documentary based on the book by Discovery Fellows Jay Richard and Guillermo Gonzalez was presented in the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution on June 23, 2005. The documentary fomented a whole new spate of news stories, profiles and debates. For more information on the documentary and/or the book, see <http://www.privilegedplanet.com>.

Technology executives, reporters and others met recently in Silicon Valley to hear George Gilder speak about his new book, *The Silicon Eye*. The event was held on April 19th at the prestigious Computer History Museum. Discovery Institute, Forbes Magazine, Madrona Venture Group, and Heller Ehrman Attorneys sponsored the event to mark the book's publication and honor the work of Dr. Carver Mead, Federico Faggin, and others at Foveon, Impinj, and Synaptics.

For more, see www.discovery.org.

Upcoming Event: Uncommon Dissent Forum Scientists Who Find Darwinism Unconvincing

GREENVILLE, SC – "There are serious scientific criticisms of evolutionary theory, and people want to know why students aren't learning about them," says Discovery Institute senior fellow Dr. Paul Nelson who will speak at the Uncommon Dissent Forum, a major public conference scheduled for August 4-6, 2005 at the Palmetto Expo Center in Greenville, South Carolina. The three-day conference is open to the public and will explore scientific

criticisms of Darwinian evolution resulting from new discoveries in the sciences, and how to improve science education policy to reflect these criticisms.

Eunoia Conferences, of Greenville, South Carolina, has invited several Discovery Institute fellows to join other accomplished, Darwin-doubting scientists from around the country to explore the scientific reasons for their skepticism regarding the claims of modern evolutionary theory.

Joining the Discovery fellows as speakers at the conference will be oceanographer and chemist Dr. Ed Peltzer, biologists Dr. Ralph Seelke and Dr. David J. Keller, biophysicist Dr. Jed Macosko. Science author Dr. Tom Woodward will emcee the conference.

The forum will be held on August 4, 2005 at the Palmetto Expo. Center in Greenville, South Carolina. To see the complete schedule, registration form, lodging arrangements, and other speakers, please see the conference webpage at a <http://clicknow.com/eunoia/>.

Leslie Burke wants to live

But the National Health Service has a second opinion

by Wesley J. Smith

London

THE MOST IMPORTANT BIOETHICS LITIGATION in the world today involves a 45-year-old Englishman, Leslie Burke. He isn't asking for very much. Burke has a progressive neurological disease that may one day deprive him of the ability to swallow. If that happens, Burke wants to receive food and water through a tube. Knowing that Britain's National Health Service (NHS) rations care, Burke sued to ensure that he will not be forced to endure death by dehydration against his wishes.

Burke's lawsuit is even more important to the future of medical ethics than was the Terri Schiavo case. Schiavo was dehydrated to death—a bitter and profound injustice—because Judge George W. Greer ruled both that Terri was in a persistent vegetative state and (based on statements she allegedly made during casual conversations some 20 years ago) that she would not want to live under such circumstances. In other words, Terri Schiavo lost her life in order to safeguard her personal autonomy, though she never made the actual decision to die.

But Burke, who is fully competent, worries that his wishes will be ignored precisely because he wants food and water even if he becomes totally paralyzed. Receiving food and water when it is wanted certainly seems the least each of us should be able to expect. But, it turns out, whether Burke lives or dies by dehydration may not be up to him. According to National Health Service treatment guidelines, doctors, rather than patients or their families, have the final say about providing or withholding care.

Burke won his case at the trial court level when a judge ruled that denying the tube-supplied food and water a patient

wants “would be a breach of claimant's rights under . . . the European Convention on Human Rights.” This should be uncontroversial. But the General Medical Council, the medical licensing authority, appealed, joined by the British government.

Why do Britain's medical establishment and government insist that Burke be denied a right to decide whether he receives tube-supplied food and water? It all boils down to two concepts that are increasingly intertwined in modern bioethics theory and practice. First is the so-called quality-of-life ethic that presumes to judge the worth of patients' lives according to their mental and physical capacities. Under this view, doctors or bioethicists may judge a life to be of such low quality that it is not worth extending, irrespective of the patient's wishes. The second issue is money—an especially potent factor for England's increasingly strained socialized medical system.

Accordingly, the secretary of state for health argued before the Court of Appeal that while patients have the right to refuse life-sustaining treatment, they don't have

“... medical care is effectively rationed by the National Health Service under guidelines set by bioethicists based on their beliefs about the low quality of life of patients whom they have never met.”

a corresponding right to receive it. Even though the Burke case does not involve high tech medical procedures—he is not asking for a respirator or kidney dialysis, after all—the government claims that the trial court's ruling undermines the authority of doctors to make the “clinical judgment” about whether a patient's “treatment would be of benefit,” based at least in part on the question of “the

resources which are available.” The right of doctors to exercise such control is “absolutely fundamental to the day-to-day functioning of the NHS.”

In support of the government's position, the secretary of state filed a statement by Elizabeth Woodeson, the head of scientific development and bioethics at the Department of Health. Her testimony demonstrates the threat that contemporary bioethics poses to the lives of vulnerable patients. As Woodeson explained, the National Health Service established the National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (given the creepily inappropriate acronym NICE) to issue “clinical guidelines” that blend efficacy of outcomes, quality of life judgments, and economics:

An assessment is made of the cost of the treatment per additional year of life which it brings, and per quality adjusted life year (QALY) . . . which takes into consideration the quality of life of the patient during any additional time for which their life will be prolonged. The clinical and cost effectiveness of the treatment under review is then used as the basis for a recommendation as to whether or not . . . the treatment should be provided in the NHS. . . . The Secretary of State believes that . . . clinicians should be able to follow NICE guidelines without being obliged to accede to patient demands. . . . If that principle were undermined, there would be considerable risk of inefficient use of NHS resources.

In other words, medical care is effectively rationed by the National Health Service under guidelines set by bioethicists based on their beliefs about the low quality of life of patients whom they have never met. While the views of patients and families are to be taken into account when deciding whether to provide treatment, they are not determinative.

This top-down approach is what Leslie Burke is rebelling against. He knows that many bioethicists have a low opinion of the quality of life of people with profound disabilities. Burke doesn't trust doctors, much less bioethicists, to judge whether his life is worth living. "I feel strongly that my body and my being are mine," Burke insisted when I visited him recently at his Lancaster home. "But my desire [to live] can be overridden" based on prejudice against the disabled. "I am no different than anybody else, but I am not seen that way anymore."

Adding heft to Burke's concerns: When I privately discussed his case with a prominent British physician who I expected would sympathize with Burke's views, I was taken aback when he told me crossly, "Burke is only thinking of himself rather than looking at the bigger picture." How thoughtless of him.

IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE to assume that Americans are safe from having life-sustaining treatment rationed like this just because we don't have a national health service. Burke is fighting a broader movement in the bioethics field, "Futile Care Theory," that is also gaining traction here. Futile care theory is a one-way street when it comes to patient autonomy and end-of-life care. Futilitarians assert that patients have an absolute right to refuse life-sustaining treatment but are not similarly entitled to insist that their lives be maintained. Indeed, under futile care theory, as under the NHS rationing approach, whether a seriously ill or disabled patient's request

to be kept alive is granted depends on whether doctors and bioethicists see the patient's life as worth living and spending medical resources to sustain.

For the last several years American hospitals have been quietly promulgating futile care protocols that empower their ethics committees to authorize doctors to unilaterally refuse wanted care. These futile care policies are beginning to be imposed on unwilling patients and their families.

As is usually the case in such matters, the first victims are on the far margins. Thus, in Houston, Sun Hudson, a 5-month-old infant born with a terminal disability, was taken off a ventilator in March over his mother's objections based on a Texas law that defers to futile care theory. Under the law, once a hospital bioethics committee determines that the treatment should not be rendered, the patient or family has a mere 10 days to transfer the patient's care to another hospital. This can prove difficult in this era of managed care and HMOs, since the affected patients are usually the most expensive to treat. After 10 days without a transfer, the outcome is usually death following the unilateral withdrawal of treatment—as occurred in Sun Hudson's case.

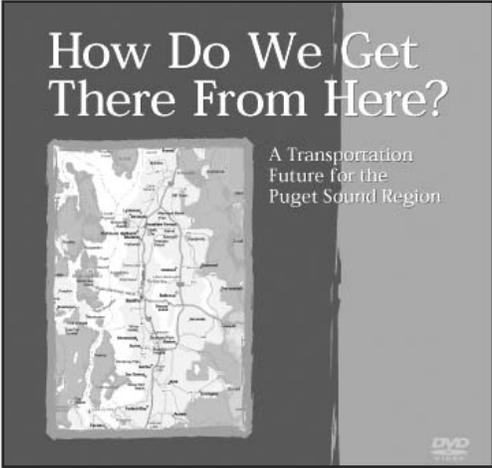
In another Houston case, one with ironic echoes of Terri Schiavo, the wife of Spiro Nikolouzos wants tube-feeding for her persistently unconscious husband, based on his previously stated desire to live. But unlike Schiavo's, Nikolouzos's personal wishes are not deemed determinative: A hospital ethics

committee voted to refuse to continue his tube-supplied food and water and ventilator support. He would have died, but a San Antonio hospital unexpectedly agreed to provide the care. Then its ethics committee also decided to cut off care, but Nikolouzos was transferred to a nursing home. For the moment, Nikolouzos is being allowed to stay alive. But the final decision about the matter isn't his wife's: Under futilitarian Texas law, it belongs to committees of bioethicists and doctors.

In this darkening atmosphere, the Leslie Burke case could not be more important. If Burke loses on appeal, patients in Britain will be stripped of the basic human right to receive food and water through a feeding tube. Such a ruling should send a cold shiver through disabled, elderly, and dying patients everywhere.

Moreover, given the increasing propensity of some Supreme Court justices to look overseas when deciding issues of American law, a Burke loss could plausibly end up reinforcing futile care laws in this country. There will undoubtedly be protracted litigation on this issue in coming years. How Leslie Burke fares may determine whether futile care theory is allowed to metamorphose from ad hoc health care rationing into an explicit—and expanding—duty to die.

Wesley J. Smith, a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and an attorney and consultant for the International Task Force on Euthanasia and Assisted Suicide, is the author, most recently, of Consumer's Guide to a Brave New World.



How Do We Get There From Here?
A Transportation Future for the Puget Sound Region

Discovery Releases New Film

On June 2, 2005, Discovery Institute and its Cascadia Center released a new film on transportation challenges in Central Puget Sound entitled *How Do We Get There From Here?*

The film—produced and narrated by independent filmmaker Jeff Gentes in close collaboration with the Cascadia Center—describes the major issues facing the Northwest's transportation system. The film sets out the system's major

problems, suggests potential solutions, and provides informed commentary from local officials, transportation experts, and civic leaders.

The Cascadia Center premiered the documentary at a June 2 public event at Discovery Institute. The Seattle Channel aired the film on local television later that evening, and again on several subsequent days. For more information on the documentary and coming television schedules, contact Holly Hoss at hollym@discovery.org.

DESTRUCTIVE GOVERNMENT

By Richard W. Rahn
Published June 16, 2005

The basic function of government is to protect person and property, but all too often government does just the opposite. In their zeal to protect us from financial fraud, government officials recently engaged in a series of actions that have cost tens of thousands of innocent people their jobs, reduced U.S. international competitiveness, and destroyed more than \$1 trillion in value for American shareholders.

Every American now suffers from the excesses of certain prosecutors and judges, and from Congress' tendency to pass legislation aimed at correcting what they perceive as problems without thinking through the consequences of their actions. In the wake of the Enron scandal, the government went after Enron's auditor, Arthur Andersen, and destroyed the company. The Supreme Court has just overturned the conviction of Arthur Andersen. The government's irresponsible attack on the company cost 28,000 innocent people their jobs and made the auditing business less competitive, which has substantially increased auditing costs for every U.S. company. That, in turn, hurts their employees, suppliers and customers.

New York Attorney General Elliott Spitzer has just suffered a defeat at the hands of a jury for trying to convict a stockbroker for noncriminal actions. Mr. Spitzer has used intimidation against a number of companies, charging them with actions that may not even be crimes. In essence, he "blackmails" them into paying large settlements under the threat of destroying their business (like Andersen), though they may be innocent of any wrongdoing. These unfairly induced, forced settlements are costly to innocent

stockholders and current and potential employees.

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and other government agencies routinely penalize companies for wrongdoing, even if only a few executives engaged in illegal practices. In many such cases, the shareholders were the victims of the fraud, yet government fines further increase the shareholders' loss. This makes as much sense as if you called the police because your home had been robbed, then the government fined you because a robber came into your house. SEC Commissioner Paul Atkins has tried to stop this despicable practice, and with the impending appointment of Chris Cox

"Every American now suffers from the excesses of certain prosecutors and judges, and from Congress' tendency to pass legislation aimed at correcting what they perceive as problems without thinking through the consequences of their actions."

as SEC chairman, he may now have the votes to do so.

The most outrageous example of the government punishing everyone for the frauds of a few bad apples was passage of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. Peter Wallison, former U.S. Treasury general counsel and now an American Enterprise Institute resident fellow, has just published a study in which he documents the costliness of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, with almost no discernible benefit. As Mr. Wallison correctly notes, the existing statutes against fraud and the securities laws already adequately protect us from those who engage in fraud. Sarbanes-Oxley (SOX) is a costly and misguided attempt to prevent people intent on committing fraud from doing so by substantially increasing

regulation of public companies. But given there are an almost unlimited numbers of ways to engage in fraud, if one is intent on doing so, efforts to regulate the attempt will almost always fail.

SOX is a poster child for a government act whose cures are worse than the disease. Its provisions are so costly one section of the bill alone has an average company cost of \$4.36 million, and the regulated companies will have to pay \$6.1 billion this year alone to comply with SOX. To ensure companies comply with the regulations, the four large accounting firms that do almost all public company audits have raised their fees an average of 78 percent to 134 percent in 2004.

Professor Ivy Xiyang Zhang of the University of Rochester has calculated SOX has resulted in a cumulative loss of \$1.4 trillion for the shareholders of public companies. (This works out to an average loss of about \$460 for every man woman and child in the United States).

Mr. Wallison goes on to demonstrate there are few discernible and quantifiable benefits to the legislation. It is also unlikely many major financial scandals would have been stopped if the legislation had been in effect; but, had they been, their cumulative costs were only a small fraction of the costs of the so-called corrective legislation SOX.

Government officials are all too slow to admit and correct their destructive laws, regulations and actions. What we need is legislation that gives citizens, associations and businesses the right to contest in court laws and regulations that do not meet a reasonable cost-benefit test. Only then will government excess and abuse be brought under control.

Richard W. Rahn is a senior fellow of the Discovery Institute and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute.



HITLER'S PHILOSOPHY OF DEATH: Jews in Warsaw are rounded up by Nazis in 1943.

Roots of genocide

INTERVIEW: Richard Weikart on how Hitler was Darwin's ideological grandson | by Marvin Olasky

PHILLIP JOHNSON, LEADER OF the Intelligent Design movement, writes, "The philosophy that fueled German militarism and Hitlerism is taught as fact in every American public school, with no disagreement allowed."

That philosophy is Darwinism, and its influence on Adolf Hitler has been much debated—but Richard Weikart, a professor at California State University-Stanislaus and a Research Fellow at the Discovery Institute, should close the debate with a well-researched, scholarly book, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). He shows how Darwinism made abortion and racial extermination keys to progress rather than reversions to barbarism, and convincingly argues that Hitler built his view of ethics on Darwinian rather than nihilistic principles.

WORLD: When late 19th- and early 20th-century Darwinians examined the value of human life through their new lens, what did they tend to find?

WEIKART: Not all Darwinists agreed, but many leading Darwinists, such as Ernst Haeckel, claimed that

the descent of humans from animals overthrew the "anthropocentric fable." In their zeal to explain all human traits naturalistically, Darwin and Haeckel denied that humans have a soul. Because of this, many Darwinists rejected the Judeo-Christian sanctity-of-human-life ethic. Further, since the human struggle for existence produces mass death, many Darwinists saw the death of the "unfit" as a means to evolutionary progress. Some even took the next step to propose that killing the "unfit" (i.e., the disabled and inferior races) would benefit humanity.

WORLD: How did Darwinism contribute to moral relativism and make evolutionary progress, supposedly brought about by racial struggle, the greatest good?

WEIKART: Darwin argued that morality evolved from "social instincts" of animals. He explained that moral characteristics, such as loyalty or honesty, are biological traits favoring groups who possessed them in the human struggle for existence. In his autobiography Darwin confessed that one "can have for his rule of life, as far as I can see, only to

follow those impulses and instincts which are the strongest or which seem to him the best ones." Ironically, while relativizing morality, many Darwinists inconsistently made evolutionary progress a new moral goal: Whatever contributed to the health and vitality of the human species was morally justified, and whatever led to biological degeneration was evil.

WORLD: What are the major historical connections between Darwinism and Hitler's ideology?

WEIKART: German biologists, anthropologists, physicians, and other scholars used Darwinian theory to promote eugenics, euthanasia, infanticide, abortion, and racial extermination long before Hitler arrived on the scene. Many of these thinkers would have been aghast at the Holocaust, since few were as rabidly anti-Semitic as Hitler, and some were even Jews themselves. Nonetheless, their philosophy of death for the "unfit" had a strong influence on Hitler's ideology. The world-renowned geneticist Fritz Lenz even bragged that Hitler's worldview was shaped by Lenz's writings on human heredity, eugenics, and racism.

WORLD: How did Hitler's *Mein Kampf* reflect a belief in an inescapable Darwinian struggle for existence?

WEIKART: Darwinist terminology and concepts are prominent in many of Hitler's writings and speeches. In *Mein Kampf* he stated, "If reproduction as such is limited and the number of births decreased, then the natural struggle for existence, which only allows the strongest and healthiest to survive, will be replaced by the obvious desire to save at any cost even the weakest and sickest; thereby a progeny is produced, which must become ever more miserable, the longer this mocking of nature and its will persists. . . . A stronger race will supplant the weaker, since the drive for life in its final form will decimate every ridiculous fetter of the so-called humaneness of individuals, in order to make place for the humaneness of nature, which destroys the weak to make place for the strong." This quotation illustrates my assertion that Hitler promoted an evolutionary ethic. ☸



Underrepresented Minorities:

A shift in the racial dialogue

By James J. Na
Published May 16, 2005

May is Asian Pacific American History Month, designated by President George H.W. Bush. So perhaps it is a fitting occasion to bring up one of my pet peeves:

We are not a biracial nation.

Yet, until recently, “America: black and white” had been a common title in discussions about race relations. Hispanics and Asians were often subsumed into a broad-stroke category of “minorities” along with blacks.

Hispanics have gained some attention of late, because of shifting demographics, particularly electoral demographics. President George W. Bush won 44 percent of Hispanic voters in the last election, up 9 percent from 2000. Some Republicans hope that increasing support among Hispanic voters will counter the overwhelming lock the Democrats have on black voters (over 90 percent in most elections).

Asians, however, are still invisible at the national level. So it is no big surprise that many Americans seem to be unaware of a subtle language shift in the racial dialogue. The operating catchphrase today is “URM” — “underrepresented minorities.”

The “traditional” model of race relations in the post-civil-rights era was simple (and simple-minded): Whites oppressed minorities, the latter therefore could not succeed, and so-called affirmative action was deemed necessary to redress the balance — for “racial justice.”

Enter Asians. Asians may be the fastest-growing racial group, but they are still a tiny minority at about 4 percent of the U.S. population. In comparison, blacks account for more than 12 percent of Americans. Yet, even as other, larger minority groups languish in economic and educational underperformance, Asians have the highest average household income, the highest college-graduation rate and the highest rate of home ownership of any ethnic-racial group, including whites.

In other words, Asians have become inconvenient to the old model of race relations. In fact, where affirmative action becomes a “soft” form of quota, such as in some university admission schemes, Asians are actually discriminated against by a system purportedly designed to help minorities.

A racial enrollment “target” or quota system forces applicants to compete within their own ethnic groups for the allotted slots, rather than as individuals against the entirety of the applicant pool. Since Asians, on average, outscore whites by 20 points and blacks by 226 points in the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), this means that individual Asians must score higher than whites and substantially higher than blacks to be treated equally.

Similarly, what was conveniently glossed over in the media during the debates preceding California’s Proposition 209 to ban racial preferences — portrayed as a black vs. white issue — was the predictive analysis that removal of affirmative action would mean only a marginal rise in white university enrollment, but a significant increase for Asians who would now be free to compete with everyone else.

Thus, far from benefiting all minority groups, affirmative action often promotes the interests of a politically powerful, but underperforming minority group at the expense of limiting and downplaying the success of an overperforming, but politically weak, minority group. This form

“Should we enact affirmative action for ugly, short, non-native Seattleites, too?”

of discrimination against success is not confined to academia, but is also ingrained in pop culture.

Witness, for example, the latest hit medical drama, “Grey’s Anatomy.” Of nine major characters playing doctors at a

fictitious Seattle hospital, three are black. Only one is Asian. In the real world, Asians account for 20 percent of medical-school graduates while blacks make up 6.5 percent of new doctors.

“America: black and white”? Only according to the Hollywood affirmative-action system, where blacks are dutifully assigned a sizable portion of major roles whereas Asians are lucky to get one spot, reality be damned. (An odd side effect of this is that foreigners who are exposed to America through television indeed think of it as a nation of whites and blacks; one Indonesian villager, when told I was from America, exclaimed, “But your face is so Asian!”)

In today’s world of affirmative action, there are whites and then there are “URM.” I suppose that makes Asians an “overrepresented minority,” but that doesn’t exactly warrant an acronym. It is merely inconvenient to those who push affirmative action.

Of course, there are racial discriminations, as there are discriminations and preferences based on a myriad of other factors including looks (it is documented by studies, for example, that handsome military officers do better in their careers), height (women prefer taller men) and regional origin (woe unto non-native Seattleites in Seattle). Should we enact affirmative action for ugly, short, non-native Seattleites, too?

Instead of building intricate and ultimately futile social-engineering schemes to account for differences in circumstances of birth, I would prefer that our institutions judge individuals solely by their merit and character — by how they overcame their inborn adversities and took advantage of natural gifts.

And instead of “America: black and white,” I prefer “*E Pluribus Unum.*”

James J. Na is a senior fellow in foreign policy at Discovery Institute and runs the “Guns and Butter Blog” (gunsandbutter.blogspot.com).



PETA's Non-Apology Apology

The group still equates animal killings to the Holocaust

By Wesley J. Smith
Published May 6, 2000

Ingrid Newkirk, the alpha wolf over at the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), has just issued a classic non-apology "apology" for PETA's odious "Holocaust on Your Plate" Campaign, which explicitly compared eating meat to participating in the gassing of millions of Jews.

The purported equation between the Holocaust and normal practices of animal husbandry wasn't presented between the lines by PETA. Nor was it implied subtly in the hope that the viewer would infer a similarity. Rather, comparing Auschwitz to your corner butcher shop was the explicit and unequivocal theme of the entire international pro-vegan campaign.

First there were the photographs. PETA juxtaposed pictures of emaciated concentration-camp inmates in their tight-packed wooden bunks with chickens kept in cages. Worse, in a truly despicable comparison (on several levels), a picture of piled bodies of Jewish Holocaust victims was presented next to a photograph of stacked dead pigs.

The text of the campaign was even worse. In a section entitled "The Final Solution," PETA made this astonishing assertion:

Like the Jews murdered in concentration camps, animals are terrorized when they are housed in huge filthy warehouses and rounded up for shipment to slaughter. The leather sofa and handbag are the moral equivalent of the lampshades made from the skins of people killed in the death camps.

For two years, PETA presented the Holocaust on Your Plate Campaign throughout the United States and much of

the world. In almost every city and country where PETA activists turned up to promote Holocaust on Your Plate, Jewish groups and others angrily protested. But PETA doggedly stuck to its propaganda. Then, unexpectedly, on May 5, Newkirk issued an "apology for a tasteless comparison."

So, has PETA really recognized the error of asserting a moral equivalence between genocide and stock yards? Not in the least. PETA's is an apology that doesn't really say "We are sorry." In fact, Newkirk takes great pain to justify the entire Holocaust on Your Plate approach:

The "Holocaust on Your Plate" Campaign was designed to desensitize to different forms of systematic degradation and exploitation, and the logic and methods employed in factory farms and slaughterhouses are analogous to those used in concentration camps. We understand both systems to be based on a moral equation indicating that "might makes right" and premised on a concept of other cultures or other species as deficient and thus disposable. Each has its own unique mechanisms and purposes, but both result in immeasurable, unnecessary suffering for those who are innocent and unable to defend themselves.

"So, has PETA really recognized the error of asserting a moral equivalence between genocide and stock yards? Not in the least."

Since the group clearly still believes in its advocacy, what does PETA admit it did wrong? Resorting to that old standby of the unrepentant who know that public relations problems necessitate the appearance of contrition, Newkirk apologizes merely for the "pain" PETA's campaign caused to Jews. Newkirk's is

thus a classic non-apology "apology."

But when you look deeper, it isn't even that. Newkirk's pseudo mea culpa emphasizes PETA's continued support for the book *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust* by Charles Patterson, which gave PETA the idea to launch the Holocaust on Your Plate Campaign in the first place. (Treblinka was a notorious Nazi death camp.) And what is that book's message? You guessed it: As the foreword puts it:

In Eternal Treblinka, not only are we shown the common roots of Nazi genocide and modern society's enslavement and slaughter of non-human animals in unprecedented detail, but for the first time we are presented with extensive evidence of the profoundly troubling connection between animal exploitation in the United States and Hitler's Final Solution.

So, it is quite clear that PETA continues to believe that "the leather sofa and handbag are the moral equivalent of the lampshades made from the skins of people killed in the death camps." The group just wants to be able to claim that because it apologized for Holocaust on Your Plate Campaign, it should no longer have to defend itself about the matter in interviews and during debates.

But be clear: This is merely a public-relations tactic. The leopard has not changed even one of its spots. PETA remains firm in its belief that killing an animal is morally equivalent to killing a human being.

Wesley J. Smith is a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and a special consultant to the Center for Bioethics and Culture. His current book is Consumer's Guide to a Brave New World.

Social Security Numbers Abused

By Alex Binz

Published March 30, 2005

At age 15, I've already found my calling: information rights activist. No, not your right to information but the natural rights of information, particularly against cruel and unusual punishment. I say this because a lot of Social Security advocates seem to be manipulating statistics and torturing facts to suit their preferences.

I am part of the generation most affected by changes to Social Security, so I decided to investigate. I began my research—where else?—at the Social Security Administration. I was particularly interested in the legendary “trust fund” that seems to be the crux of the controversy. In a section on “Internet Myths,” the SSA writes: “From its inception, the Trust Fund has always worked the same way. The Social Security Trust Fund has never

been ‘put into the general fund of the government.’ “ In two sentences, the SSA seemed to strike a deathblow to Social Security naysayers.

But did it, really? I went to the “Ask an Actuary” site for more information. My screen immediately filled with obtuse charts and spreadsheets detailing trust fund finances. Therein lay the problem: The trust fund is “invested” in special-issue bonds and government IOUs. In other words, the trust fund money is separated from the general fund, loaned to the federal government and then spent on all kinds of programs through the general fund. Bureaucrats get the best of both worlds: They can claim (rightly) that the money is set aside in bonds but they still get to spend it freely.

There is no substance behind the trust fund; it is a mere promise of repayment, without any money backing up that

promise. Without any real assets, Social Security resembles nothing more than a pyramid scheme, funneling money from new “investors” (current workers) to those who invested from the beginning (current retirees). And like any pyramid scheme, it cannot hold out forever. The SSA itself admits that by 2018 retiree benefits will exceed worker contributions. It will run a deficit, cash in its bonds and eventually have them dissolve for all the world to see.

If we stay the course, we have two options. If we raise taxes, we would be taking money from people to repay existing debts owed to them. If we reduce benefits, we would arbitrarily declare that the government owes less money than it “borrowed” when it originally levied the tax. Both are forms of theft.

Social Security, *continued on next page*

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ADDITIONAL READING

Excerpts of other recently published pieces by Discovery fellows

Dangerous Delusions Corrode Our Medical Services

By Robert J. Cihak, M.D. and Michael Arnold Glueck, M.D., *The Medicine Men*
Newsmax.com
Published April 14, 2005

“If government provides the medical services to everyone for “free”, then, as the *British Medical Journal* predicted so hopefully in 1942, a national health system will provide “a 100 percent service for 100 percent of the population.” After sixty years of trying, they haven’t even come close.

“Rationing, inefficiencies, and lack of quality are the real fruits of this socialist experiment. And we need less, not more of it.

“On the other hand, when patients decide and speak with their own resources, including private insurance and cash, hospitals pay attention to them—and meet their needs ...”

Robert J. Cihak, M.D. is a Senior Fellow and Board Member of the Discovery Institute and past president of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Michael Arnold Glueck, M.D., is a multiple award winning writer who comments on medical-legal issues.

Social Security, continued from previous page

But there is an alternative. We could, the Bush administration suggests, partially privatize Social Security, giving contributors the option of investing a portion of their tax money in selected bonds or mutual funds. Some have objected that the stock market is too volatile and may not have as great of returns as the current system. To which I say, “What returns?” Social Security bonds have not been invested productively but were spent creating the largest bureaucracy in world history. (Besides, stock indexes average 11 percent, far greater than even the nominal 2 percent return on Social Security bonds.) Others believe that personal accounts would bankrupt Social Security. But the

All American History Pivots on Events of Our Civil War

By Howard Chapman
Fort Wayne News-Sentinel
Published May 27, 2005

“We Americans celebrate several important anniversaries and commemorate a number of others, most recently the 60th anniversary of V-E Day. But a significant date went by last month with very little notice, in the press or otherwise. April 9 marked 140 years since Robert E. Lee, commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant, commander in chief of all United States forces, at Appomattox ...”

Howard L. Chapman is an attorney and Adjunct Fellow at the Discovery Institute.

To read the full text of these articles, visit Discovery’s homepage, at www.discovery.org, and utilize the search feature below the “Fellows’ Articles” section.

system is bankrupt already; why not try to salvage some value before it’s too late?

Twisting and turning the facts, the happy-go-lucky SSA continues to insist that Social Security is healthy. The assertions are false and futile; Social Security’s fall is inevitable and our inaction merely hastens its demise.

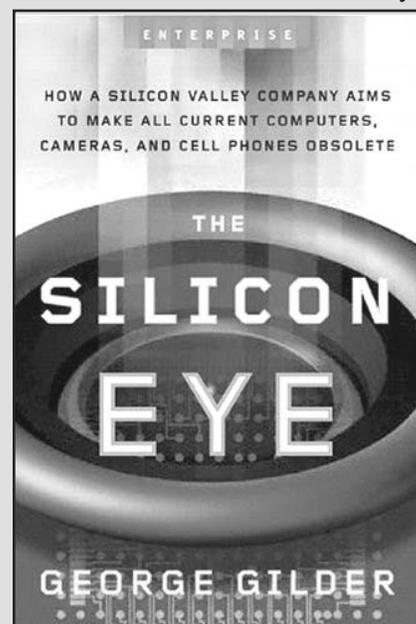
While we search for a solution, however, I urge you all to turn your eyes to the suffering of the downtrodden statistics. Information has rights, too. We must defend the facts against torture, against ill treatment and against the specter of factionalism. Datums of the world, unite!

Alex Binz of Burien is 15-year-old research intern at the Discovery Institute in Seattle.

Gilder “Eyes” New Trends

Thanks to the digital technology revolution, cameras are everywhere—PDAs, phones anywhere you can put an imaging chip and a lens. Battling to usurp this two-billion-dollar market is a Silicon Valley company, Foveon, whose technology not only produces a superior image but also may become the eye in artificially intelligent machines. Behind Foveon are two legendary figures who made the personal computer possible: Carver Mead of Caltech, one of the founding fathers of information technology, and Federico Faggin, inventor of the CPU—the chip that runs every computer.

George Gilder has covered the wizards of high tech for twenty-five years and has an insider’s knowledge of Silicon Valley and the unpredictable mix of genius, drive, and luck that can turn a startup into a Fortune 500 company. *The Silicon Eye* is a rollicking narrative of some of the smartest—and most colorful—people on earth and their race to transform an entire industry.



The Washington Times

A Run on the World Bank

By Richard W. Rahn
Published June 3, 2005

If you were a stockholder of a bank and its managers kept telling stockholders they would have to “write off” the loans they had made because the borrowers were in no position to repay them would you fire the management for incompetence? If you are a taxpayer, particularly an American taxpayer, you are a stockholder in such a bank—the World Bank—to be specific.

The World Bank was set up in 1944 (along with the International Monetary Fund) to assist with post-World War II reconstruction. Its mandate is to reduce world poverty and promote economic growth but, in fact, many of its activities have had precisely the opposite effect. It now has 184 member countries, but most of the \$400 billion it has dispensed in loans, grants and credits have been underwritten or guaranteed by the taxpayers in a few rich nations.

Over the decades, numerous independent studies and official commissions (including some internal evaluations by World Bank staff) have found numerous activities of the Bank have not been cost-effective and often are counterproductive.

At the moment, many of the world’s poor nations are demanding debt forgiveness by the World Bank and other aid institutions, and many political leaders in the rich countries have expressed sympathy with these demands.

Forgiving the debt may sound like the charitable and humane act, but the reality is not so simple. Some poor countries, like Bangladesh, have been very responsible in paying back their debts. If some countries have their debts forgiven, the message to the responsible countries is, “You are fools.”

Also, if the debts are forgiven, the high-salaried World Bank officials who made the bad loans do not pay the price but taxpayers, many who are in fact not

well off, even though their countries are viewed as rich. As the late, highly regarded development economist, Lord P.T. Bauer wrote, foreign aid is often “taking money from poor people in rich countries and giving it to rich people in poor countries.” (The United Nations, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and numerous public and private development organizations also keep demanding that taxpayers in rich nations pay more despite the overwhelming evidence it does not work and leads to corruption or worse.)

The basic problem is the World Bank is based on the false premise that the way to make poor countries rich is to give them money from rich countries. Instead, what has been created is the country equivalent of the “welfare queen,” whereby corruption is encouraged and productive labor and investment discouraged. It was only through the activities of the World Bank and other aid institutions that Third World dictators were able to get extremely rich while their people slipped into ever deeper poverty.

“The basic problem is the World Bank is based on the false premise that the way to make poor countries rich is to give them money from rich countries.”

Rich countries became rich not through foreign aid but by creating the proper institutions and incentives, including the rule of law, free markets and protection of private property.

Last year, the World Bank loaned \$11 billion to developing countries, with the argument that loans for projects were not available from normal commercial sources or the interest rates would have been too high.

If the projects made economic sense, and if the borrowers were considered reliable and honest, the global capital market would have provided all of the

money needed at competitive interest rates. It is easy for World Bank officials to make such loans, because it is not their money at risk. It is easy for Third World officials to take the money because they will spend much of it on themselves. When the loans go bad, others will be stuck with the liability.

This week, Paul Wolfowitz took over the World Bank presidency from James Wolfensohn. And the World Bank has just set a 60-year record of failure. If Mr. Wolfowitz decides he would like to break the mold and become a successful World Bank president, first he will need to get the bank out of the “lending” business.

Most of the lending has only propped up government monopolies and underwritten government inefficiencies and corruption. (Many objective observers, including several former high-ranking Bank officials, believe it should be abolished but, unfortunately, neither the Bush administration, nor Congress nor officials in other rich nations have the guts to do so.)

Without a responsible rule of law that protects private property rights, incentives and free markets, there can be no sustained development. The World Bank, to be at all successful, should limit itself to programs that support the responsible rule of law, such as underwriting “law and economics” programs, collecting and reporting statistics, and short-term humanitarian aid.

The Bank should make no loans, grants and provide no credits to countries that do not protect private property and free markets. Since the Bank is unlikely to do this on its own, the U.S. Congress should make it a condition of any future support.

Richard W. Rahn is a senior fellow of the Discovery Institute and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute.

The lesson of Gwangju reverberates today

By James J. Na

Published June 16, 2005

The recent news reports from Andijan, Uzbekistan, were troubling. The arrest and trial of local businessmen in the region sparked riots where there had been continuing civil unrest. The government of Islam Karimov, an ostensible U.S. ally in the war on terror, blamed “Islamist” incitement and launched a crackdown on the protests, killing many, possibly hundreds, of civilians.

The situation revealed a fundamental difficulty in reconciling the parallel policies of pursuing democratization while seeking allies against radical Islamists, particularly in nations where governments lack popular legitimacy.

But Andijan was not the first time a massacre exposed the potential inconsistency of advocating freedom (and criticizing repression) while seeking accommodation to achieve a pragmatic end. Before Andijan, and even before Tiananmen Square had become a household name for bloody repression, there was the Gwangju massacre.

Gwangju is a provincial capital located in the southwestern part of South Korea, an area that had been neglected by traditional Korean elites. What transpired in Gwangju 25 years ago is all but forgotten today in the United States, but has become the defining event in Korean-American relations for many Koreans.

In October of 1979, President Park Chung-Hee of South Korea was assassinated. Park came to power through a military coup, but was also the driving force behind Korea’s industrialization. By 1979, however, his political repression was extremely unpopular. His death brought much hope that there would be political liberalization.

Within weeks, however, a clique of South Korean generals launched a coup to seize control of the military. Having

succeeded, they existed uneasily with the civilian caretaker government. On May 17, 1980, the military junta, led by Gen. Chun Doo-Hwan, citing threats of communist subversion, declared martial law and arrested civilian political leaders in preparation for his “election” as president. Immediately, student protests broke out in Gwangju.

The military then deployed special-forces units to Gwangju and indiscriminately brutalized the residents for several days. The move backfired. Thousands joined the demonstrations. Some protesters broke into armories, seized weapons and drove the soldiers from the city.

Confronted with this crisis in South Korea, the supposedly human-rights-oriented Carter administration decided to give tacit consent for use of force out of concern for stability and possible North Korean adventurism. After the South Korean military withdrew a combat unit from the Korea-U.S. Combined Forces Command (headed by an American general), the administration even gave approval to the request to redeploy the unit—to Gwangju.

On May 27, the unit, along with the special forces, stormed Gwangju. The military forces killed some 200 “rebels.” Gwangju residents claimed the military carted away and disposed of up to 2,000 bodies.

“The lesson of Gwangju was thus simple: Our policies must match our rhetoric.”

Even as the Carter administration sent private messages of dismay at the brutal suppression, it accepted the event as a fait accompli in public, forever cementing the notion among many Koreans that the United States was complicit in the massacre. All the good will generated by billions in economic aid and lives lost in defending South Korea from communist aggression was lost in one

incident, in which America’s “nuanced” public position was viewed as hypocrisy—talking up human rights and democracy while condoning bloody repression.

The lesson of Gwangju was thus simple: Our policies must match our rhetoric.

President Bush seems to have understood this clearly. We toppled the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Baathist dictatorship in Iraq, then pushed for the subsequent, historic elections in both countries, demonstrating that the U.S. is on the right side of the struggle for liberty.

The continuing terrorist attacks notwithstanding, the danger for the American policy of spreading democracy is not in places like Afghanistan and Iraq, where the U.S. has pushed for pluralism and inclusion—even for the defeated (electorally or otherwise). There, the small bands of terrorists can only disrupt, but not destroy, what the U.S. set in motion.

Instead, the real long-term risk for the policy is found in nations like Egypt, Pakistan and now Uzbekistan, where the U.S. is seen to be collusive with dictatorial regimes in the name of fighting Islamic terrorists. Radical Islamists point to America’s support for these autocracies as a sign of duplicity—that America is only interested in domination and influence, not spreading liberty.

Although nuanced support for these regimes may suffice—or even be necessary—in dealing with short-term exigencies of war, the long-term consequence for such an association means lending credence to the claims of anti-American radicals with a corresponding, almost irretrievable, erosion of our own credibility.

James J. Na is a senior fellow in foreign policy at Discovery Institute and runs “Guns and Butter Blog” gunsandbutter.blogspot.com. He can be reached at jamesjna@hotmail.com.

Smoot Hawley, Chinese Style

By George Gilder
Published May 20, 2005

In his insightful new book, *The World Is Flat*, Tom Friedman of *The New York Times*, though generally disdainful of anything conservative, somehow brings himself to cite an exemplary Heritage Foundation study of U.S. companies with facilities in China. These firms are not an unhealthy set of “Benedict Arnolds,” as they were quaintly dubbed by Sen. John Kerry during the last presidential campaign. They are the heart of the U.S. economy and the spearhead of global economic growth.

As Friedman explains, these manufacturing outsourcers together generate 21 percent of the U.S. gross domestic product, 56 percent of U.S. exports and 60 percent of U.S. manufacturing employment. But even these figures understate the significance of these companies, because GDP is full of fluff--Berkshire Hathaway-type dross such as Coca-Cola and reinsurance flimflam and government dependents such as *The Washington Post* and AIG - while the leading investors in China are our technology leaders, such as Qualcomm, IBM and Applied Materials.

I know that on the market I have recently been slipping and sliding all over the track, but I have held fast to one proposition: China is vital to U.S. technology.

The U.S. economic relationship with China expresses the most fruitful synergy in the entire industrial world. Any systematic attack on trade with China would prove as devastating to U.S. companies, and thus to U.S. prosperity and power, as the Smoot-Hawley tariff was to the U.S. economy at the time of the Great Depression.

The greatest current danger to the U.S. position in the world, therefore, is not the surge of oil prices or the terrorist jihad or the alleged “imbalances” in trade and

investment. The direst peril is the current concerted bipartisan attack on the U.S. relationship with China.

Compounded of misinterpreted national security threats and delusional trade gap fears, the bipartisan consensus strangely imagines that China is somehow exploiting us. China is surely a powerful country with a mind of its own and a lot of leftover Communist generals with a

“How on earth can the U.S. benefit from compounding the sharply higher prices it now pays for energy by paying sharply higher prices as well for Chinese manufactures and technology?”

Taiwan fixation. If the U.S. is suffering from national security overreach, however, the answer is to improve our economy and our armaments, not to disrupt our most valuable economic relationship.

Nonetheless, with the administration and its congressional minions chiming in with Sen. Hillary Clinton and Sen. Charles Schumer, and with a chorus of Davosian corporate gulls led by Warren Buffett and even sometimes Bill Gates, the American establishment has adopted a near unanimous belief that the dollar is way too strong vis-à-vis the Chinese currency. In response, both Congress and the Administration urge a 27.5 percent tariff against Chinese goods designed to force a major revaluation of the Chinese yuan.

Nothing that al Qaeda could do to America is as destructive to U.S. interests as this attack on the heart of our economy. Of course, many foreign politicians seethe with envy at the supposed “imbalances” that give the U.S. nearly half of global market cap and some 30 percent of global GDP. Naturally they want to bring us down. But why on earth do Americans join them? How on earth can the U.S. benefit from compounding the sharply higher prices it now pays for energy by paying sharply higher prices as well for Chinese manufactures and technology?

When John Snow and George Bush agree with Hillary Clinton and Charles Schumer on anything, even such a woebegone whim as a weak dollar as a remedy for supposed excesses of foreign investment in America, you can be sure things are not going well. After all, the Clintons and their agents such as Rubin and Summers, and their billionaire Berkshire Hathaway buddy Buffet, never urged a drastically weaker dollar when they held the power to achieve it. But the Administration remains full of economists who believe that anyone who fails to accept the idea that the U.S. under Bush may be

Smoot Hawley, continued on next page

Hance Haney named new director of technology program

Hance Haney, a former aide to Senator Robert Packwood (R-OR) and legal counsel at the United States Telecom Association and Qwest Communications, will direct Discovery's push for reform of technology regulations in Washington, D.C. Mr. Haney holds a B.A. from Willamette University and a J.D. from Lewis and Clark Law School in Portland, Oregon.

Haney replaces John Drescher, who left Discovery at the end of May. Drescher is the newly named Executive Director for Technet Northwest, the tech sector alliance.

Discovery Institute welcomes two new writers to Seattle office

Former Collegiate Network (CN) student editors Jessica Cantelon and Charles Ganske started work at Discovery June 13. Ms. Cantelon edited the campus journal *Right Turn* at the University of Washington, where she earned a B.A. in English. Mr. Ganske edited the journals *Austin Review* and *Contumacy* at the University of Texas, where he earned a B.A. in History.

Changing the Climate of Transportation Planning and Execution

Discovery's Cascadia Center has promoted reform of the *way* transportation planning moves ahead as well as the *content* of change.

In summer, 2004, Cascadia pulled together a 39-member independent body—the Transportation Working Group, or TWG—comprising leaders from business, civic organizations, government, and the environmental community.

Independent in operation and chaired by Blue Ribbon Transportation Commission Chair Doug Beighle, the TWG met from September through December. TWG worked in cooperation with Washington State DOT, the Puget Sound Regional Council, Sound Transit, and the Regional Transportation Investment District, considering short-term and long-term issues of planning, funding, and accountability.

In January of 2005, TWG forwarded its report to the Washington State Legislature for urgently-needed transportation improvements. For the short term, recommendations focused on critical investments in transportation infrastructure and the funds needed to build them. For the long term, the focus was on institutional reform to provide improvements in planning, funding, and accountability that would gain the confidence of the citizens of Central Puget Sound.

The Legislature acted decisively on the short-term recommendations, passing a measure reflecting the heart of the TWG's proposals. A promising effort also got underway on the long-term proposals for institutional reform, but time ran out before the legislation could be completed.

Cascadia will continue to advance the cause of strong systemic reforms.

Smoot Hawley, continued from previous page

feliculously described as “Squanderville” is a supply-sider practicing voodoo.

Exacerbating the damage of this macro-trade policy, the Administration is pursuing almost equally perverse micro-trade policies. It is moving to ban the U.S. semiconductor capital equipment industry from selling state-of-the-art 90-nanometer gear to China on the grounds of national security. And it is conducting a Federal Trade Commission witch hunt against the dynamic random access memory (DRAM) industry, which is somehow deemed to be charging too much (gouging), or too little (dumping), or just right (colluding), or perhaps all at the same time, in one of the nuttiest notions of criminality since the Salem witch trials. The DRAM witch-hunt fails to notice that this is perhaps the world's most ferociously competitive industry, reducing its price per bit by some 50 percent per year.

The DRAM follies merely make the U.S. government look silly. But the

national security effort is serious. It is based on the assumption that technology is something owned by the U.S. and stolen by foreigners or leaked to them rather than created in tandem on both sides of the Pacific.

Since Asia commands roughly ten times more engineering talent than the U.S. does, and since China alone now graduates more English-speaking engineers every year than the U.S., and since the U.S. neither adequately trains Americans in math and science nor now permits the needed levels of immigration of foreign talent, leading-edge technology skills are no longer anywhere near a U.S. monopoly. Because China makes up roughly half the incremental market for semiconductor wafer fabrication equipment, moreover, the campaign to deny to China state-of-the-art microchips will reliably drive one of our most valuable and coveted industries off shore. So much for national security.

Seeing these policies make their way through the political process, the markets

have responded with an exuberantly rational crash of technology stocks. Should these devastating policies hold, they will heavily punish the U.S. technology sector and jeopardize our continued world leadership in the field already suffering from our pathetic inability to deploy real broadband.

These policies are based on the silly socialist view, masked as a “free market” in currencies, that trade should be equilibrated at national borders through gyrations of the value of money. But in a global economy, with capital moving at the speed of light down fiber-optic lines rather than across perilous seas on clipper ships, nothing is less natural than a trade balance. It can only be achieved by constant destructive manipulation of currencies, which are finally determined after all by governmentally run and appointed central bankers.

George Gilder is a Senior Fellow of Discovery Institute and Chairman of the Gilder Technology Report.

Technology Can Help Region Avert Traffic Gridlock

By Bruce Agnew
Published February 23, 2005

Our common regional arteries are also our common regional nightmare. A multiple-car accident on Interstate 5 backs up traffic in all directions on a rainy afternoon at rush hour, so... important meeting dates are canceled or delayed, kids are left at day care, truckers stew in their cabs over penalties for late deliveries. How to fix it?

Expand road capacity at key choke points? Overdue, but expensive and politically challenging. Add more transit and HOV lanes? Also important, but not well-suited to the increasingly suburb-to-suburb, errand-running environment we live in.

These are two reasons why technology is emerging as a short- and long-term answer to dealing with transportation gridlock.

Our region—a worldwide leader in many technology fields—would seem to be ideal for the aggressive and entrepreneurial application of technology to transportation. We have trouble agreeing on regional transportation-investment priorities, but it should be much simpler to agree on ways that technology can help solve our transportation problems.

We are beginning to get it. The Washington State Department of Transportation (DOT) and King County, along with Seattle and other cities' transportation departments, were early leaders in using sensors and signals to manage traffic on our freeway network. Radio traffic reports and travel times rely on the video cameras and under-road car-counting sensors the state transportation department has installed. These sensors enable a "traffic gauge" wireless device to show us which route to take home.

Buses and cars are moving faster on some routes because of computerized traffic signals; some can distinguish between cars and buses, giving buses priority through an intersection. Sound Transit has pioneered a new "smart card" transit pass that allows a seamless transfer between buses and trains. State DOT traffic-management centers dispatch towing and law-enforcement resources to clear roads quickly after accidents.

But much more can be done. Yes, we still need to add lanes, but traffic-operations management is underfunded compared with the payoffs it can yield. The active management of traffic flows, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, should be integral to building and expanding road capacity. We must manage the traffic to avert gridlock.

"Do we have to choose between technology and expansion of road and transit capacity? No, because they support each other."

Technology can provide up-to-date information on traffic, available parking and transit status—delivered constantly to you in your car or at your bus stop through a wireless handheld device that doubles as a cellphone or bus pass. This would let people, when they gather with friends in the evening, stay inside until just before the bus arrives, rather than standing at an unprotected bus stop.

This kind of information requires more variable-message signs, more highway advisory radio reports, and transmitting information safely to drivers and transit riders in ways that inform but do not distract.

Private companies, including Microsoft, along with the auto industry

and government agencies are hard at work, but more urgency is needed. That's because there is insufficient understanding—and thus insufficient encouragement and investment—from public and private institutions. The state's 2003 gas-tax increase is making a significant dent in the construction backlog, but it does not sufficiently fund transportation technology.

One practical, achievable vision is installing sensor systems on roads and railways and in vehicles to let travelers know what's ahead all the time, such as a backup on a freeway or a train approaching a grade crossing. Drivers of heavy trucks on steep curves (think I-90/I-5 interchange) could be warned when their truck is going too fast and is in danger of tipping over, allowing corrective action before a disaster.

Another exciting new technology in development, variable cruise control, will brake your car if you are too close to the vehicle in front of you; it also will warn you with a beep about nearby cars if you have a tendency (like my teenage daughter) to change lanes first and ask questions later. Imagine the opportunities to calm the beast behind road rage.

Do we have to choose between technology and expansion of road and transit capacity? No, because they support each other.

What about technology over the longer term? Improved fuel efficiency and alternative fuels are eroding the effectiveness of the gas tax for funding our highway systems. We can begin to supplement—and eventually replace—the gas tax by using another technology-based congestion beater: time- and place-

Technology, continued on next page

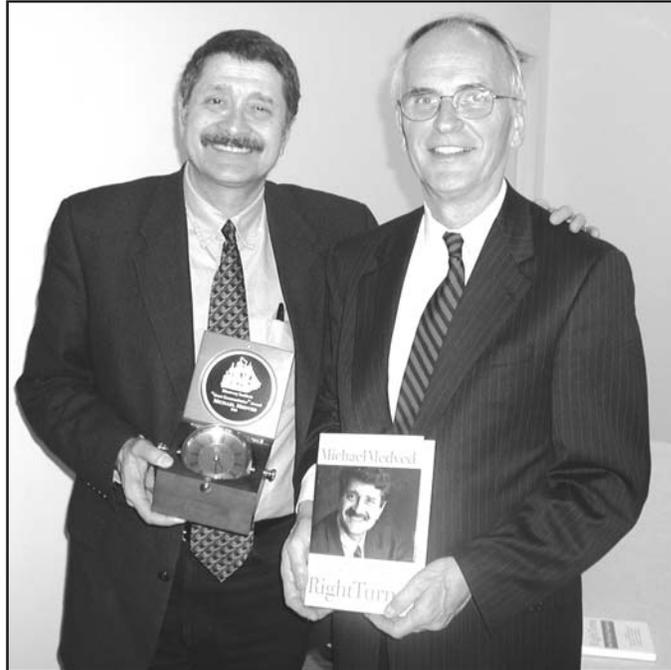
DISCOVERY AUDIENCE CHARMED BY MEDVED

Culture and Politics Critic Received “Great Communicator” Award

Michael Medved speaks each day to over two million people on 140 radio stations nationwide, but he spoke directly and in person to a fortunate lecture audience of Discovery Institute members and friends June 16 in Seattle.

The expert on “Politics and Culture” has just released his autobiography, *Right Turns, Unconventional Lessons from a Controversial Life*, which really can be termed an intellectual autobiography, combined with a self-improvement manual for the politically challenged. In 35 “lessons” on personal and public life, Medved has described how a 21st century citizen can learn from Medved’s own tortuous path from 60s radicalism to the middle-class radicalism of the born-again square.

For Medved, the confessed serial arguer, talk radio is a medium that seems specially made for his talents



Medved poses with Discovery president Bruce Chapman

and temperament. A man in the Discovery audience complained that it is hard to get onto his program as a caller, but Medved reposted, “Only if you agree with me!”

On issue after issue, Medved regularly succinctly dismembers the illusions of the left. It is not as hard

as it looks (or sounds), he says, because there is a theme to what distinguishes seemingly varied issues, from foreign policy, to embryonic stem cell research, to gun control to abortion.

What is the theme?

The Discovery folk sat in dumb wonder.

“Materialism!” Medved exclaimed. And, of course, he is right. If the problem with crime is just the existence of the gun, then take it away, and the problem should be solved; but it is not. The same with an unwanted pregnancy, where readily available abortion was supposed to reduce out of wedlock births, but instead ushered in a five fold increase

in them.

But if the problem with our culture is deeper; if it is closer to the spirit than to mere matter, well, that is where conservatives find their commonality. They believe in human nature and they believe in the lessons that our common past teach us. Orthodox Jew, like Medved, or orthodox Catholic or evangelical, life’s didactic occasions are most likely to assume a “theo-con” sensibility, not just “neo-con”.

Discovery Institute, invoking the shade of Ronald Reagan, awarded Medved its first “Great Communicator” Award for his championing of common sense raised to philosophical insight. Medved in turn threw a generous bouquet to Discovery. “The reason the work of this great institute is so important,” he said, “is that it is connected to the concept of worldview.”

It is good to be reminded.

Technology, *continued from previous page*

adjusted metering of road usage by the mile, throughout the state.

The Internal Revenue Service allows a 40-cents-per-mile reimbursement for the business use of your car. A charge of about 8 cents per mile for vehicles traveling in Puget Sound would fund the region’s highway program, but a proper system would vary the charge by location and time of day. With the cost of the Alaskan Way Viaduct, Highway 520 bridge, Interstate 405 and transit projects approaching \$30 billion, we have to be more creative.

The Puget Sound Regional Council will soon test technology that can track the miles motorists have driven and bill them

at peak- and non-peak-hour rates.

The key to getting the best out of technology for addressing our transportation challenges is for transportation leaders to articulate a vision of the possibilities for our region — one of the most wired, technologically savvy areas of our nation.

Bruce Agnew is the policy director of the Cascadia Center for Transportation and Regional Development of Discovery Institute in Seattle. The “Breaking Gridlock with Technology” conference, co-hosted by the Cascadia Center and Microsoft, will be held Thursday and Friday at the Microsoft campus in Redmond (www.cascadiaproject.org, or 206-292-0401, ext. 153).

Privileged Planet Evades Censors, Premieres at Smithsonian

It started as an effort to showcase a film on cosmology starring two Discovery fellows, Jay Richards, philosopher, and Guillermo Gonzalez, astronomer, and the ideas of their book, *The Privileged Planet*. (Regnery Press, 2004). It was also seen as a way to introduce Discovery Institute more completely to Washington, DC where we now have a full time, staffed office of four, plus three senior fellows attached to the operation. Several locations were scouted for the film screening and reception, but we wound up with an elegant event scheduled for the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History on June 23.

The staff of the Smithsonian had required that the film be vetted and approved, which it was. Then they required that we make a "donation" of \$16,000 and that the Smithsonian and its director be listed prominently on the invitations as "co-sponsors." Museum officials had to approve the text and appearance of the invitations, too.

We accepted all the terms and followed the standard procedures carefully. It was especially gratifying when we were told that the Associate Director for Research and Collections had personally screened the film and approved it on grounds of content suitability. We scheduled a gala reception in the Hall of Gems to conclude a pleasant, decorous evening. That was to be that.

But, thankfully, one can always count on the intolerant critics of Discovery's Center for Science and Culture to mount pressure campaigns that attempt to throttle any new idea and any dissent from an old one—and to become so extreme that their tactics backfire. In this case, our modest event, once publicized, became the target of an organized email drive to persuade the Smithsonian hierarchy to cancel. Magazine and newspaper articles appeared. People who can barely spell the phrase "intelligent design"—and others who thought that research on the topic would only blunt the

edge of their wrath—announced strong, if erroneous, opinions about it.

A week before the planned event, a "Google" of "Discovery Institute", "Privileged Planet" and "Smithsonian" already yielded over 7,000 pages of Internet references, according to "Post-Darwinist" blogger, Denyse O'Leary. There were fairly straightforward stories in science journals. And, by happy chance, a laudatory **book** review of *The Privileged Planet* arrived from *The Observatory* of the Royal Astronomical Society at the same time the august editors of *The Washington Post* were dismissing the **film** as not based on "science."

Wrote David Hughes, an astrophysicist at the University of Sheffield, and a vice president of the Royal Society, *The Privileged Planet* is "pacey, informative, thought provoking, contentious, well referenced, and extremely hard to put down." Concludes Dr. Hughes, "Maybe it really is RIP for the Copernican Principle. Read this book. You will enjoy it."

Thus do attempts to deceive get punctured.

Here's a lesson for groups like the National Center for Science Education (NCSE, the Darwin-only lobby) and for science affiliations like the American

"What works for you in faculty hiring and promotion struggles, and in back door moves to prevent unsanctioned scientists from publishing in peer-reviewed journals, looks very different in the light of public scrutiny."

Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) that pass poorly considered resolutions: In a free society, attempts at censorship are more likely to wind up promoting the work you seek to anathematize than to stifle it. What works for you in faculty hiring and promotion struggles, and in back door moves to prevent unsanctioned scientists from publishing in peer-reviewed journals, looks very different in the light of public scrutiny.

People began to write or call to tell us of Smithsonian events that were highly ideological and far more engaged with philosophical speculation than is *The Privileged Planet*. There have been grumblings of "intolerance" and "viewpoint discrimination."

We have made a number of new friends from this incident. A Host Committee came together quickly. The response to our event invitation filled up our allotted spaces fast. More academics are becoming willing to sign our list of scientists who dissent from Darwin (it is over 400 now). And several serious journalists are more curious now to know the actual science behind books like *The Privileged Planet* and the growing production of intelligent design research.

But the Director of the Museum of Natural History, Dr. Cristian Samper, did not want to talk to us after the anti-Discovery email and phone campaign. Instead, we ourselves received a short email from a Museum staff member stating that "further review" had concluded that *The Privileged Planet* was "not consistent" with the Smithsonian's science mission. The premiere would be allowed to go forward, since we had a contract for it (using the form provided by the Smithsonian, incidentally) and had followed all the Smithsonian's procedures. But the Institution—that had insisted on being listed as a "co-sponsor"—now would not allow us to list it as a co-sponsor. Thus did the Museum manage in a petty public gesture to take away a gift we had not requested in the first place.

Strangely, the museum told the press that it would return our previously required \$16,000 "donation." Later, without fanfare or public announcement, the Museum informed us that we once again would be required to make a "donation," but only for \$5000.

Somehow we are reminded of the story of Brer Rabbit and the Briar Patch.



Our Progressive Tradition Demands Election Reform

By Scott McCallum

Published April 9, 2005

Wisconsin, long thought of as the state with a Progressive tradition of reforms, has seriously slipped when it comes to election reform.

Our democracy is built upon faith that a vote has value and that it not be negated through cheating. When that faith is shaken, we must face the issue openly and clean up the system.

Let us not forget our own historical evolution in democracy and the voting rights we have today. It took time for democracy to root itself in this country, and to evolve. There were hard-fought battles along the way.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the expansion of voting rights brought a new focus of public policy debate and reform. The issue had become: Whose votes would actually count?

The Populist movement had its first convention in 1892. They called for the establishment of the initiative, the referendum and the direct election of senators by voters rather than by state legislatures.

Populists gave way to the Progressives, who brought greater organization and leadership to the reform movement. The Progressive Party moved to eliminate the caucus system of candidate selection and to replace it with direct primary voting by the public.

One of the nationally recognized leaders of the Progressives came out of Wisconsin—Robert La Follette, who was elected Wisconsin's governor and then one of its U.S. senators. Thus, it is with great irony that today the state of Wisconsin has documented election fraud in one of the closest presidential margins in the country.

A series of investigative articles in this newspaper helped expose and explain the vulnerabilities of Wisconsin's ballot process in Milwaukee.

Headlines were clear, "Over 1,200 voters' addresses found invalid." The newspaper also found that "at least 186 people voted from invalid addresses that officials had been warned about before the election." It also

reported that "perhaps as many as 7,000 more votes were cast citywide than the number of people recorded as voting."

But the problem is not limited to Milwaukee. Several people have been indicted in Racine County in illegal voter registration scams. In one, a group called Project Vote provided an incentive for falsification by paying people for each person they registered. In another, an illegal alien was hired and registered other illegal aliens.

In counties throughout the state, people were certified by local clerks as "deputy registrars" to register new voters as part of a massive statewide voter drive. On the surface, this may appear to be an exercise in democracy.

However, if a new voter is registered by a deputy registrar, their "identification" is presumed on election day. The result was that some people could not be asked for identification when they came to the polls, even though it was known in advance that some of these deputy registrars were felons or illegal aliens or were paid for each person they registered.

"Our democracy is built upon faith that a vote has value and that it not be negated through cheating. When that faith is shaken, we must face the issue openly and clean up the system."

Many people went to the polls in 2004 in Wisconsin expecting to be able to vote, only to find that their names already had been crossed off.

We'll never know why, because it is illegal to ask for identification at the polls in the Dairy State.

We must tighten the present laws that exist. Those that break the law must be prosecuted to the fullest extent.

Those who oppose reform argue that these improved laws will disenfranchise voters. This is disingenuous. On the contrary, failure to enact meaningful reform to identify and properly enfranchise those who are truly eligible to vote diminishes the value of an honest vote.

The key to keeping the vote honest in the 21st century is found in that modern

innovation, the photo identification card. Without a requirement for use of a photo ID in voting, our ballot process is at the mercy of those who would abuse our system for their own ends.

Opponents argue that voter identification depresses voter turnout. Yet in Virginia, a state that uses voter photo identification, there was a record voter turnout in 2004. The same can be said for Florida's Miami-Dade County, which also now uses voter photo identification.

An argument is also advanced that it is too difficult for people to obtain photo identification. However, this has not been a problem in less developed countries such as Iraq which, in its recent elections, had a voter turnout that approached that of the recent U.S. presidential election (58 percent and 60 percent, respectively).

We require photo identification to drive, to attend school, to rent a video, to cash a check, to get a library card. It is not too much to require the same to vote.

Other reform steps should be enacted to create clean voter lists, guarantee valid voter addresses, prevent felons from voting and establish tougher penalties for buying votes.

It is time to continue the progressive tradition. For those states too obstinate to guarantee fraud-free elections, the U.S. Congress must get involved, just as it did with the Voting Rights Act and, more recently, the Help America Voter Act.

We cannot go through another election with major voting discrepancies. If states are unwilling to reform, federal investigative action must be forthcoming. To those who would deny it, we need only point out the need for such federal help in the 1960s in the American South.

There is no shame in needing to continue such reforms—but there is dishonor and danger in pretending that the need does not exist.

Former Wisconsin Gov. Scott McCallum is a senior fellow with the Discovery Institute in Seattle and president and chief executive officer of Aidmatrix in Dallas. He resides in Wisconsin.

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