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Culture Wars

Lenin's Willing Executioners



Jews and Bolshevism

"Granddad, Who Broke This Place?"

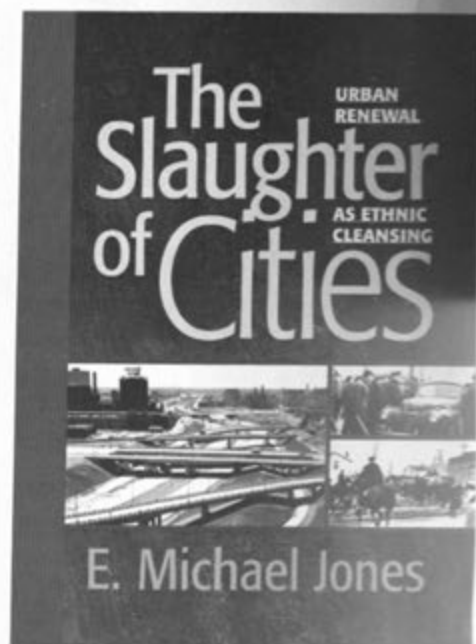
By now, it should be obvious that the government-sponsored initiative to renew this country's large cities which began in the 1930s and continued largely unabated in the East and Midwest through the 1960s and beyond has been a profound and devastating failure. More homes were destroyed than were ever built; once-great metropolises like Detroit lay in ruins; once-thriving neighborhoods were overwhelmed with drugs and crime; buildings that were built to last centuries fell to the wrecking ball mere decades after they were built; an entire generation of young people, both those who came to the cities and those who were driven from the cities into the suburbs, have grown up rootless, in a Hobbesian state in which man's life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."

The traditional explanation, the one which no one believes anymore, is that all this was done to eliminate "blight." A more recent explanation, only slightly less implausible, is that it all came about because of faulty design, as if a nation of 260 million people, one which had already produced the Columbian Exhibition of 1893, couldn't come up with anything more inspiring than the average strip mall. The real story, it turns out, is different from both previous explanations. What began as the World War II intelligence community's attempt to solve America's "nationalities problem" and provide workers for the nation's war industries degenerated by the early post-war period into full-blown ethnic cleansing.

E. Michael Jones has followed the advice of Christopher Wrenn. Looking around, he saw monuments, but monuments to the folly and malice of social engineering and a government that had declared war on large segments of its own people. In his meticulously documented book, he proves that urban renewal had more to do with ethnicity than it ever had to do with design or hygiene or blight. Urban renewal was the last gasp attempt of the WASP ruling class to take control of a country that was slipping out of its grasp for demographic reasons. The largely Catholic ethnics were to be driven out of their neighborhoods into the suburbs, where they were to be "Americanized" according to WASP principles. The neighborhoods they left behind were to be turned over to the sharecroppers from the South or turned into futuristic Bauhaus enclaves for the new government elites. Using political tactics like eminent domain and "integration," the planners made sure that the ethnic neighborhood got transformed into something more congenial to their dreams of social engineering than the actual communities of people they saw as a threat to their control.

The Slaughter of Cities proposes a new take on familiar territory, e.g., to give just one example, the civil rights movement. Does anyone, for example, really know why Martin Luther King abandoned his southern strategy and came to Chicago during the summer of 1966? Does anyone really know who brought him there? Does anyone know who told him which ethnic neighborhoods he would march through? Hint: it was a religious denomination usually associated with Philadelphia that had been at work trying to "integrate" Chicago's neighborhoods since 1951.

Jones concentrates on four cities - Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago - in a book whose conclusions will be shocking and controversial. The destruction of the ethnic neighborhoods that made up the human, residential heart of these cities was not an unfortunate by-product of a well-intentioned plan that somehow went awry; it was part of the plan itself.



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LETTERS

EXTERNAL FATHER

David P. Lang, in "Trousers, Sacramentality, and Gender" (*Culture Wars*, June 2002, p. 12), writes about "sky and earth" from pagan religions as representing male and female, but actually, we have the same mystery in Christianity. God the Father is "external" to the created world (so we can't see Him) because He is not part of the creation which is dependent on Him, yet he stimulates the birth of human beings within nature by his word of creation and, spiritually, through the Word in baptism. God chose nature whom he made His "wife" (a perpetual marriage as evidenced by the Ascension and Assumption). Nature is His "mate" to create humans (even if the archaeologists are always looking for a mate for Yahweh). So it is right for us to call him Father. He remains invisible to us, just as a father is invisible to his child in the womb until the time is ripe and the child is born. In the same way, we will exit this world to view our Heavenly Father at the "birth" to a new life, which is the resurrection, already prefigured in this world by our baptism to grace, as Jesus explained to Nicodemus.

V Rev Myron Effing, C.J.D.
Vladivostok, Russia
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PROPER ROLE

In his interesting article in the June 2002 issue ("Culture of Death-watch: Trousers, Sacramentality, and Gender"), David P. Lang danced around the real reason women cannot be priests, but he did not actually say why that is so. He even cites pertinent verses in *1*

Timothy (2:11-12), but then misses the point. Mr. Lang and your readers could benefit from reading *The Scandal of Gender* (available from Regina Orthodox Press, P.O. Box 5288, Salisbury, MA 01952) in which Patrick Mitchell concisely explicates the teaching of the Church Fathers on the proper role of men and women in the Church. Quite simply, women cannot be priests because they cannot exercise authority over men (1 Timothy 2:12), which as Mr. Mitchell points out is "the most obvious implication of the doctrine of the headship of the man." Instead of stressing the issue of "authority" when citing *1 Timothy*, Mr. Lang emphasizes "forb[idding] women to preach in the assembly" and the "offensive[ness of...a woman project[ing] a masculine persona." (He does not mention "authority" until the very end of the article.) Mr. Lang essentially makes the recently developed "iconic" argument against women priests, which claims that only a man can be a priest because the priest is an iconic representation of Christ, who was a man. Of course that keeps women out of the priesthood, but lets them do anything else that they want. On the other hand, the prohibition on exercising authority over men, as taught by the Church Fathers, restricts or eliminates many other roles for women, both in and outside the Church.

Andrew G. Van Sant
Annapolis, Maryland

PAINFULLY PRISY

Thanks for David P. Lang's excellent treatment of the two human sexes (*CW*, June 2002), the central aspect of humanity deserving con-

tinual reemphasis in its myriad facets. As John Jay Chapman once put it, "If an inhabitant of another planet should visit earth, he would receive, on the whole, a truer notion of human life by attending the Italian opera than he would by reading Emerson's volumes. He would learn from the Italian opera that there are two sexes, and this, after all, is probably the fact with which the education of such a stranger ought to begin." (One can add, ironically, that such a stranger's education on the sexes might also begin with the Holy Bible.)

However, I wonder why Mr. Lang chose to start his essay using the faddish, sterile "gender" and not the more accurate "sex." In my 1962 Webster's the term "gender" receives 1.5 inches of type as "grammar," while only two words go to Mr. Lang's secondary meaning: "[colloq.] sex." Much the same for my 1994 Merriam-Webster.

In contrast, in both dictionaries "sex" involved "reproduction," and it is defined essentially as "males or females (esp. men or women)." Since I am not aware that Jesus or St. Paul preferred using "gender" to "sex," why have we become so painfully prissy? Is this the homage post-modern males now consider appropriate to pay to feminism? If so, the "small measure" Mr. Lang seeks and Adam forgot may be to "just say no."

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger, California

INSIGHTFUL ARTICLE

I would like to thank David P. Lang for his insightful article, "Trousers, Sacramentality, and Gender." Before his death Saint Padre Pio had a real campaign to educate

about modesty. He would actually send trousered women home to dress appropriately for their gender and no immodest dress was tolerated. In assembling a small pamphlet of what various saints said on the subject, I called Padre Pio's monastery in Italy to verify what I had read, and it was confirmed by Rev. J. P. Martin that Padre Pio (in Heaven) would appreciate any help to promote the issue of modesty. Blessed Jacinta Marto, one of the three children to whom the Blessed Mother appeared at Fatima said that the Blessed Mother told her, "Fashions will much offend our Lord. People who serve God should not follow fashions. The Church has no fashions. Our Lord is always the same." Sister Lucia, also one of the three children at Fatima, wrote that we should form leagues to educate about modesty. I have started one. If any reader would like a copy of our leaflet to leave at church or pass around (feel free to copy it), please write to me:

Marilyn Krepf, The League for Modesty
904 Rose Way
Naples, FL 34104-4434

It will help save souls. St. John Chrysostom said about the immodest, "you carry your snare everywhere . . . when you have made another sin in his heart, how can you be innocent? . . . You do it out of foolish naivete." To be a member of the League for Modesty say three Hail Marys a week for the increase of an awareness of this issue.

In Siberia, where I lived for almost a year, my German friend Renata, the wife of my husband's colleague, and I always took a walk in the late morning. Our German husbands were working there as part of the "thank-you" the German Government was giving to Russia

for the return of East Germany. They were building a furniture factory, where some of the Russian soldiers, returning from East Germany could work. Renata always wore leggings and a ski parka. The Russian women wear leggings under their longish skirts for warmth, so they thought she forgot something. We were stared at and giggled at constantly.

In Saudi Arabia, where I lived for two years, they are truly convinced the devil orchestrates America by the way our women dress. To missionize there, were one able (there are those trying), one would have to get over the stumbling block of our fashions. At Fatima, the Blessed Mother told the children "More people go to Hell for sins of the flesh than for any other reason."

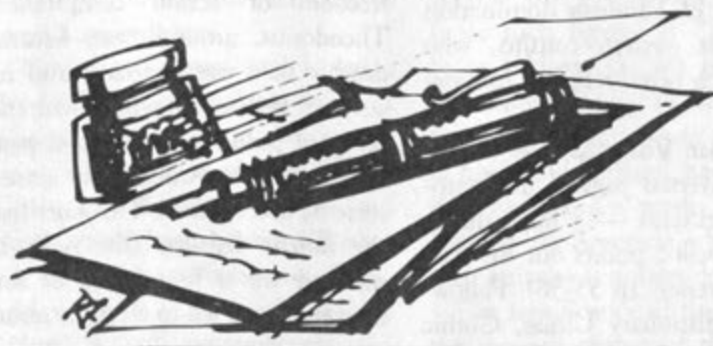
Marilyn Krepf
Naples, Florida

FLAWED ARTICLE

I am astounded that you would print anything as flawed as the article "Trousers, Sacramentality, and Gender." It would take about two hours to reply to the article, and I leave that to someone with more time than I have now. Yes, I am a woman. No, I do not wear trousers because it's not modest for someone overweight as I am, and I do not think it is proper for an older woman unless she is thin.

One point I would like to make. What is more appropriate attire at Mass — a woman whose head is uncovered and who wears slacks, or a man who wears shorts and tank top. In California that is common attire for men of all ages. But this is a trivial point compared with some of his other statements.

Culture Wars welcomes letters to the editor. Preference will be given to letters which deal with topics discussed in the magazine. Letters should ideally be limited to one single-spaced page, but we know how difficult it is to follow ideals in this world. Letters can be sent by mail to *Culture Wars*, P.O. Box 1401, South Bend, IN 46624; by fax to 219-289-1461; or by electronic mail to Jones@culturewars.com.



Also, the "Bullets" paragraph starting with "Booty Call" is misleading. There were problems at a dance the year before. There is a popular dance (which name escapes me) where the girls toss up their skirts and show their rears. The Vice Principal had a ban on thong underwear, fearing there would be even more problems this time, inasmuch as thong underwear is now somewhat popular.

Reader
No Address

A HAPPY FALL

In the May 2002 *Culture Wars* article "Benedict's Rule, the Rise of Ethnicity, and the Fall of Rome," E. Michael Jones has shed light on the shining period of Western European creativity around the end of the Roman Empire. In this note, I'll carry that encouraging exercise further, with the story of the Visigoths, which — unlike Theodoric and Boethius — has a happy ending.

The Gothic dynasty founded in 418 did not exactly "last uninterrupted until Justinian tried to take it back in earnest" (in the Italian wars). There were two dynasties. That of the Visigoths lasted long past Justinian, until 711 in Spain. Boethius' Theodoric was of another group, the Ostrogoths, separated by a century of Hunnish domination from their western cousins, who had a much better religious foundation.

The Arian Visigoths were imperfectly converted pagans, not retrograde Christians — a huge difference, as Belloc points out in "The Great Heresies" (p 55-56). Following the missionary Ulfilas, Gothic Christians suffered a short, heavy

persecution just before Gothia north of the Black Sea was overrun by Huns, driving the tribes that later became the Visigoths across the Roman border. Saint Sabas (feast day April 12) and Saint Nicetas (feast day September 15) were martyred in separate incidents; both are honored in the Roman Calendar (John J. Delaney, "Dictionary of Saints"). Visigothic Christianity was genuine.

No saints appear in the corresponding period of Ostrogothic history. The unhappy Ostrogoths had their century and disappeared; the heritage of the Visigoths is still with us.

In the late fourth century, a time of military and cultural crisis, the religious ferment was critical. It was a time of very great spiritual peril. Christianity left the narrow, bright catacombs and joined the Emperor's councils. These cynical Emperors had long dealt with the "real world" of economics and power — the immense weight of heartlessness. Acceptance could chill the heart of the new religion. (Think of the orders of teaching nuns, when America's irenic approval of Kennedy and Vatican II seemed to crown their labors with success. With nothing to do and time on their hands, they plunged quickly into the worst perversions.)

Roman emperors were baptized on their deathbeds, to leave them freedom of action until then. Theodosius, around 380, became deathly sick, was baptized, and recovered! He stood by his vows, and accepted public rejection and penance from Saint Ambrose for a massacre he had ordered. This horrified the Roman legalists (the right to massacre was a foundation of Roman rule) and led to a pagan resurgence.

A decade before, the Huns, without really breathing hard, had dropped-kicked the powerful Gothic nation into the Empire, and these defeated Goths, two years later, destroyed the Emperor Valens and his army. It didn't take a genius to deduce what would happen when the Huns arrived. Theodosius took the long view, knowing the Goths were Christians, and with a strong ethic of personal loyalty. He wore the Goths down with a war of attrition, then preserved them *as a nation* at maximum strength, hoping they'd be at Rome's side when the bad times came. This gamble worked — twice.

It's amusing to read "The Private Orations of Themistus" (Robert J. Penella, trans.) on the Goths. Themistus was Theodosius' PR man, and he went on about how the Goths, "captured by our Emperor's virtue," were becoming peaceful farmers. A silly idea, with the Huns coming, but people wanted to hear it. It's like President Bush's new "Department of Homeland Security." There is no such thing as security, but Americans want to be told that there is.

Before the Huns came the Roman pagans. They took over the Western Empire and trapped the Catholic Theodosius at Aquileia. In a manner reminiscent of the Afghans against atheistic Communism, Theodosius' Goths fought furiously, suffering fifty percent casualties, and Theodosius survived the first day. The next morning, a dreadful wind blew Roman Paganism into oblivion. (This is historical fact, very annoying to secular military historians.)

Theodosius soon died, and the second, worse wave of Hell's assault came not long after. God was to be put in His place. After Stilicho was

taken from sanctuary and killed, Olympius, the leader of the "Christian" (!) party, took the reins (the emperor Honorius was a nonentity, possibly mildly retarded). He ordered a huge massacre of barbarian women and children — and offered no repentance afterward.

This is where it gets interesting. Think of Palestine, Serbia, Ireland — wherever such a horror gets the genocidal cycle of vengeance started — you can depend on undying hatred. Here, it never happened. Within years, Goths and Romans were rubbing shoulders again, pretty much amicably. And a good thing too (remember the Huns?).

What happened was that Alaric, the Christian King of the Goths, conquered Rome and destroyed civilization — and showed mercy and offered sanctuary in churches to his enemies. This wasn't Troy or Carthage. This was a new kind of apocalypse. The law didn't put God in His place. God ruled! There was even a midnight religious procession.

To see the towering personal achievement of Alaric, contrast him with Hitler. Hitler, like Olympius, set himself beyond good and evil, with ruthless power calculations. His "thousand year reich" lasted twelve years. Alaric's eerie mercy started a world that did last a thousand years — for sanctuary, which had never been effective before the fall of Rome, was a foundation of the medieval world.

Romans awoke, poorer but alive. Nothing could put Humpty Dumpty together again. Those Goths, like Athaulf, who though in terms of empire, met tragic ends. The wiser line of kings starting from Theodoric the Visigoth, Alaric's son-in-law, went for kingship of Toulouse and Spain. The

spirit of the times is expressed by the siege of Arles, a repeated almost comic affair, which nearly ended in disaster when a Roman general got serious about wiping out the barbarians. The local Roman people quickly made it clear that they liked their Visigoths — they filled churches, praying for Gothic victory! — and the Roman effort fizzled.

This weird amity between barbarians and Romans is celebrated in art. I remember one painting, showing a couple of huge Goths lounging in a beautiful garden in Italy, with a Roman senator and his wife and daughters hastening to serve them food and drink. It was supposed to be some dreadful humiliation, but I don't think they were really very put out. Especially the daughters.

In 451, when the Huns finally came, the Visigoths were at the peak of their strength. They were persuaded by the great Roman diplomat Avitus, and took the center, beside Romans, Franks, and others. "Twice we in the Christian European West have barely escaped final destruction at [Eastern] hands," says Belloc (p 57); "once when we defeated the vast Asiatic army of Attila near Chalons in France. . . (not before he had committed horrible outrage and left ruin behind him everywhere), and again in the thirteenth century, 800 years later." The "again" was Genghis Khan, from whom Russia has not recovered in seven hundred years.

This was Chalons, and it was a draw. The Gothic king died. If Theodosius had done the "smart" thing and dispersed the Goths, Chalons would have been lost, and there would have been no France, no Germany, probably no Spain, and no Italy. The significance of "Hun" is still remembered, cor-

rectly, fifteen centuries later. When Attila destroyed a city, the next generation, according to Gibbon, had difficulty even locating where it had been.

The story doesn't end there. The Arian Visigoths were driven from Toulouse by the Catholic Clovis, but continued to rule Spain. In the late sixth century, King Leovigild's son, Saint Hermenegild (feast day April 13), was converted to Catholicism by his wife, the Frankish princess Indegundis (what a beautiful name - I hope she's a saint too). Refusing to return to Arianism, he was martyred in 585 by Leovigild, who was apparently heartbroken afterward: within four years, the entire country accepted Catholicism.

There is a strong resemblance (including doctrines) between Arianism and Islam. I followed attentively the accused Christians held by the Taliban, but they were all, including Afghans, released by the tribesmen of Ghazni. It seems that the time has not yet come for the Saint Hermenegild of Islam. Spanish speakers remember this name. My daughter's primary school in Tijuana was "Escuela Hermenegildo Galeana".

Catholic Visigothic Spain flourished for a century. Saint Isidore of Seville (April 4), a Doctor of the Church, was right in the middle of that period. After the Moorish conquest, the Visigothic/Latin alliance started the Reconquest, bringing forth such figures as El Cid and Saint Oldegar (March 6) through the centuries, as they merged into one people. That people, the people of Spain and Portugal, have brought their wild eager spark, and their Faith, to the Americas, where I hope their chivalry is not yet done.

The significance of this story, for the trapped citizen of the twenty-

first century, is simply this. There is a point to human effort. There is a point to manhood. Belloc, in "The Great Heresies" (where in 1936 he prophesied the resurgence of Islam) describes (p. 45) why the Roman order was ripe for conquest. He was speaking of Islam, but the Gothic case, two centuries earlier, was the same:

There lay upon the freemen, already tortured with debt, a heavy burden of imperial taxation; and there was the irritant of existing central government interfering with men's lives; there was the tyranny of the lawyers and their charges.

To all this, Islam came as a vast relief and a solution of strain. Goths were not "controlled by their passions" more than Romans, though Roman legalists may have thought so. They had a different structure of obligations, though based on the same Law of God, written on all hearts. Herwig Wolfram ("History of the Goths", p. 108-109) and others point out the importance of the oath, the kinship, and personal loyalties — these lead to the Christian and knightly vow, and to the fellowship and the quest.

This kind of duty structure is set over against that of legalism all through the ages. Its clear continuity through chivalry, pioneering, exploration, and the heroic quest, comes full circle in Tolkien. The historical Mirkwood mentioned in J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* was in Gothia at the Hunnish border, according to "The Battle of the Goths and the Huns," found in the Norse Hervarasaga (Christopher Tolkien, tr).

We, like Rome, have the other structure: laws, debt, taxes. And yet in our imaginative life... Ask

people what movies they like and you will hear, *Spider Man*, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, *Star Wars*.

The debt approach is: reward first, burden after. Buy your new SUV, and have a day or two to enjoy showing it off. Then you're stuck in that traffic, going to work, making payments. Soon all of life is a grind. Laws and taxes don't even give you a reward at the start — unless you are one of the privileged few. You can understand the Roman view by thinking of the American who stops living and starts working as soon as he graduates from college.

The vow and loyalty pay first — often in deadly battle. If you live, you can drink beer and tell stories, afterwards. It was quite frequent, in my youth, to notice our fathers' generation living in spirit in their WWII service years. The oath is almost gone, now, except for one great remnant, if only we can save it — the mighty vow of marriage — in which, also, there's a struggle followed by the enjoyment of our children's coming to bloom.

As the grind increases, futility increases too. The civilized Roman, released from the catacombs, was a stick in a massive mudflow. Any particular action was absorbed without a trace in the gigantic economy or army. Offered that most efficient life, the state of a vegetable, people rushed to join the nearest disorganized Visigothic troop — when the option opened up.

It makes sense. Our fear-racked economy is Satanic in its perversity, and we have converged to near zero creative life, nothing but ads. The machine works perfectly, with complete internal self-consistency but no relation to human needs, and demands an ever-increasing amount of raw activity from every subject.

Our yoke is difficult, and our burden heavy. Despair tempts everyone. But God is still here, waiting patiently. History has not ended.

In our hearts and souls, we are far closer to the break-up than we think. The Romans of 407, or the Syrians of 630, would have told you they had a sensible, safe life — but they hated it with a passion, and rejoiced when it was shattered. Economics and security are much less crucial than we have taught ourselves to think. We are the heirs of some fine, strong people. When the day comes, we can recover their fire.

Lawrence Dickson

San Diego, California

CLANDESTINE MISSION

The March 2002 *Culture Wars* had several references to deliberate attempts to embroil the United States in various wars including World War II. I would add a small incident which occurred shortly prior to Pearl Harbor when President Franklin Roosevelt attempted to engineer an attack by the Japanese on the U.S. Navy in the China Sea. My information is a recollection of an article in *American Heritage* magazine, published in the early 1950s, which described how the Commander of the Asiatic Squadron received a telegram, direct from FDR, bypassing all State and Navy channels, instructing them to seize two small vessels, commission them as Naval vessels, arm them, and send them to the China sea, flying the American flag and manned by U.S. and Philippine sailors. (A copy of the telegram was printed in the article) The mission was declared to be reconnaissance. The

Navy seized an old, formerly German trading schooner named the "Lani Kai" and a yacht to carry out a clandestine mission. The goal was to send the vessels into the midst of the Japanese China Sea fleet in the hope that they would be sunk and provide an incident to offset the prevalent "America First" isolationist attitude. Both ships were ordered to carry out their suicide missions but fortunately for the crews, abandoned their mission when the Pearl Harbor attack intervened. Stories like this are hard to accept by many so I will provide a little personal authentication.

A few years ago I put in at Ft Lauderdale with my cutter "Carapace" and tied up to the seawall on the New River right behind a yacht named Lani Kai. Curious, I asked the owner how he had come up with the name. Amazingly, he had sailed on the schooner out of Hawaii as a teenager and was able to authenticate her wartime history, adding that the Lani Kai was one of a hand full of U.S. Navy vessels to escape the Philippines in 1941. Sadly, she was lost in 1945 on her return voyage.

Michael C. Jacobs
Dover, Delaware

HOBBY RELIGION

Congratulations to George E. Mohun, M.D. ("Mule Doctor", I suppose). It takes talent to write an essay or letter of several paragraphs which contains nothing but lies, slanders and idiocies, with not one speck of truth anywhere.

Dr. Mohun's "guru" is obviously Paul Blanshard. Note the sentence "The practice of Islam is incompatible with being an American citizen,

and still hordes of such pour over our open borders . . .". Change "Islam" to "Catholicism" and one has the thesis of Paul Blanshard's notorious book, whose title, if I remember correctly, was *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. According to Paul Blanshard and Dr. Mohun, religion can only be tolerated if it is a sort of hobby, but not if it is taken seriously, in which case it might get in the way of the all-powerful atheist totalitarian state. Such was also the thesis of the earlier "Know Nothings", whose tradition Paul Blanshard and Dr. Mohun so assiduously follow.

Since Protestantism is not a serious religion, being hopelessly contaminated by the aberrations of the so-called "Enlightenment," Paul Blanshard and Dr. Mohun are willing to grudgingly tolerate it, but Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Islam are indeed serious religions opposed to most of the so-called "Enlightenment Project," so they are a menace and must be suppressed.

No doubt the atheists and secularists are cheering Dr. Mohun for so fervently supporting and collaborating with their "divide and conquer" strategy. As allies, Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Islam constitute a formidable force, but at loggerheads they very largely cancel each other out.

At the time of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, the Reds tried to play the "divide and conquer" game by pitting Catholics and Muslims against one another, but this ploy failed disastrously. Even a Carlist chaplain praised the piety, discipline and bravery of the Muslim troops. The Spanish Catholic writer Jose Maria Gironella noted that throughout the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, no Muslim was ever a

traitor, not one Muslim ever passed information to the Reds, though many (such as general Muhammad Mizzian) were in an ideal position to do so.

Michael McClain
Middletown, Ohio

MERE ESCAPISM

I'm not usually minded to comment on letters written to the editor about articles of mine. After all, I had the chance to say what I wanted in the article itself and if this has been misinterpreted, then that's probably my fault for not putting the point clearly. But, there have to be limits to this principle. When I read S.R. DeBlasi's letter in your June 2002 issue, commenting on my article on J.R.R. Tolkien in the April 2002 issue, I wondered whether the editor had accidentally published another article on the same subject rather than my own!

Mr (Mrs? Miss?) DeBlasi refers to my avowed purpose of exploring Tolkien's assistance to Catholics struggling to keep their faith in the cultural confusion of modern society. He claims to have looked for such assistance and to have found none and then concludes that Tolkien's assistance was the mere escapism of a fairy tale. In fact, my article is not essentially about *The Lord of the Rings* itself, but about spiritual questions discussed by Tolkien in two of his letters in response to practical questions raised by his son. Therefore, the reference to escapism is simply irrelevant (though to refer to *The Lord of the Rings* as a fairy tale is to betray a real ignorance as to the nature of that book).

Furthermore, I did point out in some detail in my article exactly what Tolkien offered in response to the crisis, namely the remedy that Catholic tradition has held out down the ages. This I summed up as the Cross and the need for perseverance to the end. I stressed, as he did, the need for prayer, the importance of Communion and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Then, there is the obedience owed to the successor of St. Peter, and the correct understanding of the relationship between faith and scandals that occur in the life of the Church.

All these things, which are examined in the article with exact references, are not escapism, but simply the life of Christian witness. If Mr. DeBlasi is disappointed by simplicity and lack of novelty in these things, then I fear that he must take his complaint to a much more authoritative source than J.R.R. Tolkien!

John Beaumont
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WOEFULLY UNINFORMED

In his attempt to "enlighten" us about the middle east, David J. Peterson proves himself to be totally unqualified (reference his June 2002 CW article September 11 and those Troublesome Palestinians). And he renders himself woefully uninformed in the first few sentences of his article!

He states that opportunistic Ariel Sharon made September 11 "the perfect opportunity to advertise his credentials as the head of the world's foremost anti-terrorist regime, a state whose population had been besieged by terrorists decades before" September 11th.

Let's talk about populations "besieged by terrorists", by all means! Mr. Peterson, evidently missing a few decades, has apparently based his article on a revised history of the middle east, specifically of the dreadful events of the 1940s when Israelis slaughtered Palestinian men, women and children in the process of annexing their lands. Is Mr. Peterson too young to remember the Menachem Begins of those days? Has he so easily forgotten the murders, rapes, and the slaughter of pregnant Palestinian women? Or has one of the bloodiest definitions of terrorism conveniently escaped him?

Revisionist history, Mr. Peterson, is a massive booby-trap on the road to peace. It just so happens that some human blood is not more precious than other human blood.

Salvatore R. DeBlasi
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GRATEFUL

Although I have not had the time to read Rose's book, I have heard and read much concerning it. I appreciate and thank Father Johansen for his review. He chose to address those issues he found problematic, yet overall acknowledged with understanding that many Catholics have been demanding some sort of analysis in search of explanations for this moral crisis within some segments of the priesthood in the U.S.

It is unfortunate that the abuses cited in Rose's book were not brought to light in a book by a bishop or a priest. Had such a book been penned by a priest or bishop who'd experienced some of these abuses, yet stayed the course, perhaps that balance which Fr. Johansen thinks is missing from

Rose's book, would have been accomplished.

As a mother of four young adults, grandmother of five, and a college-educated Catholic wife, I am glad this book has been published — in spite of its shortcomings. Our children, three of them now young Catholic parents themselves, along with millions of their peers, as well as my own generation, parents now in their 40s and early 50s, have paid the price for this decades-old crisis of priestly formation Rose describes in his book.

We are grateful that He, who is *the* Light, has allowed all this moral mess to "hit the fan," so to speak. And we are standing in the Hope — because He is Faithful — that our beloved Church will come out stronger and more purified, as a result.

Mary Hartwell
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QUITE A DISPLAY

We are witnessing quite a display in the concerted "counter-attack" on Fr. Rob Johansen and his critical review of Michael S. Rose's *Goodbye, Good Men*. Mr. Rose doesn't just reply; he brings in reinforcements. In addition to his personal rebuttal of Fr. Johansen and his review, he also includes repudiations from Jay McNally, a former editor of *Michigan Catholic*, the Detroit paper, and Fr. Andrew Walter, a priest of the Diocese of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

In his response, Rose ignores the bulk of Johansen's review and the questions Johansen and other reviewers raised concerning Rose's methods. Instead, he works to rebuild his credibility and, in turn,

question Rob Johansen's, by focusing on the Dull case.

Much of the passion in Michael Rose's apologia arises from his concern about attacks on his credibility. But if he has a general disdain for attacks on credibility, we must assume he never read what his defenders were writing. Fr. Andrew Walter, for example, offers a particularly anti-Johansen jeremiad.

Rose and his defenders think that Fr. Johansen is set against them, but he's not. He simply wished Rose would have used less innuendo, anecdote, and better science. What is needed is not horror stories to confirm our fears, but good (valid) information upon which to base decisions.

It is worth noting that even friendly reviews typically acknowledge limitations in a book, but neither of Rose's defenders (or should we call them Johansen detractors?) raise any questions about Rose's methods. In this respect, it is not unfair to say that their defenses of Rose are at least as self-interested as the review Fr. Johansen wrote. If nothing else, they are guilty of ad hominem attacks of their own, and of "poisoning the well."

And that brings us back to method. These defenders, like Rose and the spurned seminarians he cites, are interested in getting the bad news out. And they don't want anyone raising critical questions about methods or conclusions.

Rose and his defenders accuse Johansen of using ad hominem attacks, which is a logical fallacy. But they seem uninterested in the scientific warrant of Rose's thesis. Everyone knows, they seem to say, that Rose is right. But, as fascinating as anecdotes may be (especially when they confirm our worst fears), we

benefit because Fr. Johansen asked for better research. He raised doubts about Rose's method based on a case with which he was familiar.

Reading Michael Rose's book makes it easy to believe he had his thesis before he did his research. For that reason, critical readers wonder about the validity of Rose's conclusions. And Fr. Rob Johansen raised questions about Rose's review of Sacred Heart Major Seminary in Detroit. Others could come forward with their own challenges to the portraits Rose paints. I have already stated that the Mundelein of his description bears little resemblance to the Mundelein I attend.

What is clear is that Rose doesn't want men like Rob Johansen coming forward with reports that would temper his attack. And that's regrettable. A more measured approach, one that offered reasons for concern and reasons for encouragement, would have served the Church better. But, then again, I suspect it wouldn't have sold nearly as many copies.

Steve Mattson

<http://stevemattson.blogspot.com>

MASS POISONING

Dr. Austgen's article "The HIV Hoax" was right on the mark as exposing AIDS as a political disease. Having just returned from East Africa, I see a great tragedy unfolding where third-world, lock-step, medical-political forces will begin to distribute cheap AZT and other toxic anti-AIDS drugs to those who have "politically diagnosed" AIDS defining illnesses, which, in reality, are undiagnosed cases of TB, malaria, cancer, parasites, malnutrition,

hepatitis, Kaposi sarcoma, etc. These diseases are not AIDS. They are infections which lead to immunosuppression and are essentially diseases of poverty. Anti-AIDS medications will further weaken these people. I fear the uncountable deaths that will result from this misdiagnosis and mass poisoning, will be blamed on AIDS and not on those ill-informed, industrial world do-gooders who will poison millions of African "brothers" with the best of intentions.

E. J. Neiburger, DDS, Director, Center
for Dental AIDS Research
Waukegan, Illinois

ABUSE, ABUSE, ABUSE

You have stripped the Church of everything Catholic. You debased the Holy Rites to the most banal form, and you have stripped the Priesthood of all that was holy. Vatican II's shining success is clearly seen in the fruits of its revolution: Abuse, Abuse, Abuse. The novus-ordo modernist 'church' is in crisis and will *never* rise again. Only the Society of St. Pius X and Tradition can provide a bulwark against the smoke and snares of Satan.

Matt Connor
New York, New York

SUPINE GROUP

Now that the stories are breaking by the dozen, and with more to come (e.g., "the Cardinal to be named later,") I wonder if your article on "Pedophilia and Kulturkampf" (*Culture Wars*, April 2002) is not a bit too benign in its assigna-

tion of culpability. Your thesis, if I read the article correctly, was that a supine and somewhat ignorant group of Church leaders accepted the psychology of Messrs. Rogers, et.al., as a sort of spirituality — which was a perverted spirituality, at best. Given the events and the players (and the connect-the-dots possibilities surrounding them,) perhaps “ignorant and supine” is too charitable.

Try it this way: homosexuals, knowing that their perversion could *not* be accepted in a sane society, particularly one governed by a moral authority based on Judaeo-Christian laws and the natural law, decided to actively blur the conscience of the society (Church faithful). In order to achieve this, they (the homos) made it clear that Paul VI's letter on contraception would be dead-on-arrival. Further, they actively suppressed preaching *and* penitential practices (confessional queries) which would point out the evil of contraception. In addition, they suppressed preaching and penitential practices which would maintain the stigma of self-abuse.

Why?

Because, as you have pointed out, self-abuse, contraceptive sex, and homosex are all a piece — ultimately unfruitful. They are similarly disordered practices. Thus, by engaging the laity in practices which at least subconsciously were identical in effect (and motivation) to homosex (which *they* wanted legitimized,) they would have effectively co-opted the laity in their sin. They would enable the laity, and the laity would ‘relax’ about homosex practices.

The only flaw in the plan was the nature of homosex to continuously reach further into the depravity for

The Biggest Scam. When you think about it, the biggest scam of them all is homosexuals posing as priests. The Church pays for their lawsuits; the media (the media being both politically correct and infiltrated by homosexuals) calls their assaults pedophilia. So, in America, the great pedophile hunt goes on; the gays are free to forage at large. Their next feeding frenzy will no doubt be conducted on the Boy Scouts of America. I wonder if the Boy Scouts can afford the impending law suits.

Notice is also taken of yet another scam, the “9/11” revenge attacks. The end result of which are a resurgence of the homosexual subculture in Afghanistan, with their blatant abuse of young men. Will the US press call any impending lawsuits in that hapless country pedophilia also? The reappearance of the poppy seed growers, abortion rights, feminism — democracy marches on! Oh, yes, before I forget, add to the list shooting missiles at opposition leaders from drone aircraft. We buy our friends and create our enemies. Ironically, the only two people making sense in this world seem to be Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic.

Roger Finan
White Plains, New York

DISTURBING ARTICLE

I found the article “The HIV Hoax” (*Culture Wars*, May 2002) to be disturbing. For one thing it never explained the deaths of hemophiliacs from AIDS. Unlike homosexuals and IV drug users, hemophiliacs were not involved in a lifestyle harmful to their immune systems.

Even more disturbing, the article

clearly implies that homosexuality is only harmful to homosexuals and not the rest of society, and, therefore, should be tolerated by society (although not approved of) and not suppressed. That position is directly opposed to the tradition of the Catholic Church. St. Augustine said that homosexual and other sexual sins against nature “should be everywhere and at all times detested and punished.” Further, in the constitution *Cum Primum*, Pope St. Pius V stated that some sins, including homosexuality, bring the wrath of God onto man “with catastrophes, wars, famine and plagues.” He also stated that homosexuals must be punished by the “secular arm” (civil government). I hope that people will consider that, if the sin of homosexuality keeps growing, we will face divine retribution. One way for that to happen is for AIDS to spread to and kill a large proportion of the heterosexual population.

Joseph V. Simon
Richland Center, Wisconsin

ALWAYS POSITIVE

It is amazing how researchers and pharmaceutical houses remain able to milk governments for AIDS funding and HIV research, to continue bamboozling much of the world's medical profession and to fleece the public into buying useless and often fatal HIV antiviral therapies.

Legitimate researchers, like Stephan Lanka, Etienne de Harven, the Perth group, and even Luc Montagnier, have been unable to demonstrate an AIDS virus in fresh human plasma using scanning electron microscopes. All viruses are

readily visualized in this manner, according to Lanka, an expert in that field.

Dr. Roberto Giraldo's curiosity about the high 400/1 dilution of plasma before running an ELISA test led to his discovery that undiluted human plasma always tests HIV positive. Couple this with the 60 known diseases and conditions which produce false positive HIV tests and the existence of an AIDS virus becomes even less plausible. The question therefore becomes: What are the materials in human plasma that keep the AIDS myth alive and researchers busy and from what do those materials originate?

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BOSS CULTURE

I feel compelled to pick up the gauntlet thrown into the ring by John Powers (Letters, Prisoner of Dogma, CW, 5/02). Yes, Mr. Owens; as a devout Catholic, home-schooling mother of presently four children (Egad!!!), I can assure you that your boss Culture has already attempted the Child Investigatory Thing and empowered my "Catholic" ob/gyn to tout the new generation IUD's with glee. Rest assured, the Lord is our rock and shield, and has not permitted the destruction of His Church.

Fortunately for you, I can't offer you the intellectual Holy Grail you are seeking. Mankind has seen unprecedented techno advances. We have the ability to harness the sun's energy, cure disease, etc., ad nauseum. What has disheartened such a self-avowed disciple of Culture as you? Wait a minute —

ah! you don't believe man has the ability to solve dirty water/air problems on his own.

What is lacking? It can't be intellectual ability; that's what got us into this mess to begin with. Population control? A century of the most draconian abortion/sterilization policies haven't borne the fruits you are seeking and as such are an illogical response to the problem.

Here's a radical suggestion: challenge God to reveal to you why contraception is the Road to Hell. Also, be prepared to fire your Boss. As the good book says: "*Ego sum via, veritas et vita.*" Children being brought up in a morally responsible fashion are the answer you seek. Our children can solve these problems and more, but only in Him, through Him and with Him.

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SELF-SERVING

Mr. James Patrick Granfield responded to my March 2002 letter on capital punishment by suggesting that my argument was "somewhat self-serving" because I had failed to refer to a paragraph of the Catechism of the Catholic Church that appears to sanction the death penalty. He also claimed that I was "in error" because I noted that Catholic teaching on capital punishment was developing because "Catholic teaching does not develop or evolve" (See "Soft-Hearted Not Soft-Headed," *Culture Wars*, May 2002).

Granfield quotes paragraph 2266 of the Catechism to state that legitimate authority has "the right and duty to punish malefactors by

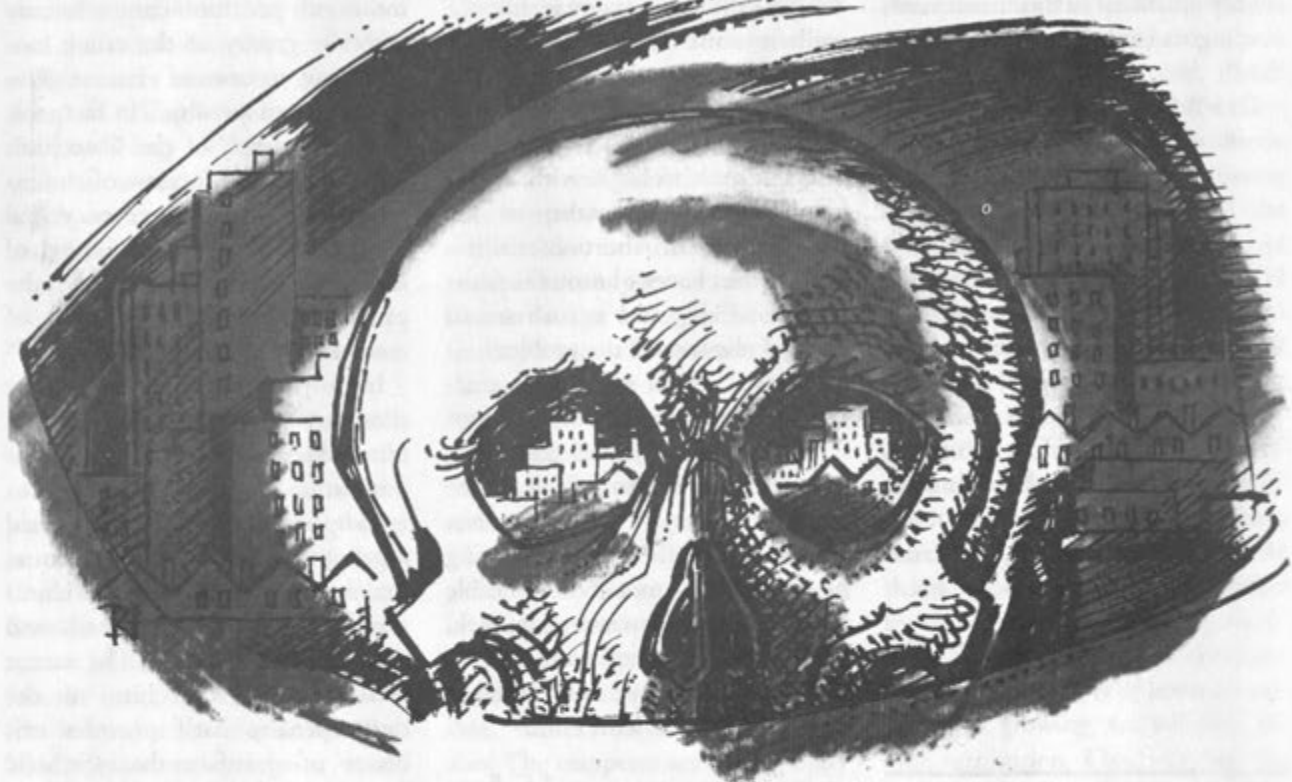
means of penalties commensurate with the gravity of the crime, not excluding, in cases of extreme gravity, the death penalty." In fact, this entire paragraph of the Catechism has been revised in view of the intervening papal encyclical *Evangelium Vitae* ("The Gospel of Life") to specifically exclude the phrase "not excluding, in cases of extreme gravity, the death penalty."

In any event, that a penalty should be commensurate with a crime does not necessarily warrant imposition of the death penalty for even open murder. Would Granfield argue that criminals who torture, maim, or dismember their victims should be tortured, maimed, and dismembered in turn? The recent revision of the Catechism on the death penalty itself provides evidence of the fact that Catholic Teaching does indeed develop or evolve, as it certainly did on matters as diverse as slavery, usury, and its rationales for condemnation of contraception and abortion.

For a discussion of evolution of Catholic dogma, I can do no better than to refer Granfield to John Henry Cardinal Newman's classic *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. Mr. Granfield seems determined to prove that conservative/traditional Catholics are as capable of dissent as liberals by requiring that the Church conform to their treasured personal doctrines embedded in the past, just as liberals would require the Church to conform to their personal doctrines embedded in the contemporary milieu.

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Culture of Death Watch



From Newspaper to Noosepaper

America's first newspaper appeared in Boston on September 29, 1690. Its publisher, Benjamin Harris, presented a wonderfully unobtrusive vision for his fledgling enterprise. He agreed to provide, once a month, "an Account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice." He realized that Providence might provide more newsworthy items than his monthly could record. Therefore, "if any Glut of Occurrences happen," he was prepared to publish Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick more often. The responsibility for making news lay entirely in the hands of God (or the Devil).

This theological view of news and news reporting lingered, if it did not dominate newspapers, for some time. In 1866, James Parton observed that "recording with exactness and power the thing that has

come to pass, is Providence addressing men. In his book, *The Image: A Guide to Psuedo-events in America*, historian Daniel J. Boorstin relates the story of a Southern Baptist clergyman before the Civil War who used to say, when a newspaper was brought into the room, "Be kind enough to let me have it a few minutes, till I see how the Supreme Being is governing the world." And Charles A. Dana, one of the most celebrated of American editors, defended his extensive reporting of crime in the *New York Sun* by stating, "I have always felt that whatever the Divine Providence permitted to occur I was not too proud to report."

Looking at the news of the day through a theological framework gradually yielded to a decisively secular view. As editors realized that reporting the news in print could be

financially rewarding, they were less eager to wait for Divine Providence to act than for their voracious readers to purchase their wares. "The newspaper," as Richard Weaver has pointed out, has become "a man-made cosmos of events around us at the time." It has become, for so many, a momentary cosmos to which they bind themselves with unquestioning faith. As Weaver goes on to say, "Faith in the printed word has raised journalists to the rank of oracles." Plato, who was deeply suspicious of the printed word, foresaw the dangers of replacing true teaching with the mere dispensation of printed information. In his *Phaedrus* (275b), he states that, "by telling them of many things, without teaching them, you will make them seem to know much, while for the most part, they know nothing; and as men filled not with wisdom,

but with the conceit of wisdom, they will be a burden to their fellows."

Consider Abraham Lincoln's familiar maxim: "You may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time." The meaning of this statement rests on two fundamental and plausible assumptions: 1) that there is a determinable difference between reality and illusion; 2) that confronted with a choice between the two, people would prefer reality. One of the effects of the newspaper in the contemporary world, unfortunately, is that it weaves a mesmerizing fantasy that crowds out reality. As Boorstin notes, "The American citizen thus lives in a world where fantasy is more real than reality, where the image has more dignity than the original."

The traditional distinction between reality and illusion has become both blurred and indistinct. "Reality" is now the word we use to describe our frenetic post-modern world that is as artificial as an alarm clock. "Welcome to the 'real' world," people say, with a sardonic smile. Vice is only too real, while virtue is a nice illusion. It is not so much that newspapers "fool" people, to use Lincoln's term, as much as they cover people in a cocoon of *ersatz* reality. The Media has a smothering effect on people. Having rendered its readers vulnerable, the newspaper, in particular, reshapes how they "think". As the newspaper progressed from news gathering to news making, from informing readers to forming public consciousness, it advanced from being a newspaper to being a "noosepaper."

Ensnarled in this virtual reality —

this print creation of editors and journalists — we are repeatedly instructed that abortion is merely a choice, homosexual acts simply represent an alternate lifestyle, religion is repressive, Catholicism is dogmatic, pre-marital sex is natural, marital fidelity is idealistic, truth is subjective, values are relative, and political correctness is liberating. Full vindication of what Huey Long once said when he referred to a tax levied on newspapers as a "lie tax." "They vomit their bile," wrote Nietzsche, "and call it a newspaper."

The Washington Bureau of the *Globe & Mail*, on October 4, 1979, ran an article about the new Pontiff's traditional views about human sexuality under the title, "Pope's sharp swipes at sexuality begin to bother some young people." The new Pope was fully expected to have new ideas on sexual morality. This successor to the Chair of Peter was assumed to have been formed

ing manner, the newspaper was conferring upon this teenager a certain legitimacy as a papal critic. The desired implications are clear: the Pope is out of touch with today's youth; 17-year-olds are reliable moralists; the *Globe & Mail* is liberating its readers from the bondage of an outmoded religion. This is a representative tactic of the newspaper medium and one that is played out everyday throughout the literate world.

The doctor of philosophy has been superannuated by the "spin" doctor. The obligation of the newspaper today is not to report the news, but to put the right spin on it so that it can continue to proselytize its readers in the direction of its political allegiance. Each newspaper is presumed to have its peculiar "slant." This being the case, a John Paul II or a Cardinal Ratzinger is immediately cast as an oddball. By the same token, documents such as *Humanae vitae* or *Donum vitae* seem utterly incomprehensible.

As editors realized that reporting the news in print could be financially rewarding, they were less eager to wait for Divine Providence to act than for their voracious readers to purchase their wares.

by the print media. The article, in typical fashion, quotes a 17-year-old girl, identified as a Roman Catholic, who said, "How does he expect to relate to youth with that Dark Age stuff? I'm disappointed in him." By quoting her in an approv-

For those who are familiar with the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, one of his most meaningful and enduring phrases is "*quidquid recipitur, recipitur per modum recipientis*" (whatever is received, is received according to the

mode of the receiver). For Aquinas, his word "mode," in this instance, is equivalent to our current use of the word "Media." Marshall McLuhan, whose thinking is anchored in Thomistic philosophy, made a career out of explaining how the Media distorts meaning.

Aquinas himself said that the bulk of his learning was directed toward two sources that could not lie: nature and Scripture. He did not have to contend with a self-serving and distorting Media. Secular newspapers select and skew news to fit their agenda. They become so accustomed to this that they assume that everyone has an agenda. What is the Pope's agenda? They assume it could not be truth. Then what could it be? Perhaps to exercise arbitrary power over his passive flock! The newspaper, therefore, divides the world into those who are in step with the Media and those who are not. "News" is stimulating; truth is presumptuous. Newsmakers become role models. The outsiders are dismissed as "old fogies."

"Literature is news that stays news," said Ezra Pound. "Literature is unread, and journalism is unreadable," quipped Oscar Wilde. The news is in competition with literature because the latter, at its best, deals with that which endures. News is by nature ephemeral. In order to survive, newspapers must constantly find (or create) fresh sources for their daily fare. The newspaper is like a certain species of hummingbird that must continuously feed and beat its wings in order to survive. The typical newspaper room is a beehive of activity, where reporters hastily put together the latest news items for the next edition. Literature requires both time and talent. Such luxuries are not available for the daily news.

The original inspiration for America's first newspaper was merely to make important occurrences known to people. Such an adventure, however, seems rather tame. Through the gradual additions of money, power, status, and mass influence, the reporting of occurrences evolved into the contemporary newspaper.

Richard Weaver, in his enduring critique of modern society, *Ideas Have Consequences*, likened the newspaper, cinema, and radio to a vast machine which he called "The Great Stereopticon." He passionately denounced its penchant for manipulating its subjects, orchestrating their emotions by telling them when to laugh, when to cry, and when to become morally outraged. The pre-eminent danger of "The Great Stereopticon," he be-

lieved, was to wrap us in a "sickly metaphysical dream" and rob us of all those nourishing rewards that arise from contact with reality. "What human spirit," he wrote, "after reading a newspaper or attending a popular motion picture or listening to the farrago of nonsense on a radio program, has not found relief in fixing his gaze upon some characteristic bit of nature? It is escape from the sickly metaphysical dream. Out of the surfeit of falsity born of technology and commercialism we rejoice in returning to primary data and to assurance that the world is a world of enduring forms which in themselves are neither brutal nor sentimental."

DR. DONALD DEMARCO

A Holy rule

Strong and translucent
it was infused, a colorless liquid
without weight, into my soul
descending there to the center:
this desireless desire

always a powerful movement, too,
both upward and horizontal
to somehow experience
without experience
the transcendent
and the personally temporal
neighborhood
at the same time:

a gift and a guide
that the soul knows
without knowing
into the next

for this life
a perpetual yearning

Charles M. Campbell

Poland and the Next Looting Expedition

Poland is now threatened with a distortion of its history so serious that it verges on a loss of historical memory. This impending loss of collective memory came about first as a result of the imposition of Soviet controlled school programs for half a century and then by an imposition of the new Holocaust studies which are presented out of context and often deteriorate into propaganda for the Holocaust profiteers. Also most Poles, like people the world over, do not know their history partly because of the natural tendency to be more concerned with what happens tomorrow than what happened yesterday. Unfortu-

nately our view of the future is often obscured by our ignorance of or misinformation about the past. At this junction of history, if the Polish nation does not know why it exists and what it stands for, it cannot be expected to endure for long, especially as it faces the crisis of assimilation that is sure to follow from its

application to join the European Union. Thus, in Poland there is a disruption of the common threads of history, an attempt to stop the cultivation of the nation's memory. Lincoln called these threads The Polish people used to remember their heritage and history — what Lincoln called the "mystic chords of memory, stretching from battlefield and patriot graves to every living heart and hearthstone all over the land" — through story and songs and passed these songs from one generation to another in addition to what they have learned in school and read in the national literature.

Poland is now threatened with a distortion of its history so serious that it verges on a loss of historical memory.

nately our view of the future is often obscured by our ignorance of or misinformation about the past. At this junction of history, if the Polish nation does not know why it exists and what it stands for, it cannot be expected to endure for long, especially as it faces the crisis of assimilation that is sure to follow from its

This tradition has been disrupted by the information revolution exploited first by the Soviets, then by the post-communists, and now by globalist elites under the guise of Holocaust studies, which present the history of Poland out of context. The logical way out of the present confusion is to treat the tragic suf-

fering of the Jews during the Second World War with proper reverence while at the same time seeing that suffering in the true context of Polish history.

JEWISH IDENTITY

Jews defended their identity more effectively than any other people of the Mediterranean basin. Today they are the only surviving people of antiquity who lived once on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. When western Europeans evicted Jews many centuries ago, they were permitted to settle in Poland and become there the class of merchants and entrepreneurs — a class that in western Europe developed out of the native population after the medieval destruction of local Jewish communities. At that time Poland saved Jews from extinction. During the next four hundred years, in the period ending in 1764, the number of Jews in Poland grew to seventy times their number in 1333, a number large enough to recreate a full-fledged autonomous Jewish nation. Meanwhile the native population of Poland increased by only six-fold — less than one-tenth of the increase of the Jews. The Polish Jewish population became by far the largest single group of Jews in the world and a leading part of world Jewry. The comparatively poor growth of the native population of Poland resulted from higher infant mortality and very high war losses. Thus, Polish Jews, until the Holocaust of the 1940s, lost far fewer people in comparison to the Polish gentiles — even during Jewish catastrophes like the Ukrainian rebellion of 1648. After a long history of more or less peaceful co-existence, Poles and Jews and their respective modern

nationalisms clashed in the 1920s. The results were predictable. As one poet said of these two nationalisms, one has to give in — either the guest or the landlord. That saying of nearly one hundred years ago led to the unfounded claims by some Jews that the ancestors of Poles came to the country later than did the Jews of antiquity.

Until the nineteenth century Jews kept their identity through their loyalty to the Jewish theology of exile. During the 19th century many European Jews abandoned their belief in the theology of exile and tried, with little success, to assimilate into their countries of residence. Before long Jews understood that their strong identity, based on their culture and tradition, was an obstacle to the assimilation process. Everywhere in Europe they were seen as a potentially disloyal foreign minority. In Germany and in other countries there was a belief that the cultural integration of the Jewish culture with any other in Europe would produce a mixture with more Jewish characteristics than local or native. Jewish assimilation difficulties led to the creation of the Zionist movement which soon became popular with one-third of all Jews. Many Zionist leaders were atheists who hoped to build Israel during their life rather than to wait for its restoration by an act of God.

The hope of the Zionists was fulfilled with the recognition by the United Nations of an independent Jewish state in Palestine in 1948. This fact did not help the assimilation of Jews in the Diaspora, as Jews were soon considered more loyal to Israel than to the country of their residence. The attitude of the American State Department changed radically when the Israelis defeated the Arabs in 1967. The

government of the United States included Israel under its protection because of the growth of Soviet influence over Arab states like Syria and Egypt. American support of Israel brought Arab terrorist organizations into being because the Arabs could not cope with Israeli fire power and the political clout supplied by the United States that went with it. Now an important role is played by the Israeli nuclear arsenal of bombs, artillery projectiles, and land mines; it is complemented with three German-built submarines, each equipped to launch four nuclear-tipped missiles, each of which has a range of 950 miles. No wonder Ariel Sharon said "Arabs may have the oil, but we have the matches." As a result, some Zionists now hope for complete Israeli hegemony over the entire Middle East, especially if American forces invade Iraq and then attack Iran from Iraq and Afghanistan. Such a development could put control of major oilfields of the Middle East into the hands of American oil companies, which would also serve the purposes of the CIA. The main selling point for such development is to satisfy the armament industry and bail the flagging American economy out of deep recession, as it was done in 1941 by the unprecedented spending for armaments of the Second World War.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE

Needless to say, the fundamental change in American foreign policy in 1967 helped to bring about Jewish assimilation in the United States. The American press started to describe the Jews as defenders of western civilization against the Arabs subverted by the Soviets. Begin-

ning in 1967, the influence of the Israeli lobby in Washington escalated, to the point where Jews won a stronger political position than they ever had during the history of America. Simultaneously, the cult of the Holocaust, which did not exist before 1967, grew in importance in America, eventually assuming its current position as the mainstay of Jewish identity, a role once held by the theology of exile. However, now the followers of this new secular cult are not limited to religious Jews only. Atheists participate in it just as eagerly. In fact, the cult may be more popular among non-religious Jews than among the Orthodox, some of whom occasionally voice public criticism of the cult, when their voices have been effectively suppressed. Non-Jews, especially Christian fundamentalists, are encouraged to join the cult as political and financial supporters, who believe that the second coming of Christ will occur with the triumph of the Jews over the Arabs in the Holy Land. The world's most prominent center of the cult is the Holocaust Museum in Washington with its annual budget of \$60,000,000, a major portion of which is spent on various programs of Holocaust studies and teaching. Unfortunately, so far all this effort has created a mythology of its own which has often resulted in Holocaust profiteering without any benefit to the actual victims. The information is presented out of context with crucial information — such as the role of the Jewish ghetto police, Jewish ghetto administration serving the Germans, and some 1400 Jewish Gestapo agents in Warsaw alone — being carefully omitted. The American perception has been so distorted by this cult that the US finds itself at odds with the United

Nations, with the European Union, and most countries of the Middle East when it comes to mid-East foreign policy.

The anomalous nature of the Holocaust Museum in Washington can best be seen by comparison with other groups. There is no monument commemorating the death of Black slaves in their passage to America nor to the slaughter of native Americans. The contrast between the attention given to the victims of the Final Solution in Europe compared to that given to the victims of the expansion of European culture in North America is an indication of the disparity of the political influence of the groups involved. The argument that the non-Jewish victims perished long ago is belied by the scant attention given to the recent genocide of the Cambodians, Timorese, and Tutsis — all of which was much better documented and photographed than the genocides in Europe. When the Pope condemned the policies of Israel towards the Palestinians during the current crisis in the Middle East, the dormant scandal of homosexuality in the Church was triggered by the media with the result that the Catholic Church was discredited as a voice defending the moral order.

The followers of the cult of the Holocaust claim that verbal accusations against anyone by any Jewish Holocaust survivor should be considered as sufficient proof of guilt. The accused then has to prove himself innocent. This is a clear reversal of the principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty. Another peculiarity is the complete immunity to prosecution of all Jewish survivors of war living in Israel, no matter what wartime crime or post-war crime they may be accused of. That goes even for people accused

of genocide such as Morel, the head of a de-nazification concentration camp in Poland, where members of the Polish anti-communist underground were executed under the false pretext that they were Nazis.

The World Jewish Restitution Organization collected huge sums from Germany and then obtained \$1.25 billion from Swiss banks on the strength of an original claim valued at \$32,000,000.00 by the Volker Commission. The payment was as huge as it was partially because it was in effect a ransom paid by the Swiss banks under the threat of a boycott of all Swiss banks' activity in New York. More recently nearly one-half of all the money from the German slave labor compensation fund was collected by Jewish organizations, much to the dismay of hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish survivors of German slave labor. Now, in order to continue functioning, the movement for property claims must find other people guilty of the Holocaust. Po-

Jewish Restitution Organization of this fabulous wealth will be possible if, under international pressure, the Polish parliament or the Polish president by a presidential agreement, were to authorize these international Jewish organizations to take over all prewar Jewish properties in Poland. The Zionist lobby has already used threats by members of the US Congress — prominent among them is Senator Hilary Clinton — to force the issue. Polish parliamentarians who wanted to place limits on the amount of compensation were accused by the World Jewish Congress of "anti-Americanism" — something that Poland can ill afford when it is so greatly dependent on American goodwill. Ironically, Poland is the most pro-American member of NATO at the present time. President Bush made this clear when recently he introduced Mr Kwasniewski, the President of Poland, during the latter's visit to Washington.

American support of Israel brought Arab terrorist organizations into being because the Arabs could not cope with Israeli fire power and the political clout supplied by the United States that went with it.

land is next in line, and, as a new NATO partner on the verge of admission into the European Union, it is not in a good position to defend itself.

Prewar Jewish properties in Polish real estate will soon be worth many times more than they are worth now. The acquisition by the World

The property under consideration here represents fifteen to twenty percent of the total Polish national wealth or more than \$100 billion. This involves far more pieces of property than there are surviving Jews living in Poland today. If it is centrally administered by the World Jewish Restitution Organization,

the political faction created by this transfer of property would become the strongest financial and political entity in Poland, capable of putting the country on the road to becoming a satellite of Israel and a territory ripe for re-colonization in case Jewish life in the Middle East becomes unbearable. Poland, in other words, like Switzerland a few years back, is on the verge of becoming a victim of a shakedown. Nor will Poland be the last victim in this concerted looting expedition. After Poland, other former Soviet satellites such as Hungary and Slovakia and then Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Latvia will have their turn as soon as these former Soviet republics recover economically and as soon as they become able to join NATO and the European Union.

The World Jewish Restitution Organization can generate enormous amounts of publicity, which in fact becomes a powerful free advertising campaign for its cause. The Jedwabne Massacre is a good example. For years, it was known that, beginning in June 1941, the German government decided to claim that its invasion of the USSR had been welcomed by the people who were earlier terrorized by the Soviets. Thus, the mass murders of the communists and Jews were to be presented to the world as local acts of revenge. In order for German propaganda to succeed, the German government ordered the eradication of all traces of the presence of German personnel at the execution sites; taking souvenir pictures was forbidden, and no daily reports of the executions were to be made. This absence of German documentation relating to the execution sites permitted the Nazis to blame the local populations for German murders. The same thing is happening

now, but this time it is being done by the property claims movement and their supporters who now need to make Poland appear to be guilty of the Holocaust.

A great uproar in the Polish media started when a fictional version of the events of July 10, 1941 in Jedwabne was promulgated by the supporters of the World Jewish Restitution Organization as a proof of Poland's national guilt in the Holocaust. This preposterous notion was rebutted by authentic witnesses of the events in Jedwabne and in neighboring towns. The net result of the recent "media battle of Jedwabne," to use the expression coined by Dr. Jozef Wiczynski in correspondence with me on that subject, was an enormous amount of free publicity for the Zionist

forensic study is performed of the two mass graves containing the basic evidence of the number of victims and the cause of death of each one of them.

As of now, the local reaction to the current investigation of the crime of Jedwabne is full of misgivings. There is now a belief there that when the investigators dug up the first three skulls in the mass grave they found in each of them a bullet hole. Apparently, at that point, the investigators stopped the exhumation with a lame excuse that a Rabbi objected to further disturbance of the remains. Now it appears to many people in Jedwabne that bullet holes in these skulls were not what investigators were looking for. The decision to stop the exhumation and complete forensic studies

The people of the former Soviet satellite states still preserve, as part of their historical memory, a recollection of the central and disproportional role Jews played in the Soviet security apparatus, which used bloody terror and mass murders to enforce the communization of their native lands .

property claims movement throughout the world (Dr. Wiczynski is a historian of Russia and Eastern Europe and chief editor of a 50-volume encyclopedia on Russian history). It is obvious that this media battle will remain inconclusive until complete and rigorous

disqualifies the entire investigation of this horrible crime. "The truth is, to be sure, sometimes hard to grasp, but it is never so illusive as when it is not wanted" (as remarked by Herman H. Dinsmore, editor of the *New York Times*, in another context.)

At the present time practically all the forensic evidence remains buried. Under these circumstances the only remedy is to complete the forensic exhumation of the two graves and the surrounding area in order to properly document the murders at Jedwabne, the *modus operandi* suggested by Dr. Jan Moor-Jankowski, a forensic authority and the only American member of the French Academy of Medicine.

Unfortunately, in the present post-communist government of Poland, both the president and the prime minister found it expedient to follow the lead of the Zionists of the World Jewish Restitution Organization. They were so eager to please the Zionists that they even used the "politics of apology and contrition" to blame the Polish people for German crimes like the one that was committed in Jedwabne, where the locals played very secondary roles, if at all. Why are the Poles being punished again? Why is the same thing about to happen throughout eastern Europe? Perhaps because the people of the former Soviet satellite states still preserve, as part of their historical memory, a recollection of the central and disproportional role Jews played in the Soviet security apparatus, which used bloody terror and mass murders to enforce the communization of their native lands. This historical fact was acknowledged in print by no less of an authority than the *New York Times*. This common experience and understanding of Polish and other central European peoples will make it difficult for the Zionist slander and shakedown to succeed. The common sense impression of the recent media battle over Jedwabne is that the World Jewish Restitution Organization is led by people who appear

to have gone berserk in their megalomania. Their hubris and especially their lack of moderation can only lead to their downfall.

IWO POGONOWSKI

(Pius XII, continued from p. 41)

scurrilous writings by Daniel Goldhagen, specifically an article in *New Republic* (discussed by Dr. Jones in this issue of *Culture Wars*) and he makes the following apposite point:

The fact remains that Jews have also been active in ripping apart Goldhagen and his questionable scholarship. Because Jews, except those on the Israeli Left, are immune to the anti-Western politics of guilt found among liberal Christians, they have no moral scruples about ridiculing its practitioners. My hand does not tremble with anxiety when I go after a fellow-German Jew for the arrant nonsense that Goldhagen and the *New Republic* dare to present as a "moral reckoning." If only Christians would act in the same manner!

Ordinary Catholics of orthodox belief do need to get more involved in the fight and to appreciate that there is a fifth column in the Church, which has to be opposed, along with the Goldhagens of this world. It is more than an issue of substantive knowledge, both of the narrower questions relating to the facts on Pius XII and the wider cultural struggle, on which the present journal has done so much to spread the message. It is also a matter of seeing that that knowledge is readily available. Look in most bookshops and in libraries. There you will find

Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski survived 64 months of captivity in Gestapo prisons and the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin. He is the author of *Poland, an Illustrated History* (Hippocrene Books, New York, 2000), *Jews in Poland: a Documented History* (Hippocrene Books, New York, 1993), and *Poland: a Historical Atlas* (Hippocrene Books, 1987).

books such as *Hitler's Pope* and also John Cornwell's more recent apologia for liberal Catholicism, *Breaking Faith*. And we have seen that these things are being peddled by people who refer to themselves as Catholics. In addition, there are on the shelves attacks on the Church from outside, such as from Goldhagen, who is shortly to put out yet another such work. Would that such books as the present one under review were more readily available to redress the balance, in addition to the other sound studies referred to above. Sadly they often are not. A minor, but important, Catholic apostolate, would be to make sure, by putting in request forms, that these books and other good Catholic works do find their way into your local library. Catholics can be in no doubt as to what the present Pope wants here. He has repeatedly defended Pius XII. In addition, he recently instructed Fr. Peter Gumpel, the Relator of the cause for Pope Pius XII's beatification, to issue a statement accusing the Jewish historians on the Catholic-Jewish historical commission of professional misconduct and bad faith. But, so often it is the secular media that makes all the running. The information and communication war is part of the culture war and at present Catholics seem to be losing it.

JOHN BEAUMONT

Lenin's Willing Executioners: Jews and Bolshevism

by E. Michael Jones

"What may appear to Mr. [Chaim] Weizmann to be outrages against Jews, may be — in the eyes of the Russians — retaliation against the horrors committed by the Bolsheviks who are organized and directed by the Jews."

Sir Eyre Crowe, commenting on pogroms carried out in Russia in 1919

"... anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator."

Leonard Shapiro, in Salo Baron, *The Russian Jew: Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: Macmillan, 1976)

Charles Krauthammer is concerned. Anti-Semitism is on the rise in Europe. That's the bad news. The good news is that it's easy to explain. The rise of what he calls anti-Semitism has nothing to do with the behavior of Jews. Its source is "a millennium-old urge that powerfully infected and shaped European history." George Will weighed in two days after Krauthammer's column appeared and said explicitly what Krauthammer only implied, namely, that animus against Jews has nothing to do with the way Jews behave. "Today," Will wrote,

many people say that the Arabs and their European echoes would be mollified if Israel would change its behavior: People who say that do not understand the centrality of anti-Semitism in the current crisis. This crisis has become the second — and final? — phase of the struggle for a "final solution to the Jewish question." As [Ruth R.] Wisse said 11 years ago, and as cannot be said too often, *anti-Semitism is not directed against the behavior of Jews but against the existence of Jews* (my emphasis).

The use of the term anti-Semitism begs the question, of course. Are we talking about an irrational hatred of Jews because of what they are or are we talking about outrage at the way certain Jews are behaving? If anti-Semitism refers to the latter option, does that mean that

Jews can act badly and never expect to be criticized? The issue needs to be clarified before we can proceed intelligently, and yet this distinction is precisely what Krauthammer's column obscures.

One day after Krauthammer's column appeared, Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* took the opposite point of view. Cohen opined that "If I weren't a Jew, I might be called an anti-Semite" for saying that it's okay to criticize Ariel Sharon and Zionism. He is, of course, being wildly optimistic in framing the issue that way. Jews are routinely demonized by other Jews whenever they disagree with what would have to be called the party line, something which gets established by the major Jewish organizations and gets enforced by control of the flow of information, which means access to magazines, TV, and publishing contracts.

Norman Finkelstein is a good case in point. Finkelstein is a Jew; his parents were concentration camp survivors, yet when he criticized the Jewish organizations for financial malfeasance he was demonized, blacklisted and forced out of his teaching job at Hunter College. Cohen goes on to claim that anti-Zionism is not the same as anti-Semitism, which he defines as "hating Jews on account of supposedly inherent characteristics." Cohen is to be commended for at least proposing a working definition of anti-Semitism, because Krauthammer's column went out of its way to obscure precisely that point. "To equate anti-Zionists or critics of Israel in general with anti-Semites," Cohen continues,

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Lazar Kaganovich, the balding man with the moustache staring into the camera, is the man who ran the Gulag Archipelago, the Soviet network of concentration camps.

is to liken them to the Nazis or the rampaging mobs of the pogroms. It says that their hatred is unreasonable, unfathomable, based on some crackpot racial theory or some misguided religious zealotry. It dismisses all criticism, no matter how legitimate, as rooted in prejudice and therefore without validity.

This is, of course, precisely the point. The reason that Mr. Krauthammer and other Jews of his persuasion wield the charge of anti-Semitism so promiscuously is precisely to silence their critics. The charge gets wielded precisely because they want to deflect attention away from the behavior that is causing the criticism onto the supposed prejudices of the critic as the real source of the problem. The charge of anti-Semitism, as Mr. Krauthammer wields it, is a tacit admission that the behavior which is causing comment and consternation is indefensible, because if that behavior were defensible then the charge of anti-Semitism would not be needed to derail discussion of it.

When Daniel Jonah Goldhagen mounted a full-scale attack on the German people, not the Nazis, as the driving force behind the murder of Jews during World War II in his book *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, the German intelligentsia fell over itself in their haste to honor Goldhagen, even going so far as to give him an award for demonizing the German people. The applause died down suddenly, even among the intellectuals, when someone took the time to read Goldhagen's footnotes

and noticed that there was no foundation in fact for his thesis that the German people, not the Nazis, were responsible for the Holocaust. *Der Spiegel*, to its credit, was honest enough to retract their encomia once they got around to reading the sources. Citing Hitler scholar Max Domarus, Goldhagen writes that "Hitler announced many times and with great passion that the war would end with the destruction of the Jews, and the killings met with general understanding, if not actual agreement." When Finkelstein consulted the Domarus text he found the following sentences: "Even during the war when his machinery of destruction was in full gear, [Hitler] only mentioned massacres of Jews as a form of foreign policy threat. He knew only too well that such a policy of destruction would be met with rejection by the masses of the people and a majority of his own party members." The source Goldhagen cites as proof, in other words, refutes what he had to say.

It was — ironically or not — Jews who were in the forefront of exposing Goldhagen's bogus and polemical scholarship, and when they did, it was the Jewish organizations that rushed in to demonize and destroy them. When Norman Finkelstein and Ruth Birn, both of whom lost relatives in concentration camps during the war, objected to Goldhagen's shoddy to non-existent scholarship, Abraham Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League tried to intimidate the publishing house that was planning to publish their book, claiming in a

George Will said explicitly what Krauthammer only implied, namely, that animus against Jews has nothing to do with the way Jews behave.

letter to Henry Holt editor Sara Bershtel, whose parents were also Holocaust survivors, that Finkelstein was "irreversibly tainted" because of his anti-Zionism and, therefore, "disqualified" from commenting on the Ho-

locust. "The issue," Foxman suggested, "is not whether Goldhagen's thesis is right or wrong but what's legitimate criticism and what goes beyond the pale." The implication, of course, was that Abe Foxman alone was qualified to answer those questions.

Bernie G. Farber, executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, called Birn's work "an insult" to Jews. He then tried to get Birn fired from her job, even though her job with the Canadian government was prosecuting Nazi war criminals. Farber leveled no substantive criticism against what Birn wrote. His jihad against her was based solely on the fact that she had collaborated with Finkelstein. Birn had helped Daniel Goldhagen in the research that went into his book. She had known him for 13 years prior to doing her critique. His response was to file a lawsuit against her. Unlike Birn, Finkelstein eventually did lose his job as a result of this sort of pressure.

It is no secret that writing about Jews is fraught with peril — even for Jews — but that is why the issue is of such critical importance. As the career of Daniel Jonah Goldhagen shows, this is an area where some people can be lavishly rewarded for telling lies — indeed, for committing libel, as his to be discussed article on Pius XII shows — while, on the other hand, other people can be severely punished for telling the truth, as when Eugenio Pacelli earned the label anti-Semite by simply stating that the Soviet Republic of Bavaria was run by Russian Jews. What we have here, in other words, is the intellectual equivalent of a "structure of sin," an area of intellectual life where the conventions of decency and respect for the truth, no matter who says it, takes a back seat to the crudest and slyest forms of ethnocentrism and grovelling before wealth and power. The issue is respect for the truth. Are there some areas of intellectual life where truth is not an absolute defense? Are there some areas of intellectual life where it is wrong to tell the truth? Do some groups have the right to prohibit discourse? Are the Jews one of these groups?

PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUE

Behind these questions lies an even more basic philosophical issue, something akin to the nominalism of William of Okham. The issue revolves around the use of the word "Jew." Just what does the word refer to? Does it refer to anything at all, or is it, like the word "tree," a word which, according to the nominalists, has no meaning, since in the real world the only thing

which exists are individual birches, oak, maples, etc. According to this unwritten rule of discourse, the term "Jew" refers to no category of beings in reality. Use of the term "Jew" as a category is, as a result, ipso facto evidence of anti-Semitism.

This is not a new phenomenon. Belloc noticed it in England in the '20s, when he wrote that if anyone "exposed a financial swindler who happened to be a Jew, he was an anti-Semite. If he exposed a group of Parliamentarians taking money from the Jews, he was an anti-Semite. If he did no more than call a Jew a Jew, he was an anti-Semite" (*The Jews*, pp. 148-9).

Things have gotten worse since Belloc's time. Now it is impossible to write about Jews without opening oneself to the charge of anti-Semitism, as Belloc's current place in the literary firmament now shows. It is impossible to refer to Belloc in polite circles without the mandatory disclaimer that he was an anti-Semite, simply because he wrote one book about the Jews. His views on Islam are much more censorious than his views on Jews, but that fact never gets mentioned. Nor is it obligatory to refer to Belloc as anti-Muslim.

If anything, what Belloc said then is *a fortiori* true today. Calling a Jew a Jew may or may not be *prima facie* evidence of anti-Semitism, but identifying a group of people as Jews is. This is so because it indicates that the group exists, that it has definable beliefs, and that it, therefore, can act in a certain way, and can, as a result, be criticized for so acting. All of this does not change the fact that the main task confronting anyone who decided to write about the Jews is precisely what he means by that term. It is precisely in the manipulation of the term "Jew" that political benefits lie.

Since the term Jew actually gets used with some frequency, its use is determined by the political advantage of those who use it. Thus, it is permissible to use the group designation when Jews are victims of some attack, but any reference to Jews as the perpetrators of some attack is, again, ipso facto evidence of anti-Semitism and also a sign of conspiracy mania as well. It's heads I win, tails you lose. So, again according to another variation of the canons of contemporary discourse, it is permissible to say that Jews played a large role in the civil rights movement, but it would be anti-Semitic to say that they played a large role in the abortion rights movement.

Ever since the Enlightenment, but certainly since Marx, a certain group of Jews have defined being Jewish as being revolutionary. The terms of the revolution have changed over the years, but the revolutionary content

has remained constant for this group of people. Being Jewish, to this group, means being a revolutionary. Some revolutions, the Communist and the Civil Rights, they are more comfortable in claiming. It is a testament to conscience that there is a hesitancy still to claim abortion. However, revolution generally is seen as the fulfillment of the biblical promise of deliverance from bondage for people who have given up on waiting for the Messiah.

JEWISH CATAclysm

David Horowitz traces this attitude among Jews to the cataclysm of faith that followed from the apostasy of Shabbetai Zevi, the Jewish false Messiah. On May 31, 1665, Zevi proclaimed himself the Messiah in Gaza and "swept with him the whole community, including its rabbi." After being recognized as the Messiah by the Rabbis of Europe, Shabbetai Zevi sailed to Constantinople to take the crown from the head of the sultan there. Before he got to the city, soldiers of the sultan captured him and took him to prison in Adrianople, where the sultan gave him a choice: either convert to Islam or be put to death. Zevi converted to Islam, and the shock wave which spread through European Jewish communities was the biggest catastrophe to hit the Jews since the destruction of the temple in 70 AD. In the wake of the Shabbetai Zevi incident, many Jews simply stopped waiting for a Messiah and began to look for Messianic substitutes here on earth. In 1879 Baruch Levy wrote to Karl Marx announcing that henceforth

The Jewish people, taken collectively, will be its own messiah. It will attain mastery of the world through the union of all the other human races, through the abolition of boundaries and monarchies . . . through the erection of a universal Republic, in which Jews will everywhere enjoy universal rights.

The two main forms which the Messianism which sought heaven on earth has taken for the Jews who ceased waiting for the Messiah are Zionism and Communism. Horowitz, himself a Jew and a former Com-

munist, is especially acute in seeing the attraction Communism held for Jews:

By carrying the revolution to its conclusion, socialists would usher in a millennium and fulfill the messianic prophecies of the pre-Enlightenment religions that modern ideas had discredited. Through this revolution, the lost unity of mankind would be restored, social harmony would be reestablished, paradise regained. It would be a *tikkun olam*, a repair of the world (*The Politics of Bad Faith: The Radical Assault on America's Future* [New York: The Free Press, 1998], p. 119).

Marx defined the Proletariat in terms that made the designation equally applicable to Jews. Like the Jews, the proletariat was a people in exile. "Proletarians," according to Marx, are like Jews in that they "have no country. . . : Proletarians of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains." According to Horowitz, "it is the paradigm of exile that links the fate of the Jews to the radical Left. The same paradigm forges the false bonds between Jewish faith and revolutionary fervor. . . But as the exile from the Land of Israel becomes more and more permanent, an apocalyptic strain develops in Jewish messianism, which no longer conceives the event as a restoration of the good of a previous time" (p. 125).

According to Horowitz, the first counterrevolutionaries were "the Catholic Peasants of the Vendee." In this

The reason that Mr. Krauthammer and other Jews of his persuasion wield the charge of anti-Semitism so promiscuously is precisely to silence their critics.

respect, nothing much has changed in two hundred years. The recent and ongoing attack on Pius XII is one more instance of the over 200 year old clash between the spirit of revolution, a Messianism which promised heaven on earth and became hugely attractive to many Jews who tired of waiting for the Messiah, and the prime agency of counterrevolution, the Catholic Church. The Vatican Council, coming as it did in the wake of the Holocaust and at the high point of liberal

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optimism, gave more than one generation the unrealistically optimistic view that misunderstandings between Jews and Christians and Jews could be healed by a few goodwill gestures on the part of the Church, documents like *Nostra Aetate*. Even a cursory reading of fundamental Christian texts like the Acts of the Apostles would have made clear that Jewish-Christian animus was a two-way street, and that Jewish animus against Christianity was every bit as virulent and real as the opposite.

The optimism of that era, in other words, obscured the fact that there are going to be certain unavoidable positions as long as there are Christians and Jews on this earth. The following options are true for all Christians and all Jews. First there is the Christian position, which according to both text and iconography is that the Jews are blind. The symbol of the synagogue on the facade of the Cathedral in Freiburg is of a blindfolded woman. Jews are blind, according to the Christian point of view, because the Messiah came and they failed to recognize him. In a document issued on March 25, 1928, the Holy Office, the predecessor of the current Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, issued a statement "Concerning the Abolition of the Association Popularly Known as 'The Friends of Israel,'" in which they announce that the Catholic Church "has always been accustomed to pray for the Jewish people, who were the bearers of Divine Revelation up to the time of Jesus Christ: this despite, indeed on account of their subsequent blindness."

The second position is the Jewish position, which is that Christians are self-deluded. Christians believe an impossible fairy tale about Christ rising from the dead. Because Christianity has nonetheless prospered for the past 2000 years, the Jew naturally becomes a debunker. Everyone thinks such and such, but the real story is this. So for Marx, everything is economic, for Freud, Moses was really an Egyptian and "all men" really want to have sex with their mothers and sisters, and for Derrida, meaning is really an illusion.

Those are the classical positions and they are the positions which all Jews and Christians have to hold as long as there are Jews and Christians on this earth.

The third position is the Enlightenment position. This is fairly recent but very influential, especially among certain Jews, and it is epitomized by the parable of the ring in Lessing's play *Nathan der Weise*. The rings symbolize religion. All rings are to be venerated because no one knows who has the real ring. The highpoint of education at the German Gymnasium comes with the

reading of *Nathan der Weise*. At some time during their 13th year of schooling, German Catholics and Lutherans, the state's two established religions, learn that the real ring, symbolizing the true religion "*war nicht Erweislich*," "was nowhere to be found." Just like "the true religion," Nathan the Wise adds for those who are slow in picking up the Enlightenment's solution to the religious wars of the 17th century. But wait, pious German Catholics and Lutherans are in for even more instruction:

All three of you [Muslim, Christian, Jew] are deceived deceivers.

None of your rings are genuine.

The true ring has been lost.

And in order to disguise the loss

The father has created three instead of one.

With Saladin cheering him on from the sidelines — "Herrlich! Herrlich!" — Nathan continues to propound the Enlightenment doctrine of religious relativism which is to be the basis for social order in at least nominally Christian Germany:

My advice to you is

to accept the situation for what it is.

If one of you has his ring from his father, then he should believe that his ring is the real ring, because it's just possible that the Father has had enough of the Tyranny of the One Ring and will no longer tolerate it in his house.

MARGINAL JEWS

Once the Enlightenment arrived in Russia in the mid-19th century, it caused an immediate split among the Jews there into two groups: the Halachic Jews rejected the Enlightenment in favor of the Law and the old ways, which meant of course, a continuing refusal to assimilate; the Maskilic Jews on the other hand accepted the Enlightenment, but in accepting it, they began to look for the Messiah in political movements, movements which became progressively more radicalized during the course of the 19th century. Bolshevism, according to Nora Levin,

attracted marginal Jews, poised between two worlds — the Jewish and the Gentile — who created a new homeland for themselves, a community of ideologists bent on remaking the world in their own image. These Jews quite deliberately and consciously broke with the restrictive social, religious, and cul-

tural life of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement and attacked the secular Jewish culture of Jewish socialists and Zionists. Having abandoned their own origins and identity, yet not finding, or sharing, or being fully admitted to Russian life (except in the world of the party), the Jewish Bolsheviks found their ideological home in revolutionary universalism. They dreamt of a classless and stateless society supported by Marxist faith and doctrine that transcended the particularities and burdens of Jewish existence. Such Jews exhibited vehement hostility toward other Jews such as Bundists, Zionists, and observant Jews who proudly proclaimed or expressed their Jewishness, and became extremely zealous officials in the new regime. (Nora Levin, *The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917, Volume I The Paradox of Survival* [New York: New York University Press], p. 49).

According to Nora Levin, "Leon Trotsky, born Lev Davidovich Bronstein, a central figure in the early years of the Bolshevik Revolution, was typical of the russified, Bolshevik Jew." As such, he felt even as a boy, "bewildered" by the idea that humanity could be divided into separate nations, "in some cases stirring in me nothing but disdain and even a moral nausea." (p. 10). By rejecting their Jewish heritage, Bolsheviks like Trotsky felt that they had become models for the Jew of the future. They felt that their fellow Jews should emulate them by

As a result of the Enlightenment, the Jewish community was split into two groups which are still at odds with each other. On the one hand, the Halachic or ethnic or religious Jews felt that Christians were deluding themselves every bit as much as the other group. The Halachic Jews may even be aggressively anti-Christian but they define themselves in terms of religious observance and traditions and live in ethnic communities, and their animus is confined within those bounds. The Maskilic or secular Enlightenment Jews have given up on traditional Jewish religious observance and are, as a result, especially vulnerable to Messianic, revolutionary ideologies. This group longs for the universal community in which nationhood and ethnicity wither away to be replaced by universal brotherhood and some form of heaven on earth. Because it has abandoned religious roots, this group tends in practice to define itself in purely negative terms, i.e., as not Christian, as Alan Dershowitz does in his book *The Vanishing American Jew*. According to this view, Sigmund Freud, an atheist who thought that Moses was an Egyptian, is a Jew; whereas Edith Stein, born of a Jewish mother, intent on worshipping the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was not because she became a Christian.

THE HOLOCAUST

Things have gotten worse since Belloc's time. Now it is impossible to write about Jews without opening oneself to the charge of anti-Semitism, as Belloc's current place in the literary firmament now shows.

Which brings us back to the Holocaust, which has become the lens through which all things Jewish are to be seen and interpreted. The farther the Holocaust recedes into the past, the more important it becomes as the organizing principle of non-Orthodox Jewish identity, which is to say the identity of the majority of the Jews in America and Israel. Since Jewish identity is now bound up more with the Holocaust

becoming "Jews by family origin only" and as a result should feel "no special ties to other Jews or any interest in specific Jewish problems." According to this view, anti-Semitism was "a disease of capitalism which would disappear with the destruction of capitalism."

than with the Torah, the immediacy of the Holocaust must be continually revived, for if it is not, the main thing holding Jews together as a group would disappear, threatening the future existence of the Jews at a time when they are already threatened with disappearance through intermarriage and the low birth-rate which

flows from putting sexual revolution into practice. (Alan Dershowitz has expressed the fears of this group in his book *The Vanishing American Jew*, without of course being able to see the connection between the liberalism he espouses in sexual matters — Dershowitz was one of President Clinton's most ardent defenders during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, as well as an ardent defender of gains of sexual liberation which Clinton symbolized — and the demographic results they produce.)

In order to keep the Holocaust alive as the organizing principle for secular Jewish identity, the leaders of this group have to find villains who are still alive, unlike the Nazis, who died off some time ago. Which brings us back once again to Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. For the esoteric, unexpurgated version, you have to turn to the pages of journals like *The New Republic*, and in particular to things like Daniel Goldhagen's recent article on Eugenio Pacelli, otherwise known as Pope Pius XII, "What Would Jesus Have Done? Pope Pius XII, the Catholic Church and the Holocaust" (1/21/02, p. 21ff). If the pope were hoping that his apology to the Jews would inaugurate an era of inter-religious good will, he would do well to avoid reading *The New Republic* if he doesn't want to experience acute disappointment. Goldhagen's article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book, to appear in the Fall, and Goldhagen's book is just one of a whole flood of material attacking Pius XII as "Hitler's Pope."

If the article is any indication of the forthcoming book, then Goldhagen's contribution is more polemical than scholarly. Everything the Church has done to clarify its position vis a vis the Jews — from Pope John Paul II's apology, to *Nostra Aetate*, the Second Vatican Council's statement on Jews, to *Mit Brennender Sorge*, Pius XI's attack on Nazi racialist ideology — as well as every attempt the Church has made to defend Jews from persecution is vilified by Goldhagen as covert anti-Semitism. This is so, at least according to Goldhagen, because Christianity is by its very nature driven by an obsessive hatred of Jews and by a bloodthirsty desire to exterminate them. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John are, according to this view, virulently anti-Semitic documents. The Jews had nothing to do with Christ's crucifixion, which Goldhagen informs us was a purely Roman affair. "For centuries," Goldhagen tells us, "the Catholic Church . . . harbored anti-Semitism at its core, as an integral part of its doctrine, its theology and its liturgy." In other words, responsibility for the Holocaust is to be laid ultimately, not at the feet of the Nazis but at the feet of the Catholic Church which made the Nazis possible.

SIMILARITIES

The perceptive reader will have noticed by now similarities between Goldhagen's forthcoming book on Pius XII and his previous book *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Both engage in a subtle exculpation of the Nazis as the perpetrators of Jewish genocide, and both books propose other candidates for that role — in the first instance "ordinary Germans," in the second instance "ordinary Catholics," but Pius XII in particular. What Goldhagen seems to have missed in his eagerness to exonerate the Nazis is the fact that his two books contradict each other. Were the Jews murdered by people who were "ordinary Germans" because they were German or by "ordinary Catholics" because they were Catholics? He can't have it both ways. Goldhagen is trapped by the extreme nature of his thesis in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* and put into a bind whereby he must repudiate the thesis of his first book in order to propose the thesis of his second book.

There are other problems as well. If Goldhagen takes the position that Germans qua Germans were responsible for the Holocaust, he has no way of explaining why so many other non-German groups in eastern Europe joined in so avidly in the killing of Jews once the Germans occupied their territory. Ruth Birn mentions the Araj commandos in Latvia, as just one example of a local, non-German ethnic group that was, if anything more avid to kill Jews than the Nazis who ostensibly commanded them. If, on the other hand, Goldhagen switches horses in midstream and now maintains that ordinary Catholics qua Catholics were responsible for the Holocaust, he has no way of explaining why Hitler was so avid in persecuting Catholics, in particular Catholic clergy, from the very moment he took power. The concentration camp at Dachau was full of German Catholic clergy, so much so that it evolved its own elaborate liturgical life, which, since bishops were interned there, included the ordination to the priesthood of Karl Leisner.

If the article is any indication of the book, it will rely heavily on secondary sources. In fact, Goldhagen got the smoking gun, which proves that Pius XII was an anti-Semite, from John Cornwell's book *Hitler's Pope*. The document in question is a letter which Eugenio Pacelli wrote to Cardinal Gasparri about the leadership of the Bavarian Socialist Republic, which he described as being led by Russian Jews. As Belloc noted, a man is considered an anti-Semite if he calls a Jew a Jew. This seems to be the main line of reasoning in Goldhagen's

accusation against Pacelli. He is guilty of anti-Semitism because he mentioned that the leaders of the revolution in Bavaria were Russian Jews. No one is disputing the fact. Goldhagen, however, sees the fact that Pacelli mentioned the fact at all as *prima facie* evidence that the future pope was an anti-Semite. As Goldhagen puts it, "the evidence of Pius XII's anti-Semitism comes from an unimpeachable source: Pius XII himself. Cornwell quotes a letter that he wrote describing a scene of 'absolute hell' from the Communist insurrection in Munich of April 1919." Goldhagen then quotes Cornwell's translation of Pacelli's letter in which Pacelli describes his assistant's visit to the Wittelsbach palace in the Spring of 1919, referring to "a gang of young women of dubious appearance, Jews like all the rest of them, hanging around in all the offices with lecherous demeanor and suggestive smiles."

Goldhagen considers this damning evidence, but perhaps not damning enough, because he felt obliged to embellish Cornwell's translation by adding the word "all" to the phrase "Jews like all the rest of them," which in Cornwell's book was simply "Jews like the rest of them." It would be a trivial matter, if it weren't for the fact that Goldhagen repeats the word "all" in quotes throughout the article as if to emphasize the fact that Pacelli was generalizing from the Russian revolutionaries to "all" Jews in general, when that was clearly not his intent. And we know it was not his intent because he never used the word "all" to begin with. In fact he never said, as Cornwell asserts, "Jews like the rest of them."

The matter becomes less than trivial when we realize that Cornwell's translation is itself a falsification of the original document. In the original Italian, Pacelli described, "*una schiera di giovani donne, dall'aspetto poco rassicurante, ebrei come i primi, che stanno in tutti gli uffici, con arie provocanti e con sorrisi equivoci*" (Cornwell claims to have discovered the letter while poring over the archives in a windowless cell deep within the Vatican, but the letter had already been published in Emma Fattorini, *Germania e Santa Sede: Le nunziature di Pacelli fra la Grande guerra e la Repubblica di Weimar* [Bologna: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Monographia #18, Societa editrice il Mulino], p. 323). The key phrase in the original is not "Jews like the rest of them" as Cornwell claims, and certainly not "Jews like all the rest of them" according to Goldhagen's ideologically motivated embellishment of Cornwell's translation, but rather "Jews like the first group," "*ebrei come i primi*." The only time the word "all" (*tutti*) appeared in the passage was in reference to

offices "*tutti gli uffici*" and not in reference to Jews. Goldhagen says Pacelli referred to "Jews like all the rest of them" when in fact what Pacelli really said was "Jews like the first group," referring to the people he had already mentioned. Goldhagen goes on to amplify his statement later, claiming that Pacelli avers that "the Communist revolutionaries. . . were 'all' Jews." When in fact that's not what Pacelli said at all. Goldhagen uses the word "all" in quotes to back up his case, when in fact he made up the word in the first place.

This isn't the first time that Goldhagen has engaged in this sort of falsification. In *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Goldhagen reports on the diary of a German soldier who was repulsed by the Araj Komando Latvians murdering Jews. Since this is *prima facie* evidence that "ordinary Germans" aren't the monsters he portrays them to be, Goldhagen has to mistranslate the sentence "*Diese Handlungsweise hat mich angeekelt*," from "this sort of behavior disgusted me," into a tacit approval of the killing but disapproval of the way — his translation of "*Handlungsweise*" — it was done.

After deliberately amplifying what was already a falsification of Pacelli's words, Goldhagen goes on to say that "this passage," upon which virtually the entire weight of his proof of Pacelli's anti-Semitism rests, "is Pius XII's only relatively extensive utterance about Jews that has come to light." In other words, the absence of more material is not a sign that the evidence for his thesis does not exist, but rather evidence for the fact that the Vatican has engaged in a cover-up of damaging material. So instead of taking into account Pacelli's voluminous writings, none of which even remotely point to anti-Semitism and much of which indicate his efforts to save Jews, Goldhagen decides to base his argument on one mistranslated letter which he deliberately embellished because "it bears the stamp of authenticity, an expression of the then-future pope's true views of Jews." In spite of the fact that he is basing his argument on one document, Goldhagen assures us that "it was not a fleeting opinion, a whimsical lapse into rank anti-Semitism, but an abiding sentiment that may be reflected in other similar statements, oral or written, the evidence of which would have expired with his interlocutors or would be secured in the locked archives of the Vatican." In other words, the most damning evidence that Goldhagen can muster is the fact that there is no evidence at all. Failing to produce any evidence, Goldhagen then assures his by now bewildered reader that "the evidence" is "secured in the locked archives of the Vatican."

"ALL THE REST OF THEM"?

In other words, the only evidence which Goldhagen can muster for Pacelli's alleged anti-Semitism is a statement of fact — the Bavarian Soviet Republic was run by Russian Jews — which he had to alter in order to make it sound more incriminating. The word "all" had to be added to what was already a false translation to make it sound as if Pacelli were somehow generalizing from the behavior of the Bolsheviks who had occupied the Wittelsbach palace to include all Jews. Pacelli, according to Goldhagen's reading of this one already cited letter, was the author of "vicious anti-Semitic stereotypes" which were virtually indistinguishable from "the kind that Julius Streicher would soon offer the German public in every issue of his notorious Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*."

As if frustrated by his inability to make his case, Goldhagen tries to make up in invective and innuendo what he lacks in documentation. But in doing this, he leads the reader — unwittingly, perhaps — to the heart of the issue, which is to say, to the truth which resides at the heart of the issue, in spite of his efforts to obscure it. "Implicit in Pacelli's letter," Goldhagen continues, "is the notion of Judeo-Bolshevism — the virtually axiomatic conviction among Nazis, modern anti-Semites in general and within the Church itself that Jews were the principle bearers and even the authors of Bolshevism." Behind the equivalence between Nazism and Catholicism which Goldhagen is trying to prove, suddenly another equivalence emerges, namely, the relationship between Jews and Bolshevism. In the heat of his passion to convict Pius XII, Goldhagen inadvertently introduces an issue which contextualizes Pacelli's letter to Gasparri in precisely the way in which Goldhagen does not want to contextualize it because, as more than one commentator has noted, the main reason people were concerned about Jews during the 1920s is because they saw them, rightly or wrongly, as in the forefront of the communist menace which was threatening all of Europe. Writing in *Outlook*, Mordecai Briemberg notes that "numerous historians . . . have been struck by the fact that hatred of Jews is almost always coupled with hatred of communism." In fact Hitler realized early on that attacks on Jews alone reaped no political benefits. The Jews had to be linked to the threat of Bolshevism precisely because German Jews had been so successful in assimilating. The fact that they were perceived as assimilated Germans meant that they would be perceived as a threat only if they could be linked with a menacing foreign

ideology and a menacing foreign power, something like Russian Communism.

By mentioning Bolshevism, in other words, Goldhagen undermines his whole argument about anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism during the 1920s in Europe was not directed against the existence of the Jews but rather against the behavior of Jews, because Jews were widely seen as the driving force behind Bolshevism. The following anecdote makes the point as effectively as extensive documentation:

Karl Radek and Grigory Zinoviev . . . had come to Germany in 1918 to stoke the fires of revolution. Like many other leading Bolsheviks (Sverdlov, Kamenev, and Trotsky, for example), both Radek and Zinoviev were Jews, as was the foremost figure of the German Revolution — Rosa Luxemburg and the head of the new revolutionary government in Hungary, Bela Kun. And, of course, the inspirer of all their revolutionary exertions, Karl Marx himself, had come from a long line of famous rabbis in Trier.

Radek was addressing the crowd. "We have had the Revolution in Russia and the Revolution in Hungary, and now the Revolution is erupting in Germany," he roared, "and after that we will have the Revolution in France and the Revolution in England and the Revolution in America." As Radek worked up his passion, Zinoviev tapped him on the shoulder and whispered, "Karl, Karl, there won't be enough Jews to go around."

Before we proceed, it's worth asking whether the preceding two paragraphs are examples of anti-Semitism. Suppose for a moment that this anecdote had been found in Pacelli's handwriting "in the locked archives of the Vatican"? Would it be considered evidence that Pius XII was an anti-Semite? "The notion of Judeo-Bolshevism — the virtually axiomatic conviction among Nazis, modern anti-Semites in general, and within the Church itself that Jews were the principle bearers and even the authors of Bolshevism" — Goldhagen's criterion of anti-Semitism — is not implicit in this statement, as Goldhagen claims it is in Pacelli's letter; it is explicit. Does that make its author an anti-Semite? Yes or no? If so, then David Horowitz is an anti-Semite because he not only tells the anecdote in his book *The Politics of Bad Faith*, he goes on to say that although the anecdote is "apocryphal" the truth it points to is "telling," because "for nearly two hundred years, Jews have played a disproportionate role as leaders of the modern revolutionary movements in Europe and the West" (p. 119).

JEWES AND BOLSHIEVICS

Goldhagen states at another point in his article attacking Pius XII that "during the Weimar and Nazi period, anti-Communist diatribes and caricatures conflated Jews and Bolsheviks," without any indication that this conflation was not limited to Nazi propaganda. Most people were concerned about the spread of Communism in the period of collapse following World War I, and many of those people felt that Jews played a crucial role in spreading the communist threat. By mentioning Bolshevism, however, Goldhagen undermines his own eliminationist argument. People resented Jews in the '20s primarily because of their behavior and because of their perceived connection with Bolshevism and because they saw Jews as Bolsheviks promoting revolutionary activity throughout Europe. Even Hitler couldn't make his anti-Jewish diatribes stick without associating Jews with Bolshevism. By first mentioning "Judeo-Bolshevism" and then prohibiting any further inquiry into the historical truth of the matter, Goldhagen both undermines his own argument and attempts to save it at the same time by declaring the most significant locus of Jewish behavior at that time as being off limits for further inquiry. Instead he reasserts apodictically, as Finkelstein points out, that

anti-Jewish animus [is] "divorced from actual Jews," "fundamentally not a response to any objective evaluation of Jewish action," "independent of the Jews' nature and actions," etc. Indeed, according to Goldhagen, anti-Semitism is strictly a Gentile mental pathology: its "host domain" is "the mind" (Finkelstein and Birn, *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* [New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998] p. 95).

As a result "there can be no question of Jewish guilt or innocence." But then Goldhagen goes on to say that "there was nothing that Pius XII dreaded more than Bolshevism." This in turn leads him to wonder whether it would "be unreasonable to believe that his stance toward the Germans' persecution of the Jews was colored in some measure by his apparent identification of Communism with Jews."

In the first instance, Goldhagen indicates that anti-Semitism has nothing to do with Jewish behavior. Then he does a 180 degree turn and says that Pius XII was an anti-Semite because he drew a connection between Jews and Bolshevism, which is to say, he was upset by the connection between Jewish behavior and Communist

behavior. Once again, it's heads I win; tails you lose. After telling us that Pius XII saw a connection between Jews and Bolshevism, Goldhagen never gets around to telling whether Jews were involved in Bolshevism at all, much less whether they played "a disproportionate role" in its history.

At this point we arrive at the heart of the political role which the Holocaust plays in contemporary discourse. The Holocaust was a unique historical event — so unique, according to Goldhagen's account in *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, that it was "a radical break with everything known in human history . . . completely at odds with the intellectual foundations of modern western civilization . . . as well as the . . . ethical and behavioral norms that had governed modern western societies." Since the Holocaust had no relationship to the history that went before it, the behavior of Jews, as in the role they played in the Communist Revolution in Russia, could have no connection to the way Jews were perceived in Europe during the '20s. And if that were true then, it is also true before the '20s and today. So, according to this theory, nothing that Jews can do or not do can cause people to either like or dislike them.. It means as well that the pogroms in Russia in the 1880s which followed the assassination of the czar had nothing to do with the perception that Jews were in the forefront of the revolutionary terrorism there, and it means that the specter of Bolshevism that haunted Europe during the '20s had nothing to do with Hitler's rise to power, because nothing ever causes anti-Semitism. It just is.

The historical record, however, tells a different story. Bolshevism was a major concern in Europe at the time, and Jews were seen, rightly or wrongly as the driving force behind it. In the February 8, 1920 edition of the *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, Winston Churchill wrote:

There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution: by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one and it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews. Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek — all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predomi-

nance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combating Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses.

In a letter to the then former Prime Minister Arthur Balfour in 1918, the Dutch diplomat Oudendyke wrote that:

Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organized and worked by Jews, who have no nationality and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things.

US ambassador in Moscow, David R. Francis, reported back to Washington: "the Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 percent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists, and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution."

In his book on Jews in Russia and the Soviet Union, Salo Baron claims that "anti-Semites in and outside Russia glibly equated communism with the alleged Jewish world conspiracy." But then he goes on to substantiate the role Jews played in the Communist government by claiming that those same people "could easily point

of the Third International was Grigorii Evseevich Zinoviev (Apfelbaum)." In addition to that it was, again according to Baron, a Galician Jew, the already mentioned Karl Radek, who "helped reorganize the Russian press and laid the foundations for communism's highly effective world-wide propaganda" (p. 202).

More important than their actual numbers was the role which Jews played in the revolution. Realizing that ethnic Russian communists often felt a sense of solidarity with other Russians, Lenin needed to appoint Jews and Poles as both his commissars and as those responsible for running the VE-CHE-KA or Cheka, the secret police agency responsible for revolutionary terror. Salo Baron again notes that "a disproportionate number of Jews" joined the hated Bolshevik secret police "in subconscious retaliation for the many years of suffering at the hands of the Russian police" (p. 203). The animus against Jews which Communism fostered in Russia and eastern Europe was intensified by the fact that enforcers of the hated regime were, more often than not, Jews and, as Leonard Shapiro put it, "anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator" (Ibid.).

The situation under Bela Kun in Hungary was even worse. Richard Pipes notes that "In Hungary, they [the Jews] furnished 95 percent of the leading figures in Bela Kun's dictatorship [and were] disproportionately represented among the Communists in Germany and Austria and in the apparatus of the Communist International."

Tibor Szamuely, one of Kun's Jewish henchmen, traveled through Hungary in a special train which

rumbled through the Hungarian night and where it stopped, men hung from trees, and blood flowed in the streets. Along the railway line one often found naked and mutilated corpses.

Szamuely passed sen-

tences of death in the train and those forced to enter it never related what they had seen. Szamuely lived in it constantly; thirty Chinese terrorists watched over his safety; special executioners accompanied

Goldhagen has no way of explaining why so many other non-German groups in eastern Europe joined in so avidly in the killing of Jews once the Germans occupied their territory.

out that the first president of the Central Committee of the Party was Jacob Sverdlov, a Lithuanian Jew, that this Committee included four other Jews in its total membership of twenty-one, and that the long-time president

him. The train was composed of two saloon cars, two first class cars reserved for the terrorists and two third class cars reserved for the victims. In the latter the executions took place. The floors were stained with blood. The corpses were thrown from the windows while Szamuely sat at his dainty little writing table, in the saloon car upholstered in pink silk and ornamented with mirrors. A single gesture of his hand dealt out life or death. (C de Tormay, *Le livre proscriit*, p. 204, Paris 1919, cited in de Poncins, *The Secret Powers Behind Revolution*, p. 122).

Szamuely, like Bela Kun, was known as both a Jew and a Bolshevik. His behavior was, as a result, bound to create animus against other Jews, whether they were Bolsheviks or not. In many ways, this is the real tragedy of the Holocaust. The Jewish Bolsheviks, by their behavior, created animus against all Jews. In fact, since religious Jews were much more visible because of their clothing and the lives they led, they were more likely to bear the brunt of the anti-Semitism which the Bolsheviks created, because secularized Jews, which is what the Jewish Bolsheviks were, were often invisible as Jews because of their secularity.

THE THREAT IN 1919

The description of Szamuely's brutality was published in Paris in 1919, the same year that Pacelli wrote to Gasparri about the Russian Jews at the Wittelsbach Palace in Munich. The communist revolution at this moment was a very real threat, and the threat was given more urgency because the Jews who promoted it were not just in Russia. The possibility of a Soviet invasion of Europe seemed remote, but the fact that the Jews were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the revolution created suspicion in countries across Europe where they were perceived as a potential fifth column. The bloody excesses of people like Bela Kun in Hungary and Kurt Eisner in Germany and the Bolsheviks in Russia were bound to cause a reaction.

The tragedy is that all Jews were blamed for the excesses of the Jewish Bolsheviks. "What may appear to Mr. [Chaim] Weizmann," one British diplomat wrote, "to be outrages against Jews, may be — in the eyes of the Russians — retaliation against the horrors committed by the Bolsheviks who are organized and directed by the Jews." (Donn de Grand Pre, *Barbarians Inside the Gates: The Black Book of Bolshevism*, [San Pedro, CA: GSG & associates, 2000], p. 59.) Nora Levin notes that

when Jews acted as "passionately committed Bolsheviks in whatever they did, they reinforced existing anti-Jewish feeling, especially among adherents of Russian Orthodoxy" (p. 73).

BOLSHEVIK OUTRAGES

The same was true of Latvians, Ukrainians and virtually every other ethnic group in Eastern Europe. When the Nazis arrived in the early '40s, they found many non-German "willing executioners" because of the outrages which the Bolsheviks had committed in the period following the revolutionary takeover of Russia in 1917. Ruth Birn mentions the case of the "Arajs Komando" in Latvia, followers of Viktor Arajs, all of whom were Latvians who were active throughout the entire period of German occupation. The Arajs Komando "did nothing but kill Jews," and were so enthusiastic in what they did that they sickened the SS who were assigned to command them. Birn notes that "camps in the occupied Soviet Union were run with a minimum of German personnel." Some in fact, "functioned without German personnel at all and with only minimal supervision." Birn notes that Goldhagen ignores these facts because they would undermine his thesis that Germans were "the central and only perpetrators of the Holocaust" (p. 133). But he also ignores the fact that the excesses of Bolshevism more than any one other single factor, fueled the animus against Jews throughout eastern Europe.

Not all Bolsheviks were Jews, not all Jews were Bolsheviks. Ernest van den Haag later came up with a rule of thumb: one out of every ten Jews was a revolutionary, but five out of every ten revolutionaries were Jews. Even if not all Jews were Bolsheviks, most Jews tended to view the revolution in Russia favorably, especially when compared to other groups, like Catholics. Glazer and Moynihan compare reactions in their book *Beyond the Melting Pot*. In June 1919 the *Catholic World* declared:

The excesses of the Bolshevik revolution are . . . not the exaggeration of otherwise worldly tendencies. They are the absolute subversion of all moral principles, the destruction of religion and the overthrow of civilization.

A little over a year later, in September 1920, the *American Hebrew* declared:

The Bolshevik Revolution eliminated the most brutal dictatorship in history. This great achievement,

destined to figure in history as one of the overshadowing results of the World War, was largely the product of Jewish thinking, Jewish discontent, Jewish effort to reconstruct (*Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* [Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1963], p. 268.)

If the beleaguered peoples of eastern Europe tended to conflate Jews and Bolshevism, they were in no way different than the Jews themselves, who tended to see the Russian revolution as a Jewish event, or at least an event with great significance for the Jews. On October 1, 1929, the *Jewish World* wrote that

there is much in the fact of Bolshevism itself, in the fact that so many Jews are Bolsheviks, in the fact that the ideals of Bolshevism at many points are consonant with the finest teachings of Judaism, some of which went to form the basis of the last teachings of the founder of Christianity — these are things which the thoughtful Jew will examine carefully.

Ten years earlier in 1919, Rabbi J. L. Magnes, claimed in a speech he gave in New York City that in Germany, the Jew

becomes a Marx and a Lassalle, a Haas and an Edward Bernstein; in Austria Victor Adler, Friedrich Adler; in Russia, Trotsky. Compare for an instant the present situation in Germany and Russia: The

As a result of the Enlightenment, the Jewish community was split into two groups which are often at odds with each other.

revolution there has liberated creative forces and admire the quantity of Jews who were ready for active and immediate service. Revolutionaries, Socialists, Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Majority or Minority Socialists, whatever name one assigns to them, all are Jews, and one finds them as the chiefs or the workers in all revolutionary parties.

Writing in the *Communist* of Kharkov of April 1919, M. Cohen claims that "the great Russian social revolu-

tion has been made by the hand of the Jews." According to Nora Levin, Jews "greeted the March revolution" like "a miracle . . . that will be recorded as one of the greatest events in the history of Israel." A magazine for Jewish children compared it to the Passover liberation of Jews from Egypt" (p. 2). She also indicates that Jewish enthusiasm for revolution filled the spiritual vacuum which the evaporation of religious belief had left behind in the wake of the Enlightenment's arrival in Russia during the 19th century. Trotsky was, in this regard, paradigmatic for what Levin calls the non-Jewish Jew. Like Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Radek, Litvinov, Kaganovich, and other Jewish Bolsheviks, Trotsky was "russified, cosmopolitan, [and] hostile to the point of vindictiveness in their attitudes toward Jewish national culture, Zionism, and religious tradition." Unfortunately for more religious/ethnic and therefore more visible Jews, the Jewish Bolsheviks were "always identified as Jews by anti-Bolsheviks everywhere, by the masses of people in the Soviet Union, and by the Communist parties inside and outside of the Soviet Union. . . . It was they who stamped Bolshevism as 'Jewish' in the prevailing view both of supporters and opponents of Bolshevism" (Levin, p. 10).

REVOLUTIONARY PREDECESSORS

What was true of the Bolsheviks was *a fortiori* true of their revolutionary predecessors. The Jewish areas of Russia were hotbeds of revolutionary activity throughout the second half of the 19th century. As in the case of the Bolsheviks in the 20th century, not all revolutionaries were Jews, but it is doubtful whether the revolutionary move-

ment could have survived without Jewish technical and practical skills as smugglers, printers, explosives experts and in general masters of living the "underground" life. Haberer feels that "Jews constituted an important, if not crucial, national element in turning the region into a hotbed of terrorist violence" (Erich Haberer, *Jews and Revolution in Nineteenth-century Russia* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], p. 150).

It would be naive, or as Haberer says, "shortsighted" to claim in light of the overwhelming amount of evi-

dence that Jews just happened to be revolutionaries. Jews were drawn to revolutionary activity precisely because of the hold that Messianic Socialism acquired over them once this group of Jews abandoned traditional religious practice.

Socialism was, in other words, a political movement with deep roots in secular Messianic Jewish thought. As a result Jews began to play a major role in socialist, and, therefore, revolutionary and terrorist activity in Russia at around the middle of the 19th century. To ignore the Jewish contribution to this vision is "short-sighted," according to Haberer, because it "prevents us from comprehending the mental processes which drove alienated men and existentially troubled individuals like Vittenberg to sanctify socialism and to commit themselves to terrorism" (Haberer, pp 155-6). Chernyi Peredel, a terrorist revolutionary organization that was active between 1879 and 1881 was run by "famous revolutionary Jews" like Deich, Aptekman, and Akselrod, but Jews were also active as technicians of the underground at all levels of this organization and in other terrorist organizations like Narodnaia Volia as well. Jews, in short, were, as Haberer puts it, "attracted to revolutionary activity — and terror in particular — due to specific Jewish circumstances." They saw the Jewish mission in terms that were both Biblical and secular at the same time. The Jews were now the revolutionary vanguard, which resembled God's chosen people, who were called if not by God then by their own idealism, which also had biblical roots, to bring about the salvation of all mankind or, in secular terms, "the liberation of all oppressed groups."

Salvation, in other words still came from the Jews, but now it was a different kind of salvation — utopian socialism — coming from a different kind of Jew, the underground revolutionary terrorist. Aron Zundelevich, according to Tscherikower, intentionally chose for himself the party name "Moishe," because he saw himself as leading not only the Jewish people but all people out of bondage. The Czar was simply the Pharaoh in his latest incarnation. The future promised a utopia not only for Jews but for all people, who would be grateful that the Jewish revolutionaries had led them out of bondage, just as Moses had led the Israelites out of Egypt. The revolution fulfilled the deepest longings of a group of people who had stopped waiting for the Messiah and who now felt that the revolution was going to bring about the paradise on earth which the Messiah had promised but failed to deliver. Revolution was a deeply Jewish project, both in terms of its rationale and in

terms of the people who filled the ranks of its organizations. The Elizavetgrad circle of Lev I. Rozenfeld, which helped organize the assassination of suspected agent-provocateur Nikolai E. Gorinovich, "consisted almost exclusively of Jews." Jews, in fact, "were a major and very active component in virtually all radical circles which in the south of Russia acted as catalysts of political terrorism" (Haberer, p. 151).

REVOLUTIONARY SKILLS

The revolutionary movement in Russia attracted large number of Jews from predominantly Jewish areas because of the philosophical and political and religious reasons we have already mentioned, but they became prominent in the movement primarily because of their skills. Because they lived in the Pale of the Settlement on the western border of the Russian empire, Jews had close contact with Jews in the easternmost parts of both Prussia, including cities like Berlin, and the Austro-Hungarian empire. They were as a result already involved in the exchange of information and goods, often by way of smuggling, and as a result adept at running printing presses and forging passports and other essential documents. Jews, in other words, were much better at running illegal "underground" operations than they were in educating and mobilizing the vast army of Russian peasants at the other end of Russia, something the early revolutionary organization tried but failed to achieve.

The Jews who were employed in "underground" operations as both *techniky* and *praktiky* soon learned how to put the new technologies to use as weapons of terrorism. Jews from Nikolaev were the first to produce explosives from pyroxylin. Jewish business magnate Dmitrii Lizogub set up a special fund to pay for the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Aron Zundelevich used that money to fund "the dynamite workshop," which was to provide the explosives that would mine the railroad tracks which were to explode when the Czar's special train passed over them. Gregory Gurevich, another revolutionary, indicates that it was common knowledge in revolutionary circles that "Arkadii [Zundelevich] had bought dynamite from somewhere and had brought it to St. Petersburg" as part of their project to kill the Czar. This turn away from education and toward terrorism "enhanced rather than diminished the Jewish presence in the revolutionary movement," according to Haberer (p. 188). Once the

revolutionaries turned their efforts away from educating and organizing peasants toward murder and terrorism, this change "brought out sharply the salient features of Jewish revolutionary involvement" (Ibid).

Recourse to terrorism caused a split between Jewish and Gentile revolutionaries. When Gentile qualms were shoved aside, the natural consequence was Jewish predominance in the revolutionary movement. Jews were most vocal in urging "the systematic and uninterrupted repetition of terrorist acts" as the best way to bring about revolution in Russia (Haberer, p. 247). As a result, Jewish names began to show up with alarming frequency on the police lists of terrorists and revolutionaries. Tsarist officials with some justification became convinced that Jews were responsible for much of the political unrest which occurred between 1870 and 1890.

Because of their skills and because of their quasi-religious ideological commitment, the Jews carried the revolutionary movement through its darkest days in Russia. In fact without Jewish support, it is doubtful that the revolution would have succeeded there. Before long, the police began to notice a preponderance of Jewish names among the lists of terrorists and revolutionaries. "The ever growing Jewish participation in the revolutionary movement, and its increasing visibility as Jews became more frequently linked to highly publicized acts of terrorism, was duly registered by those who had least to gain from it — the government officials," who, according to Haberer, "had a more accurate appreciation of the role of Jews in the terrorist movement than the revolutionaries themselves or historians who joined them in downplaying the Jewish contribution" (pp. 200-1).

TERRORISM AND THE POGROMS

The political terrorism which Jews were instrumental in promoting culminated in the assassination of Alexander II. The assassination of Alexander II led, in turn, to the pogroms. As a result the new alarm about revolutionary activity, especially after the assassination of the Czar, began to merge with the older, traditional anti-Semitism, producing an especially virulent animus against all Jews, not just the Jews who fomented revolution. The triumph of Bolshevism in the revolution of 1917 increased the fear and the animus against the Jews once again. And once again it was the most visible Jews, which is to say the ethnic, religious Jews who bore the brunt of that animus when the reaction came.

Hitler took advantage of the same sort of anti-Semitism which followed the assassination of the Czar in Russia in the 1880s. Those who felt that Jews were in the forefront of revolutionary activity in Russia felt that the same Jews were now active in Germany and throughout eastern Europe in the chaotic years following the end of World War I. The fears of Bolshevism combined with the old anti-Semitism to create a reaction that brought Hitler to power and would have terrible consequences for Jews, especially for religious Jews, who were least responsible for the revolutionary excesses of people like Trotsky.

Revolutionary Jews, in fact, supported the pogroms which took place in the wake of the assassination of Czar Alexander II because they saw in the pogroms the beginnings of the revolution in Russia. "Among the Jewish revolutionaries," Abraham Cahan wrote in his autobiography,

were some who considered the anti-Semitic massacres to be a good omen. They theorized that the pogroms were an instinctive outpouring of the revolutionary anger of the people, driving the Russian masses against their oppressors. The uneducated Russian people knew that the Czar, the officials and the Jews sucked their blood, they argued. So the Ukrainian peasants attacked the Jews, the "percentniks." The revolutionary torch had been lit and would next be applied to the officials and the Czar himself (Haberer, p. 217).

The Tsarist police were worried for exactly the same reasons. The pogroms might get out of hand and turn into full-scale revolution. In many ways both the tsarist officials and the Jewish revolutionaries were right. The pogroms radicalized Jewish youth, who turned to the revolutionary movement as the way of expressing their outrage at the attacks on the Jews. Nora Levin noticed the same thing during the Russian civil war some 40 years later. The anti-Bolshevik armies visited reprisals on all Jews for what they saw as Jewish participation in revolutionary and terrorist activity, and that in turn radicalized Jewish youth who felt that the only way to die with a gun in their hands was to join the Red Army. So Jewish revolutionary activity led to the pogroms and the pogroms led to more Jewish revolutionary activity. In fact, by 1887, revolution in the wake of the pogroms was only kept alive "because of the continuous supply of Jewish recruits, who, skillfully evading the police, constantly started up new pockets of revolutionary resistance" (Haberer, p. 253). Surveying the revolutionary

ferment during the period from 1878 to 1887 in an official government report, General N. I. Shebeko stated that during this period "the profession of destructive ideas has generally, little by little, become the property of the Jewish element, which very often figured [prominently] in revolutionary circles." He concluded by claiming that "approximately 80 per cent of known socialists in the South [of Russia] in 1886-1887 were Jews" (Haberer, p. 253). Haberer puts Jewish participation at between 25 and 30 percent, but essentially agrees with Shebeko's assessment. By the late 19th century, "revolutionary subversion without Jews had become unthinkable."

Eventually the Bolsheviks turned on the Jews and spent the rest of the '20s engaged in a campaign to either eradicate traditional Jewish life or to bring it under party control. Eventually all of the original Jewish Bolsheviks were purged by Stalin. With one exception, that is. Stalin retained the services of Lazar Kaganovich to run his system of concentration camps, subsequently known as the Gulag Archipelago. In *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Goldhagen claims that the concentration camp was a uniquely German invention. He fails to tell us that, as Hitler himself noted, the British invented them during the Boer War and that the Soviet Union put them into practice before Hitler did. He also fails to tell us that a Jew, the only Jew who survived Stalin's purges of the Bolshevik era Jews, ran them for Stalin.

At this point, it's worth asking whether Pius XII — the man certain people have taken to calling Hitler's pope — served Nazism as ardently as Lazar Kaganovich served Stalin and Communism. Or whether we, unlike the people who lived during the actual events of the 30s and 40s, would think of making such a comparison solely because we have been swayed by the current campaign to defame Pius XII. Pius XI, Pius XII and members of the German hierarchy like Bishop Graf von

Galen of Muenster warned German Catholics that Hitler's racial ideology was incompatible with Catholicism. No Jews of any stature ever issued a similar warning against Communism. In fact, Jewish commentators saw the revolution in Russia as akin to Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage in history. Similarly, while many Jews, most prominently Daniel Goldhagen, accuse Catholicism of complicity in the Nazi Holocaust, no Jew of any stature has issued an apology for Jewish

participation in the Communist Holocaust, an event which took many more lives. David Horowitz, however, comes close, admitting after his own involvement with the Left that "in our time, 100 million people have been slaughtered in the revolutions of the left with no positive result, while millions more have been buried alive. Beyond the iron curtains of the socialist empires, whole cultures were desecrated, civilizations destroyed and generations deprived of the barest essentials of a tolerable life." Horowitz's conversion gives him new respect for "counterrevolutionaries" in general and the first counterrevolutionaries, "the Catholic Peasants of the Vendee," in particular (p. 140).

The admission is significant because the poles of the debate over revolution remain essentially what they were when 250,000 Catho-

lics got slaughtered in the Revolutionary Year II. The current attempt to malign Pius XII is simply a continuation of this revolutionary struggle as a battle of words, according to which Jews like Goldhagen attempt to distract attention from Jewish participation in the failed Bolshevik revolution (and how Bolshevism contributed to the rise of Hitler) and try, instead, to blame the Catholic Church for what the Nazis did. The battle between revolution and counter-revolution continues. Those who are determined to defeat the Catholic Church and destroy her influence over morals in the current and ongoing cultural revolution do so by associating the Catholic Church, the prime counter-revolutionary agency, with the excesses of the murderous Hitler regime.



REVIEWS

Losing the Culture War

CONSENSUS AND CONTROVERSY: DEFENDING POPE PIUS XII BY MARGHERITA MARCHIONE; PAULIST PRESS; ISBN 0-8091-4083-7; 389PP; \$24.95

When John Cornwell's book *Hitler's Pope* was first published, a friend of mine told me that he had read it. He then proceeded to launch into a furious attack on the Pope and the Church. When I say (as is the case) that this man is intelligent and well-educated and also a pillar of his local Catholic parish, where he and his wife do much selfless work for those less fortunate than themselves, then a relatively common scenario emerges. Readers who have seen the way things have gone these last twenty years or so have become accustomed to this sort of reaction from a middle class, supposedly educated, Catholic. Not for one moment had this man thought to himself, "Hey, this is the Pope and the Catholic Church who are being attacked here. Can this sort of report be true?" Anyone familiar, say, with the history of the Renaissance period knows that the personal behavior of Popes, unlike their official teaching, is not protected from error. There have been Popes who have done some pretty immoral things, though the great majority of the holders of that office

have been men of undoubted moral rectitude. But, my friend, a man who is quite aware of the nuances of history, immediately drew the worst possible inference. He had imbibed Cornwell's thesis of Pius XII as "Hitler's Pope" all in one go without a moment's hesitation. Not even a sense of community on his part, a sense of being part of a greater whole, the Church, gave him pause for further thought.

DEPRESSING

I suppose that this depressing phenomenon is part of what is called the educational revolution in the case of Catholics since the Council. We are always being told by liberals that Catholics today are mature in their faith and can think for themselves. Well, if this is the result of such thinking, it seems that Catholic education has indeed failed utterly. Here is someone accepting without question evidence that he has not checked or sought to assess in any way at all. Such is the absence of any true Catholic sense

these days, that the presumption of such people is that, where allegations are made against the Church, the fault lies with the Church, in particular with the Pope, together with those much maligned agencies, "the Vatican" and "the curia".

So, a supposedly natural sense of fair play and the need to weigh the evidence, which my friend would presumably have had regard to in a secular context, his business activities for instance, seemed not to exist. My next step was to draw his attention to the notorious photograph on the cover of Cornwell's book, which purports to show Pius XII leaving the Presidential Palace in Berlin in 1939. In fact, the photo shows the future Pius XII, then Monsignor Eugenio Pacelli and papal Nuncio to Germany, departing after an official visit to President Hindenburg in 1927, six years before Hitler came to power. Surely, I said, it would not have taken a great historian to notice that Pacelli left Germany in 1929 for good! If Cornwell could get that fundamental point wrong, why on earth should we believe him on other much more contentious issues? I might as well have saved my breath. My friend was not particularly moved by this and clearly had no notion of the papacy's role during that period of history.

I tell this story, since it shows that we are up against real problems in this area. Lack of loyalty to holy mother Church is one thing. Ignorance as to historical facts is another. But, there are at least two other issues that claim attention. One is that what is going on here is just one aspect of a concentrated attack on both the present Pope by association and on the Church itself, in this context from within the hearth of the Church itself (Cornwell



Sr. Margherita's latest book does touch upon the wider, cultural issues referred to above. For example, the author says at one point:

The increasingly slanderous attacks on Pope Pius XII by both Jews and Gentiles (including some renegade "Catholics") have nothing really to do with Holocaust history, but have everything to do with the present cultural war. It is a determined effort to discredit the Church (p.77).

claims to be a Catholic, although, as mentioned later, doubt has been cast upon that). Let us make no mistake here. The most obvious target is Pius XII, but the indirect adverse inference that is supposed to be drawn relates to the present occupier of the office and the office itself. The present Pope perhaps has not long to live. The nature of the papacy after his death is what interests these people. What is also going on here is an attack upon conservative trends in the Church today, summed up in the present Pope and which Pius XII, of course, exemplified before the Council.

The second issue is that all of these things have to be looked at in a much wider sense, which sees the big picture, the one involving not just dissident Catholics, but relates to an ongoing culture war in which the Church is attacked by other agencies and individuals. It is one not unknown to readers of this journal and is pursued further by the editor in this issue.

In the last few years the "Pius XII question" has become a major growth area in publishers' lists. There is Blet, Carroll, Chadwick,

Conway, Cornwell, Deutsch, Feldkamp, Goldenhagen, Graham, Hughes, McNerney, Minerbi, Morley, Phayer, Rhodes, Rubinstein, Rychlak, Sanchez, Stehlin, Wills, Zuccotti; and several more. And there is the book under review, written by a member of the Religious Sisters Filippini and professor emerita of Italian language and literature at Fairleigh Dickinson University. The present

However, the book concentrates for the most part, as the title implies, on building up a factual case for the defense of Pope Pius XII in relation to the accusations that have been made against him. It is less concerned with the wider perspective. So the book will be judged by this criterion, though readers should focus also on the bigger picture. Fortunately, the means to do this has been given to them on a

If Pius XII was in fact "Hitler's Pope", why did the Jewish communities welcome his election to the papacy, speak out after liberation as to his great works and bestow him special honors?

book is a follow up on Sr. Margherita Marchione's two previous works, *Yours is a Precious Witness: Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime Italy* and *Pope Pius XII: Architect for Peace*.

number of occasions by the editor of this journal, not least in the article in the present issue just referred to.

Judged as a brief for the defence the present work is pretty impres-



sive. The great majority of the standard arguments are set out with much supporting authority. The latter is generally accompanied by references for the reader to pursue, although on occasions there are curious absences of references. In addition, Sr. Margherita sometimes assumes knowledge of particular matters and proceeds with her analysis on the basis of that assumption. An example is the case of the Scattolini forgeries. There are two references to Scattolini in the index, but when these are pursued the discussion about him in the text is brief. Perhaps this matter is pursued in detail in Sr. Margherita's other book specifically on Pius XII (I do not have access to this), but the background to this whole matter does need expanding.

ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The order of treatment is sensible. The book starts with a summary of its contents. It then deals with the details of the career of Pius XII. The author then embarks on a detailed defense of Pius XII in which she takes up all of the major issues writ-

ten about by the various critics. This covers not only the years of Pius XII's papacy, but also the earlier period when he was Papal Nuncio and then Secretary of State. She is able to exhibit the Pope's utter consistency throughout. There follows a section on the role of the media, which is particularly important in view of the allegations of silence on the part of Pius XII during the Holocaust. The next part of the book explains the twists and turns in the controversy over the last few years. This is centered around the publication of Cornwell's book and developments since then. Following on from that, consideration is given to the Catholic-Jewish Commission, its deliberations and reports. Sr. Margherita then traces the efforts in this context of Pope John Paul II, before rounding off her work with a summary of her conclusions. The book also has a series of appendices, which enables the reader to see at a glance the basic contents of the most important documentary evidence, and finally there are copious notes.

In a book on a subject of this kind it is inevitable that there will be repetition at times of the same point,

since this point may have relevance in more than one context. There does, however, seem to be a little too much repetition of the main point, the unfairness of the charges levelled at Pius XII. Readers can draw certain obvious conclusions for themselves and don't need to have such repetitions put before them. This leads on to another point. It is to Sr. Margherita's credit that she should feel so strongly about the subject at hand. She is obviously moved by the fate of Pius XII and it is to her credit that she is. In addition, this does not in my opinion affect the essentially balanced mode of argument adopted by her. She does not hide anything and responds to all the allegations made by critics of the Pope. But, the fact that she is avowedly constructing a case for Pius XII's policy at the period in question can be and has been used against her. For example, another writer, one who is basically pro-Pius XII, but with a tendency to be more critical of him on occasions than Sr. Margherita, is Jose Sanchez (in his book, *Pius XII and the Holocaust*). He and certain other critics have suggested that Sr. Margherita's personal beliefs cast doubt on her arguments. This is not in fact so, as far as I can see, since she is always aware of the potential danger, but one can see how it is perceptions that often matter in a case of this kind. One should add, of course, that several critics of Pius XII have not been so open as Sr. Margherita and have made attempts to disguise their motives. Certainly James Carroll (in *Constantine's Sword*), Garry Wills (in *Papal Sins*) and John Cornwell himself (the latter, *inter alia*, in relation to whether he is actually a Catholic or not) have an agenda to serve and evidence is interpreted to fit that.

Daniel Goldhagen is much less subtle and his work amounts to a diatribe against the Church and against Christians (see again the article by Dr. Jones in the present issue).

This is not the place in which to look at the detailed arguments raised in defense of Pius XII. In spite of the high merit of the present book under review, this reviewer would recommend Ronald Rychlak's *Hitler, the War and the Pope* as the best of currently available full-length studies. For those wanting a summary of the main arguments to be put on behalf of Pope Pius XII, a very good analysis is contained in William Rubinstein's review of Cornwell's book (see *First Things*, January 2000). Also, J. Bottum's "Pius XII and the Nazis" (*Crisis*, November 2000) looks very well at the main issues. The present reviewer, being an evidence lawyer, is interested in proof and this would seem to be one of those questions where minds are closed to re-interpretation of the material. But, certain interesting things do emerge from a study of this question, things that should be persuasive to those with an open mind. For example, in assessing the credibility of any witness, it is always useful to look at any preconceptions he or she may have. Now, judged from this perspective, John Cornwell does not exactly come out smelling of roses. I remember that when the book came out in Autumn of 1999 we all heard that Cornwell was a "devout Catholic." Yet on the cover of another of his books, *Hiding Places of God*, published in 1991, he was referred to as "a lapsed Catholic." In fact, in *Hitler's Pope* Cornwell describes how he has become "increasingly convinced that human beings were morally, psychologically, and mate-

rially better off without a belief in God." And what about this: "As I entered middle age nothing short of a miracle could have shaken these firm convictions." If Cornwell is to be believed, then he was the recipient of a miraculous experience in the mid-'90s and kept absolutely quiet about what would have been a crucial event in his life. Either that or he is an obsessive liar who detests the papacy and is on a career trajectory of destroying the Christian witness of Pope Pius XII. He's not exactly an impartial witness himself on the question at issue!

Furthermore, Cornwell was not a direct witness of the events of the time. What about those who were? Many are the testimonies from Jews who were caught up in the conflagration, several being cited by Sr. Margherita, who lauded Pope Pius XII for his great and unceasing work on their behalf during those difficult days. Some of these people are well known. One is Rabbi Israel Zolli, the Chief Rabbi of Rome during the Nazi occupation and persecution of Jews. There is a strange silence regarding

conversion to the Catholic faith (when he took the Christian name Eugenio in recognition of the Pope's personal record in saving Jews) illustrates that he was got at by the authorities. This is a slur on the name of an honorable man, whose evidence refuting the thesis of Zuccotti's book is ignored by that writer (it is not the only inconvenient material that she ignores). It is also interesting to note that it is a rabbi, David Dalin, who has shown that among the Jewish tributes to Pius XII during his lifetime were ones from Albert Einstein (1940), Chaim Weizmann (1943), the Chief Rabbi of Israel (1944), the Secretary of the World Jewish Congress (1945), Moshe Sharett, Israel's second prime minister (1945), the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (1955), and the State of Israel via the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which gave a special concert for the Pope in the Vatican (1955). Are we supposed to believe that this counts for nothing?

If Pius XII was in fact "Hitler's Pope", why did the Jewish communities welcome his election to the papacy, speak out after liberation as to

Adolf Eichmann made clear statements in his *Diary* that the Vatican "vigorously protested the arrest of Jews."

the testimony of Zolli and his daughter who were direct eye witnesses of what was going on. No doubt the conspiracy theorists, and there are plenty of them in this area of writing, will say that Zolli's later

his great works, and bestow him special honors? On his death in 1958 Jews praised him for his help and great efforts in their cause during the Holocaust years. This is something that was acknowledged by Golda

Meir herself who stated that "when fearful martyrdom came to our people in the decade of Nazi terror, the voice of the Pope was raised for the victims." If it is said that these tributes were made before the publication in 1963 of Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*, the answer to that is that the points made by Hochhuth (a former member of the Hitler Youth, incidentally) have long since been refuted by the documentation now available. There is also the recognition by Jewish writers of the large number of Jews saved through the direct actions of Pius XII, notably by Pinchas Lapide. At the time of Pius XII's death there was a serious move in Israel to dedicate a forest in his honor.

"LIBERAL CATHOLICS"

If so-called "liberal Catholics" do not see the truth in respect of Pius XII, the Nazis at the time certainly did. When the then Eugenio Pacelli was Nuncio in Germany, Goebbels himself commissioned Alfred Harder to write a book (which circulated in vast numbers in Germany) designed to create a "dark image" of Pacelli — a man bent on bringing a "papal design...directed against Germany". In fact, no fewer than forty of Pacelli's forty-four major addresses in that office condemned some aspect of Nazism. Also, there is cogent evidence of the hostility of the Nazis towards Pacelli in his role as Secretary of State. Furthermore, it is now known that the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* of 1937, which condemned anti-semitism, was written, (not just drafted) for Pius XI by Pacelli, and was smuggled by the latter past the Gestapo and into the hands of every parish priest in Germany, to be read

at every Sunday Mass. Pointedly published in German, it was the most outspoken condemnation of Nazism ever to be published anywhere in the world, and made it clear that to be both a practising Catholic and a Nazi was a moral impossibility. The attitude of the Nazi authorities at the time when Pius XII was Pope was just the same as before. Sr. Margherita marshals the evidence in great detail. It includes, of course, Adolf Eichmann's clear statements in his *Diary* that the Vatican "vigorously protested the arrest of Jews."

With regard to Pope Pius's supposed "silence" Sr. Margherita shows, as others have, that there was in a real sense no such silence. Pius XII did make public protests. He also wrote and was about to publish another, even stronger, denunciation of the Nazi regime. What persuaded him not to do so was the Nazi reaction when the Dutch bishops had read out a letter condemning the deportation of Jews to the death camps. Forty thousand people were killed in the resulting Nazi onslaught on Catholic convents, monasteries and schools in Holland, and the first deportation of Jews. The book deals in detail with this and with the similar warnings given to the Pope by Cardinal Sapieha in Poland. In addition, of course, many Jewish leaders insisted that such an explicit condemnation would be counter-productive and petitioned the Pope *not* to make further public protest. It is not difficult to imagine the agony of Pius XII in the dilemma in which he found himself. From then on he confined himself to doing what he knew would spare as many human beings from persecution as possible. He arranged for Jewish people to be sheltered in convents and monasteries, to be is-

sued with false baptismal certificates, to be rescued from dangerous situations and brought to safety.

When it comes to major historians, as opposed to those more sensationalist writers, the approach is generally one that is supportive of the Pope. The famous British historian, Sir Martin Gilbert, Jewish himself of course, draws attention to Pius XII's humanitarianism and expresses thanks to the Vatican for what was done to save Jewish lives. Another Jewish historian, William D. Rubinstein, writing in the review referred to above, carefully brings out the subtle nature of Catholic-Jewish relations on the continent during the years between the two wars. He also shows the greater effectiveness in terms of Jewish survival rates, in Catholic countries as opposed to that in Protestant countries. Yet another Jewish expert is the notable lawyer, Robert Kempner, the former deputy chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg. Kempner wrote the preface to Jeno Levai's book, *Pius XII Did Not Remain Silent*, a study of the papacy and the Jews in Hungary. Kempner stated that the book "depicts truthfully the part played by the Catholic Church in the struggle against the 'Final Solution' of the Jewish question in Hungary."

Looking at other eminent historians, Sir Owen Chadwick gives a balanced account of the main issues in his book, *Britain and the Vatican During the Second World War*. Of similar effect is the chapter in Anthony Rhodes' book, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators*. Sr. Margherita also brings out the testimony to Pius XII that came from other Church leaders, including non-Catholics. In addition, she further tells the story of how the Pope spent all his family inheritance on the Jews.

In relation to a defense of Pope Pius XII it would seem to this reviewer that an understanding of three fundamental issues is crucial. Two of these are expressed eloquently by William D. Rubinstein. The first relates to the attribution of moral responsibility:

To concentrate on the actions of the Pope or the Allies is to overlook the central moral fact that it was Hitler and the Nazis who carried out the Holocaust and who bear full and complete responsibility for everything that happened. For too many historians, the Nazis appear in accounts of the Holocaust as some inexplicable force of nature whose destructive powers it is pointless to question, while criticism focuses on the alleged inadequacies of those who could not prevent the slaughter. That this is utterly unfair should be evident, yet library shelves are filled with works on the "failures" of the allies, as they are with articles critical of Pacelli. At the very best such books deflect attention from the real criminals; at worst they imply a moral equivalency between mass murderers and those who tried, whether effectively or not, to stop them.

The second relates to what Rubinstein refers to as the central question in evaluating Pius XII and his response to the Holocaust. It is the question to be put to all those who criticise the Pope:

Can it be that, with all its frustrations, inadequacies, and apparent failures, the policy of "silence" pursued by Pacelli was actually the most effective possible, given Hitler's obsessive and overriding intention

to kill every Jew in Europe? A thought experiment may help here. Suppose that Pacelli had done everything that Cornwell would wish — made visible and vocal statements condemning Nazism, excommunicating all Catholic Nazis, even died a martyr's death in a concentration camp. What then? Almost certainly, more Jews would have perished than was actually the case.

The third issue is related more to a philosophical issue. It is put very well by John Laughland in a very recent article in the *Spectator*:

Perhaps the reason why these charges against Pius XII are so infectious is that they are constructed in such a way that they cannot be disproved.

ones of Nazism, are cost-free: unlike Pius's decisions, on which the lives of millions depended, today" attacks on him produce a nice pharisaical glow of moral superiority, not to mention extremely profitable book sales.

As I write this review the media in Britain is taken up with the newly released film by the director, Costa-Gavras. The thought experiment just referred to is relevant here, since sadly the film peddles the same old story. Readers will not have much difficulty in guessing the line that the liberal media is taking in response to the film. It is certainly not supportive of Pius XII. This is just one more proof that Catholics really do have to appreciate that the second word of the term "culture war"

"My hand does not tremble with anxiety when I go after a fellow-German Jew for the arrant nonsense that Goldhagen and the *New Republic* dare to present as a 'moral reckoning.' If only Christians would act in the same manner!"

They are what Karl Popper called an unfalsifiable proposition: however many public attacks on Nazism Pius XII did make, one can always say he should have made more. Moreover, the denunciations of Pius today, unlike his own

is as important as the first. Ironically, non-Catholics, including some Jews, can see this. In a recent article in the English *Spectator* Paul Gottfried draws attention to it. Gottfried concentrates on the recent

(continued on p. 19)

Up In Smoke: Where's All the Prosperity?

KEVIN PHILLIPS, WEALTH AND DEMOCRACY (NEW YORK: BROADWAY BOOKS, 2002) 422 PG. \$29.95.

Nearly 50 years ago Michael Harrington opened up a Pandora's box by publishing his disturbing portrayal of America's underclass. In the midst of the most affluent society in history, there existed what Harrington called "The Other America" — hidden enclaves where impoverished people struggled just to stay alive. In those pockets of grinding rural and urban poverty, destitute families were ill-housed and ill-clothed while their malnourished children roamed the streets and suffered from curable diseases. These stark revelations led to a national debate about how best to attack the poverty problem. An array of remedies were launched and the best of those, like Medicare, Food Stamps and Head Start, made a dramatic improvement for millions. In his new book *Wealth and Democracy*, the acclaimed historian and political analyst, Kevin Phillips, would like to spark a similar dialogue on the disturbing effects of the new globalist era. Statistics from the latest U.S. census and elsewhere confirm, in just the last 30 years, America has become the country with the worst income disparity in the entire industrial world. Certainly, Harrington's concerns about

the rise of a permanent underclass may have been pushed aside but they have not been eliminated. Today an equally serious situation is developing which has been barely reported by our vigilant media watchdogs. Mr. Phillips' figures show that 60 percent of all Americans have been losing ground economically for decades, and that 25 percent of us are now living at or nearing the poverty level. As prominent economist Lawrence Summers, put it in 1988, "the U.S. is in the midst of a quiet depression," and, since that time, Capitol Hill Republican and Democrats have been pointing the finger at one another as the cause of the rising income inequality. In the two years plus since the stock bubble finally burst, the real economic picture has begun to emerge. Says Phillips, we and our children are now working longer and harder for less pay than we earned 25 years ago. The fact that a great nation is being divided into two classes — of aristocrats and paupers — can not be hidden indefinitely and will have far reaching consequences whether we wish to address them or not.

When he observed the ostentatious wealth and displays of opu-

lence common during the 1870s, the legendary Mark Twain dubbed the era the Gilded Age. That epoch, says Phillips, provides an instructive example to view the last two decades of the 20th century — the resemblance is hard to miss. In 1960 a corporate CEO earned about 50 times the pay of the average worker in the same firm. By 1990, such a CEO was bringing home over 90 times the pay of the same employee, and by 2000, the CEO earned a stupendous 420 times as much. In 1999, the top 1 percent of Americans earned more money in a single year than the combined wages of the 100 million lowest paid! Unlike any previous recovery period in U.S. history, the so called economic boom of the '80s and '90s, saw the majority of people either stationary or even worse off than they had been when the period started! Indeed, among the poorest 20 percent, income actually fell a whopping 22 percent in the 15 year period from 1979 thru 1994. Overall as 'prosperity' was on the rise, the rate of social misery (as measured by a variety of social norms, such as homeless families, number of violent crimes, and children in poverty) went in the wrong direction — the way it normally would in a prolonged economic downturn. But — hold on for a minute — how can the economy be expanding and the GNP be growing while a majority of Americans gain nothing or are losing ground? In the wake of the Enron debacle, the sordid details of a massive corporate culture of greed, fraud and deceit have come pouring out. This past summer's revelations of inflated stock, deliberately falsified financial reports and corrupt accounting practices, have taught us a hard lesson. Namely, that much of

what was reported about the wealth and success of corporate giants like Enron, Arthur Anderson, ImClone, and dozens of others was a sham. It was merely Wall Street's version of the old three card monte game, using the standard refrain — let the buyer (or sucker) beware. At least for the skeptics like Kevin Phillips, the seeming mystery of the disappearing prosperity is starting to make a lot more sense.

The three decades beginning in 1947 have been, at times called an America's golden age and may usefully be contrasted with our most recent 30-year period. In the immediate years after World War II, this country stood apart as the world's manufacturing supergiant with an economy which produced 40-50 percent of the world's entire output. Phillips points out that, "In 1945 the percentage of unionization of the American workforce peaked, workers on the production lines at Ford or GE lived better than European bank managers." In the halcyon days of "I Love Lucy" and "Leave it to Beaver," Americans had the highest wages and worked the least hours of anyone in the industrial world. Over the years, as the situation elsewhere got better ours grew steadily worse. After the Marshall plan was adopted, European workers achieved big income gains — in fact, by the '70s, the Germans, French and Scandinavians were working fewer hours per week than we were. But, it wasn't until 1990 that American employees finally reached a dubious milestone, we passed the workaholic Japanese for the honor of the longest workweek in the industrial world! Simultaneously, an extraordinary income gap was developing between the wealthiest, most prosperous Americans and everyone else.

"During the period from 1945-1979," says the author, "all the five levels [quintiles] gained in income at the same rate with the lowest gaining 110 percent and the highest fifth gaining 94 percent." Since that time, a complete reversal has taken place creating a wide gulf between rich and poor. Currently, compared to European nations, U.S. workers have the least health insurance and shortest vacations.

To make matters worse, starting with the Reagan administration, the national tax structure went from being mildly progressive to very regressive. Due to an indifferent media, few people are aware how unjust and incomprehensible the tax structure is. Not including any state and local taxes which are extremely regressive, the Federal tax code actually allows persons who earn in excess of one million dollars and above to pay a lower percentage of their yearly income in taxes than do

whose members cater to the super-rich.

A prime example of this pampering of the moneyed aristocracy is the recently enacted "tax reform." Two years ago in response to complaints, the IRS was given a Congressional make over. The agency was directed to drastically scale back its audits of the wealthiest taxpayers — those who often owe hundreds of thousands of dollars in unpaid arrears. Instead of scrutinizing millionaires and billionaires, the new 'friendlier' IRS now hones in primarily on the lower middle class! *The New York Times* revealed last year Uncle Sam's tax police were actually more likely to hunt down a few hundred dollars from a low wage employee than to investigate a huge tax heist by a manager or a businessman making several millions per year!

Wealth and Democracy launches a bold and devastating attack on what

The fact that a great nation is being divided into two classes — of aristocrats and paupers — can not be hidden indefinitely and will have far reaching consequences whether we wish to address them or not.

those who are in the lower middle class! In fact, including FICA, a family earning in the range of \$80-150 thousand pays the highest tax rate of all. *Wealth and Democracy* illustrates how the U.S. Congress has become an exclusive fraternity

it calls the "financialization of America" This, says the author is, "a national focus on financially generated wealth accompanied by an erosion in the relative well-being of ordinary citizens, most strikingly



those in declining industrial pursuits." Such financialization, he continues, has created a "backdrop to the kindred transformation of America and of the unfolding of the gap between the rich and everyone else." Such well known authors as, Eamon Fingleton, James Fallows and Pat Buchanan, along with many economists, are deeply concerned about America's economic future. They argue that an irrational obsession with the free market has allowed the nation's great industrial and manufacturing capacity to be wiped out while domestic corporations have either collapsed or relocated their plants to the cheap labor havens of the Third World. Looking at the unhealthy process, these observers are worried that much of America's new economic wealth may not be simply intangible or hard to measure, it may be, in fact, *imaginary*. Over the last two decades, a great deal of what big business labels economic value or capital has included fly by night Dotcoms, low wage service providers and, in a word, a paper empire of — stock trading, price increases, mergers, leveraged buyouts, derivatives, and currency futures, along with all other forms of financialization of

transactions. Trading of speculative instruments (a synonym for gambling) has mushroomed into a mighty worldwide colossus or an Achilles' heel, depending on the way you look at it. Financial trades, (derivatives, commodities, futures contracts, etc) have reached a truly astronomical value (as of 2000, the total amount of all U.S. based trades was over 40 times the yearly U.S. GNP). States Phillips, "The '80s expansion was based on: military production, corporate investment with huge tax advantages, computerization to some degree, but more heavily office building and construction. All with a ballooning or corporate, government and personal debt." To illustrate what this all means, he quotes a revealing tract taken from the magazine *Foreign Policy* entitled "Securities: The New Wealth Machine." The article explains how, "securitization — the issuance of high-quality bonds and stocks — has become the most powerful engine of wealth creation in today's world economy." It states, "Whereas societies used to accumulate wealth only slowly, they can now do so quickly and directly," and the "new approach requires that a state find

ways to increase the market value of its productive assets." In such a strategy, "an economic policy that aims to achieve growth by wealth creation therefore does not attempt to increase the production of goods and services, except as a secondary objective."

Such rationalizations, which make it appear that an entrepreneur can create megatons of instant wealth effortlessly, sound like musings lifted straight from the pages of *Alice in Wonderland*. This kind of, something for nothing — situational ethics, is what has created so many corporate ponzi schemes like the ones at Enron Corp. Suddenly, it all came to a screeching halt as the NASDAQ and the Dow Jones fell off a cliff two years ago. So far, as of mid summer 2002, the financial meltdown had already wiped out \$7 trillion of paper wealth in the U.S. and well over \$12 trillion worldwide. I recall that during the Vietnam War, Chairman Mao Ze Dung made his cynical boast that "America is nothing but a paper tiger." Had he been young enough to wait 35 years, the red dictator might now deserve credit for a fairly astute analysis. He might even be invited to be a Wall Street guru or a candidate to replace Fed Chairman Allen Greenspan.

WORLD EMPIRE OR PAPER TIGER?

Better than anyone else to date, Kevin Phillips has been able to put the nation's current conundrum in its historic context. He manages this by unearthing the memorable details of the rise and fall of Europe's three most formidable Empires. Over the last four hundred years, each was the economic superpowers

of its respective era; Spain, in the seventeenth century, Holland in the eighteenth and Great Britain in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The historical parallels to the U.S.A. are as striking as they are foreboding. Each of those superpowers underwent a transformation, like our own, from industrial giant to grand financial and banking empire. To everyone's great surprise, the transition somehow failed to achieve the tremendous advantages that the bankers and financiers were expecting. The three great nations went into a downward spiral, from superpower to second rate or even third rate status where they remain currently. That's the same highway to nowhere which Phillips fears we may be following unless we quickly take heed and alter our course. Certainly there are some dismaying similarities which we'd be foolish to ignore.

We can start with Holland; a republic which founded New Amsterdam, before it was renamed New York City. This little industrial engine that could, finally reached its peak output about a century before the American War of Independence began. Writes Phillips, "the permanent, irreversible decline of Holland as a maritime and industrial power commenced only in, or around, 1688 with the onset of the Nine Years War and its many harmful consequences." By the 1750s cities such as Leiden and Utrecht were undergoing a population hemorrhage, and the republic's national debt tripled. Then, with the 1760s and '70s, food and tax riots were common and commentators charged that, "the once great Dutch Republic had become a society split between rentiers and beggars, the two groups least useful." In the words of Professor Charles Boxer

"whether Dutch capital was invested at home or abroad, it was lent to bankers and to brokers of commercial bills, rather than in developing home industries or fostering Dutch shipping."

By as early as 1865, Great Britain's ascendancy as world's foremost industrial power was ebbing, and the signs of financialization were already setting in. Matthew Arnold was one of the first to claim that England was "declining into a sort of greater Holland." *Wealth and Democracy* tells us that much like the U.S., real wages in England dropped about 10 percent between 1899 and 1913, with declines in the consumption of meat, sugar and beer. A great polarization of incomes also emerged, with a stunning 69 percent of all British capital in the hands of the richest 1 percent. The author concludes that, the commonly accepted notion that the U.S. is leading the world into an era

the '90s, there are clear signs of both radicalization and disaffection. Today the largest political affiliation in America isn't the Democrats or Republicans; instead it's the 'Just say No' party of non-voters who make up over 50 percent of the America's eligible electorate, even during presidential years. Such an indifference or disdain toward political affairs is not unusual when a nation is falling into the spiral of paper wealth, indebtedness, and a relative decline in living standards. Like his father, President George W. Bush has enjoyed overwhelming popularity based on the circumstances of a national war mobilization and the patriotic feelings it engenders. Such popularity is frequently short lived, and it seems the end of the "era of good feeling" may be just around the corner for the genuinely amiable chief executive. Meanwhile, the president and the rest of Washington's politicians will have to

Better than anyone else to date, Kevin Phillips has been able to put the nation's current conundrum in its historic context.

of easy money and unprecedented affluence, is not so convincing if you know something about European history. As America abandons its role as a manufacturing bell weather, he argues, the political and social landscape shall be dramatically overhauled.

Although voters now do not seem to be as volatile as they have been in

face up to the spiral of paper wealth, rising indebtedness, and a relative decline in living standards that befell the three European world empires.

Wealth and Democracy provides especially good reading for its outstanding treatment of the ridiculous antics of the some of our modern plutocracy. This is particularly true

of the financial press who typically dish out libertarian pabulum in the name of studious analysis. The book highlights how such authors play upon the public with euphemisms and happy talk, while misusing concepts like free markets and free enterprise. Phillips, who is a life long Republican, points out that in reality "Mr Big Government" is himself a charter member of the corporate and financial elite. Despite the dogmas of the *Wall Street Journal*, the Heritage Foundation or the Cato Institute, true laissez-faire was always an artful ruse. First propagated during the Gilded Age, laissez faire has been overhauled and retooled more times than a 1950s Chevy taxi in Havana, Cuba. Since the days of Alexander Hamilton and the "American System," national economic development has always been facilitated by the assistance of government. Pat Buchanan's excellent book *The Great Betrayal* fully documents the way incentives, giveaways and special deals provided for business corporations and how other en-

pecially true. In a time of national austerity, when federal services and programs for the lower middle class and the poor were being drastically downsized — government handouts were flowing liberally to the well healed. "Conservatives of the 1980's, for their part," says Phillips, "rarely balked at using [federal] authority to promote economic goals." He points out that many past Democratic Administrations used government to collectivize risk, through programs like Social Security, Medicare and AFDC.

However, during the last two decades Phil Gramm style 'neo conservatives' turned the idea on its head, socializing the risk for speculators and fat-cat investors, while forcing average working people to subsidize the lifestyles of America's rich and famous. In one instance after another, Democrats and Republicans worked together to protect millionaires, speculators and the like who had made unsound investments in incompetent or crooked banks, volatile currencies or risky overseas

quiet. In the wake of the mammoth 1989-1992 bailout provided for the Savings and Loan bankers, the prestigious *London Economist* remarked that at long last, "socialism" had gained a foothold in America.

We can summarize a brief sample of such 'federal socialism' awarded recently to the top business and corporate elites:

1) In the late '80s, the Feds granted unpublicized loans to 350 banks that later failed allowing the largest depositors time to flee for safety.

2) In 1989-92 the U.S. bailed out the failing Savings and Loan Banks, which had, through corruption and poor investment policies, found themselves bankrupt. In all taxpayers were looted for a \$250 Billion hit on the national treasury, while the remaining profitable loan portfolios went to speculators who profited from the banks' misfortunes.

3) In 1992, the D.C. Administration bailed out two more bungling megabanks which it claimed were "too big" to fail. They provided \$1.8 Billion for the Bank of New England and another \$2.3 Billion for Citibank.

4) In 1995, the Clinton Administration used an obscure law to bypass Congressional approval. The result was a \$20 billion bailout of Mexico which actually rescued international lenders who were out on a limb.

5) Another multi-billion dollar gift package was quickly

Despite the dogmas of the *Wall Street Journal*, the Heritage Foundation or the Cato Institute, true laissez-faire was always an artful ruse.

terprises were, in fact, indispensable for the rise of the U.S. as a great industrial power. All along, federal politicians have found ways to assist the well connected in their private pursuit of the American dream. During the '80s and '90s stock market and financial boom, this was es-

ventures. Naturally, all such bailouts have required immense taxpayer contributions that ballooned the federal deficit. Even the wealthy barons from England's top financial weekly couldn't avoid poking a little fun at how American big business laps up the gravy at the public ban-

assembled in 1999 by "libertarian" Alan Greenspan to rescue the high rollers who had invested in an ultra risky leveraging scheme called Long Term Capital Management.

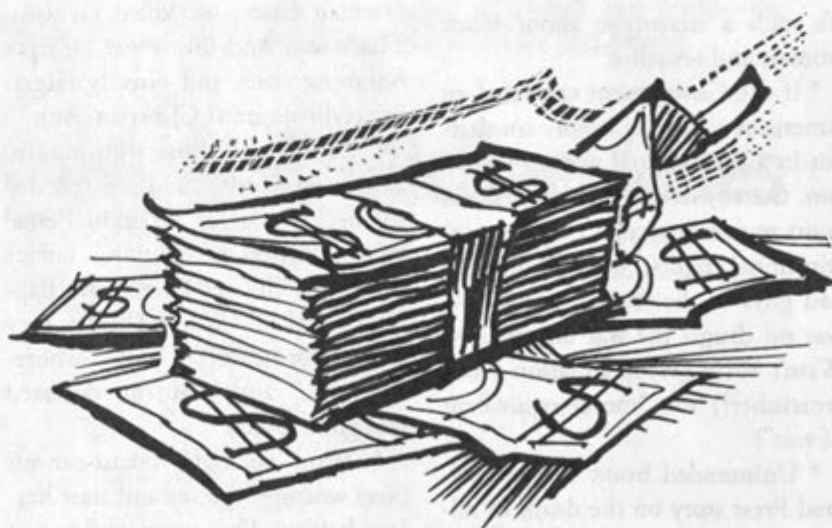
According to Adam Smith's classic free market theory, the appropriate response is to rely on the "discipline of the market" or, in other words, benign neglect. In each instance, the government was supposed to allow the investors and speculators to take their lumps, the same as the workers who are downsized by IBM or the ordinary stockholders who take a bath when their Enron or Tyco stock tanks. Just as the market rewards wise investors, it ought to punish those whose poor decisions result in losses — at least that's the theory. But, as everyone knows, economic doctrines mean nothing when they conflict with the real objectives of big corporate globalism.

There are more than enough good things to praise in *Wealth and Democracy* to make the book worthy of reading. In particular, the author provides some very refreshing insights and eye opening historical research. Because of all its outstanding aspects, one might be tempted to overlook a few drawbacks. Two problems, however, are significant enough to require mentioning. Taking the lessor one first, the text has a tendency to trumpet its better observations again and again; as if most readers cannot decipher them the first time around. Perhaps the author could have submitted a more succinct and thereby more readable version of the text than the current 400-plus page manuscript. More importantly, Mr Phillips has very little to say regarding most of the critical cultural issues that face Western society today. Regrettably,

he avoids these decisive issues which invariably effect politics and economics on a deeper level — the very questions that must be broached in any successful effort to evaluate and forecast long term historical trends. Clearly, there has been a complete meltdown of Christian culture within the once respectable institutions like Congress, the judiciary, the arts and the universities. This decline and fall was spearheaded by the destruction of the family, abortion, gay liberation and other sexual perversions. Consequently, we have gone from mere disregard for morality all the way to outright contempt for human life. Such a degeneration of the culture cannot but have a decisive impact on the country and express itself in the destruction of the long-term welfare of its citizens, particularly the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable. To take a lesson from, Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, an empire is made up

of a very different kind of inhabitant than is a constitutional republic. America's devolution from a republic into an empire, if it continues on its present course, will do so because we as a people have become self-centered and degenerate. A tyranny can succeed with other-directed, vain, and hedonistic people. When men or woman become "tolerant" of evil, they are merely followers — easily mislead or manipulated. According to the often cited analysis of Francis Fukuyama, the West has reached the ideal liberal form of government and is, in effect, at the "end of history." Such an accomplishment may prove to be more and more unsatisfying, as this particular vision of freedom and democracy makes us fear and hate our own countrymen.

DAVID J. PETERSON



Bullets

* Perhaps Origen was right. At least it looks like we'd be better off if certain priests had followed his example.

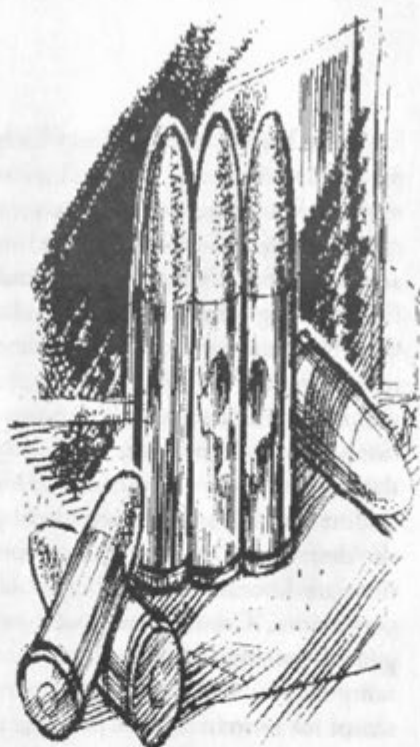
* Burt Kearns, a New Yorker "living in exile in Los Angeles," has created a web site to campaign to make Fr. Mychal Judge, the fire department chaplain who died on September 11 at the World Trade Center, a saint. We wonder if retired Archbishop Rembert Weakland will champion his cause.

* The American Dream. Stripper Christina Silvas quit so her daughter could return to Capital Christian School in Sacramento, CA, which had expelled her because nude dancing violated the school's Christian Philosophy agreement, then posed nude for *Playboy's* web site. "I believe posing for *Playboy* is the American dream for a woman," she said. Pastor Rick Cole allowed her daughter to finish school.

* "I wasn't going to be a prostitute on film," said actress Angela Bassett, about turning down the *Monster's Ball* role that won Halle Berry an Oscar. "I couldn't do that because it's such a stereotype about black women and sexuality."

* If the Government can label an American citizen an enemy combatant in an undeclared war on terrorism, thereby detaining him without court review or recognizing his constitutional rights, what about the bad guys in the war on crime? the war on drugs? the war on poverty? Wasn't WIN (Whip Inflation Now, remember?) the "moral equivalent of war"?

* Unintended Irony. The Associated Press story on the death of advice columnist Ann Landers ended: "Few topics excited readers more than the question of which direction the toilet paper should be hung in."



* Military Evangelism? "We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity," wrote columnist Ann Coulter on *National Review Online* in the immediate aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon a year ago. "We weren't punctilious about locating and punishing only Hitler and his top officers. We carpet-bombed German cities; we killed civilians. That's war. And this is war." Carpet bombing cities and directly targeting civilians aren't Christian, Ann.

* Comforting those who mourn. Preaching words "the Lord revealed to me," evangelist Orlando Bethel told mourners at his wife's uncle's funeral at Greater Pine Grove Baptist Church in Loxley, AL, that they were "fornicators" and "whoremongers," and that the deceased had gone to hell.

* Want to fight breast-cancer? Stop wearing ribbons and start having babies! The more children a woman has and the longer she breast-feeds them, the lower her risk of developing breast cancer, says an Oxford U report in *Lancet*. A

JAMES G. BRUEN, JR.

E-Mail: cwbullets@yahoo.com

woman's relative risk of breast cancer declines by 7 percent with each birth and an additional 4.5 percent for each year she breast-feeds.

* Insignificance? *The New England Journal of Medicine* relaxed its conflict of interest rules for some authors. The Journal will now allow them to receive payments from a company whose product they discuss, unless the payment is "significant." Payments of up to \$10,000 a year are defined as "insignificant." *Culture Wars* accepts donations of any amount and would be quite pleased to receive one deemed "insignificant" by the Journal.

* Later this month, an HIV-positive Muppet will be introduced on South Africa's version of Sesame Street. "We want to show that here is an HIV-positive member of our community who you can touch and interact with," said Joel Schneider, vp of Sesame Workshop, which produces the program. The Muppet won't appear in the U.S., said PBS President Pat Mitchell. Why not? Given the show's political leanings, few would be surprised to learn a cast member has AIDS.

* "This has been a spectacular win for Donna and the children," said Helene Brezinsky, lawyer for Donna Hanover, in announcing her client's divorce from former NYC Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. A divorce. A broken home. Children without their father. Only in America would someone claim a "spectacular win."

* William Cobbett's *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland* (TAN), written by a Protestant in the 1820s, vividly depicts a movement conceived in lust, nurtured by greed, and bathed in Catholic blood. Recommended reading.

I was a Teenage Horror Fan

As anyone who has seen a slasher film knows, horror is a preoccupation of teenagers. The films are produced to exploit the fears of teenagers. Mary Godwin Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein*, was 19 years old when she wrote the genre's most enduring classic.

Taking advantage of this interest, Dr. E. Michael Jones used a recent speaking engagement at Taylor University to turn the students' interest into horror into an introduction to the true topography of the human soul and a meditation on the disastrous cultural consequences which flow from inverting the true relationship between reason and passion. Many of you are familiar with Dr. Jones's ideas—on horror, on the Enlightenment, on the soul, on the recent decline in American cultural life, on the culture wars. But now these thoughts have been put together in a way that teenagers can understand. This is cultural analysis at its best—with Dr. Jones proposing his thesis, supporting it with video clips—from the beginning of *Jaws* to the Krell metal scene from *Forbidden Planet* to the Rosary scene from *Mimic*—then checking to see if it registers in the eyes of the students and then backtracking if he senses that it doesn't. This two-hour long lecture gives students at contemporary universities what they rarely get in the classes they take there. It gives them a coherent world view that illustrates the truths of faith and morals from the very cultural sources that set themselves to undermine them. This lecture conveys some of the most basic truths of the West—ideas about the soul, passion, reason and morality—that the people who go to college now never learn in college classes, and it explains those truths by taking examples from Hollywood at its best and worst.



This tape is a powerful weapon against the systematic subversion of morals that has become the prime form of political control in the globalist New World Order. It can help you put together ideas you've read at different times over the past few years, or, more importantly, it can open up a whole new world—the real world of ideas—to a young person troubled by the culture's attempts to seduce and control.

a talk by E. Michael Jones

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