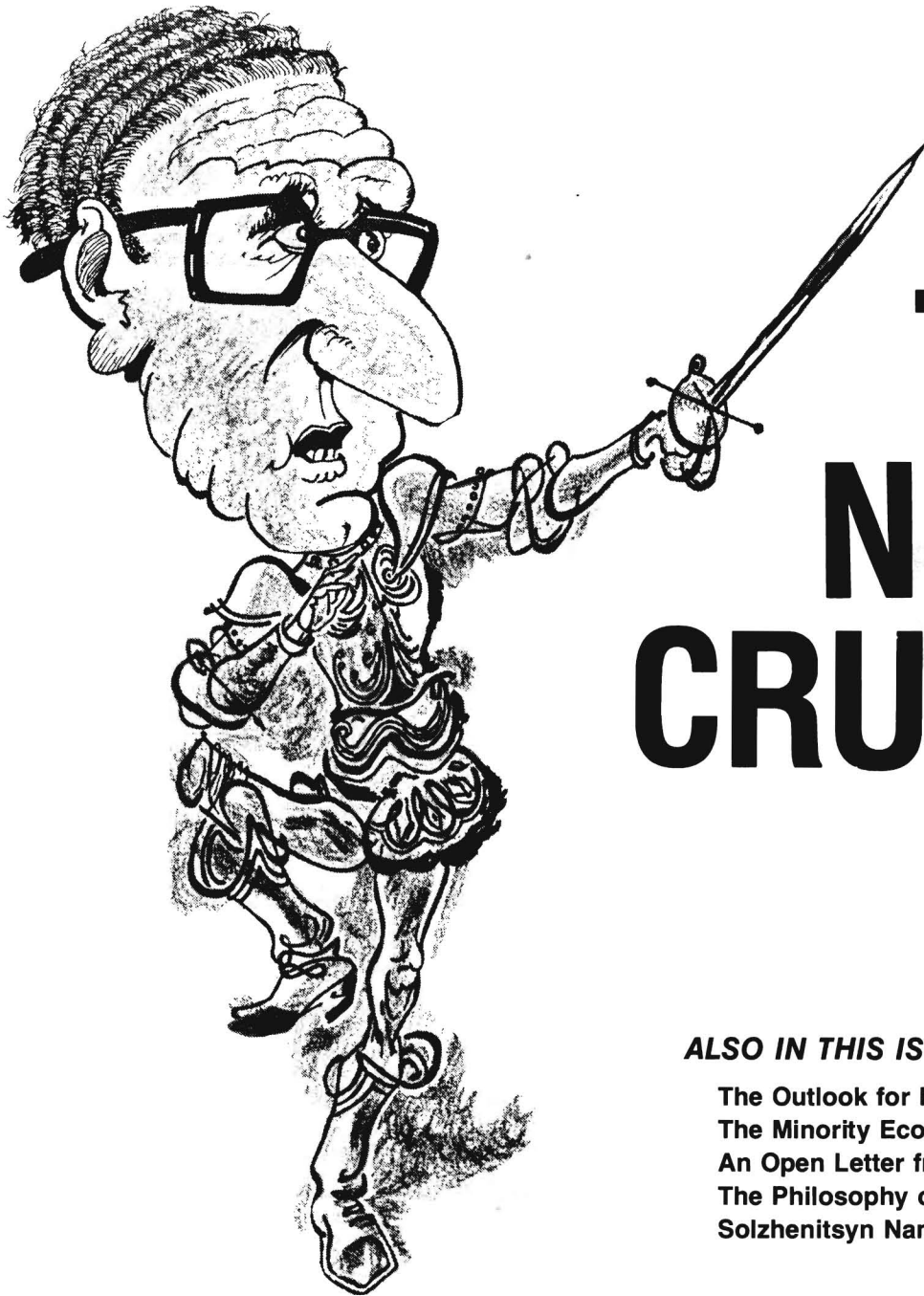


*Whoever walks a mile full of false sympathy
walks to the funeral of the whole human race — D. H. Lawrence.*

Instauration®

Vol. 1, No. 2

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THE NINTH CRUSADE

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

The Outlook for Rhodesia
The Minority Economists
An Open Letter from A *Who's Who* Wasp
The Philosophy of Night
Solzhenitsyn Names Names

In keeping with *Instauration's* policy of anonymity, communicants will only be identified by the first three digits of their zip code.

□ Re your article on Wallace in the December issue. It does little good to ponder about the real George Wallace. Politicians, always a despicable breed, are successful in these times only if they blot out their persona and solder on their media mask. There is no more a real Wallace than there was a real Nixon or a real Kennedy. There is merely a speechifying apparatus, an actor who is always on, a robotized reel of synapses that clicks in sync with the TV cameras. When you spend years pretending to be what people pretend you are, the psyche up anchors and sails away into a sea of metempsychosis. Even health becomes a public, not a private, matter. It's a sorrowful game, about as sorrowful as the players.

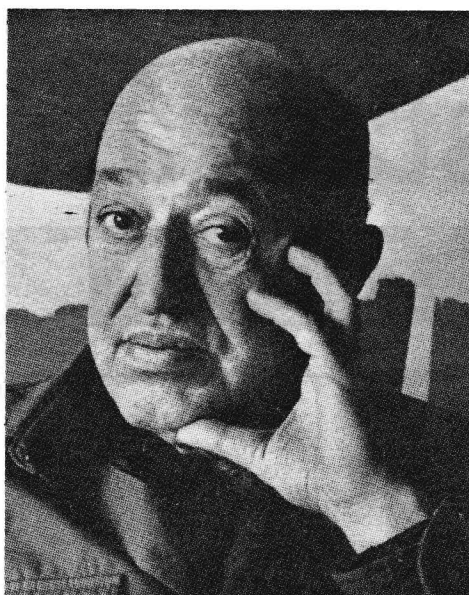
Where is Wallace, the boyish, Confederate-worshipping descendant of anti-slavery, Scotch-Irish North Carolina mountaineers? Wallace, the pint-sized Populist fan of 6'8" Jim Folsom? Wallace the young lawyer who suffered from fits of equalitarianism, the B-29 flight engineer, the amateur boxer, the skirt chaser, the judge, the man who called up attorney Jack Kohn "once a week . . . when I'm havin' a tough time makin' a decision . . .?"

For how many of these Wallaces is there room in the wheelchair? Sadly the only seat is reserved for the fixated politico.

Does he ever read a book? Does he ever have a nonpolitical thought? Does he know enough about life to raise the level of our life? Does he have time for ideas? Does he possess even a drop of the special dehypocritizing elixir that is the politician's only redemption? In other words, does he have any *magic*?

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□ Following up your interesting piece on the Bergs' deleterious effect on American art, I don't think you put enough emphasis on Clement Greenberg, who is described as "the dark power . . . a shadowy figure in the art world, the unknown quotient, looming over the market and veiled in his own reputation"



Greenberg, "The Dark Power"

(*The Art Crowd*, Sophy Burnham, David McKay, New York, 1973, p. 139). Greenberg, incidentally, has the habit of asking for gift paintings from the painters he extols in his art criticism. Two of the leading members of the art crowd, which Burnham says is 75% Jewish, are Norton Simon, who owns \$100 million worth of paintings, and Joseph Hirshhorn, a sleazy stock promoter with a long record of criminal financial hanky-panky in Canada, whose name is now emblazoned on a lavish new government subsidized art museum in Washington.

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□ Any insightful person who can still be found wasting valuable slices of his life in front of the boob-tube cannot fail to have noticed the recent trend towards exploitation of patriotic sentiment in commercial television, "in honor," one is led to suppose, of the Bicentennial: "Look up, Hah-merica, see what we've got—Koka-Ko-Ho-la! How does Amurrica handle a headache? Bayer Aspirin! That's how Amurrica handles a headache! All across this great country of ours. They go together in the Good-ol'-USA—baseball, hotdogs, apple-pie 'n Shevralay! Ad in-

finitum, ad nauseam. Well aware of the pitiful longing for a reawakening of national pride, the manipulative geniuses of Madison Avenue have decided to cash in on it. One may not be ethnocentric, of course, and one is not entitled to the superpatriotism of the classic ultrarightist position, but it is becoming fashionable to express love of country by responding to some cheap, tasteless, Wailing Wall appeal to spend and spend and spend. It awakens the same feeling the tourist gets when he visits that shop by the Vatican where they sell statues and replicas and junk to exploit religiosity. We have reached a parallel stage of cynicism here and can expect to see worse. After all, we are dealing with the kind of people who would have set up a frankfurter stand on Bunker Hill while the battle was in progress.

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□ I received your latest circular [our *Instauration* flyer] with some reservations at first, and I have read and reread it to make sure there is not a gimmick. If it is true (it's hard to believe), it is the most welcome piece of news I have seen since the turn of the century. A publication untinted with the ambiguities of Jewish ethics. . . . The air certainly needs cleaning, perhaps we may yet achieve some personal morality and feed this back into the social system biologically. . . . I am indeed prejudiced. That is my right and my heritage, and I am not going to fight myself because someone says I should. I am what nature made me and no amount of intellectual skull-duggery will alter one shred of it. All people think one thing and practice another.

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Who is the enemy?

□ The main enemy is the plutocratic white, who has done far more damage than all the minorities put together and compounded. This low individual would introduce a billion gooks and spooks into the country, if he could make a few more bucks. On the last page of his *Decline of the West*, Spengler declares that we live in the moment when money is celebrating its last victories, but I have the feeling that it ain't gonna happen *that* fast.

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THE NINTH CRUSADE

Eight major crusades were mounted by Western Europeans against the Near East in the period 1095—1270, not to mention the minor military operations that continued till the middle of the 15th century. When it was all over, when the not-so-gaily bedight knights returned to their mortgaged castles and their chastity-belted wives, some of the world's premium genes had been lost or scattered beyond retrieval on the sandy wastes of Palestine. It is true there had been a memorable clash of arms, that the Holy Sepulcher had been rescued from the infidel for a century or so, that new trade routes had been opened up, that enough heroic deeds had been racked up to furnish the material for a score of epics. But in the end the Crusades turned out to be a gigantic debacle. Instead of Westernizing the Near East, the Crusaders mortally wounded the Eastern Roman Empire. The upshot was that Greece, the Balkans and much of Hungary were lost to the Moslem interloper for centuries. Indeed, the Turks, who got as far as the gates of Vienna in 1529, still manage to hold on to Istanbul, once the pride of Christendom, the great seaside bastion that under the name of Byzantium and Constantinople had guarded Europe's southeastern flank since Leander swam the Hellespont.

Today we are being prepared for the Ninth Crusade, this time not to recapture the Holy Places, but to see that they are **not** captured either by Christians or Mohammedans. The enemy is still the Moslem. But he is no longer the chivalresque Saladin of medieval legend. He is the oil-sodden desert sheik, the dirt poor fellah of Egypt, the toy soldier kinglet of Jordan, the Soviet-leaning strong man of Syria and Iraq. To promote this latest crusade no Pope lifts high the cross and promises shortcuts to paradise. The Vatican cares little about the tens of thousands of Christian Palestinians who with hundreds of thousands of Moslem Palestinians have lost their all in the perennial Arab-Israeli blood feud. This time the war cry comes from the all-potent Israel lobby in Washington and the subservient pro-Zionist media whose TV sets dominate the living room of almost every American home. The very same people, who in the name of containment pushed us into the Vietnam disaster and in the name of peace turned around and pulled us out, leaving behind a betrayed ally and 45,937 American dead, are now conditioning us for intervention in the Middle East.

The cannon fodder for the Ninth Crusade will be provided largely by the American descendants of the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Franks, Lombards and other assorted Teutons who died in the earlier crusades. Few American Jews will join the ranks. Since the creation of the Jewish state few American Jews have moved to Israel and even fewer have enlisted in the Jewish armed forces. In fact, in recent years at least one out of every three Jews who went to Israel from America has returned. Moreover, the Russian Jews—about 100,000 so far—whom American Zionists and pro-Zionists are managing to pry loose from Moscow are not all going to Israel. In December 1974 thirty-five percent of those who left Russia did not get to the Promised Land. Most of these no-shows probably crossed the

Atlantic. Even more distressing to Zionist recruiters was the news that in 1974, of the 15,000 to 20,000 Jews who left Israel, all but 5,000 belonged to the Old Immigration, the families that provided and still provide Israel's best soldiers (*Manchester Guardian* 1/18/75). In 1975 more Jews left Israel than arrived.

Oil is not the Issue

To make the Ninth Crusade palatable we are being told that the objective is not to safeguard Jewish racism in the Near East, but to stop, in Henry Kissinger's words, the "economic strangulation" instituted by the oil-producing nations.

If oil is important enough to push us into a Middle Eastern conflict, then why do we not take the side of the Arabs who have it and in whose lands American oil companies have such large investments. If oil is the issue, why do we support Israel, which relatively speaking only possesses a few drops of oil? If oil is the issue, why do we furnish Israel the planes and weapons to destroy entire Arab cities like Kuneitra in Syria and Ismaelia and Suez in Egypt, actions which do not gain us many points with the Arab oil countries that have close racial and religious ties to Egypt and Syria. If oil is of such importance, why have we subsidized the oilless dispossessors of 2,700,000 Palestinians, many of whom have lived in concentration camps since the Zionists swept them out of their villages in 1948? We continue to deplore the German concentration camps, but our arms and financial support to Israel bear a direct responsibility for the camps where 1,500,000 Palestinians have been incarcerated for almost three decades. Our press laments the Six Million, which some Jewish historians claim is a gross exaggeration. But we never hear about the Three Million, which is only a small exaggeration.

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Saladin and chivalry are dead



Salisbury, Rhodesia, a white dot on a black map

THE OUTLOOK FOR RHODESIA

A special report from our South African correspondent

The outlook for Rhodesia is bad.

The reasons are obvious. Not only does she have to face worldwide sanctions and the unremitting enmity of Britain and America, not only does she have to contend along the northern and western sectors of her long frontier with the incursions of "freedom fighters" armed with automatic rifles, mortars and rocket launchers, but owing to the collapse of the Portuguese in Mozambique (following the classical Kerensky ploy of General Spínola) her eastern flank has been exposed as well. In addition her main rail outlet to Beira could be closed, with bankrupt Britain no doubt willingly paying the Frelimo Communists compensation if they should suffer thereby. And furthermore the completion of the Chinese-built railway from Dar-es-Salaam to Kapiri Mposhi will free Zambia from dependence upon Rhodesia Railways at a time when Rhodesia needs every penny she can get. Needless to say vast amounts of Western money and food have been pouring into Zambia to alleviate the 'problems' she has encountered since her confrontation with Rhodesia.

Rhodesia has now survived ten years of independence, which is ten years longer than Western political experts expected, and it would be natural for anyone unacquainted with the country to assume from this that its white population is very large. The fact is the whites number only 250,000 and are outnumbered eighteen to one by the recklessly breeding blacks whom they have to feed and pamper. And this, of course, is another weak point. Nevertheless, as these ten years of independence attest, Rhodesia does have strong points in her favor.

For one thing her former dependence upon the British Crown was more of a legal technicality than anything else, for she has never been a colony and thus has no home government to trick or force the whites into surrender, as has happened elsewhere in Africa. A second factor is that nothing has happened in 'liberated' territories to weaken the Rhodesians' resolve never to yield control of their country to black misrule, incompetence and corruption. Thirdly, great strides have been made in Rhodesia since

independence, in industry, agriculture, irrigation, beef production, etc.,—all of course without foreign aid. Fourthly, the whites possess an enormous I.Q. advantage. It is not generally known that white Rhodesian school children have an average I.Q. much higher than the British average elsewhere, and apparently even higher than that of any other nation or community in the world, though the possible destruction of this gifted gene pool does not disturb the suicidal West one whit.

When all is said and done, the main single factor in Rhodesia's favor is simply the whites' sense of racial superiority. Unlike the peoples of the West the whites of Southern Africa are not terrorized by their nonwhite inhabitants and they still retain all the former Northern European racial pride which has died out elsewhere. They **know** they are much superior to anyone else in Africa, and no matter how outnumbered they may be they are confident they will come out on top. No one knows better than they that the most destructive shibboleth in the doctrinaire liberal-socialist West is Mass Rule, the rule of quantity over quality.

Rhodesia's main danger now is not sanctions or terrorist incursions but, paradoxically, the pressure from the South, from South Africa itself. It is well understood everywhere that Rhodesia could not survive without a friendly or at least neutral South Africa, and accordingly the United Kingdom and the United States of America have been putting the screws on South Africa, threatening for instance to abandon her to the Communist and Colored wolves at the United Nations unless she abolishes racial segregation as quickly as possible and assists in the all-important business of bringing anti-Communist white Rhodesia to its knees. Consequently, in spite of her reiterated claim that she never interferes in the domestic affairs of other countries, South Africa has been intervening in Rhodesia's domestic affairs, as the release from confinement of Ndabaningi Sithole, the African National Congress advocate of terrorism, at South Africa's request, so plainly showed.

Continued on page 19

Seligman Okun Becker Fisher Ricardo
 Rueff Mises Greenspan Marx
 Burns Lerner Hayek Friedman Rothbard Samuelson

THE MINORITY ECONOMISTS

Two hundred years ago less one, Adam Smith, a professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, published an **Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations**. A great deal can be said in favor of pursuing the "social sciences" collectively as "moral philosophy." With our present knowledge of behavioral genetics we know that we have certain sentiments because of our biological constitution. In our present ignorance of behavioral genetics, however, the safest path to an understanding of these instincts is inference from our literature. This was Adam Smith's method of inquiry and it was quite fruitful. Some may object to his saying that "God had planted the sentiment of sympathy in the breast of man," but at least Smith recognized the presence of this and other "moral sentiments." Unfortunately, such modes of expression were discredited by the Enlightenment. In the moral skepticism which followed the baby was thrown out with the bathwater—or rather, the baby was thrown out and the bathwater retained.

The bathwater was moral imperatives, of which the traditional ones came under prolonged attack. Innovative imperatives, such as "The greatest happiness for the greatest number" were tolerated, perhaps because they were shallow enough to be harmless. That is to say, it is doubtful that our views on economic or political questions would have differed greatly had Bentham expressed his moral confusion less foolishly. The real problem in the nineteenth century was that the independent status of morality, understood not as imperatives but as genetic behavioral patterns, had been destroyed. On these matters the reformist imagination was awarded a dangerous measure of liberty. It became possible to look at institutions as arbitrary and alterable at will. Among Northern European political and economic theorists there was still an instinctive affection for the old and tested institutions. But increasingly they were defended on utilitarian grounds, which failed to emphasize, as "moral philosophy" had tacitly done, their biological foundation.

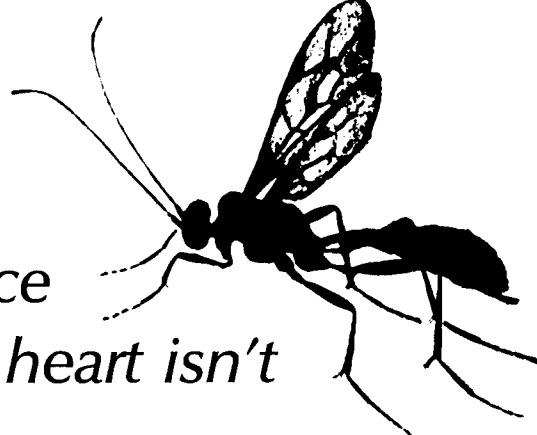
The **Wealth of Nations** can be said to be a study of the efficient use of human energy in society. The central lesson was that, with the institutions of property and contract, human energy is given maximum incentive and proper direction. Smith went into great detail about this, but his emphasis on prosperity as the product of human effort never waned.

It is only to the extent that a man sees his civilization as a product of his people that he will earnestly defend that civilization. Smith's readers understood "industrial society" or "commerce and industry" in that manner. Today our institutions are explained differently. There is a family of harsh names each of which, so far as I can tell, was invented by a Jewish economist and which reflect, in a broad way, an uncordial view of our society. "Capitalism" was coined by Karl Marx and is a favorite of minority writers of all political inclinations. The "market economy" was first used by L. von Mises. His student, F. A. von Hayek, first used "the price system." These expressions all reflect a materialistic view of what is going on. Among the non-Jewish writers, on the other hand, the names for our system are more likely to be associated with patterns of human conduct. We have already mentioned "industrial society" and "commerce and industry." Marshall, the great British economist, used "the enterprise system." Many of the older writers simply said "property and contract."

On the whole, the literature of economics in the nineteenth century was comfortable to our moral instincts. Except in detached essays on special topics, the literature abounded with references to scriptures and to the classics. Concepts were explained etymologically, a tacit but forceful reminder that our thoughts and views have a racial history. Business customs were favorably described. A sense of continuity was evident, not the "science" of "capital-output ratios," "factor proportions," "marginal rates of substitution" and "demand elasticity."

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Open Letter from a Who's Who Wasp whose heart is in the right place to a Who's Who Wasp whose heart isn't



Knowing that you will forgive me for not having written for so long, I will forego the apologies and ask if you have heard about a novel called **The Camp of the Saints** by a Frenchman, Jean Raspail, translated by Norman Shapiro and just published in the U.S. by Scribner's. I would call it an allegorical warning which supports in fictional form the realities that *The Dispossessed Majority* so ably documents. French critics speak of it as "an apocalyptic and haunting vision which might become the nightmarish reality of tomorrow . . . The suspense is total . . . A thriller to make Hollywood pale by comparison . . ." Frankly I am stunned that Charles Scribner has had the nerve to publish it. Because I believe that many passages in this book will arouse your interest and confirm certain of your views—and will also entertain you in the process—I have ordered a complimentary copy mailed to you as soon as possible.

One element in **The Camp of the Saints** to which I would be curious to learn your reaction is its characterization of so many of the people we see around us every day—among our liberal opponents, and also among ourselves. It presents an arresting panorama of the effect upon our Western civilization of a saturating misguidance that needs to be explored and understood. In fact it tempts me to put before you once again a passage from John R. Baker's **Race**. Dr. Baker, you may remember, is an Oxford don and a Fellow of the Royal Society, the highest honor a British scientist can attain next to a Nobel prize. He has written nine books on biological subjects and his **Race** is certainly the most definitive study yet produced in this field. It is published by the Oxford University Press. Some of it is highly technical but all of it is worth scanning by intelligent conservatives. The passage I now quote is on page 61 and serves to light the entrance to a harbor for all those bewildered by our national predicament:

"In 1928, the year after that in which the second volume of **Mein Kampf** was published, there appeared in the U.S.A. a work entitled **Contemporary Sociological Theories**. The author was Pitirim Sorokin, Professor of Sociology in the University of Minnesota. The book contains a chapter on the ethnic problem. This chapter is memorable, for it marks the close of the period in which both sides in the ethnic controversy were free to put forward their views, and authors who wished to do so could give objective accounts of the evidence pointing in each direction. From the beginning of the thirties onwards scarcely anyone outside Germany and its allies dared to suggest that any race might be in any respect or in any sense superior to any other, lest it should appear that the author was supporting or excusing the Nazi cause. Those who believed in the equality of all races were free to write what they liked,

without fear of contradiction. They made full use of their opportunity in the decades that followed, when nothing resembling Sorokin's chapter appeared in print. He himself supported neither side. All he did was to express, clearly and shortly, the views of both sides in the controversy. Sorokin's chapter is well worth reading today, as a reminder of what was still possible before the curtain came down. In recent years a corner of it has already been lifted."

It is important to grasp the meaning of this quotation. To put it bluntly we are confronted on all sides today by two generations raised on the assumption that race is meaningless, that all peoples are innately alike, and that existing differences are due mainly to social injustice. All of the discoveries made in the last 45 years confirming the fact of profound genetic variability throughout the human species have been skillfully and consistently ignored.

In America, the most active force in this suppression began with what may accurately be called the Boas cult. Franz Boas was a German Jew who migrated to the United States in 1887 and became the founder of "cultural" anthropology here. His personal metamorphosis from an objective scientist to an equalitarian crusader is documented by two editions of his **The Mind of Primitive Man**. In the 1911 edition he wrote: "Differences of structure must be accompanied by differences of function, physiological as well as psychological; and, as we found clear evidence of differences in structure between the races, so we must anticipate that the differences in mental characteristics will be found".

This crucial statement Boas omitted, without explanation, from the 1938 edition. One of Boas' students and followers, Otto Klineberg, suggested that "it seems highly probable that Boas changed his mind on this point." To which Dr. Wesley George, until his retirement the head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of North Carolina, aptly replied, "Possibly so; but I know of nothing in the development of anatomy and physiology between 1911 and 1938, or since, to justify a change of mind . . . quite the contrary." Later Melville Herskovits, another Jewish follower and student of Boas, summed up the result in these words: "The four decades of the tenure of his (Boas') professorship at Columbia gave a continuity to his teaching that permitted him to develop students who eventually made up the greater part of the significant professional core of American anthropologists, and who came to man and direct most of the major departments of anthropology in the United States. In their turn, they trained the students who, with the increase in general interest in the subject and the recognition of the contribution it can make to human knowledge and human welfare, have continued in the tradition in which their teachers were trained."

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF NIGHT

Is it commensensical to allege that man is saddled with two aspects of consciousness—the Rational and the Cosmic? Expounded in its clearest form, this theory hangs neurophysiological meat on a philosophical skeleton which has been dangling in the closet of Western thought since the time of the Greeks and was loudly rattled by Nietzsche. One mode of consciousness is the rational, scientific mode, which neurologists have shown originates in the right hemisphere of the brain. The other is the intuitive, mystical mode, which emanates from the left hemisphere. In Jungian terminology these are described, respectively, as the “thinking-sensation” and the “feeling-intuition” types.

The complementary functioning of these two different ways of looking at the world has been used, in part, to explain the advent of the counterculture. Consensus Western culture, it is argued, has overemphasized the workings of the dominant (right) at the expense of the non-dominant (left) cerebral hemisphere. The dominant hemisphere (the adjective betrays the soi-disant cultural repression) is responsible for the rational, analytic mode of consciousness. Under its sway Western man looks upon the universe as a collection of innumerable, individual particles to be observed, predicted and controlled, rather than “going with the flow,” as it were, and being part of the cosmos.

It is not the purpose of this brief article to dispute the neurophysiological evidence of the psychological dichotomy, but merely to consider the interesting “flip arounds” (to borrow a Ram Dass neologism) executed by the proponents of both “the philosophy of day” and “the philosophy of night.”

The “philosophy of day” (rationalism) is most strongly upheld by those who, for want of a better word, are termed moderate conservatives, centrists, honest or classical liberals—all who are at least mildly “pro-establishment.” The “philosophy of night,” which could be called cultural transformationism, is presently upheld by the political left. But it is clearly the New Left of Jerry Rubin and Tim Leary and not the Old Left of George Meany and Hubert Humphrey. This order of battle, it should be pointed out, is a recent one.

In the 50s and 60s, students were given the definite impression that the Left was the exponent of pure reason and intellect. The proper application of logic and scientific knowledge, so the *Zeitgeist* seemed to be saying, would soon succeed in eliminating prejudice, hatred, want and human misery. With the election of John Kennedy to the presidency and the appearance of

Martin Luther King as a figure of national importance, it seemed as if the millennium was at hand. Only hopeless, superstition-bound conservatives could quote G. K. Chesterton and castigate any attempt to “immanetize the eschaton.” To seriously contend that reason should give way to intuition placed one dangerously close to the Nazi belief in the invisible bonds of “blood, race and soil.”

Then before anyone could say ipso facto the bottom fell out. First, the American Negro (as he was still designated in those times) displayed an amazing reluctance to transubstantiate into a middle-class white. Given even a small measure of self-determination, blacks chose, to the utter consternation of the liberal monist, to dress, groom and behave in a manner consistent with their racial ancestry. In short, race was no longer “man’s most dangerous myth,” but a prime determinant of behavior. Further, we were suddenly confronted with a popular revival of “soul.” The mystical bonds were having another go at it under slightly different banners.

To young liberals this was a piece of incomprehensible bafflement. Not only had reason failed to solve the race problem, but the administration, which had sworn to carry out the policy of the martyred and apotheosized president, significantly deepened American involvement in a war which the educated youth felt to be totally immoral. Since it was “inconceivable” that the Kennedy administration could have launched our Vietnam policy, a whole corpus of exculpatory mythology sprang up. Who could doubt that John Kennedy had been assassinated by the CIA to prevent him from pulling us out of Southeast Asia?

Finally, the young liberal could only decide that he should not seek to bring about the kingdom of God here on earth. The kingdom was quite literally within him. Consequently, there arose an intense interest in drugs, altered states of consciousness and non-Western religions. Even Christianity was reworked to produce the “Jesus Freaks.” The same people who years earlier wouldn’t have read two pages of Chesterton suddenly proclaimed Alan Watts a guru. Carl Jung was rehabilitated and his previous flirtation with the National Socialists studiously ignored. B. F. Skinner fell from grace and though he maintained his hardcore of Walden Twoers, his mass following drifted away on the grounds that his views lent themselves to totalitarianism. When William Shockley attempts to promote the “use of man’s intelligence to eliminate human misery,” he is shouted down. His views “aren’t relevant.” They overemphasize dominant hemisphere functions.

On the Möbius Strip left becomes right and vice versa.



In the 1935 movie version of H. G. Wells’ *The Shape of Things to Come*. Cedric Hardwicke plays a vehement reactionary who attempts to prevent the launching of the first space rocket. In the 1970s counter-culturists adorn their rooms with posters of the moonwalk bearing the legend “So What?”

Neither the Right nor the Left (politically) has a monopoly on the right or the left (cerebro-hemispherically). Robespierre (political left) installed the goddess of Reason as a deity. Blood flowed in the streets. Adolf Hitler (political right), with only Providence guiding him, led a movement steeped in mystic irrationalism (cerebral left). Blood flowed in the land. Perhaps the failure of political Left-Right to match hemispheric left-right—a situation which reduces to a psychological Möbius Strip—is nowhere better illustrated than in Thomas Mann’s *The Magic Mountain*. Settembrini and Naphta race the hobby horses of Reason and Intuition at top speed. Settembrini declares himself to be a liberal. He counts on Reason to eliminate human misery. Yet he is also a nationalist who looks favorably on war with the reactionary powers. Naphta, on the other hand, born a Jew, trained as a Jesuit and simultaneously a Communist, is opposed to the domination of Reason over Intuition and favors instituting “the Terror.” In 1915, culturally and politically, who was on the Left and who was on the Right? How about hemispherically? Let’s ask the same questions with respect to 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970.

Cultural transformation based upon redressing the imbalance between Reason and Intuition is not a phenomenon unique to the 70s. Author Koestler writes that abandoning “the idea of progress, the supremacy of scientific rationalism, the goal of self-sufficiency and the postponement of gratification in favor of a return to an organic, cosmic society” will no more usher in the millennium than did “the application of reason to the elimination of human misery.” Western rationalism, he indicates, has acquired the smell of dry rot. “It is obvious,” he added, “that a culture threatened by strontium clouds should yearn for the Cloud of Unknowing. [But] simple abdication of reason in favor of spurious mysticism does not resolve the dilemma.” Fortunately, however, as Joseph Campbell writes, there are those who are not “of that supine sort that they must have their values given them, cried at them from the pulpits and other mass media of the day. . . .” By ones and twos they are “entering the forest at those points which they themselves have chosen, where they see it to be most dark, and there is no beaten way or path.”

The Cultural Catacombs

Solzhenitsyn Names Names

"History is us—and there is no alternative but to shoulder the burden of what we so passionately desire and bear it out of the depths."

Our purpose here is not to review Solzhenitsyn's literary output, not to retrace the milestones of the author's Cinderella career. His ups and downs have been amply profiled and his books have been more talked about in recent years than those of any other living author.

There are certain historical events, personages and ideas in Solzhenitsyn's writings, however, that have been deliberately muted or skimmed over by both his admirers and detractors. Needless to say, the latter group has grown considerably of late, when it was discovered, as the result of the publication of his letter to the Soviet leadership in 1974, that the world hero, who by definition must be a liberal hero, was an old-fashioned Russian nationalist, a man who claimed that the Russians' only salvation was repentance followed by a strict regimen of self-limitation. It did not take long for the jackals of *Newsweek* and the *New Republic* to begin to howl. But in deference to the Majority members of the literary establishment, the procedural demotion of the genius on whom they had lavished so much adulation to an idiotic, bigoted, rightist pig had to move slowly. Trained seals need a few months to learn to jump through new hoops.

The Gulag Archipelago has been the latest of the author's works to appear (Part I in 1974, Part II in 1975). It is an almost unbearably encyclopedic and staggeringly detailed study of the Russian penal system in the Lenin and Stalin eras. The animal existence, the physical and psychological torture, the starvation, the mass extermination, the near total dehumanization of tens of millions (one estimate goes as high as 66 million dead) merely confirm what intelligent Westerners have always guessed and what earlier accounts had hinted. But in the days when Russia was the pillar of Marxist orthodoxy, the enemy of Franco and Hitler and the champion of minorities, Stalin was an idol of Western opinion. Anyone who wrote evil things about him was no better than a fascist wrecker. This was the view of most of the strident intelligentsia from John Strachey to Berthold Brecht to Louis Aragon to Robert Penn Warren.

Now that some rather important changes have occurred in Russia, particularly in the area of Middle Eastern foreign policy, our media masters have been mounting a fierce campaign against the Kremlin (when anti-Communists did it it

was called red-baiting) and Solzhenitsyn, a man whose hour had come, was permitted to tell the world what happened in the days the *New York Times*' Moscow correspondent, Walter Duranty, was assuring Americans that the great Marxist show trials of the late 30s were **on the level** (just as the *Times* later assured us that the Nuremberg trials and the Holocaust were on the level and the Katyn massacre was not).

Before Solzhenitsyn is knocked off his pedestal, in honor of the new anti-Soviet hero, the liberal H-bomb scientist Sakharov—a movement already underway—we had better drink our fill.

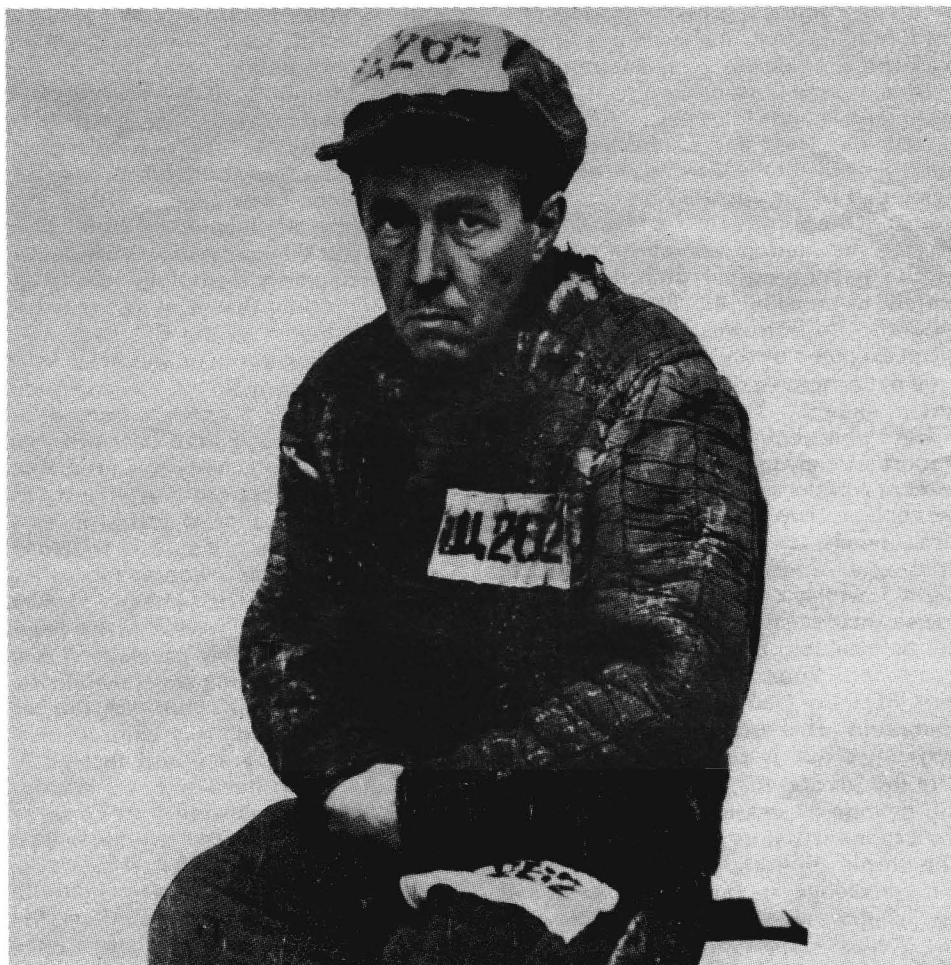
One of the most interesting pieces of information emerging from *The Gulag Archipelago* is that the world's first concentration camps, officially organized and designated as such, were inaugurated by a

Soviet decree of September 5, 1918, the purpose of which was to "secure the Soviet Republic against its class enemies by isolating them in **concentration camps**." It is to be noted that the most glaring example of human degradation and cruelty on the part of any government, past or present, was not the work of Genghis Khan, Nero or Hitler, but of Lenin and Trotsky.

Students of Soviet power have always understood the immense influence of Russian minorities in the Russian secret police, the Cheka, MVD, OGPU, KGB or whatever it happened to be called in its checkered organizational history. We—and the relatives of millions of purged Russians—remember all too well the Polish Commissar of the Secret Police, Dzerzhinsky, the Jewish commissar, Yagoda and the Georgian commissar, Beria.

But it is thanks to Solzhenitsyn that we have finally obtained the **names** of the second-echelon bureaucrats who were put in charge of the penal system, the labor camp bosses who worked or starved their prisoners to death in such a brutal and heartless fashion that one wonders if there is any limit at all to human depravity.

Solzhenitsyn informs us the man most responsible for turning Soviet slave labor into big business was a Turkish Jew named Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel, born in Con-



Solzhenitsyn—on the day of his release.

The Cultural Catacombs

stantinople, who before coming to Russia had been a millionaire speculator in timber. After a long meeting with Stalin in 1929, Frenkel instituted the differential ration system in the work camps. Those strong enough and willing enough to carry on back-breaking work in subzero cold were given more food than those who were unable or unwilling. In other words, the weak and rebellious in spirit were simply starved to death. The Frenkel system of food rationing remained in force in the concentration camps until well after World War II.

For supervising the pick-and-shovel construction of the Belomor Canal, which cost 180,000 lives, Frenkel received the Order of Lenin. Other Gulag bosses were Berman, Kogan, Rappoport and Zhuk, gentlemen whose names do not have a very Russian ring. About the only good that can be said about these minority throwbacks, whose relatives over here may one day try to do the same thing to us, is that they were done in themselves when Stalin later turned against the Jews.

Solzhenitsyn has a warm heart for Russian Christians who, unless they recanted, received particularly gruesome treatment in the concentration camps. The best ones went to their deaths bravely and proudly. The worst stole their fellow Christian's meagre food rations in order to stay alive, a selective process favoring the most loathsome of the prisoners. Of the dead, Solzhenitsyn asks: "Who will count these millions? They died unknown, casting only in their immediate vicinity a light like a candle."

No Senator Jackson said a word on behalf of these martyred Russians. No U.S. Senate voted them \$130 million for traveling expenses to leave the land of their persecution. Jackson and the Senate only acted years later when non-Christians and anti-Christians began to feel the heat.

There are moments of great literary intensity in **The Gulag Archipelago**. Solzhenitsyn is a worthy follower of Dostoyevsky, who also spent many years in a labor camp. But in Dostoyevsky's day most convicts were guilty of crimes, not of anti-Soviet behavior. Solzhenitsyn's description of how he was forced to become an informer in a cat-and-mouse game with a secret police officer is a masterpiece of psychological subtlety that would do credit to Stendhal.

Memorable literary criticism also lights up the dark and glowering firmament of **The Gulag Archipelago**. Solzhenitsyn's four spheres of art are an insightful attempt to categorize the four principal schools of writing. In **Sphere 1**, the upper stratum describes, portrays or ponders the upper stratum. In **Sphere 2**, the upper stratum depicts the lower stratum. **Sphere 3** is the reverse of **Sphere 2**. In **Sphere 4** the lower

stratum concerns itself with itself.

The upper stratum of society, according to Solzhenitsyn, has the leisure and the means to master artistic techniques. When these advantages are combined with talent, the result is art, sometimes great art, but only if the artist has suffered profoundly or is the possessor of an irrepressible spiritual drive. In general, however, the ease of upper class life brings contentment, which is the deadly enemy of spiritual striving. The result is that Sphere 1 contains within it a plethora of artistic distortions and morbid, self-important "schools"—all of which usually amount to "sterile flowerings."

Sphere 2 ("looking down from above") offers great moral promise because its works are the creations of good people whose sense of justice displaces their soporific prosperity. But the great fault of this school is its "incapacity to understand." The more indignant and fearful such authors become, the more they miss the literary or artistic mark. "They simply could not climb into the pelts of the lower stratum."

Sphere 3 writers ("looking up from below") suffer from inexperience, lack of education and interruptions caused by economic considerations. But there is an even greater and more destructive force at work. The artist, poisoned by envy and hate or spoiled by servile fawning, can only produce bogus art or propaganda.

From Sphere 4 comes the world's folklore. The simple, suffering peasant or soldier speaks directly to fellow sufferers. Intensity and honesty of feeling make up for artistic inexperience, and centuries of refining and improvement, as the prose or poetic narrative passes from mouth to mouth, smoothe away the rough edges. On the other hand, what starts out as "written literature" in this sphere always fails because it is too embryonic and confused. For reasons stated earlier, the individual has not been able to master his craft.

Solzhenitsyn writes that for the first time in history the upper and lower strata of a social order merged in the Russian concentration camps, and so for the first time the upper stratum was finally able to understand the lower stratum. "Only now could an educated Russian write about an enserved peasant from the inside—because he himself had become a serf." Since almost all the incarcerated upper stratum Russians in the camps died, "The unprecedented philosophy and literature were buried under the iron crust of the Archipelago."

Outside the camps, the times were totally unpropitious for Russian literature. "There is no man who has typed even one page . . . without lying. There is no man who has spoken from a rostrum . . . without lying. There is no man who has spoken

into a microphone . . . without lying." Many residents of the hither side of the Iron Curtain, it goes without saying, have been guilty of the same behavior.

More than fifty years after it all began an extremely talented Russian has finally had the nerve and the opportunity to write about the disasters inflicted upon his countrymen by the neurotics and psychotics of Bolshevism. This is not meant to indicate, however, that Solzhenitsyn is all-wise and all-knowing. We do not agree with anyone who derides the magnificent achievements of both Russia and the U.S. in space—perhaps the greatest achievements of all time. Nor do we admire men who attack their country from abroad to the plaudits of a coterie of liberal politicians and venomous mediocrats who, once they understood Solzhenitsyn, would treat him almost as badly as his Soviet masters. Social ostracism in a democracy certainly provides less physical discomforts than a slave labor camp, but it may bring with it more mental agony. Total cultural isolation even in a state of physical freedom is one of the severest forms of torture.

Prophet Without Honor

Were there ever more tragic figures than Cassandra and Madison Grant? Both predicted the true course of events in their time, but no one would believe them. In a fit of divine pique, Apollo followed up his gift of prophecy to Cassandra by ordaining that the Trojan princess' utterances would ring false to every ear. Grant acquired his prophetic acumen by a diligent study of race, but the liberal-minority Zeitgeist saw to it that his warnings were unheard or unheeded. Both Troy and the United States would have had a rosier destiny if the gods and the media had not attacked their prophets' credibility.

If day in, day out someone correctly predicts the shape of things to come, he must understand a great deal about the present. The man who knows a lot about tomorrow knows more about today, and even more about yesterday. Prophecy with a high batting average is perhaps the highest and most intense form of induction.

Although he told Americans over and over again what would happen to them if they persisted in their blindness about race and eugenics, Grant's influence seemed to diminish the more his predictions were verified. A successful lawyer, a brilliant naturalist, a dedicated conservationist, Grant was an avid student of the biological tides of history, and what he learned convinced him that America was scheduled for

Continued next page

The Cultural Catacombs

a speedy collapse unless something was done to protect the country's Northern European genetic matrix. It was Grant who was probably more responsible than any other person for the restrictive immigration acts of the early 1920s, which set quotas based on national origins. Preference was given to emigrés from countries which had originally supplied the bulk of the American white population.

Grant was the author of several books, the two most noteworthy being **The Passing of the Great Race** (1916) and **The Conquest of a Continent** (1933), the latter having just been reprinted by a small New Jersey publishing house. **The Passing of the Great Race** was a general survey of the Nordic and Indo-European peoples from prehistoric times up to the beginning of World War I. Owing a great deal to Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlin, the book was sketchy and more weighted with opinion than fact. In spite of some stimulating historical insights, it exuded a kind of Spenglerian pessimism which sat awkwardly on the pages of an empirically inclined Anglo-Saxon author.

The Conquest of a Continent was a much better book because it was a straightforward racial history of the country Grant knew best, his own. Developed from a mass of original research, the work first focused on the English and the Ulster Scots who settled the Eastern seaboard and from there went on to take over the richest and largest part of North America, erecting in the process one of mankind's most stable political systems and raising the living standards of most of the population to heights undreamed of by the most starry-eyed utopians and the most bleary-minded altruists. As for the eventual Nordic decline, the theme of so much of his work, Grant blamed it partly on the exodus of 100,000 Loyalists in the Revolution, which ravaged the Northern gene pool, particularly in New York; partly on the Civil War, which did terrible genetic damage to both sides, but more so to the South; and partly on the arrival of millions of disparate migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. At every era, of course, there was the biological grinder of the Negro.

In **The Conquest of a Continent**, Grant examined the past and present racial composition of almost every colony, territory and state in the United States and every country in the Western Hemisphere, from the Huguenots in South Carolina to the Guarani Indians in Paraguay. He admitted that other races in the New World have had and can have a civilization of sorts, but he insisted that the hope, promise and uniqueness of America derived from the Nordic element, and if and when this element dies off then not only the United States but Canada and Latin America will sink back into a New World edition of the Dark Ages.

The Conquest of a Continent seems gratifyingly out of tune with contemporary historical writing because of the persistent domination of the Boas school of anthropology and the liberal-minority intelligentsia's success in making race an invidious no-no in all but a minority context. Also, the hagiographic school of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the encyclopedic chronicling of the Durants and the mystical hypergeneralizing of Spengler and Toynbee have in recent years all but outmoded genetic interpretations of history (C. D. Darlington's **Evolution of Man and Society** being the notable exception.)

By making race his central theme, Grant was able to enrich his pages with events and observations that have entirely escaped the minds and pens of conformist historians. For example, Grant wrote that although the Abolitionists bore a large responsibility for the Nordic holocaust of the Civil War, their fanatic opposition to slavery probably prevented America from annexing Cuba in the expansionist days of Henry Clay, an annexation which would have introduced a host of unassimilable brown and dark-white implants in the Majority bloodstream. In Revolutionary times, he reminded us, the great bulk of New Englanders were members of families that had been on American soil for four or five generations, longer than most of the families of today's white minority members. Why then, while the nation celebrates its Bicentennial, should Majority members not be saluting their Tricentennial?

Grant, incidentally, does not go overboard on Nordic virtues. He points out that one of the main reasons the first colonists had a relatively easy time pushing back the Indians was due to the debilitation of their foes by smallpox, which had already crept up North America from the Spanish settlements. In the 11th century, before the arrival of the Spaniards and smallpox, the Vikings were prevented by a much stronger and healthier group of Indians from establishing New World settlements.

Writing in the early 1930s, Grant stated that in respect to racial matters, "Americans probably have less freedom of speech and freedom of the press than exist in any of the countries of Europe." We tend to forget that the suppression of objective investigations of race antedates Hitler, whose flamboyant Aryanism is usually blamed for having scared Western scientists into a craven ethnographic silence. As much as Grant admired Nordics, however, we are reminded of his conservationist streak when he asserted, "Probably no more destructive human being has ever appeared on the world stage than the American pioneer with his axe and his rifle."

Whites conquered the Western Hemis-

phere. Whites have already lost much of their conquest to the original inhabitants and to the Negroes brought over in the slave trade. On the surface the U.S. and Canada are still white strongholds, but Majority members in both countries know better. Many of our larger inner cities have all but seceded into semi-independent tribal enclaves, where even in broad daylight the white citizen fears to tread. In fact, Majority members now feel more at home and much safer in the Casbah of Algiers than in south Chicago.

All of which tends to show that Grant was right about race being the master key to American history. Those who disputed him were wrong and are more wrong every day, though the more they are wrong, the less they are inclined to admit it. There is no more vicious animal than the treed equalitarian.

It is fortunate that Grant died in 1937. He might not have survived the shock of Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Immigration Act, which ended the national origins quotas so dear to Grant's heart. Moreover Grant, a gentleman as well as a scholar, had a genuine affection for his people. He was not one of those spiteful doomsayers who relishes seeing his worst predictions come true.

Grant criticized his cherished Nordics for having a fatal "sentimental flaw," by which he meant an addiction to a philosophical and practical altruism which only Northern Europeans could entertain and only Northern Europeans could uphold. He was the kind of perfectionist who, when he sees a small crack in the wall of a house, moves out at once, certain that the roof will fall in momentarily.

It is indisputable that Grant's Nordics or the more diluted Nordics we prefer to call the American Majority have received many serious jolts, both during and after Grant's lifetime. We have lost our privileged status. We are rapidly becoming second-class citizens. Our culture has largely been suppressed in favor of an alien-inspired pornographic mishmash which would have been considered primitive even by Stone Age cavemen.

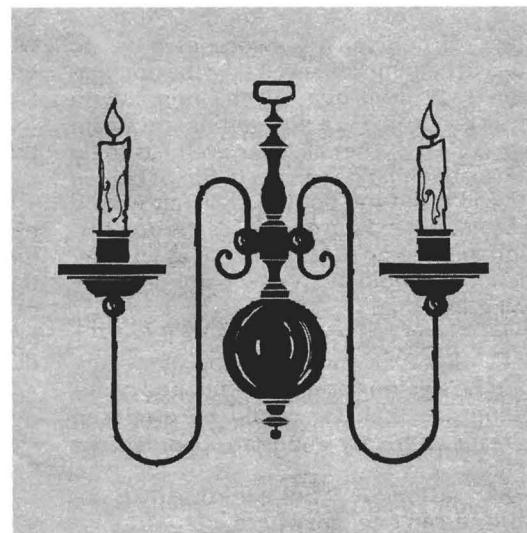
But the important point—and one that seems to have escaped Grant—is that we are still **around**. Though we have not had the experience of fighting for survival against an intellectual elite of organized minority racists in our midst, we are learning. When the racial forces aligned against us drop the last vestiges of their camouflage and attempt to put the finishing touches on our racial disintegration by forced miscegenation and by reducing our racial holdouts to serfdom, we will probably learn much faster.

The more our enemies push down our racial spring, the more forceful will be its recoil.



THE GAME and THE CANDLE

A dramatized rendering of the
secret history of the United
States (1912–1960)



The Action So Far: The *Old Man*, a Middle Western oil magnate, visits *Pierpont*, a New York banker, to try to enlist his aid in a scheme to win the 1912 Democratic presidential nomination for a front man who will push through a federal banking system. A central bank, he explains, will guarantee inflation and permit him to borrow expensive dollars and repay with cheap dollars. At one point he brings up the subject of political assassinations and intimates that Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley were murdered by the banking crowd. *Pierpont*, although he refuses to join forces with the *Old Man*, does not offer any convincing denial of his visitor's wild allegations.

PART ONE, ACT I

Scene 4: *The office of Mayor Gaynor, New York City, 1912. The Mayor, at his desk, is talking to the Colonel, who is not otherwise identified.*

MAYOR. Colonel, your interest in my political future moves me. But it also puzzles me. How can the Tammany Mayor of the City of New York possibly become the candidate of the Democratic convention? As a practical politician I cannot see that it makes sense, that it is even remotely possible.

COLONEL. (*in a half-Texas, half-Ivy League accent*) Mr. Gaynor, I would not waste your time unless I knew that it was possible. My associates have both great financial and great political power. If they decide on your nomination, I assure you the Baltimore Convention will make it official.

M. On the other hand, if I accept your flattering offer, the nomination for Governor of New York, which I am almost certain of, would be lost.

C. I assure you that we, my associates and their supporters, will have the national convention better in hand than Charlie Murphy will have the state's.

M. Perhaps. It still leaves the question of what is so important about getting me to run for president. Is Champ Clark all that bad? Even if he is, I still don't think you can

keep the nomination away from him. I know the inside of Democratic politics pretty well, at least here in the east. You Texans may have angles I don't know about, but we've got some pretty big blocks of votes in these parts.

C. You know, if enough money were poured in against Clark, he could lose the nomination.

M. I'm not sure. So much would be needed it would attract attention and scare people away. In any case, it would get out and the nomination would be worth nothing. It would hand the election to Taft. (*suspiciously*) Why don't you speak frankly, Colonel. I can't really suppose you came all the way from Texas, if you did come directly from Texas, to talk to me like a political adolescent. The gentleman who asked me to see you assured me that you were a professional who knew his way about. So far I haven't seen any sign of it.

C. (*laughing*) Mr. Mayor, they told me you were a forthright man and I see they were right. I don't seem to have much choice, but to come right out with it.

M. You have a choice, Colonel. Because I'm not at all sure I want to hear your real proposition. But if I do listen to it, it's got to be in two parts, both clear and both making sense. The first is how you and your associates propose to win the nomination for me against Champ Clark, and then the election against Taft. The second is the price tag you put on the job. What do I have to promise your associates? They aren't going to this trouble to build up a Tammany mayor just out of public spirit. To tell you the truth I'm beginning to think that the Tammany angle is part of the play. In theory it makes me vulnerable to the virtuous people back in the sticks. That would seem to give you the right to ask more from me as the price of your support.

C. (*a little ruefully*) You squeeze me hard. First about the nomination and election. Let's take it backwards. The Democratic candidate is as certain a winner as there are any certainties in politics. Taft will have no chance for a reason that I'll have to divulge, but ask you to keep in confidence till it happens. Can you agree to keep the confidence?

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The Game and The Candle

M. (after a pause) Yes, I agree.

C. Taft will be the Republican nominee, of course. My associates have no idea of helping Roosevelt take the nomination away from him. All the rumors you hear about that are just getting the steam up. (smiling) After all, Roosevelt has to be persuaded that he can get it. But of course he can't. But the point is that Taft will be beaten. When Roosevelt loses the nomination, he's going to bolt and run as an independent candidate. A new party or something like that.

M. How can you be sure he'll bolt?

C. Because enough of the quiet support he's getting now is conditioned on his doing just that. He would be disgraced forever with very important people if he didn't.

M. (astounded) But a third party is absurd. It can't get anywhere.

C. It isn't intended to get anywhere. Whatever Roosevelt may think, the men back of this intend it only as a one-shot proposition, though naturally we won't say so. It's only purpose is to defeat Taft, and I think a man of your political experience will agree that it will do just that.

M. Well, if you project what a Roosevelt bolt would do to New York, it doesn't take too much imagination to guess what it would do to the rest of the country. It certainly would play havoc with Taft's chances. The Republicans would lose perhaps a third of their usual strength here in the east. (reflecting) I'll concede, Colonel, that you've got Taft defeated. But how do you get the nomination away from Champ Clark? The Republican Convention in Chicago comes first. The Democratic nomination will be such a prize that no one will give it up easily.

C. Money will help a great deal, but as you said it can't do the whole job. We have something else up our sleeve.

M. (joking) You might assassinate Clark beforehand, but I don't believe your associates are that crude.

C. (stiffly) They are not that lawless.

M. Besides I don't think you could do it. To assassinate a man you've got to find or invent someone who thinks he has a grievance. At least, so I'm told. At any rate, I've had some personal experience in this matter. I'm still carrying around the bullet of the man who tried to do me in two years ago. (He points to his throat.)

C. We have a different kind of assassination in mind. In fact, it's all worked out. You know Roosevelt has several children. None of them is particularly famous for discretion and some of them are not very famous for brain power. After Roosevelt bolts and announces himself for president, but before the Democratic convention nominates anyone, one of the children is going accidentally to admit to a reporter that Roosevelt is scared the con-

vention may nominate someone who can beat him, so he's praying for Champ. That will scare the Democratic Convention just enough to tip the nomination away from Clark.

M. Hardly. But it will make a suitable public excuse for the delegates you have . . . "won over" shall we say?

C. (shrugging) You must admit they'll need one. (serious again) The only other hitch is easy. You'd have to promise Bryan the State Department. Once he's sure he can't get the nomination himself, that's his price for throwing his support to our candidate.

M. Whoever he may turn out to be?

C. Whoever he may turn out to be.

M. (after thinking a bit) Plausible. Even more than plausible. I think it would work.

C. It **will** work. It's precisely what's going to happen.

M. All right, now the price tag. What do I have to promise? And if it's not too much to ask, to whom?

C. To me and my associates. Mostly Texans. Politicians and financiers.

M. Any oil men? I'm told there's a little oil in Texas and some people hope to find more.

C. There probably are some oil men in it. It's a representative group of forward-looking American business men.

M. I thought you said they were Texans?

C. (laughing) As a Texan by birth I resent that. No, I merely meant there are more than Texans in the group.

M. Though Texans predominate? Or front?

C. (the laughter is becoming more strained) The geography of the group hardly matters. They have asked me to be their spokesman.

M. Very well. What does your candidate have to promise? Realizing, of course, men have been elected President and then broken promises.

C. We are not worried about that. Obviously we would not approach a man we had any such doubt about.

M. You flatter me.

C. We have only three essential requirements. We wish to have the right to name the second man in the State Department. I told you Bryan will have to be appointed Secretary.

M. You would not care to name this man now?

C. Not now or any time until the appointment itself can be made.

M. Your candidate is to agree that you personally, Colonel, can come to him if he is elected and say, "Name so and so number two man at State"?

C. Precisely. You must admit that's not much to ask.

M. That depends on many things. You and I both know that Bryan is not the smar-

test man in the world. If we have any serious foreign problems your man could be the real Secretary.

C. I wouldn't worry about that Mr. Gaynor. A vigorous President can always be his own Secretary of State.

M. Constitutionally, yes. What's the second essential requirement?

C. A federal banking system.

M. We have national banks right now.

C. Please, Mr. Gaynor. You objected to my acting like an adolescent earlier. Please don't you do the same now.

M. You have a point. What is your federal banking system supposed to accomplish?

C. In form, of course, it has to be a privately owned banking system. The temper of the country would never stand for government-owned banks. But control of finance is to be established in the hands of the federal government.

M. Control of finance? That must mean that Washington will decide when credit is to be easy and when it's to be tight? When it's a good time to underwrite a lot of securities and when it isn't, when the Stock Market can go up and when it had better go down? That I suppose is what you mean. Not Washington having control of who can borrow and who can't.

C. You've analyzed it very well, except you omitted control of the relation of the dollar with foreign currency.

M. Of course. That would automatically go with it. (thinks awhile) It would make quite a change, what you're proposing. In the long run it might change everything. To give the victorious political party control of the country's money could make millionaires or bankrupts of whoever the men in control of the party wanted, couldn't it? It makes the old-fashioned river and harbors pork barrel seem like a total waste of time, doesn't it? Funny, I never thought there was any strong move for any such thing. People have complained a lot about our mass of small banks and felt it would be a good idea to consolidate a lot of them as they have in England and Canada, but I never heard the notion of leaving the thousands of banks as they are and setting federal control on top of them. I suppose, if it's smoothly and cleverly done, it can be made to look like a needed reform.

C. It is a needed reform.

M. Parts of it are, I agree. The American banking system is a mess and a disgrace. Even a Tammany Mayor can see that. But I don't think it's the messiness that worries your associates. They could correct that by copying Canada. They don't, so what they really must be after is banking control. (pause) Well, what's the third requirement?

C. The enactment of national prohibition.

The Game and The Candle

M. (*astounded*) What?

C. You understood me. National Prohibition.

M. Yes, I understood you. That wasn't the meaning of my question. What I don't understand is the interest of your associates in that question. It fits in so strangely with the other two conditions.

C. (*a bit stonily*) The merits of the different conditions are really not at debate between us. Nor, to tell the truth, is my personal opinion in any way involved. I am simply stating to you the views of my associates, and it is their views that are governing on both of us.

M. Is there, or perhaps I should say, do your associates have in mind any particular legal mechanism through which they wish to bring about prohibition?

C. They feel that state action will never completely eliminate the liquor traffic. Some few states will always stay wet no matter how much work and pressure is put into the campaign. Among the group that I represent are men who feel that Prohibition is indispensable for the welfare of the country, and I might add, as the only course consistent with a firm adherence to the Protestant form of the Christian religion. They feel that very strongly and they feel that this coming election is decisive in this movement. They realize that it may still take some years, but that the tide of public sentiment is now in their favor, and they must move with it before something occurs to change the political climate.

M. (*willing to go this far*) Well, if the climate of opinion is what you think, an Act of Congress should not be too hard to get.

C. An Act of Congress will not be sufficient for my associates. It is too easily repealed. The battle would not stay won. A constitutional amendment is what they want.

M. On the principle of locking the door and throwing away the key?

C. Precisely. They require, therefore, a president who will use all his powers, particularly his power to appoint the right people at the state and local level, to assure the ratification of the amendment when the time is ripe to have such a resolution pass Congress. His whole use of patronage must be tied to this issue.

M. (*after thinking awhile*) Have they considered what would happen if they cannot enforce their Prohibition, once they get it on the books by constitutional amendment? A law that can neither be enforced or repealed is something I dislike to see, particularly a federal law. We have had from time to time some experience with things like that here in New York, usually concerned with prostitution and gambling.

C. It would be pointless for me to debate the matter with you. It is possible—though quite irrelevant—that I might agree with you.

M. (*getting up and strolling to the window and looking out with his back to the Colonel*) And those three requirements make up the price tag?

C. That's it.

M. (*drumming his fingers on the window pane*) The rain has almost stopped.

C. Has it?

M. Yes. (*turning back*) You won't get wet as you leave. It's only a short walk to the Liberty Street ferry and you can get an express train to Trenton. It stops at Princeton, too, in case the Governor happens to be home after his arduous labors. He's the man you want. The Tammany tag would make me too subservient. His nagging ambition will make it easy for you to control him. I'm going to be contented with the bosses I know. I'll just be Charlie Murphy's Governor of New York.

Scene 5: *A few hours later. The Colonel and the Governor are seated in the latter's library.*

GOVERNOR: National Prohibition by Constitutional Amendment is no doubt a drastic route to a desired and indeed desirable objective. It covers a field of sociological studies in which I have not specialized for some years. I had not, perhaps, been so aware as I should have been, that the problem was so serious that it required so Draconian a solution. Might I not wonder if statutory Prohibition first would do as a substitute?

COLONEL: No, Governor, it would not do as a substitute. It might well do as a beginning. It might be used to bring in Prohibition a year or two sooner than could be done by Constitutional Amendment. But my associates will not accept it as a substitute. Statutory Prohibition could be, and they feel sure would be, quickly repealed. They do not believe that popular support for the measure would last very long.

G. Well, as I have said, it is in an area which I have neglected for some time. Clearly to be so concerned and interested in it as your associates are indicates, with a very high probability of accuracy, that the solution they desire is the only practicable one. It is a solution that could only be considered undemocratic from a strictly plebiscitic view of democracy, a view quite foreign to our American traditions. I am, therefore, entirely willing to make their views of the matter my own. Up to the point, at least, of the amendment. The type of enforcement legislation is clearly an executive prerogative that cannot be decided on before hand.

C. I quite agree.

G. Now to your second point. Reform of the American banking system is essential, indeed imperative. It is a matter I have studied and pondered for many years. But

as a Governor, even of so important a financial state as New Jersey, there has been little or nothing that I could do to move this important work forward. Nothing beyond study and the hope to prepare myself should greater responsibilities come my way. It is, therefore, with perfect ease of conscience that I can assure you of my support for a federal banking system.

C. (*cutting him to size deliberately*) Governor, my associates are not interested in your support for a federal banking system. They want to know whether you will approve and help enact a specific banking statute that will be introduced in Congress?

G. You mean I shall have no opportunity to read it beforehand?

C. Certainly you will have such an opportunity, and your comments and suggestions will be carefully listened to. But they are not to be governing. In case of disagreement you must agree to accept the version preferred by my associates.

G. How will I know what they prefer?

C. I will tell you. I am their spokesman now and, so long as they desire to keep me as their spokesman, you will accept me as such. So far as I now know it will be I who will have the last word on the text of the banking bill.

G. (*accepting but stalling to recover his dignity*) Who will introduce it?

C. (*retreating from the position of boss and playing up to the Governor's ego*) My dear Governor, you are the political expert. When the time comes to introduce the bill in the Congress, no one would be so expert as you in picking out the persons in each house who should sponsor it.

G. (*regaining his self-esteem*) It would probably also be very important to consider most carefully the committees of reference. There is more elasticity in such assignments than the layman realizes, and it can be a matter of great importance. I have observed that committee assignment alone can at times affect the entire fate of a bill.

C. (*mocking*) Is that so? I had not realized how important that was. But as you can see, politically I am just a layman.

G. Now as to the appointment of Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State, it is, of course, evident that party breaches must be healed. If at the convention his appointment seems to me to be in the interest of party harmony—and in the interest of the American people—I am sure that that will be the proper time to inform Mr. Bryan of my decision.

C. Governor, the problem is not one of informing Mr. Bryan of your decision. The problem is your accepting my associates' decision that Mr. Bryan **must be** Secretary of State and that a man whom my associates shall later designate will be the number two man in that Department and

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will succeed Mr. Bryan if he dies or resigns. All other appointments are yours to work out as best you can with your party officials and with other interests that no doubt will request something of you in return for their support. (*The Governor doodles with a pencil, wants to answer but cannot bring himself to do so. The Colonel goes on.*) I must have your answer, Governor. I do not like to press you so specifically for specific answers, but long experience in the business world has convinced me that a clear understanding in the beginning, no matter how painful, is worth a great deal later. Of course, I have no experience in politics, but I would suppose that the same rule would apply.

G. (*finding his way out*) You are so right. Misunderstandings are in my judgment even more dangerous in politics than in business because so much more is at stake—namely the lives and welfare of our countrymen. That is why I have had to consider carefully about any promise concerning Mr. Bryan and the man your associates will desire as his second in command. If the world future were clouded, I will tell you quite frankly I would have had to refuse to accept your suggestion. I could not agree to name an unknown man even under so experienced a public servant as William Jennings Bryan. But since the world is in deep peace, and democracy is everywhere moving forward against the warlike ambitions of monarchy, the functions of the Department of State during my Administration will be more educational than diplomatic and the appointment you desire can do no harm. I can with good conscience accept both your requests.

C. Governor, I hope we have a long and successful association. So let us start it on a sound basis. I have no objection to your seeing further than I do, but I must ask you not to alter the fundamental nature of our relationship. I did not make you two requests. I and my associates are requesting nothing of you, nothing at all. They are offering you the presidency of the United States and they are putting two **conditions** on your obtaining that office. Do you accept them?

G. (*almost beside himself with the struggle between ambition and his wounded pride*) Yes. I accept.

C. (*all sunny and deferential*) Good. Now you must realize better than I do that we're crowded for time and while you're undoubtedly the best known of the eastern Democratic governors, it would still be politically helpful in other areas to have a little more national publicity. What I would . . . (*He is interrupted by the entrance of a woman, obviously the Governor's wife, who is addressed as Ellen. She has the mannerisms and speech of a proper Southern lady. Both men rise.*)

ELLEN: Now I'm sure you men have

talked your politics almost long enough, haven't you Colonel? It's practically time for tea. Do sit down. (*They do.*) It will be right along and I'll just sit over here. Even a silly woman is no bother if she keeps quiet and out of the way, is she?

G. We're delighted to have you join us, Ellen dear. The Colonel and I had reached so harmonious a meeting of the minds that we had moved on to the discussion of campaign strategy.

E. Oh, how wonderful! (*to the Colonel*) You know, in my foolish womanly way, because I know nothing about politics at all—Woodrow is the politician of the family—I do feel, Colonel, that my husband is going to be a great surprise to the professionals. I think there is a great body of thoughtful, high-minded people who are going to be extremely delighted at the opportunity to vote for a man who has such a great heart and such a trained mind.

C. I think you have a true insight into the situation. I was just discussing with your husband a few of the minor technical steps that we can take to bring his remarkable powers and personality as clearly as possible to public attention in the more distant parts of the country where he is less well known. (*turning to the Governor*) What I would like to suggest, if it meets with your approval, is a series of short speeches on matters of national interest. As a start I have arranged for you to give a brief address to a special session of the Texas legislature. From there other opportunities for speeches will open rapidly. My associates will see to it through their many well-placed friends that the press of the entire country gives these speeches the widest coverage and, wherever possible, the most favorable editorial treatment. A man of your literary skill can, I am sure, turn out some very worthwhile speeches, if indeed you don't already have material prepared that with slight changes to meet new circumstances would serve admirably.

G. I believe I have a number of papers that with a little effort could be brought up-to-date and would constitute a not inconsiderable contribution to the political campaign. It is, of course, understood, that these speeches must reflect the basic political truth that I myself am not personally seeking the presidency.

C. I agree with you, Governor. The office must always seek the man.

E. You are indeed most correct, Colonel, and Woodrow is fundamentally right in saying that he is not a candidate for office. He is not. He could not be. A man so fine and sensitive, a man so deeply concerned for his duty to the forces of good throughout the world, cannot in truth be a candidate for any office, even the presidency. But I should suppose superficially, in the give and take of discussion at a polit-

ical meeting, that a statement by Woodrow that he was **not** a candidate would be too profound a truth to be understood by most of his audience. I'm afraid it would convey to people's minds not truth but actually untruth. It would erroneously suggest to the ignorant a lack of candor on Woodrow's part.

C. That is a point of great importance that we have possibly thought too little about. (*to the Governor*) I think your wife's disclaimer of political instincts is too modest, Governor, much too modest.

G. It is indeed, Colonel. Ellen is in the fullest sense of the word not only a wonderful wife but an able political advisor. I see her point and I believe on mature thought that she is right. I need not, I think, positively proclaim myself a candidate, but if asked whether I am I must not deny it.

C. Good, we will leave it at that. But whatever the status of your candidacy, you will now have no difficulty raising campaign funds. Contributions will come in to you in generous flow even without a formal announcement on your part. And by the way, as your lovely wife indirectly pointed out to us, it is many years since this country has had a literate candidate for president.

G. That is a fact. Not since Thomas Jefferson.

C. You would not consider John Quincy Adams literate?

G. In a narrow provincial way, yes. But not since Jefferson has there been a president whose literary attainments were those equal to a professional man of letters.

C. I believe you're right.

G. Lincoln, you know, was a very good orator, one of the best, but not a literary stylist. Not at all.

E. (*getting back to what is important*) Colonel, you must forgive the insatiable curiosity of a woman. But I must confess that I'm just torn with an unbecoming, and I'm sure entirely feminine and utterly silly, desire to know about other candidates you and your associates may have had in mind. To me, of course, there has never been any candidate but Woodrow and, though I can't possibly imagine anyone having any other candidate, I realize that you practical men must have thought of all sorts of people.

C. (*just a bit embarrassed*) Well, you know, politicians . . .

E. I suppose it would be inexcusable, the worst kind of female meddling, to gossip about those you might have approached had you and Woodrow been unable to reach a harmonious consensus on policy. So I won't even ask you about them at all, much as I love gossip. But I think a more serious question might be involved with any possible candidate you talked to

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before you explored the matter with Woodrow. Have you, perhaps?

C. To tell you the truth, I did.

G. Why? What man?

C. I do not believe it would be wise or proper for me to tell you. Certainly not without his consent.

G. (*more or less talking to himself*) It could not have been Roosevelt. No one could swing the Democratic nomination for him. Impossible. (*He thinks a minute.*) With a Taft-Roosevelt split you obviously want an Easterner and a man who has no chance of the nomination without your support. That leaves one likely man. Almost one certain man. Mayor Gaynor. Was it Gaynor?

C. I cannot discuss it, Governor.

G. (*his voice gradually rises with excitement*) It must have been Gaynor. It must have. How dreadful. He will know all the essential details of our conversation. He has a very good chance of being the next Governor of New York. Every likelihood.

E. (*interrupting*) My dear Colonel, I should think the problem could be most easily and quietly handled, once the importance of the matter is realized by your associates. Obviously it could lead to a serious and troublesome split in the Democratic party if Mayor Gaynor continues to have an important position in party councils. He is sure to exaggerate his disagreements with you and possibly even come to see in them something sinister that is not there at all. It is the all-too-human reaction of disappointed men. (*stopping an attempted interruption by the Colonel*) I know he is not disappointed now. You and he parted, I am sure, in the most honorable disagreement about fundamental policy. But later he may feel disappointed. He will forget that he is not president because he did not measure up to the exacting standards of the forward-looking social forces of the country that you represent. As a man bred in Tammany he is likely to feel that he is the victim of a deal, since I understand that is the usual

Tammany method of political operation. So it would be an unfair strain on Woodrow to have a prominent Democrat, in all probability the next Governor of New York, feeling this way. I would certainly think your associates ought to discuss the matter frankly with Mr. Murphy. Perhaps they can persuade him to withdraw his backing of Mayor Gaynor and seek some other candidate for Governor. It would seem so in the interests of party harmony. Or am I just being a silly woman?

C. (*thoughtful*) No. No, I hadn't perhaps thought it through carefully and fully enough. I think you're right. Yes, we'll have to do something about Mayor Gaynor. I'm afraid we will. You're right, he'd better not get to be Governor of New York at the same time your husband gets to be President. It might not work too well for all concerned. It might not at that.

(*To be continued*)

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If a foreign power landed in Maine and drove out most of the population, confiscated all the property it could get its hands on and racially discriminated against those who remained, wouldn't we at least have some sympathy for the Down Easters? In the Near East we not only do not care about the victims of a similar outrage, but the truth is that the more they are victimized the more we are taught to hate them.

Is this the kind of behavior calculated to win the friendship of those who are sitting on at least seventy percent of the world's proven petroleum reserves? Only a race of masochists would respond favorably to such treatment. If the Arabs did to us what we have done to them, we would have probably atomized them long ago. When the French, with the help of the Allies, took back their country in 1944 we called it liberation. When Syria and Egypt seek to reconquer their lost territories, we call it terrorism, aggression or blackmail. If a person has something you would like very much to buy, do you attack his family and make a profession of aiding and abetting his enemies? If you want to get him to lower the price of his product, do you reward the man who has robbed him? The United States slapped an oil embargo on Japan some years before Pearl Harbor. The same newspapers who supported that act now scream foul when the Arabs initiate a much shorter-lived oil embargo against us.

That the media lords can get away with such illogic displays the abysmally low opinion they have—apparently with reason—of the average American's intelligence.

The Arab states warned us clearly in 1973 that, if we supported Israel in the next flareup of the Near Eastern conflict, they would cut off our oil. Why were we so surprised and chagrined when this happened? For the very good reason that the media and our government did not inform us of this ultimatum. It was hidden on the back pages, if reported at all. To muddy the issue even further, the resulting oil shortage was blamed on an oil company plot. The oil companies who had everything to lose from a Middle Eastern conflict, whose huge investments were and are being nationalized because of American support of Israel, were blamed for the very events that they tried to prevent.

The media shoveled up a mountain of editorials and columns to prevent the American public from linking the oil shortage to American aid for Israel. At the same time none, repeat none, of our Majority statesmen and public figures had the courage to stand up and challenge this propaganda. Since silence preserves respectability and guarantees lavish Zionist financial contributions, it will be silence. The American people are not worth a word or two of straight talk. In private the high and

the mighty would probably confess they had no choice. They would say that the moment they spoke out they would be open to charges of anti-Semitism, the mere whisper of which is sufficient to destroy the most invulnerable political and public career.

If we cared so much about oil, why did we sponsor the creation of Israel in the first place? Why were we both the godfather and the moneybags of this unnatural political malignancy in the heartland of 100,000,000 Arabs? Palestine had been without any sizable number of Jews for nearly 2,000 years, until the Zionist movement began gathering momentum in the first quarter of this century. The Jews were still a small minority as late as the end of World War I, after the British and Arabs under Allenby and Lawrence had freed the land from the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire.

The Arabs, having been in a scientific coma since the Middle Ages, were quite willing to let Americans develop and exploit their oil resources and sell the refined product at low prices. Why did we disturb this beautiful arrangement, if oil is so important? Dean Acheson, who was Secretary of State during the early days of Israel, admitted later that what we had been doing in the Near East was against the "totality of American interests." Yet he kept very quiet at the time. To put it bluntly, he

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and almost all who came after him were willing to sacrifice the national interest to avoid the hostility of the Israeli lobby and the Israelized media. Among the very few exceptions were James Forrestal, our first Secretary of Defense, who was driven to suicide for his neutralist opinions, and J. William Fulbright, the once influential chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, who was defeated for reelection after stating that "Israel controlled the Senate." It took a lot of "outside money" to beat Fulbright; a Rhodes scholar who had been a Senator for thirty years. It also took quite a few dollars to dispose of John Rarick, a decorated and wounded World War II veteran and a 32° Mason who for six years had been the most outspoken anti-Zionist voice in the House of Representatives.

If the U.S. had followed a policy of strict neutrality in the Near East, Americans and the rest of the world would have continued to enjoy all the oil we wanted without any significant price rise. We would have saved the \$16 billion of private and government funds that have been poured into Israel's economy and military machine since 1948, and the tens of billions more we will have to spend to keep the country afloat for the next ten or twenty years. We would also have saved the tens of billions we are now losing as a result of the oil price hike and the recession that followed the oil embargo. We would have saved the additional tens of billions we will lose because of the inflation engendered by all of the above.

If oil, as our leaders inform us, is the big issue, why aren't our military preparations being aimed at the non-Arab members of the oil cartel, who have also quadrupled the price of oil? Why aren't we planning to attack Venezuela which produces more oil than any other Arab country except Saudi Arabia, or Nigeria, the world's eighth largest oil producer, or even Canada which has now put an almost prohibitive export tax on oil exports to our country. Certainly it would be much easier to occupy the oil-fields of Venezuela, Nigeria or Canada than those of the Middle East, which are thousands of miles further away and separated from us by the Mediterranean Sea, the eastern end of which is now dotted with ships of the Russian navy. Incidentally, it was Venezuela, not the Arab countries, which spearheaded the formation of OPEC in 1960.

Finally, if oil is all that matters, why was an extremely informative article in the British magazine *Economist*, appearing at the climax of discussions about the energy crisis, not broadcast across the land? This highly respected periodical, often quoted at length by the American press, stated that in a few years due to the present high prices there would be a glut of oil. But

since this would spoil the interventionist case, it was not mentioned in America.

No, we must conclude that oil is not the issue. It serves only to camouflage the real issue. Before we get to the real issue, however, we should dispose of another ignis fatuus that has been successfully diverting the confused American mind from the heart of the Middle Eastern matter.

Russia is not the Issue

The Media will also try to make our entrance into a future Middle Eastern war more palatable by emphasizing the Russian menace. But it is precisely our support of Israel's expansionism that allowed Russia to pose as the defender of the Arabs against Western imperialists. When Soviet political infiltration followed too closely behind Soviet arms deliveries, Egypt expelled 15,000 Russian "advisers" in 1972. The U.S. repaid the favor by ignoring Egypt's request for military aid. Today after years of humiliating subservience to Zionist influence, the makers of American foreign policy must be congratulated for having done the impossible. They have managed to transform the Arabs, the most religious and most anti-communist people on earth, into friends and in some cases military allies of the officially atheistic Kremlin. What the Czars could only dream of and the Commissars dared not hope, American foreign policy has accomplished without the death of a single Russian soldier.

John F. Kennedy tore up the Monroe Doctrine when he allowed the Russians to construct military installations in Cuba. With Russian submarine bases only ninety miles away, we are now being told that, having done exactly what was necessary to get the Russians invited into the Near East, we must now try and keep them out. We have consequently supplanted the Monroe Doctrine with what might be called the Golda Meir Doctrine, which seems to call for the sacrifice of Western Europe and Latin America if need be, but a fight to the death to keep the state of Israel going in the Middle East. In other words, Europe is now expendable, but Israel isn't. Meanwhile, the diminishing number of non-Jewish foreign policy experts, such as George Kennan and the myopic members of the Council on Foreign Relations, although they quite understand the world-shaking consequences of the Israel First policy, keep a craven silence. By doing so they will receive a friendly obituary from the *New York Times*. But future American historians will speak of them with contempt and disgust.

In fact, until Israel turned Arab eyes toward the Kremlin, there was no Russian menace to the Near East, except along the frontiers of northern Iran, now quiescent

after some tense moments at the end of World War II. There is, of course, the much more dangerous Russian menace to Europe, which we are increasing by our policy of denuding NATO and our European allies of American arms whenever war breaks out in the Middle East. In the 1973 Yom Kippur war, for example, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger ordered some 800 medium and heavy tanks flown from West Germany to Israel—10% of the entire American tank force at a time when production was down to thirty a month and when the army was 2,000 tanks short. Schlesinger also demanded that 2,000 anti-tank missiles—25% of the entire American stockpile—be included in the massive airlift. Needless to say, all of this seriously depleted the effective military strength of the NATO defense forces.

If we are so worried about the Russian menace, why do we seriously aggravate it by weakening the military forces which are designed to check Russian ambitions in Western Europe? If the day comes when Russian armed forces, aided by a communist uprising in France and Italy, attempt to push through to the Atlantic, there may be nothing left to stop them. Our overriding concern for Israel has probably become so obvious that Russians will certainly be encouraged to organize incidents in the Middle East that will draw American strength away from the area where the Soviet armed forces intend to attack. In other words, American aid for Israel is forcing us into a position where our only defense in Europe against a conventional Russian military onslaught would be a resort to nuclear weapons. In this case Israel would be the cause of the destruction of a great deal of the Northern Hemisphere.

For years American conservatives have been belittled by world Jewry for attacking the United Nations, as well as Russia. Now that the UN has demanded that the Jewish state return all lands taken from the Arabs in the 1967 edition of the war, now that it has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization, now that it has officially gone on record as equating Zionism with racism, our Congress obediently and expeditiously threatens to withdraw from the international body and withhold funds from such UN agencies as UNESCO, the one UN organization that has done something worthwhile. What the John Birch Society has been unable to accomplish in thirty years, the Jews are doing overnight, even if it means a complete turnabout of their original passionate attachment to the UN.

Now that Russia has proved itself a mainstay of Arab resistance, détente is being attacked ferociously by the very minority organizations and liberal politicians who

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were previously most in favor of it. American trade with Russia seems not to depend on the need of the American or Russian economy, but on the desires of Russian Jews to emigrate. Ever since the Bolshevik takeover tens of millions of non-Jews have wanted out. But Senator Jackson or the other pro-Zionists in the Senate never did anything for them. Only when Soviet Jews, who are much better off economically than any other segment of the Russian population, wanted to leave did Congress go into action. Incredibly, \$130 million was authorized to pay for their transportation to Israel though, as previously indicated, more and more of them are going elsewhere. As a matter of fact, so many are crowding into West Berlin (of all places) that city authorities have put limits on their residence time.

At the end of World War II America actually joined in a semi-military operation which rounded up more than a million non-Jewish refugees from Russia and forced them to return to the Soviet Union, where they were either murdered or imprisoned. Senator Jackson and his colleagues never had anything to say about this. Indeed, when the U.S. recently recognized Communist East Germany, politicians like Senator Jackson demanded that recognition include promises on the part of the East German government to make reparations to Jews, which they had hitherto refused to do. The Jewish angle seems to overshadow every aspect of American foreign policy.

If Russia were the issue in the Middle East, why have we opened the door for Russia's entrance into the area and why do we keep it open by refusing to even sit down with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which speaks for the majority of the dispossessed Palestinians. We did not have any such reservations in dealing with similar governments-in-exile in the past. In fact, we worked very closely with the Zionists when they were an underground government and were committing many more acts of terrorism than the present-day Arab guerrillas. If Russia were the issue, why would Congress cut off arms shipments to Turkey, our strongest ally in the region and the strongest anti-Russian force in the Middle East. In retaliation the Turks have now closed down some of our air bases from which we were able to keep a close check on Russian military maneuvers. Even though our present arms embargo against Turkey has been temporarily lifted, relations between our two countries will never be the same.

No, the Russian menace is only of secondary interest to our Zionist-controlled policy makers. No more than oil is it the primary issue in the Middle Eastern confrontation. It has a certain charm for conservatives and veteran anti-communists, the

very groups that the Jews have been attacking for years. It also serves to keep the public from understanding what is really going on. Nevertheless, it is just another piece of camouflage. When the matador gets ready for the kill he waves his muleta. The bull is stupidly charging the red cape as the cold steel of the estoque sinks between his shoulder blades and punctures his aorta.

Zionism is the Issue

A Gallup Poll (12/23/73) showed that a majority of Americans, though favoring Israel, was opposed to the delivery of arms to Israel. Nevertheless, the U.S. is now furnishing military aid to Israel at astronomical levels (\$3.2 billion since 1973). But who cares about the will and feelings of the American people? Busing for racial balance is still the law of the land in spite of much more overwhelming opposition.

Why in this cradle of the highly touted First Amendment is there absolutely no meaningful public debate on the vital topic of American involvement in a war, possibly a nuclear war, to save Israel from its neighbors? Instead all we hear from our learned pundits is that there is not the slightest connection between Israel and oil—about as valid a proposition as saying there is no connection between the Moon's orbit and gravity.

If the media told the whole story of what has happened in the Middle East, if the misery and squalor of the Palestinian inmates of the Middle Eastern concentration camps were photographed and written about with the same emotional intensity as that expended on the inmates of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, the people of America would be horrified. Today, almost thirty years after the event, the media still run sensationalized stories calling for additional reparations from Germany for the relations of Jews lost in World War II. But the Jews themselves have not paid one cent of reparations for the billions of dollars of land and property they took from the Palestinians. There have been no theatrical war crimes trials for the Zionists who deliberately massacred the men, women and children of whole villages (250 in Dair Yasin) to spark the Palestinian exodus in 1948, no hanging for the murderers of UN Ambassador Count Bernadotte, no punishment for the inventors of the letter bombs used against German scientists and their secretaries in Egypt, no prison or dishonorable discharge for the airmen who deliberately attacked and sank the U.S. ship *Liberty* in 1967, killing thirty-four American sailors and wounding seventy-five. Not only have none of the Israeli war criminals received any meaningful retribution but some of the Zionist terrorists who killed ninety-one civilians in the 1946 bombing of

the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, have now become respected leaders in the Jewish state.

Since the entire Israeli house of cards would come down with one good blast of truth, the media must be very careful about how it reports Middle Eastern events. The press could not abide Watergate, but in the field of foreign policy, it is engaged in the greatest coverup in history. The deliberate concealment of the facts of the Middle Eastern situation is the only way Zionists can obtain massive American support. If the facts were known, our supine Congress would be forced to stop writing blank checks for Israel.

No, there is more, much more, to the Near East imbroglio than Russia and oil. After Senator Fulbright, who should be in a position to know, issued his public statement about Israel running the Senate, General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is also in a position to know, said, "The power of the Jewish lobby is beyond belief." He was immediately hailed to the White House and reprimanded, while the more rabid segments of the Jewish press howled for his immediate dismissal. In a form of rebuttal to Brown, Admiral Zumwalt, who presided over the navy during several black mutinies, indirectly substantiated Brown's charge when he said that Israel should be made an American dominion. William Buckley, the fawning pro-Zionist conservative, chimed in by recommending that Israel be made the fifty-first state. Both Zumwalt and Buckley are earning good marks with the Jewish lobby. Needless to say, there was no nationwide uproar after Zumwalt and Buckley had uttered their preposterous recommendations.

Stephen Isaacs best explained the situation when he wrote in the *Washington Post* (11/23/74) that "Jews give more than half the large contributions to Democratic campaigns . . ." The Ninety-Fourth Congress being heavily Democratic, as have been all Congresses but one since World War II, it is politically feasible for Democratic representatives and senators to play the hawk. After all, they have to repay their debts. For years the most vocal of them have been receiving huge payments for appearing at Israel bond rallies and other Jewish functions and much larger amounts in the form of campaign contributions. In 1973, for example, twelve different Zionist organizations paid Senator Jackson a total of \$19,500. Jackson, furthermore, expects to have a campaign fund of \$8 million by January 1, 1976, which will certainly be the largest of any Democratic candidate. One of his Jewish fund raisers called it "gratitude" money. The B'nai B'rith and other organizations paid Senator Muskie some \$15,500 in recent years. Shortly after Senator Hubert Humphrey called for Con-

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gressional disapproval of aid to Egypt unless the Egyptians permitted unrestricted passage of Israeli ships, he received \$9,000 from the Jewish National Fund. Senators Baker, Bayh, Gravel, McGee, Packwood, Pastore, Proxmire, Scott and Tunney have also received thousands of dollars from the Jewish paymasters. Is it any wonder that they blindly vote the Zionist party line in Congress, that they permit tax-deductible contributions to Jewish "charity" organizations, who then funnel the money to Israel, that they have appropriated \$130 million for travel expenses of Russian Jews to Israel, that they have unprecedentedly guaranteed \$300 million worth of Israeli bonds, that they pass Israeli aid bills without even discussing them in committee, that senators who were so totally opposed to the use of anti-personnel cluster bombs in Vietnam enthusiastically vote to give them to the Israelis. Normally such political behavior would merit a comprehensive civil or criminal investigation. Instead, one of these bribe takers has a good chance of being our next president.

When it was decided that Americans must be prepared for active military intervention in the Middle East, as if by magic, articles appeared in the Jewish magazine *Commentary*, *Time*, *Harper's* and the *New York Times* calling for an invasion of Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries along the Persian Gulf. Since these territories are ruled by semi-feudal Arab chiefs who are congenitally opposed to Marxism and Russia and who have remained friendly to the U.S. in spite of American support for Israel, such a move would energize the pro-Russian elements in these populations to oust their rulers and put in their place a Soviet puppet. It is not a very nice reward that we have planned for the Arabs which have remained on the anti-communist side of the Middle Eastern fence. Is this how we are going to keep Russia out of the Middle East? By killing off the Arabs most anxious to keep them out? There is, of course, only one valid explanation for all this preliminary warmongering. Zionists are not interested in the oilfields per se—only in knocking out the chief source of Arab funds for resistance to Israeli aggression.

After securing the beachheads, we would have to probe scores of miles deeper into the desert to protect our troops against guerrillas. Israel, with our blessing, might have to "defend" itself against Syria by taking Damascus. After this a combined Israeli-American expedition might have to move against Mesopotamia, partly perhaps in revenge for the Assyrian and Babylonian depredations against the ancient Hebrews, partly to cut the Arab world in half. With the Israeli astride the Tigris and Euphrates, a new Solomonic Empire will be created. All that remains on

the agenda will be the rebuilding of the Temple and a visit from a new Queen of Sheba, possibly Jacqueline Kennedy, if she can get time off from her new employer, Harold Guinzburg, of Viking Press.

Then Egypt may have to be pacified, and Libya too. Perhaps it may also be necessary to sacrifice a few hundred thousand American service men to protect such long distance threats to Israel as Algeria and Morocco. If the Shah of Iran should become unfriendly, which might well happen since he considers the Persian Gulf as the Romans once considered the Mediterranean, the war might get awfully sticky. Even Turkey might decide to join the fray against its erstwhile ally. Then, too, with all the Americans and Israelis marching around the desert, Russia might almost be forced to intervene in order not to lose face with her Arab protégés.

Granted that the liberal-minority coalition is much happier killing Arabs than North Vietnamese or North Koreans, granted that a war for Israel will have none of the sanctuaries and other hamstringing restrictions imposed on American fighting men in Indochina, granted that this time Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark will be on "our side," just what will the war accomplish? Will the price of oil be lowered? Perhaps a few cents. But the hundreds of billions of dollars spent on the war will raise the cost of everything else. It is even possible that double-digit inflation will turn to triple-digit inflation, and the economic destruction of America will follow the military destruction of the Middle East.

How long will the American-subsidized Solomonic Empire last? Just as long as the *New York Times* decides what news is fit to print and just as long as Richard Salant's CBS news team tells Walter Cronkite what to read. Neither Cronkite nor the *Times*, however, is immortal. Nor is the patience of the American Majority unlimited. Sooner or later what is left of the American army in the Middle East will have to come home. Sooner or later the Arabs will ride their camels back out of the sand dunes. Sooner or later, as they did after they disrupted the Roman Empire in the reigns of Vespasian and Hadrian, the Jews will drift away to greener pastures.

Peace at the Highest Price

Whenever Henry Kissinger enters the diplomatic scene, we may be sure that the headlines will start dancing with such ritualized epithets as "wonder worker," "peace," "genius," etc. And we may be just as sure, as in the case of détente, the end of the Vietnamese war, the bogus rapprochement with China and the attempted sellout of the Panama Canal, that American interests are in for another blow. Having

reduced the office of the Secretary of State to that of a jet-hopping messenger service between Middle Eastern capitals, Kissinger finally pulled off another one of his "peaces." Not the peace that passeth understanding, not the peace that leads to betrayal as in Vietnam, but the peace that leads to war.

What is the substance behind the shadow of this peace? For a few billion dollars paid to Israel and a few hundred million paid to Egypt, Israel agrees to give up a slice of the Sinai desert. The American taxpayer has to pay to keep two faraway, alien, totally inconsequential countries from fighting each other for a few more months or at best a few more years. Nothing, of course, was accomplished by Kissinger with respect to the main cause of the Middle Eastern crisis, the homeless Palestinians. Indeed, Kissinger won't even sit down with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, though it is officially recognized by the United Nations. To stop the feud between the Hatfields and the McCoys it would seem unreasonable only to talk to the Hatfields. But Kissinger, the self-proclaimed 20th-century Metternich, has invented a new style of arbitration. You talk to one party of the dispute and you pay off a friend of the second party, all the while refusing to recognize the existence of the second party.

Kissinger's principal coup was the interposing of American technicians on the Israeli-Egyptian frontlines. The next time Egypt sallies forth to regain its lost lands, it will have to run over the American hostages, which will make it very easy for Congress and the media to whip up enough indignation to get us into war instantaneously. It would be very much to Israel's advantage to have something serious happen to these Americans. Their fate could be shown on TV screens as "the Egyptian massacre of unarmed U.S. civilians." In such matters the Israelis have been learning from their mistakes. In the 1954 Lavon affair, when Israeli agents tried to burn down American libraries and other American installations in Cairo and blame it on the Egyptians, they were caught redhanded, and the Israeli government bigwig responsible was temporarily, only very temporarily, demoted. We have already mentioned the attack on the *Liberty*, which was obviously planned to fan the war flames in America at the height of the 1967 Six Day blitzkrieg by presenting the U.S. with a new *Lusitania* or *Maine*. This time with the Americans already in place and plenty of opportunity for rehearsal, there will be less chance of a slip up.

Sadat probably comprehends this all too well. But Sadat has his own game. In the 1973 war Egyptian troops advanced a few miles in the opening stages—the first time the Arabs, or more accurately their some-

what decadent and hybrid Egyptian cousins, had ever made any genuine military headway against the Israelis. Sadat cannot be blamed for wanting to ride this victory for all it is worth. In the days of Nasser there had been nothing but defeat after defeat. Besides, what was more opportune than a cease-fire after the Israelis had already crossed the Suez and were rampaging around inside Egypt.

So the cease-fire was turned by U.S. money and Kissinger's diplomatic finesse into a peace which was nothing more than an extension of the cease-fire. Sadat now has some dollars to show for his collaboration, some of which he will have to expend on additional security men so he can stay alive. Unless he is very dense, he understands Kissinger has made promises which he has no intention of keeping, if only because Congress won't let him keep them. So when the time comes that pressure is put on Sadat to work for a real Middle Eastern settlement and no settlement is in sight, there will be another war either directed by Sadat or someone else who can't be bought off so easily.



With the Ninth Crusade in the offing, the American Majority has little to look forward to. It is not too pleasant to have to live for others. It is less pleasant to have to die for others. At least the early Crusaders had the knowledge or feeling that they were fighting for their religion. The latter-day Crusaders will be fighting ostensibly for oil, ostensibly to raise another frazzled **cordon sanitaire** around the Russian Bear, in reality in behalf of the faithless faith, the prideless pride, the Messianic materialism of Jewish racism. Not a very inspiring or noble collection of war aims.

Of one thing we can be sure. We will again be fighting against ourselves. In World War I, the furies of internationalism destroyed the European social order and smoothed the way for Bolshevism, the politics of the cave. In World War II, the anti-German furies of Semitism made it possible for Russia to take over Eastern Europe and become for the first time in history the greatest power in the Eastern Hemisphere. In the Ninth Crusade, which may swiftly develop into World War III, the blind, self-destructive mania of Zionism will probably fix it so that Russia, Israel's arch enemy, takes over the Middle East and perhaps the world.

Is there any rational explanation why the Jews are forcing us—and themselves—into this suicidal path? Is there any rational explanation why we are letting them do so? The answer is that we have been laid low by a gangrenous infection that has been mortifying the blood cells of the West since the emancipation of Jewry in the 19th century.

For years it has been eating away at our art, our laws, our politics and our way of life. Now it's eating our very vitals.

We can, however, retrieve some honor and glory from the Ninth Crusade, whose heroes will be the anti-Crusaders. Our Bohemunds and Tancreds and lion-hearted Richards will be those willing to risk their lives, not for some genocidal Elder in a Mediterranean Miami Beach, but in the war against the war. If we can die, as we have in the past, by the hundreds of thousands for what is insane, surely some of us can wash away respectability's yellow streak by giving our all for sanity.

Outlook for Rhodesia

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There cannot be much doubt that South African Prime Minister Vorster (who, contrary to his image overseas, is actually a convinced egalitarian) would like to see Mass Rule in Rhodesia. Aside from outside pressures he sincerely believes he can make a deal with Africa's black leaders, and in return for favors rendered secure immunity from their attacks. Hence, in the supposed interests of his country, he will not hesitate to sacrifice Rhodesia—or would not, that is, if it were not for the realization that with the sole exception of the liberals and their kept English-language press, the entire white population of South Africa is very strongly pro-Rhodesian.

It is odd that a white South African politician like Mr. Vorster should not realize that negotiating with black Africa can lead to only one thing—total white surrender. Compromise is not possible with blacks; they regard any attempt at compromise as weakness, which it is, and encouraged by the fall of the Portuguese they are demanding immediate black rule in Rhodesia, as in South West Africa, knowing full well, if Mr. Vorster does not, that what happens in Rhodesia today will happen in South Africa tomorrow. An added difficulty, however, is that the blacks in Rhodesia are in such political disarray that Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, could hardly surrender even if he wanted to. There is simply no cohesive, effective black political organization to surrender to.

Mr. Smith has said there will be no black rule in his country in his lifetime, and the electorate is resolved to hold him to his words. But when we add détente to the Chinese presence in East Africa and Zambia and the armed Russian presence in Angola, not to mention the West's apparent paralysis, it becomes plain why the long-term outlook for the whites in Rhodesia is a poor one.

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But in the nineteenth century literature there was, as farmers might say, "one big pig in one big poke." The London stockbroker David Ricardo had written a treatise in 1817 in which a very curious view of society was presented. In it was the potential for a dehumanized treatment of what is today called the "economy." Only a thorough knowledge of modern economics can adequately explain what Ricardo has done to the science. As the founder of what might be called the science of commodities, he occupies a place in economics somewhat like that of Freud in psychology.

Ricardo's view of "production" was the combination of "land, labor and capital," a view in many respects inferior to the "earth, air, fire and water," of the ancient philosophers.

Adam Smith's view of society as an organic unit was not present in Ricardo's work. Instead of people working for each other, as Smith viewed the economic world, Ricardo saw the "produce of the earth . . . divided among three classes of the community," the landowners, the laborers and what are now known as capitalists. "To determine the laws which regulate this distribution is the principal problem in Political Economy . . . [other writers] afford very little satisfactory information respecting the natural course of rent, profit and wages."

To Ricardo how the pie was shared was more important than its size or how it was baked. Here was the origin of the theories of economic class struggles. One who was unhappy with Western Civilization could find abundant food for thought in Ricardo's work.

What the older writers called commerce and industry Ricardo saw as movements of physical facts. He was oblivious to business practices, contracts and negotiable instruments. A few non-Jewish economists have reminded their readers that, etymologically, credit meant trust. Economically speaking, nothing so human and so correct ever came from non-Western pens. Adam Smith and his disciples understood bank credit currency as a species of promissory note. Ricardo wrote that bank notes were "coins, the entire cost of which is seigniorage." The reader can interpret for himself the meaning of that statement—written by a man now celebrated as a "rigorous logician" and an "analytical genius." To Ricardo, "The value of a commodity, the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, depends on the relative quantity of labour which is necessary for its production." Valuation is not understood to be a mental process; it is the exchange ratio of physical things as observed by someone who saw nothing but the movement of these ob-

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jects. There is a famous passage in Adam Smith which says that man is "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention." There is a lot of teleology here, but at least **men** are being led to perform and not "commodities" and "factors of production" moving according to metahuman laws.

In Jewish economic literature, everything is usually explained from the point of view of "commodities." All transactions are conceptualized as exchanges of one good for another. E. R. A. Seligman even transformed Robinson Crusoe into a trucker. When Crusoe decides what he wants to do, he "exchanges one good for another with nature." Murray Rothbard writes that "leisure is a good" in order to explain the implications of the fact that working is irksome. When Paul Samuelson wrote his now unfortunately famous "theory of government," the government was treated as a supplier of "public goods." Samuelson's "theory," as one might expect, was a modification of supply and demand.

Professor Paul Roberts, a Western economist, has written a little book in which he attacks the commonly held view that Karl Marx was a humanist. One of Roberts' points is that Marxian alienation was not the social alienation that we hear so much about but the alienation of property. Marx, according to Roberts, hated exchange because he thought it awful to have to part with property. It is doubtful if a non-Jewish economist was asked the meaning of "alienation" he would say that it is the feeling experienced when he sells something.

But perhaps the crowning achievement of supply and demand came off the roller of the typewriter of Gary Becker, a former student of Milton Friedman. Becker is famous for "applying economics" to such things as population, time and crime. In his "classic" paper **Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach**, Becker concludes that fines should be more widely used, since other types of punishment "misallocate resources." Becker writes: "One argument made against fines is that they are immoral because, in effect, they permit offenses to be bought for a price in the same way as bread or other goods. . . . A fine can be considered the price of an offense, but so too can any other form of punishment; for example, the 'price' of stealing a car might be six months in jail. The only difference is in the unit of measurement; fines are prices measured in monetary units, imprisonments are prices measured in time units, etc. If anything, monetary units are to be preferred here as . . . in pricing and accounting."

The origin of comparing "offenses" to "other goods" can be traced to Ricardo. In pursuing political economy as the science

of "commodities," human conduct took an ancillary role. Only a very simplistic view of human nature could be entertained by such economists and **Homo economicus** filled the bill. Man does nothing but seek the highest monetary reward. We can be proud that it was not one of our ancestors who set that concept afloat.

In the nineteenth century this view of man was not generally accepted by economists. Ricardian materialism was a benign tumor which only later became malignant. Ricardo is praised today, but only in retrospect. In the history of human ideas what is called "the belated recognition of genius" is often merely one dormant germ among many finding its fit nutriment. It was not until economics became a self-conscious academic specialty that the growth erupted.

It is interesting to note some of the contemporary reaction to Ricardo. Alfred Marshall wrote in 1876: "Both the merits and the defects in Ricardo's work are obviously due to his Semitic origin. No Englishman has ever thought like Ricardo." The Irish-American Henry Carey called Ricardo's work a pack of "Jewish subtleties." William Stanley Jevons complained, "Ricardo had shunted the car of economics down the wrong line." Jevons was under no illusions about race. He referred to Negroes as an example of a "lower race" and to Jews as a "predator race." Walter Bagehot attributed Ricardo's contribution to the theory of trade to "the Jewish ability to manipulate figures." Many of the early treatises never mentioned Ricardo and then only in reference to some special topic. With one exception, no one accepted him as a model. The one exception was the Blockhead, as Friedrich Nietzsche called John Stuart Mill.

Nevertheless, Ricardo had stirred up considerable interest. He raised some questions which appeared to be worthy of attention. In particular, his "wages theory of price" had been used by the socialists in their attack against nonwage income. Although avowedly a laissez faire economist, Ricardo presented his doctrines in a manner that left one with the feeling that nonwage income was unjust and "unearned." In the last quarter of the nineteenth century his ideas came under heavy attack by the more conservative writers. But, perhaps unwittingly, the men who got involved in this controversy over the "cause of price" by attacking Ricardo on specific points emphasized his framework of analysis.

In the orthodox histories of economic theory, "the marginal utility theory of price" is said to be the great discovery by which the "classical school" was overthrown and modern analysis ushered in.

Three men—W. Jevons, L. Walras and Carl Menger—are said to have discovered marginal utility independently during the 1870s. Essentially what these men said was that consumers adjust their purchases to prices. The *n*th unit purchased is just worth the price.

The chief effect of marginal utility was that it facilitated the development of mathematical models. Each of the "fathers" of the utility doctrine had intended to overthrow Ricardo, but in effect they simply added "consumption" to the Ricardo-Mill framework of "production, distribution and exchange of commodities." Ricardo had ignored "consumption" or "demand." The utility theorists did worse. They made it possible to reduce human conduct to one dimension—"utility." As gravity keeps the planets in orbit, greed makes the commodities flow.

Adam Smith had defended the profit motive in business because production for undetermined customers had no other guide but market prices. In this respect self-interest served the national interest. In Smith this was an inference from observation. But in modern economics, self-interest or "individual preferences" is the only human force at work.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to comment on more than a few developments in economics during this century. It is sufficient to say that with the formal acceptance of an artificial view of human nature for the purposes of abstract theory all hope for a genuine science of economics was lost. By the 1920s economic theory would no longer consider the human characteristics that the producer knows are prime requisites for production. All of the mental and moral traits which made organization possible were pushed out of the classroom, since theory of greed did not comprehend our cooperative skills. In short, everything that goes under the head of "morality" was considered noneconomic. And selfishness, which to us is "immoral," was the only conduct which qualified as "economic."

A good index of the decline of economic learning would be the volume of chalk dust in the trays at the bottom of classroom blackboards. The older economists lectured. Today the doctors of inflationary gaps and indifference curves draw diagrams and write out equations.

This sort of "science" appeals to three instincts in Western man. We have a spirit of objective inquiry, which the economist appeases by assuming he is explaining a part of the external world. There are objective data, the "invariables" measured in the monetary unit, and the economists can talk about the laws which govern the motions of these variables. He can compare himself to the physicist. Secondly, we are

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intellectual esthetes. The economist can dally in the appreciation of abstract order and symmetry. And lastly, we are humanists. The economist can express his reformist inclinations by showing, with diagrams, that the government ought to do this or that. The first type of economist should study a natural science. The second type should study abstract probability theory and keep silent about social affairs. The third type should quit the scene entirely.

To us good economics is common sense. We can understand how the economic system "works" because we can understand attitudes and practices upon which the system was constructed. However, starting with Mill's popularization of Ricardo's doctrines, economics has done nothing but teach us to be skeptical of common sense. Common sense at least puts constraints on unfounded dogma. With training in economics a person can believe anything.

Except for the abstract trivia, twentieth century economics has been wholly polemical. The great issue has been government intervention vs. free enterprise and in this dispute economic theory has served both the left and the right. For the most part non-Jewish economists have been critical of the theory and hence of the system that theory was supposed to explain. The position taken by the leading exception helps to explain why.

Frank Knight was undoubtedly the most reflective and scholarly of post-Marshallian economists. Although a religious skeptic, his Midwestern Protestant background helped him retain his common sense during the 1930s and 1940s when he was at the University of Chicago. But his work was chiefly critical. He spent half of his time "rehabilitating" abstract theory and the other half stressing the limitations of the theory. But he never outgrew the view that the "fundamental economic problem of society" was "allocating resources." His attack against Veblen's criticism of the "free market" and against Keynesism boiled down to the following: there is no objective criterion for the "best" allocation of resources or for the "best" things to produce. The only non-arbitrary criterion is individual choice. Now this is an argument against bureaucratic decision-making but not a compelling case for market institutions, though basically its appeal is "moral." Knight went on to say that the bureaucrats would impose their preferences. Thus the government is condemned because it is operated by selfish men. But it is, as Ralph Nader has recently demonstrated, very easy to condemn private enterprise using the same assumption. Since Northern Europeans do not like to think of themselves as selfish, when Knight turned around to explain how the

"economic system" worked, he used the concept of "economic man" but very reservedly. Jewish economists, on the other hand, had no inhibitions in openly subscribing to this concept.

If we read the Western economists who wrote in the earlier part of this century we can readily verify that selfishness was not regarded as the central force of social life. The first complete theory of individual preferences tugging on commodities in order to form prices was presented by Irving Fisher of Yale University. The materialistic point of view is reflected in his definition of "utility" as "desiredness"—not a human attitude toward a commodity but an attribute of the thing itself. A mathematician by training, Fisher was the utility theorist of his time. Until his death in 1947, he was a prolific writer. His **Nature of Capital and Income** (1906) taught the world how greed could be formulated mathematically.

Although hostile to the mathematical approach, another Jewish economist was teaching the same gospel from his chair in Vienna, while Fisher was solving equations. Ludwig von Mises insisted that egotism (which he called "human action") was the fundamental axiom upon which all economic truth was based. Later at New York University, Mises trained a generation of freedom fanatics whose names are familiar to the Buckleyites and the "Liberarians" as the latter call themselves. The leaders of this movement are all Jewish. Murray Rothbard, the anarchist, is one of Mises' former students. It would be difficult to describe Ayn Rand in one word, but she is another of Mises' disciples. For the deep thinker and at a steep price, F. A. von Hayek's works can teach us the dangers of our instincts. When these writers stray from their dominant theme of evil in government, it is invariably to attack some traditional practices of non-Jewish businessmen. Their general view of Western Civilization is that with rational utilitarianism Europeans were at last freed from their barbaric prejudices.

Such economists flourish in an open society. Mises and Hayek escaped Hitlerism for New York and academic freedom. In the United States the socialist economist

Abba Lerner enjoyed a standard of living he would have never realized in his native socialist Russia. Milton Friedman's mother left that same country for freedom in Chicago. One need not look any deeper than this for an explanation of why some Jews have enthusiastically cultivated and picked the fruits of our society.

But a strong distaste for the morality embodied in traditional Western economics is also evident in the work of Milton Friedman. Unlike the others mentioned above, Friedman's influence is largely within the profession. In his one popular work, **Capitalism and Freedom**, he gives as a "basic" reason for economic freedom its service to what he calls "political freedom." The latter he understands not as a right to participate in a constitutionally limited democratic process but as the right to agitate to change the system. All of his illustrations are radical activities of minority groups.

Friedman's "monumental" **Monetary History of the United States** (written with Anna Swartz) is a sustained attack on traditional American banking practices. For two and a half centuries, bankers have regarded their essential function as supplying short-term credit to the business community. Adam Smith defended this policy. Until two decades ago, this was taught in business schools. The analysis was not always sophisticated; money and banking texts were often dogmatic. But the established view was that banks were not to create credit for capital expansion. To Friedman, the "money supply" is the factor determining national income. Friedman sells this and his frequent appeals to expand the money supply to the American conservative as anti-Keynesism. But those who buy Friedmanism might take a closer look at what he is getting at.

In the 19th century Jews sought to destroy the West's economy with theories of class war. More recently, at the other extreme, they have been pushing an equally destructive line—free-market anarchism. This intensifying double whammy may account for much of the confusion in present-day economic thought.

(To be continued)

Open Letter from a Who's Who Wasp *Continued from page 6*

I dwell on this in some detail because I believe you will recognize the convergence of the forces mentioned by Dr. Baker and those represented by the Boas cult. The affinity between them was inevitable, and their influence was powerful and prolonged. We find it in speeches by

Senator Javits to Jewish groups when he urges them to support the Negro in their crusade for integration. We notice it in the skillful positioning of Jews throughout our cultural complex wherever racial questions may arise. From 1930 onward it fortified, and was fortified by, the radical left

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Open Letter from a Who's Who Wasp

in general. The radical left could see only a great advantage to their cause in the suppression of the truth regarding genetic human differences, inter- or intra-racially. From the beginning of human history they had never before been confronted by as total a rebuttal of their ideology. So the marriage of their interests was complete and passionate.

➤ It was also devastating. Its effect on our Western culture as a whole is impossible to measure. Jewish expertise was not long in gaining control of most of the opinion-forming agencies of the Western world—TV, radio, book publishing, leading newspapers, magazines and moving pictures, the theatre, our schools and colleges, the National Academy of Sciences, virtually all other scientific associations, and even our churches. Thank God we now have in **The Dispossessed Majority** a work which thoroughly documents the whole procedure and makes it unnecessary to emphasize this aspect of the matter further.

The point I want most to stress is the sequel, the result of all this. Modern means and methods of communication are now so saturating and ubiquitous, especially when combined with the dramatics of television, that those who control them have an unprecedented power. From the cradle to the grave, by day and by night, the impact never ceases. The smearing of truth and the deifying of falsehood, an hypnotic condition in the public mind in which freedom of speech concerning genetics or race, Negroes or Jews, has become an obscenity. It obliterates the ability to reason or make judgments in countless areas of significance to our society. Our immigration laws alone are a disaster, not to mention the fact that what little good they might do is eviscerated by an almost complete failure of enforcement. The Supreme Court's decision in **Brown vs. Topeka** continues to dominate the racial issue in spite of the fact that the evidence presented in that case is now totally obsolete. Case after case presenting the new evidence (and the old evidence in undistorted form) has been approved by the lower courts since then, and the Supreme Court has refused to grant *certiorari*. Not one public voice is raised in protest.

Such is our national posture as we enter our bicentennial year. Crime rising, our native culture fragmenting, the American home in disarray, our sexual mores vulgarized beyond recognition, our largest city bankrupt, each and every issue tied to declining standards of intellectual integrity, and these in turn the direct product of a monstrous and debilitating lie.

My purpose in this review is to ask a troublesome question: What profit does it render American conservatives to go on forming their various organizations, their

book clubs, their political groups, their debating societies, their youth for this and that when never once, **never once**, do they go to the root of the problem? How much longer must this evasion continue? Is it not clear that the public mind has been captured and perverted, and that steps must be taken to cut the bonds of its captivity? Is it not obvious that until we have changed the climate of our people's thinking our continual talk about "conservative" doctrine is meaningless? Must we literally have a **Camp of the Saints** before conservatives realize this?

Robertson never ceased to point out that education must come before action. In the very first sentence of the Foreword to **The Dispossessed Majority** he speaks of the futility of those "who stubbornly go on believing that a set of highly sophisticated institutions developed by and for a particular people at a particular point in time and space is operational for all people under all circumstances". Our fractured public is bewildered by political parties and confused by candidates who mumble worn-out clichés about free enterprise and liberty and constitutional government. Even that old battered target communism is beginning to fog, simply because the whole idea **behind** communism is never properly unwrapped. I grant that if we went at the cure directly, the Western world would rise against us in Pavlovian obedience as they did at the United Nations the evening the Palestinian resolution on racism was passed. The puppets of the Media and the Establishment, the Cronkites and the Moynihans, would prance into action as they did that night. And let us not forget Fulbright's measured words. "Israel controls the Senate".

Indeed it is obvious enough that we cannot solve this problem by operating within any public framework of our current society. Books and the written word, privately produced and privately distributed, are the

only means left. They may be only a beginning, but **that**, at least, they are!

So much for the first point I wanted to make in this fresh contact with you. Last summer you appeared to be "philosophically" concerned about an implicit unfairness to the exceptional Negro in **The Dispossessed Majority**. It seems to me that you have misunderstood the whole purpose of the book. It is primarily a study in disclosure, not a blueprint for future action. To the extent that Robertson has reluctantly ventured into prophecy, I believe he favors eventual separation of the races into autonomous cultural zones where each race can independently develop its natural traits unfettered by a blockage of the normal processes of evolution. He has speculated with this idea in his essay "The Utopian States of America" contained in his booklet **Ventilations**.

Personally I would take a more pragmatic view. I would dispel the fog of falsehood first, and let our people see the horizon and the mountains and valleys ahead. Then, with this vista before us, I would discuss the charting of our course. You certainly cannot be criticized for hoping that "somehow all of God's children must learn to live in peace and harmony with one another", but surely you do not propose this idyllic condition be obtained in a fog of illusion! As a matter of fact the exceptional Negro (so often, although not always, a man of mixed blood) presents a complex problem that should be solved as such. With enough study and experience I believe it can be solved by a mature and enlightened society. I do not believe it requires a total suppression of the truth in regard to the Negro race as a whole. I do not believe it demands the throwing of the white children of the South into schools with a race which, on the average among pure bloods, now appears to be 250,000 years behind us in evolutionary grade. This comes entirely too close to a scene from **The Camp of the Saints**.

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Third installment

*plus other articles, book reviews and the usual **Instauration** departments.*

Athens, Georgia: *Instauration* has close ties with the Union of the American People (UAP), an organization of Majority students at the University of Georgia. The UAP recently was given a small dose of national media exposure as a result of its continuing campaign to force the student band to restore *Dixie* to its repertory. At the instigation of a few blacks and scalawag professors, the song was dropped a few years ago. Later a student body referendum on the question produced a three-to-one vote in favor of playing *Dixie* again. This only made the administration and the band leader, Roger Dancz, more adamant. The defense of this bluenosed act of censorship was undertaken most stridently by a visiting professor of journalism named Joseph Cumming, Jr., who justified the ban on the grounds of taste. He did not want to offend the Negro members of the student body (600 out of 27,000). The same argument, of course, could be used to remove certain works of Mark Twain, Joseph Conrad, Herman Melville and Hegel from the university library. They wrote much more offensive remarks about Negroes than any words that Cumming could exhume from the lyrics of *Dixie*. No doubt when the great book burning day arrives, the professor of journalism, dressed in his black Torquemada robe, will be lighting the matches. Cumming, who proclaimed himself a sixth-generation Southerner but did not reveal that he was the Atlanta bureau manager of *Newsweek* and, as a good journalist, carefully omitted mentioning the student referendum, rested his case on the following: "When the South lost the Civil War and then, a hundred years later, lost the civil rights battles in Congress, it meant the lifting of a great burden from our heart. Suddenly there was a spiritual and psychic dilation; we were free. All possibilities were enlarged, we were ready for an expanded idea of love." It is almost a sin against human intelligence to comment on this mushy display of libelalese, which might be compared to a bad translation of a minor poem of the Medieval ecstatic, St. John of the Cross. We might point out, for starters, that Mr. Cumming is hardly in a position to argue differently, since if he came out for *Dixie* he would soon be fired by his Yankee, or should we say Zionist, paymaster, Katharine Graham (née Meyer). It's hard to take seriously the protestations of a person who would lose his job if he agreed with you. As for a "great burden from our heart," the cardiac burdens of all concerned have been growing much heavier

rather than lighter since the civil rights "victory." With respect to the "expanded idea of love" we invite Mr. Cumming to discuss it further in downtown Atlanta anytime after dark. Love used to be a rather decent and respectable English word and should not be debased by mixing it up with treachery appeals for censorship. If Mr. Cumming, the "enlightened Southerner," loves his students so much he won't let them sing one of their favorite tunes, he might ponder the old adage that if you want to kill the folk, first kill the folkways. There is something else that is rather suspicious about Mr. Cumming's brand of love. It is integrationist, forced and by no means a natural affection. Love your neighborhood black or we'll write a newspaper article about you and call you a Nazi pig. It is also a kind of love that comes easier to the "enlightened Southerner," who lives in a carefully segregated white residential area and sends his children to a carefully segregated white school. His love is expressed in words. The poor, unenlightened Southerner has to express his love in a more practical fashion by sending his children to crime-ridden desegregated jungles. Love, it seems, comes easier to Mr. Cumming and his ilk. And we, when we talk about the only means of reestablishing not love but mutual tolerance and respect among the divergent races of this country by allowing them to go their own way and develop their own individual and collective gifts under their own power and without the censorious intervention of the Cummings, well when we talk about such things we are immediately put down by the lovmongers as hatemongers.

Los Angeles: The small band of faithful had a busy month. One new supporter wanted to organize a study group. Another tracked down a man who wrote for a gift copy of *The Dispossessed Majority* on the grounds he was a UCLA instructor. It turned out he had no connection whatever with UCLA. Anything for a free book. Still another supporter has worked out a plethora of constructive solutions for the Majority's resurrection, some of which may appear in later issues of this magazine. Meanwhile, he warned that *Instauration* should not be too negative and too concerned with our sickness rather than its cure. Our point is that the illness must be properly diagnosed before there can be an effective prognosis. An activist in the group said the time was long past for education and the deed must now replace the thought. We have heard this argument be-

fore; in fact it has been voiced up and down the land since 1930. The activist was told that until we can educate at least a small segment of our preachers, teachers and other members of the intelligentsia to see things our way, we will just be spinning our wheels. There is no deadlier enemy of activism than a false timetable.

Washington, DC.: Some of the most disgruntled Majority members are retired foreign service officers. They know better than anyone what the U.S. has done in the Middle East—almost always against the advice of the professionals on the scene. One of them, who may write some articles on the subject for *Instauration*, has stated he would "like to see credit given those courageous career foreign service officers such as Ambassadors Wadsworth, Henderson, Hare, Parker, Hart, etc., who from 1946 on recognized our true national interests in the Middle East and warned that our ties with Israel would (1) alienate the Arabs, (2) bring in the Russians, (3) preclude free transit by air and sea through the area and (4) eventually cut us off from oil."

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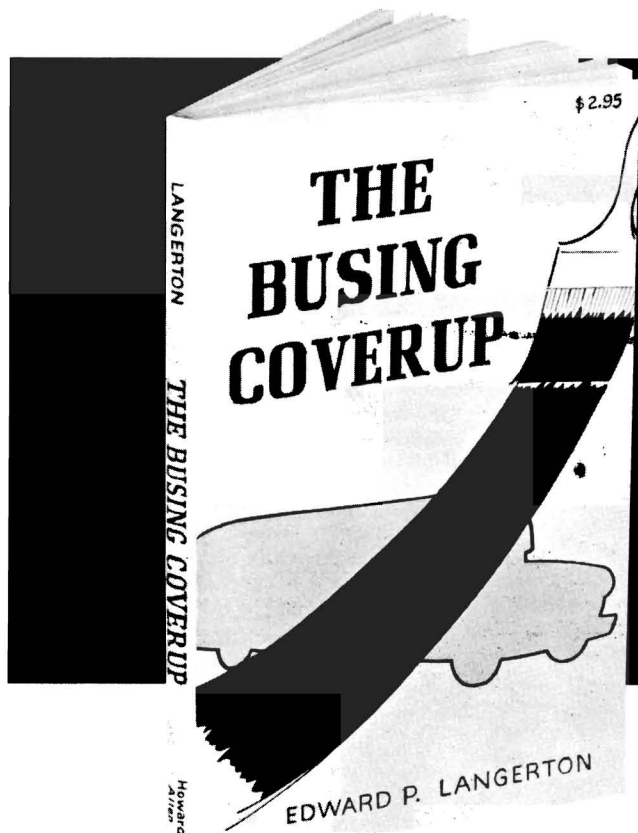
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